

ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation:

THE SWEETS OF INDEPENDENCE: A
READING OF THE “JAMES
CARROLL DAYBOOK, 1714-21”

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This dissertation is a study of the “James Carroll Daybook,” a journal of transactions that a colonial Maryland planter and merchant used between 1714 and 1721. This Irish Catholic partisan’s career is illustrative of early eighteenth century mercantile culture in which one could gain elite status by using intellectual skills to master the market and by owning consumer goods. The dissertation is, thus, a material culture study of the commerce that yielded Carroll a fortune and secured his social standing.

The literature of the eighteenth-century consumer revolution provides the intellectual foundation of this study, which uses a method derived from performance theory to analyze sequences of trade as dialogues about value. Carroll's accounts are organized in topical chapters about domestic furnishings, local trade, Atlantic trade, consumption, and preserving a legacy. Each chapter studies related transactions in the context of scholarship, yielding a case study showing the consumer revolution in action. This study complements quantitative social histories by examining a living network of trade and detailing the differentiated use of goods by people from all social ranks.

This dissertation discusses an important era of change in colonial Maryland. It studies the commercial accounts of a merchant and analyzes trade as dialogue about how people valued material items. It examines Carroll's role as an advocate for Catholic rights in the colony, showing him as a defiant figure who used consumption to assert his status and Catholic interests. It also details his contributions to a Catholic gentry faction in Maryland politics. It presents a close study of Carroll's local and trans-Atlantic business, to show how local trade, the slave trade, and the import trade worked. It demonstrates the lucrative quality of skilled accounting in managing commercial data and demonstrates the role of a merchant as a credit source in a society without banks. It discusses Carroll's consumer buying and spending, including his use of consumer goods as forms of payment, and his plans to educate an heir. In sum, this is a study of the commerce that provided opportunities for James Carroll and a study of material culture in colonial Maryland.

THE SWEETS OF INDEPENDENCE: A READING OF THE “JAMES CARROLL
DAYBOOK, 1714-21”

By

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Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Maryland, College Park, in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
2005

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Chapter 1 The Sweets of Independence

I. Overview

This dissertation is a reading of the “James Carroll Daybook,”¹ a journal of transactions that the colonial Maryland planter and merchant used between 1714 and 1721. The folio-sized, blank book with a hard-backed cover is one-hundred-twenty-nine pages in length, and each leaf contains entries written on both sides. Carroll arranged the numbered pages in facing pairs. The contents of the book are entirely handwritten and organized so that the left-hand page of each pair contains debts and the right-hand page credits. The dates in the book follow the old-style calendar in which the year began on March 25.² A daybook was a commercial ledger of accounts a merchant used to keep track of his balance with his customers by adding entries to each partner’s account to record their ongoing sequence of transactions. The entries making up each partner’s account balance across the book’s central spine. The book’s accounts are in a roughly chronological pattern with the most recent business toward the end of the book. An index at the end of the book lists its contents. In addition to records of loans and transactions, the book also contains lists of clothing, possessions, cattle, slaves and items bought. Pronoun usage throughout the book indicates that James Carroll himself wrote the

1. James Carroll, “James Carroll Daybook (1714-21)” Special Collections Division, Georgetown University Library, Washington, D.C. Folder 160-161, Oversize Box 1: Item 160.

2. For an explanation of this dating scheme, see: Mark M. Smith, “Culture, Commerce and Calendar Reform in Colonial America,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser., 55, no. 4 (1998): 557-584.

majority of the entries. Along with its financial records, the book also contains many random scraps of evidence from Carroll's life: a few notes written on scraps of paper are stuck in some of the pages, and tiny bits of chaff or hay lie in the central spine.

James Carroll was active in the commerce and politics of Maryland from about 1700 until his death in 1729. These were important years of change in Maryland's politics and economy, and this study seeks to explain both Carroll's contributions to events and how they affected him. The primary body of evidence used in this dissertation is Carroll's daybook, the only surviving volume of his business records, and it reveals a great deal about him, his associates, and their times, particularly how they used the market economy in networks of local and trans-Atlantic commerce. Carroll's daybook preserves a list of over two thousand commercial agreements made by people whose location and social rank reach across the Atlantic and from the elite of the British world to newly enslaved Africans. Taken together, the entries show what people wanted to buy and sell, what they valued, and how they paid. Most significantly, the daybook shows trade as an ongoing process of social interaction and assessing values. It preserves a glimpse of how a group of colonial people used the material culture of their day as they participated in commerce, and how James Carroll valued goods, services and people when he assigned values to them.

I have arranged the dissertation's seven chapters with an introductory chapter followed by three pairs of topically related chapters, each presenting a separate aspect of Carroll's career. The first pair, Chapters Two and Three, contrasts the events and style of Carroll's public actions and discusses what they tell of his political ambitions against the style of his private life and its suggestions of his intellectual interests. The second pair, Chapters Four and Five, studies how Carroll earned his wealth by contrasting two periods

in his life: the six-month period in 1715 when he made money as a planter, local merchant and tax collector; and the years 1718 and 1719 when he was engaged in large, trans-Atlantic ventures. The third pair, Chapters Six and Seven, contrasts how Carroll used the profits he earned. These chapters consider three major topics: how Carroll and others bought and earned clothing as the most desired consumer good, how Carroll managed his commerce and used possessions in the last decade of his life, and how he used possessions to determine the worthiness of his heirs. In all, this is a study of the economic opportunities that the market economy provided and of how James Carroll built a fortune.

This dissertation makes significant contributions to the scholarship on five topics of colonial society. Primarily, it traces how James Carroll pursued what he referred to as “the sweets of independence,” a level of wealth sufficient to protect him from the dangers of religion-based political change.³

The first contribution this study makes is as an examination of James Carroll as an advocate for the rights of Maryland’s Catholic gentry. Chapters Two and Three present a portrait of James Carroll as an historical figure by contrasting the style of his public and private actions. Chapter Two explores the religious and political networks that influenced the 1704 – 1716 period of the struggle among officials working to bring Maryland under closer Crown rule, local Protestant planters working to assert their own power over the

3. Charles Carroll of Annapolis wrote, “When my father came to the estate, which was nearly divided between him and his brother Daniel, he was but eighteen years of age. The experience of his relation James Carroll, by whose advice he suffered himself to be guided, was of singular service at that critical time of life – his guardian strongly urged the sweets of independence, and as a necessary means of attaining it, a well regulated economy. My father was convinced of the justness of this reasoning, and loving independence, practiced economy to be independent.” “A Lost Copy Book of Charles Carroll of Carrollton,” *Maryland Historical Magazine* 32 (1937): 207.

colony's government, and the Catholic gentry associated with Lord Baltimore seeking to re-establish their authority in the colony. James Carroll was active in this struggle, and yet historians have made only passing reference to him. This chapter uses historical sources and information from Carroll's daybook to show his contributions to these events more completely, and to show the sort of partisan he was by explaining how he, the Catholic gentry, and their allies asserted their claims for authority. Chapter Three discusses Carroll from a different perspective, using information from his daybook to describe his style of living in his home. This chapter analyzes his furnishings to identify the sort of social actions Carroll was equipped for and analyzes his books to identify his intellectual interests.

The second contribution of this dissertation is as a close study of Carroll's business on two levels, local and long-distance. Chapter Four discusses his local commerce as a plantation owner and politician during six months when Carroll earned a significant amount of money from the proprietary land system. While speeches, laws and suits showed the combative public face of a concurrent battle for power, James Carroll's daybook showed that politics was only one aspect of life and that rivals in politics could be partners in trade. Commerce bridged the gaps in religion and status, weaving all levels of society into a system of negotiated status enacted using consumer goods. Carroll's successful work over two decades demonstrated that commerce was an effective substitute to political office as a means of achieving and maintaining social prominence.

Chapter Five shows Carroll's trade on the trans-Atlantic scale. He had the skill to handle complex transactions in a trustworthy manner that made him an important go-between linking Maryland planters and London merchants. This chapter also shows a starker aspect of Carroll's economic world: his work as a slave trader. The details of a

1718 importation of over a hundred enslaved people presents a sharp contrast with the earlier discussions of Carroll's work as a political partisan and with his own style of living. Carroll advocated for protection from arbitrary governmental change, read religious and scientific books in the privacy of his home, but also participated in the era's human commerce. The slave venture presents a chilling contrast of a devoutly religious, highly educated intellectual who built a fortune, in part, through the systematic and sustained dehumanization of over a hundred other individuals. Throughout the entries recorded in his daybook, Carroll gave no indication that he considered his community of plantation workers or other Africans he imported to be human beings entitled to the same rights or opportunities he desired for himself. This disjuncture between his personal ideals and commercial action gives insight into his sharply divided thinking on the condition of indentured and enslaved people. Carroll treated his indentured servants as people bound to him by contract, but treated the enslaved people he owned and those he sold as property. His enslaved men and women were human, obligated to obey him and yet individuals who lived across an unbridgeable gulf of race and status.

The third significant contribution this dissertation makes to the literature of the colonial era is a discussion of the intellectual skills necessary to prosper in the Atlantic market. James Carroll was one of a few members of his extended family and surrounding society to build a fortune in trans-oceanic trade. His daybook and its many individual entries illustrate how the ability to keep accounts made him a reliable trade partner in a long-term, geographically diverse business. Local planters and London merchants trusted Carroll because his records were accurate. This study of his career illustrates that family, political, and religious links were important factors in his prosperity, but secondary to his intellectual ability to manage accounts.

Operating in an era with little hard currency and no central banks demanded that a merchant maintain relationships based on trust at home and across the ocean. Slow communications and shipments meant that months could pass between the time a deal originated and when it was completed. Further, it was difficult for a distant partner to know the terms and conditions of transactions that could either make or break a transaction. Finally, a merchant dealing on credit had to be a shrewd judge of his partners. With all this uncertainty, the one way to prosper in trade was by demonstrating the ability to translate commodities and finished goods into value, calculate and collect credit accounts, and keep accurate records.

James Carroll made a fortune in commerce because he could do all of these things. Ultimately, he had the ability to translate goods into values represented as numbers and the ability to manage numerical accounts of daunting complexity. The Atlantic market was a network of merchants using intellectual skills to earn wealth, and James Carroll's accounts preserve a first-hand account of the work of one of these men who could engineer prosperity for themselves and others by linking commodities and goods to markets.

This dissertation's fourth contribution, a study of Carroll's spending, is presented in Chapters Six and Seven, which examine his consumer buying and his use of goods as forms of payments to employees, servants, and enslaved men and women. The literature of the eighteenth-century consumer revolution serves as the intellectual foundation for this study, and this dissertation supports the assertion that the grounds for elite status were shifting during Carroll's career from a base in family and political ties to a system in which people demonstrated their status by owning admired goods and acting gracefully with them. Carroll's career shows how an expanding network of Atlantic trade and a new

emphasis on consumer goods created opportunities in which a political outcast could earn a fortune and display his wealth in a respectable manner in the face of a politically hostile society. Carroll's story is of a man who lost the major political battle of his career, but cleverly shifted his attention to the Atlantic market and recouped his social losses by changing from a partisan in a lost cause to a wealthy merchant.

The discussion of Carroll's participation in a consumption-based society shows a candid view of what a merchant and his customers valued. Rather than discussing values in the abstract, Carroll's daybook shows what people wanted to buy and what they would pay to acquire desired goods. Carroll's accounts are a valuable body of data that let today's readers see details of daily life in Maryland society when people from all walks of life were working to acquire consumer goods, such as clothing, that allowed them to display themselves in the best possible manner. An especially rich aspect of Carroll's accounts is the fact that people ranging from elite merchants to small planters, tradesmen, and enslaved men and women were buyers and sellers. All were anxious to improve their wardrobes, domestic furnishings, and stocks of tools to improve their appearance, better equip their homes, and enhance their capacity to generate wealth. Carroll and his trade partners were not just seeking more ease in living, however. The centrality of clothing as a trade item indicates that visible possessions proclaimed the respectability of the man or woman who owned them.

Chapter Seven discusses the last decade of Carroll's life to show a different aspect of a consumer society. It considers three aspects of Carroll's use of material culture in his last decade. Carroll used material culture to flaunt his defiant gentility before the Protestant elite. Second, he furnished an elegant home for himself while providing only the barest of material lives for the enslaved men and women who raised his crops and

livestock. Third, he used his commercial ability to manage the estates of relatives and to shape the education of his heirs. He set a high standard for his potential heirs by demanding that they acquire a Jesuit education in France. If they would have his goods, they must have the religious and intellectual training that he prescribed. Carroll's last decade shows how consumer goods gave him the power to assert his status in defiance and contrast with others and to use his wealth to control the lives of his heirs. Rather than just the stuff of social mobility, Carroll's consumer goods were tools through which he asserted his power with respect to other people.

The method of inquiry used throughout this dissertation is its fifth contribution to the scholarship of colonial Maryland. This study is distinct as an inductive study of the commercial accounts of a merchant and an analysis of them conducted by way of a dialogue between the daily facts of one life and the published history of colonial Maryland. In many cases, this study confirms the work of other studies, but it adds the vividness of people transacting relationships day-by-day. This immediacy preserves the contradictions and nuances that make the past foreign and yet compelling. It shows large patterns of political, cultural and economic change, but more importantly, it shows a group of individuals each working to make the best of his or her situation, primarily by acquiring clothing to present a better appearance. The importance of clothing and other goods indicates why a study of material culture is vital when examining this era. While larger changes in power and market were transforming colonial life, individuals were fulfilling their aspirations on a daily basis via consumer goods. This dissertation explains processes of acquisition and display as a group of individuals representing a broad spectrum of colonial Maryland society accomplished them.

James Carroll was born in Ireland around 1680. His grandfather, Daniel Carroll of Aghagurty, and his grandfather's cousin, Colonel Richard Grace, were leaders of a multi-generational Jacobite family that fought against Oliver Cromwell in Ireland in the 1650s, and later served the Stuarts by fighting in Spain. The Carrolls took up arms once again on behalf of James II, fighting in Ireland during the 1690s. After the Restoration, Grace had received a reward for his service to the Stuarts in the form of a large tract of land for himself and his relatives. James Carroll spent his formative years on this property.⁴

The history of Carroll's ancestors underscores the significance of land ownership and loyalty to Roman Catholic leaders in the family's story. The religious wars of the seventeenth century had a great impact on Irish land ownership. Oliver Cromwell's 1650s military offensive in Ireland, the restoration of the Stuarts to the British Crown in 1660, the pro-Catholic leanings of King James II in the 1680s and William III's conquest of Catholic Ireland in the 1690s all caused land holdings to be granted or seized on the basis of religious affiliation. Symbolically and actually, the Stuart dynastic family led the Catholic cause in Ireland throughout the period, and the Carrolls were loyal to them. As a result, their land holdings waxed and waned with the Stuart political fortunes.

As Catholic supporters of the Stuarts, the Carrolls were on the losing side in the long decades of warfare that culminated in the Battle of the Boyne and the fall of Limerick in 1691. The defeats left James Carroll as the inheritor of a proud military

4. For a detailed discussion of the history of the Carroll family in Ireland, see, Ronald Hoffman, in collaboration with Sally D. Mason, *Princes of Ireland, Planters of Maryland: a Carroll Saga, 1500-1782* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, by the University of North Carolina Press, 2000).

legacy, but a young man with few prospects in Ireland when he came of age near the end of the seventeenth century. If he would remain Catholic and build a fortune of his own, he would have to do so away from home and based on a career other than military service.⁵

As other relatives of his generation, Carroll chose to emigrate to Maryland and serve one of the most prominent Catholic families of the time, the Calverts. James's paternal uncle, Charles Carroll, the Settler, had been educated through the patronage of Richard Grace and had parlayed Grace's political connections to gain the post of Attorney for the Calverts in Maryland.⁶ James Carroll's daybook suggests that he was also well educated, and it, along with other Maryland records, demonstrates that he served his uncle and the Calvert interests in Maryland from 1700 until Charles Carroll's death in 1720.

James Carroll built a fortune on the proceeds of the office of Rent Roll Keeper through which he kept track of land ownership in Maryland for the Calverts and tallied the annual quitrents, or land taxes, which were an important part of their income from the colony.⁷ In addition, he later profited by associating with Charles Carroll in a slave-importing venture. Throughout his years in Maryland, James Carroll also made a profit by loaning money to his neighbors. Late in his life, he prospered as a commercial agent

5. Ibid., 51-59.

6. Ibid., 37-40.

7. Donnell MacClure Owings, *His Lordship's Patronage: Offices of Profit in Colonial Maryland* (Baltimore: The Maryland Historical Society, 1953), *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 662,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000662/html/> (Accessed 2005/04/01)

for the London merchant, Thomas Colmore. Through these means, he acquired large holdings in land, slaves, material goods and debts that amounted to over £2800 at his death in 1729.⁸

James Carroll wrote his daybook using the bookkeeping system pioneered by the Italian author Luca Pacioli and first published in English in 1510 by Hugh Oldcastle.⁹ A merchant using Pacioli's system kept three books: a waste-book, a journal and a ledger.¹⁰ He recorded daily business in the waste-book as it happened and transferred accounts and debts to the other volumes later. Carroll seems most likely to have used a two-book, simplified version of this system. His daybook was a combined waste book and journal. The varying penmanship evident in the book's accounts indicates that overseers, clerks and servants made entries in Carroll's absence from home or at his direction. In addition, various partners signed accounts, indicating that Carroll had his daybook ready at hand to record transactions as they occurred. The daybook follows Oldcastle's model of a journal, a book intended to contain little narrative in its brief entries for each partner. The rule of entry in a journal was one Carroll used closely. It stated that the merchant must balance each debt by a credit, and vice versa.¹¹

8. James Carroll, Inventory, Maryland State Archives, Anne Arundel County Records, 1729, Lib. 21, fo. 218 and Lib. 15, fo. 496.

9. A.C. Littleton, *Studies in the History of Accounting*, ed. B.S. Yamey, (Homewood, Illinois: Richard D. Irwin Co., 1956), 206.

10. Ibid., 211.

11. Ibid., 212.

Often, at the start of a series of several months of transactions, Carroll followed Oldcastle's instruction by recording an inventory of his debts and possessions.¹² He was not always consistent in doing this, though, and as a result, the daybook has periodic lists of small debts, property owned, cattle, possessions, enslaved people and land office accounts interspersed with daily transactions, but there is no consistent pattern. It is clear from entries in the daybook that Carroll also kept a ledger, which he referred to as Liber D and periodically moved debt totals to its pages. Unfortunately, this book no longer exists. The surviving document is a book that shows Carroll's trade as a process in action, although the terse entries beg a more complete narrative of the actions they record.

A daybook is like a snapshot of a commercial life, but one cannot accept its accuracy without testing it. It might reflect life in an inverse manner similar to a photographic negative. While a transparent view of past action would show action in its original context of importance, a daybook might do the opposite. Carroll might have noted exceptional or hard to remember transactions in detail in his book but left out others that were easier to remember. Over the centuries, these memories have been lost, along with almost all other traces of James Carroll's life. In addition, Carroll left no letters or other written accounts, besides his last will.¹³ Reading his daybook, then, reconstitutes a version of his commercial life, but other sources serve to test its evidence. Reading these accounts in context with the published scholarship of colonial Maryland

12. Ibid., 211.

13. James Carroll, Maryland State Archives, Anne Arundel County Wills, 1728, Box C, Folder 102. See also, Special Collections Division, Georgetown University Library, Washington, D.C., Box 25, Folder 6, Non-Jesuit Wills (1725-1850) Will (1728) of James Carroll of Fingaul, Anne Arundel County; Oversize Box 5: (95 C2).

constitutes a dialogue between past and present in which these accounts represent a vivid though partial view of life as James Carroll lived it during this time and, in turn, support a more discerning appreciation of today's scholarship.

The study of James Carroll's career opens a window onto Maryland society in a time of change. The years recorded in his daybook, 1714-21, were an important period of political, social, and economic transition in the colony. Politically, a locally dominated Assembly first flexed its muscle and forged an alliance with appointed royal governors administering the colony at the political expense of the formerly favored Catholic friends of the proprietor. Socially, the change in labor from white indentured servants to African slaves, begun in the 1690s, continued in earnest increasing the tobacco production dominance of those who could afford the expensive labor and profits for those who imported them. Economically, the return of peace in 1714 revived the market for tobacco and improved the climate for trade in Maryland. These changes coincided with a shift of focus in Carroll's career. James Carroll was a Catholic clinging to the political coattails of the colony's proprietor. He lost his lucrative position when the colony came under Protestant control, and by 1718, he, along with all of Maryland's Catholics, lost the right to vote. These losses spurred him to take advantage of other economic opportunities. In the next few years, he prospered as a slave trader and merchant, achieving an effective substitute to political office as a path to fortune.

Carroll's accounts show more than his climb to wealth, however. While he enjoyed the benefits of the Atlantic economy, his accounts also give significant insight into the lives of its victims. The enslaved men and women he owned and imported figure in his daybook as a stark contrast to his story of wealth and privilege. At the time of Carroll's career, Maryland's economy was prospering as tobacco planters shipped vast

harvests to England. Their success in the tobacco trade led to a social transformation, as elite white planters enjoyed an elevation of status and enslaved Africans endured dehumanizing conditions of life and work. Carroll's accounts itemized his rise in status, but ironically, also chronicled the dehumanizing conditions of market and work that he imposed on his slaves. Overall, reading Carroll's daybook strips any romantic notions from the story of Maryland's colonial society, but also gives a candid look at life in terms a merchant valued.

II. Method

The assumption that how people use things reflects their cultural values was important to this dissertation. When I studied James Carroll's accounts, for example, I considered his business, domestic and social life as consisting of actions involving the use of material objects or other property. I was interested in analyzing how he and others acted. Although this dissertation does not reflect the full range of thinking in the field of performance theory, sources grounded in that field of study, as it has been applied to material culture studies, inspired the design of the analytical approach I used in this dissertation. In this section of the dissertation, I will explain the analytical approach I used and outline its intellectual genealogy.

This dissertation follows the lead of recent scholarship in the field of material culture studies that has worked to understand the social and cultural context in which people used objects.¹⁴ It is distinct from a work of history in its focusing on the use of

14. This dissertation studies material culture in the spirit identified by Anne Smart Martin in her essay "Material Things and Cultural Meanings: Notes on the Study

things to reconstitute the set of social, economic, and cultural assumptions that shaped their use. The value of this study is that it examines an important aspect of colonial life: how buying, selling and owning goods provided people with the opportunity to negotiate their status with respect to their peers. James Carroll is the work's primary focus, but he interacted with individuals of virtually every social level in Maryland, and his commerce shows a consistent pattern of object use; people worked to become better dressed and have more household equipment. This work coheres with scholarship on the emergence of the ideal of refinement in manners and dress in this era, but it also differs in two ways. Rather than seeking social mobility and assimilation, Carroll worked to defy the politically powerful people on his economic level in the colony, and second, individuals of every rank worked to present themselves advantageously, primarily through their clothing.

The most important intellectual foundation for the interpretations made in this work has been the scholarship that has reconstituted the mental or cultural template that guided historical action. A brief review of selected works in this literature presents the key concepts incorporated in this dissertation.

This reading of James Carroll's accounts draws upon an approach to the study of culture that had its origins in work by Goffman; Berger and Luckman; and Geertz and

of Early American Material Culture." Describing contemporary work in the field, Martin observed that "students of material culture today increasingly reach across the gap by recasting their inquiries in cultural terms... Material things are not just products or reflections of culture; they are embedded in culture; they are symbolic and communicative." Anne Smart Martin, "Material Things and Cultural Meanings: Notes on the Study of Early American Material Culture," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser., 53, no. 1(1996): 6.

was given shape by later thinkers such as Dell Upton, Mary Corbin Sies, and Anne Smart Martin who applied their insights to material culture studies.

The psychologist Erving Goffman's best-known work, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*,¹⁵ asserted that human interaction was essentially theatrical in nature. He described action as having a “promissory character,” meaning that witnesses had to accept what they were seeing on faith until they knew the full significance of any action. As social beings primarily known through action, people, Goffman argued, were keenly interested in controlling how others perceived them and worked to manage appearances. He gave particular attention in his work to the various aspects of performance and explained how individuals managed their speech and the settings of their actions. Goffman argued that individuals set stages for everyday life, divided performance spaces into front stage (public) and back stage (private) regions, and acted appropriately in each venue. Goffman's work was very influential to me as I considered Carroll's extensive wardrobe and assessed the furnishings he had in his house. Carroll's words have been lost to time, but the costume he wore and stage he set in his home proclaim some sense of who he was or at least the sort of man he wished to have others see.

Peter Berger and Thomas Luckman were important to this work as the authors of an influential work in the sociology of knowledge entitled *The Social Construction of Reality*.¹⁶ Two key ideas from Berger and Luckman's thought that were important to reconstituting life from possessions were typification and legitimization. Social life

15. Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1959).

16. Peter L. Berger, and Thomas Luckman, *The Social Construction of Reality* (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1966).

conveys legitimacy upon some actions and concepts and not others. Similarly, daily interactions clothe some actions and concepts with recognizable and expected qualities in terms of which people perceive them. As expectations built up through a shared history, these collaborative ways of validating and seeing become the institutions by which a social group communicates and preserves meaning. Groups of people reach tacit consensus over time, in terms of which they praise certain actions, ideas, and fabrications while condemning others. Overall, these shared perceptions are the producers of what people in that group know as reality. Individuals use these same perceptions to know and express who they are in terms of an identity. Through a life of acting and reflecting on action, each individual acquires knowledge, lives his social life, and refines his performance of social action.¹⁷ As Burger and Luckman describe the process, “the actor identifies with the socially objectivated typifications of conduct in acting, but reestablishes distance from them as he reflects about his conduct afterward.”¹⁸ The implication of Berger and Luckman’s work for this study is that “reality” is a local, limited product of a particular body of typifications and institutions of legitimization situated in a specific culture. Studying the possessions and commerce of a merchant gives some access to his social life and culture, by analyzing the trappings that outfitted the reality he knew.

The process of reading entries in Carroll’s daybook, as influenced by Berger and Luckman, is inductive, starting with deciphering notations about what one man owned, bought, or sold and then considering what various agreements about value he achieved

17. Ibid., 93.

18. Ibid., 73.

with other people tell about their society. The reading recreates a past dialogue; it then uses a second dialogue, between the conclusions drawn and those made by other scholars to construct hypotheses about the reality in which Carroll's career took place.

The writing of anthropologist Clifford Geertz was important to this study because of his mandate that scholars analyze each culture in its own terms. The classic statement of Geertz's interpretive strategy was his essay entitled "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture."¹⁹ In Geertz's view, culture consisted, "of socially established structures of meaning in terms of which people do such things as signal conspiracies and join them or perceive insults and answer them..." Geertz considered man, "an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun..." and the work of an anthropologist to be the explication of the logic evident in their patterns. According to Geertz, the analysis of culture yielded what he termed a "thick description" of social action and discourse, an explanation of it within the subjective ordering systems of the actors.²⁰

Historian Rhys Isaac brought the Geertzian ethnographic technique to historical inquiry in his study entitled *The Transformation of Virginia*.²¹ Explaining his approach in a chapter entitled, "Ethnographic Method in History: An Action Approach," Isaac presented a series of four principles. The first was that society is knowable as a drama

19. Clifford Geertz, "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture" in *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973).

20. Ibid., 26, 37.

21. Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va., by University of North Carolina Press, 1982).

enacted by people. The second principle was that recurring patterns in accounts or narratives of social actions show people acting in terms of accepted metaphors relevant to their society. The third principle was that historical action could be understood only in the particular cultural context in which the actors' metaphors had shared meaning. The fourth principle was that reading the dramatic action, settings, props, costumes, and roles used to communicate relationships of power and authority supports an interpretation of the past.²²

This dissertation did not have access to enough narrative information to apply Isaac's technique in full. The main work of this dissertation was identifying recurring patterns in the transactions listed in Carroll's daybook. Doing so made it clear that visual presentation through dress and oral presentation, enacted by means of agreements based in trust, was of vital importance to Carroll and his trade partners and served to communicate status. These commercial records tell about some of what people had, what they wanted, and how they bartered service to acquire credit, goods, and service. Studying the daybook allowed for the reconstruction of a partial, but insightful view of the social drama of daily life in which Carroll, and others, acquired costumes and set a domestic stage. This study shows the desire for and use of consumer goods, but stops short of a broader social or cultural interpretation of the actors' world.

James Carroll lived in an era when an unprecedented number of people in the British world had an opportunity to participate in a consumer economy. While buying and using items was not new, the early eighteenth century witnessed the emergence of a new consensus of how goods might display social status. In time, owning fashionable

22. Ibid., 343-346.

goods and using them admirably would be essential to an ever-widely accepted concept of gentility. Over the course of a generation, a new set of consumer values spread from the upper to lower ranks of society, a change constituting a new way of ordering experience. Looking at this pattern of change as reflected in a Maryland merchant's accounts means starting with the entries and explicating the subjective process by which the people named in his daybook assigned or construed meaning on work, credit, and things.

The absence of narrative in Carroll's daybook presented the challenge of making a narrative from lists of names and numbers. The analysis done in this dissertation proceeded by finding coherences in a body of mute evidence. Once patterns emerged in the daybook, I asked what the related transactions meant to the people involved. This process of interpretation was indebted to architectural historian Dell Upton's assertion that the significance of a landscape or building was in the meaning construed on it by various groups of people who used it. Upton's reading of meaning from silent material evidence presented in his essay, "White and Black Landscapes in the Colonial South," for example, pointed out how one might analyze the traces of past action preserved in landscapes by suspending historically-based aesthetic conventions and considering the subjective qualities of a landscape's arrangement and shape. Upton explained how two distinct cultural groups, masters and enslaved people, construed separate structures of meaning on the same places. Drawing on the concept of a processional landscape he also applied to the study of Virginia church buildings in his book, *Holy Things and Profane*, Upton argued that for whites, the plantation was laid out as a hierarchically arranged space centered on the planter's house. He described the black landscape, by contrast, as the, "Slaves' response as audience of the planter's landscape," which they resisted and

undercut. According to Upton, blacks construed their own meaning on the land, ordering it to the shape of their culture and lives by defining their own paths across it and organizing it in mental templates according to their own hierarchy of meaningful structures.²³ While an account book did not present a landscape though which people moved, it presented a sequence of moments when people agreed to provide goods or service in return for payment of various types. In each transaction, buyer and seller construed worth on an item, and their agreement reflected a system of values in which their minds met. Considering many such transactions offers a way to identify the shared or parallel values underlying the buying and selling by seeking how the transactions might have made sense to the people involved in them.

Building a narrative from the transactions recorded in the daybook involved linking individual entries into a story. The scholarship of a second architectural historian, Mary Corbin Sies, was especially instrumental to this work by suggesting a practical way of conducting an inquiry into actions not recorded in a narrative form. Sies mastered the challenge of reading suburban houses as material culture evidence in her dissertation and a related essay.²⁴ She did so by studying suburban houses as

23. Dell Upton, "White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth-Century Va." *Places*, 2, no. 2, (1985): 59-72 and Dell Upton, *Holy Things and Profane: Anglican Parish Churches in Colonial Virginia* (New York: The Architectural History Foundation; MIT Press, 1986).

24. Mary Corbin Sies, "American Country House Architecture in Context: The Suburban Ideal of Living in the East and Midwest, 1877 – 1917" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1987) and "Toward a Performance Theory of the Suburban Ideal, 1877-1917," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture*, IV, ed. Thomas Carter and Bernard L. Herman, (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press for the Vernacular Architecture Forum, 1991) 197-207.

Sies asserted in her dissertation that her object of study was not the aesthetic qualities of houses as historical artifacts, but the recovery of the community of discourse in which house designs were developed. As she stated in her dissertation, "the

ethnographic sources that could be “interviewed” to extract the culturally based pattern of logic that informed their design. She demonstrated that the meaning of the houses was not in their mathematical form or decorative conventions, but in the needs that the houses addressed for those who designed, inhabited, or used them. She argued that the logic evident in the design of suburban houses arose from the cultural values of the day rather than from purely aesthetic considerations, and she delineated seven cultural principles evident from reading suburban houses of the early twentieth century. Sies’s reading of cultural principles from houses was akin to Geertz’s pointing out the hierarchy of meaning structures apparent in cultural action, but she added the clarity of articulating clear rules of behavior to which the actions point. The application of her thinking to this reading of Carroll’s daybook is the appropriation of her concepts of “interviewing” inanimate objects by reconstituting the discourse from which they took shape and of identifying a concise set of principles as an organizing concept evident in the discourse. In each chapter of this dissertation, I have considered a variety of entries from the daybook with an eye to identifying the key principles at work. I have read Carroll’s daybook seeking the logic underlying transactions as a body of discourse taking place between buyers and sellers as they enacted an ongoing process of valuing and exchanging items and money.

An account book is a laconic source of information at best. The entries are hard to read and not arranged chronologically. Carroll used several types of currency and

community of discourse constitutes the social context within which the design of the suburban built environment can be more thoroughly understood.” (14) She described her analytical process as, “I have tried to allow the buildings and the communities who designed them to speak for themselves. My aim has been to recover so far as is possible the meanings that the suburban built environment held for those who created it and originally resided within its boundaries.” (20).

financial instruments,²⁵ and the value of various items was far different from the values of today. The first step in the process of reading such a work is to reconstitute accounts into a chronologically arranged narrative. The second step is to “interview” the participants by asking what each transaction promised to its enactors. The third is to formulate hypotheses about the world of the people recorded in the book. Much of the original meaning of Carroll’s account has been lost to time, but I used this analytical process looking for guiding principles or rules that organized the seemingly endless sequences of happenings into logical patterns of commerce and everyday living followed by Carroll and his partners. My goal in this work was to learn something about Carroll and the other names in his daybook, to come to know them as people and their time as a past world seen close-up.

25. Carroll’s daybook lists transactions involving a variety of exchange media. Most entries are listed in Maryland pounds, a local currency less valuable than pounds sterling. Other entries are explicitly noted as being for pounds sterling. A great deal of Carroll’s local trade was in tobacco notes, promissory notes redeemable in pounds of tobacco. In addition, Carroll accepted a variety of notes at both first and second hand. These were promises to pay redeemable upon demand. Carroll also exchanged a type of Spanish coin, called a pistole, which circulated in the colony. The soundest medium of exchange, however, was the bill of exchange on a London merchant. Historian Edward C. Papenfuse explained a bill of exchange in these terms: “The concentration of Maryland imports and exports in the hands of London merchants placed these merchants in an important position within the structure of the Maryland economy. Those who sold tobacco in London became the principal middlemen in the handling of goods imported into the colony and bills of exchange drawn on London merchants were eagerly sought after as a medium of exchange.

Maryland merchants generally paid their London suppliers in bills of exchange, which were drafts drawn on merchants in London to be paid at a certain time, usually in thirty, sixty, or ninety days. If he did not, the bill was protested and returned to the person to whom the money was supposed to be paid. He, in turn, sent the bill back to the Maryland merchant for prosecution of the drawer, adding the charges of the protest. It was a process not unlike a modern checking account, except that the account was with a merchant rather than a bank and payment could be demanded only on the expiration of the period of time stated on the bill.” Edward C. Papenfuse, *In Pursuit of Profit: The Annapolis Merchants in the Era of the American Revolution 1763 – 1805* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), 36-37.

Applying an analytical technique derived from the sources reviewed in this section of the dissertation to the reading of a merchant's daybook facilitated my conducting a material culture inquiry into the significance of goods that no longer exist. This dissertation, then, is not a study of objects in themselves, but one that seeks to identify the cultural context in which the everyday items listed in Carroll's daybook were embedded and within which they had meaning to those who agreed about their value.

III. Scholarly Context

I have situated the entries in James Carroll's daybook in their historical context by reading several types of histories of eighteenth-century life. Carroll conducted a wide-ranging commerce that involved him in politics, loaning money, selling consumer goods, importing slaves, running a plantation, and advocating for Catholic rights. Acknowledging all the debts owed to historians who have written on these topics is impossible. It is important, though, to identify the particularly useful works underlying this study and to distinguish the approach undertaken in this dissertation.

This dissertation is a contribution to the scholarship of the emergence of the consumer market in the eighteenth century. The quest to explain this important cultural change in the Western world has absorbed historians for almost a century. The German historian, Max Weber, launched the discussion early in the twentieth century through his classic study, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*.²⁶ Weber cited cultural change stemming from the Reformation as the key to understanding the emergence of a

26. Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism; New Introduction And Translation* by Stephen Kalberg (Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2001).

capitalist way of life. Reconciling this classic statement of the Protestant ethic as the underpinning of capitalistic society with today's fully-developed world of mass-marketing and consumption has been a driving force in the recent American Studies and historical scholarship on material objects, raising the question of when and why the transformation from a pre-capitalist to a capitalist ethic occurred. Questioning Weber's assertion of Protestantism as the engine of cultural change has invited prolonged analysis and spurred developments in the literature of the discipline. The challenge of explaining the emergence of a modern, consumer world by wrestling with questions of when and how object use reflected the impact of a new set of cultural rules has attracted many leading scholars in American Studies and has contributed to a new understanding of the cultural roles of material objects in American life.

Works that have tackled the study of the emergence of consumer society have exerted an enormous influence in the shaping of this dissertation. The studies have presented the topic from one of two sides: either proposing an unprecedented supply of goods or a new demand for them as the catalyst of change. Although British authors wrote many of the most influential books on the supply side - including John Brewer, Neil McKendrick and J.H. Plumb²⁷ - and discussed British topics, these studies demonstrated an assertion that unprecedented supplies of goods later coupled with advertising triggered the transformation of eighteenth-century cultural life on both sides of the Atlantic.

27. Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J.H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-century England* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982). John Brewer, and Roy Porter, ed. *Consumption and the World of Goods* (New York and London: Routledge, 1993).

Examining the topic of consumption from the demand side has also been the topic of many important works of recent scholarship. British scholar Colin Campbell, for example, asked why Weber's pious Protestants would desire the ostentatious goods offered by merchants.²⁸ Campbell argued that a Romantic spirit of hedonism motivated Weber's middling sort Protestants to purchase goods that offered tasteful and sensitive pleasures in keeping with their religious piety. Far from emulating the aristocrats, who sought pleasure in accord with a separate principle, the eighteenth-century British middling sort people became consumers in pursuit of products that ratified their superior taste "as a sign of moral and spiritual worth."²⁹ This conclusion is consistent with my interpretation of James Carroll's desire to own consumer goods. The assertion of gentility and elite status seemed especially important to a Catholic man in a politically dubious position in the colony. Could his display of his gentility compensate for loss of political status and the frustration of the quest for restored status? His daybook and probate inventory suggest that the answer was yes.

Four studies using American evidence to explore the topic of a new demand for consumer goods that were influential in shaping this dissertation were Anne Smart Martin's "Buying into the World of Goods: Eighteenth-century Consumerism and the Retail Trade from London to the Virginia Frontier," Barbara G. Carson's *Ambitious Appetites: Dining Behavior and Patterns of Consumption in Federal Washington*, Richard Bushman's *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* and Cary Carson's "Why Demand?." Each of these works used a distinct body of evidence to argue

28. Colin Campbell, *The Romantic Spirit of Modern Consumerism* (London: Basil Blackwell, 1987).

29. Ibid., 205.

that significant cultural change was happening during Carroll's lifetime. New and increased supplies of consumer goods, including tea, china, and textiles, sparked opportunities for trade, but the desire to use these goods to advantage in social life sustained a sweeping cultural reorientation placing a heightened importance on using consumer goods gracefully.³⁰

Martin drew upon a wealth of evidence to explain the changes in material life that made the eighteenth century an era when "many structural and intellectual elements of 'modern' life came together" in English and American society. Martin argued that England developed from a "prototypical landscape of many villages" in which houses were small, poorly constructed, and without windows or chimneys. In this era, the first priority in consumer spending was on buying a warm, decorated bed covered with hangings for warmth and privacy. It was a time in which consumers spent half of their disposable wealth on a bed, extra linens, brass, and pewter.

Martin argued that by the end of the seventeenth-century, though, houses were warmer, drier and better built, and people sought to improve the number and quantity of their household possessions by acquiring new types of goods, including more and better cooking equipment, better beds and blankets, candlesticks, and silver plate. By the 1740s and 50s, an apparent interest in gentility or sociability had diffused from the gentry to the

30. Ann Smart Martin, "Buying into the World of Goods: Eighteenth-century Consumerism and the Retail Trade from London to the Virginia Frontier" (Ph.D. diss., The College of William and Mary, 1993). Barbara G. Carson, *Ambitious Appetites: Dining Behavior and Patterns of Consumption in Federal Washington* (New York: The American Institute of Architects Press, 1990). Richard L. Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York: Knopf, 1992). Cary Carson, "Why Demand" in Cary Carson, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert, ed., *Of Consuming Interests: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century* (Charlottesville: Published for the United States Capitol Historical Society by the University Press of Virginia, 1994).

middling ranks of society, and consumers purchased more elaborate equipment for dining, drinking tea and seating visitors.

Martin asserted that a critical element in this social change was a vast increase in the number of retail shops between 1688 and 1730 that sold more kinds of items at fixed prices. The result of this emerging landscape of commercial enticement where shops and newspapers advertised desired items was a rapidly diffused interest in owning the latest fashions in clothing, knowing the latest style of dress, owning a collection of china, and possessing respected household furnishings. The new level of consumer desire spread from London to the provincial towns and on to the far reaches of the colonies prompting continued growth in the numbers of shops and an ever-growing population of shoppers.

Martin explained that for a century after its first introduction, a boundless enthusiasm for drinking tea and a continually growing association of tea drinking with social propriety was at the epicenter of the social changes she described. Over the course of a century, people of all social ranks became tea drinkers, bought items to facilitate their social enjoyment of the beverage, and came to view the opportunity to drink tea as an important aspect of their lives.

The result of the eighteenth-century social changes Martin studied included the rise of a metropolitan culture enacted among consumers by their owning fashionable consumer goods and taking care to use them properly, a heightened role of shops as the hubs of cultural life, and great economic opportunities for the managers of commercial information throughout the British world.³¹

Martin described the result of this era of cultural change succinctly by noting:

31. Martin, “Buying into the World of Goods,” 35-38, 104-108, 164-181.

“Consumerism in the form of courtly behavior and metropolitan culture thus had tremendous social impact, as elites began to pull away from traditional social relationships with their less wealthy rural neighbors. Newly sensitized to ‘civilized’ manners, they were less willing to share the excitement of a bull baiting or cockfight with those beneath. One result was an increase in polarization as the gentry and upper middle ranks detached themselves from laborers and small farmers. Moving into the great tradition transmitted by university education and recognizable by ritualized manners, they closed ranks behind newly-constructed doors to seal off popular traditions of oral culture, symbolism, magic, and superstition.”³²

In many ways, Martin was describing the context of James Carroll’s career. It is clear from a reading of his daybook that there was not just division between gentry and rustic sensibility, but a hierarchy of gradations into which one fit by virtue of education, dress, access to news about fashion, manners, and possession of the equipment needed for the graceful conduct of a wide range of social actions. Carroll made the best of his prospects through his consumer buying. He invested a great deal of money in clothing, and as he prospered, he invested heavily in fashionable consumer goods that added visual splendor to many aspects of his social life. In addition, while Carroll was never a fully-fledged shopkeeper, he did import and sell a wide range of consumer goods. In sum, he both profited from the emerging consumer market and used it to refashion himself after 1716, when his political star had dimmed.

Although Barbara Carson’s study of nineteenth-century etiquette discussed social action occurring outside the dates considered in this dissertation, her analysis of the history of meal taking was instructive, explaining the evolution of dining manners from medieval times to the nineteenth century, and the evolution of tableware in the same

32. Ibid.,” 114.

period.³³ Carson's work was of great value in my reading of Carroll's daybook by suggesting ways to analyze the lists of tableware he made at two points in his life. Contrasting how James Carroll was equipped to dine in 1715 with the table settings used by his more socially active brother-in-law, Thomas Macnemara, and the stock of tableware Carroll owned in 1729, demonstrated that he was equipped to set a far more elegant table after 1715. Following the lead of Carson's scholarship on changes in tableware in the nineteenth century, I saw an important change in Carroll's dining equipment that corresponded with his emergence as an Atlantic merchant.

Richard Bushman's scholarship was of great value in pointing out the emergence of the idea of "refinement" as the central clue to understanding consumption in eighteenth-century America. He examined prescriptive literature and evidence of its use to identify fundamental changes in how colonial figures presented themselves to others and incorporated consumer goods in the process. He demonstrated that individuals learned and practiced genteel performances to help themselves ascend the social ladder. His insight into colonial society introduced a notion of social mobility, but not one directly tied to wealth. Certainly owning the right things was important, but having the instruction and time to practice arranging the social equipment essential to an admirable performance of a social ritual was more important.

The study of individual buyers undertaken in this dissertation adds an important perspective to the idea that a desire for social mobility spurred consumption. True, the supply of goods increased in the eighteenth century, but their greater availability meant that gaining acceptance among the gentry demanded more than merely possessing

33. Barbara Carson, 59-73.

imported goods: a person also had to know how to use them gracefully. It was clear from James Carroll's wardrobe throughout his career and from the dining equipment he owned late in his life that he was very attentive to how others perceived him and that he worked to present himself in a graceful manner.

Carroll's daybook suggests that the story of wealthy shoppers buying fashionable clothing and performing social rituals gracefully was far from the whole story of eighteenth-century consumption, however. Consumer goods were useful to people of different social strata for different reasons and in different ways. James Carroll acquired and inventoried a large wardrobe along with a great deal of china, forks, and knives. His doing so illustrated the importance he placed on the graceful performance with consumer goods as a sign of gentility. To him, it was important to own multiple items of visible clothing, such as shirts and stockings, and own a set of tableware that required the knowledge of elaborate manners for proper use. Below his level, however, Carroll's daybook presents less evidence of graceful manners, but clear evidence of individuals who desired to use clothing to show themselves to advantage. Carroll's middling-level overseers, for example, worked for him to obtain varied wardrobes although made up of items that were less numerous and not as fine as his. His poor farm workers, who were still lower on the social ladder, worked to own a single glass or a single good suit. These members of lower social orders could not aspire to own enough finery or learn the manners required from a person of gentry status, but they were motivated to buy consumer goods.

Their differentiated buying demonstrated that people on a wide range of social and economic levels were consumers clothing themselves to advantage. This suggests that looking better than others of one's rank mattered, even if a person and his peers had

neither the training nor enough goods to perform social action gracefully. The engine driving social change was not only a wish for social mobility in an absolute sense, but that people on all social levels wanted respect from their peers, and imported consumer goods were essential to their earning it by achieving a comparative level of social mobility.

Historian Cary Carson's essay, entitled "Why Demand?" was influential in explaining the emergence of consumerism in a broader geographic context, obviating the question of whether Carroll acted in a style consistent with a Maryland or an Irish consumer. Carson drew upon a wide range of material culture, archaeological and social history data to argue persuasively that demand transformed the cultural meaning of objects throughout the Western world in the years between 1650 and 1750. Carson pointed to geographic mobility as the key factor in breaking down a pre-consumption cultural order. In the earlier system of values, material goods signified inherited or role-derived social status. The store of available goods, the styles, and the status hierarchies were subject to constant revision in an age of long-distance trade and increased migration.³⁴ Carson's essay was useful to this study by enlarging the topic of the use of things to its full Western significance. James Carroll arrived with a desire for consumer goods and used them effectively. The significance of an expanding world of trade in the early eighteenth-century was that he could have done the same in any place where British cultural values prevailed. The consumer revolution was not a Maryland or an American phenomenon, but a network of commerce centered on London that created new uses for consumer goods throughout the many ports it encompassed.

34. Cary Carson, 532.

If the ability to change fortune, place, and status was evident from Carroll's accounts, so too was the iron law that securing the opportunity to manage accounts and having the knowledge of how to do so was the true path to prominence in the world of the market. The consumer revolution was also an intellectual revolution empowering those with the literacy and numeracy to keep accurate accounts to achieve new levels of social status.³⁵ Seen in this context, a daybook is not just a business record, but also a source that recorded how an individual used material goods in his pursuit of cultural goals.³⁶

35. David Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 103. "Central to the work of each clerk and, through it, the flow of oceanic business was orderly communication. Since writing was the usual way of intercourse of merchants with one another and with overseas clients, the spinning out of a very long letter was the common knack of the successful London factor, and was certainly the daily lot of his clerk." "Letters of trade written with judgment, and language suitable to the subject, beget respect and confidence. In fact, epistolary correspondence and accounting were the principal subjects of education for apprentices in eighteenth-century business. Since contemporaries realized that the nature of foreign commerce was 'variable and fluctuating, the life of a trader was driven by a need to express oneself in method and regularity."

The necessity of a merchant's possessing the requisite intellectual skills and regular habits of communication were also underscored in London merchant Gilbert Higgonson's assessment of one of his firm's Maryland agents, John Ouchterlong. Writing in 1718, Higgonson praised Ouchterlong by saying that as he "thoroughly understands the purchase business and keeps accounts regular, we intend to keep him employed provided he will come to England." Higgonson and Bird Letter Book, The Library of Congress, Letter # 1721.

36. Hancock, 46-47. James Carroll was not a singular example of a man who abandoned the bleak prospects he faced at home and set out to build a new fortune on the frontier. The emerging Atlantic market created the opportunity for many men to do so. In fact, his experience was strikingly similar to that of the Scots merchant Augustus Boyd, one of several merchants whose careers David Hancock discussed in *Citizens of the World*. Writing of Boyd, Hancock stated, "By the time Augustus Boyd came of age at the turn of the century, his family had turned against the Crown, reconverted to Catholicism, experienced financial hardship, and dispersed in order to make ends meet. The 3rd Earl (Boyd's father was the illegitimate son of the 2nd Earl's brother.) supported James II and his son in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and the 4th

While intelligence and acumen might have helped Carroll rise in the world, buying consumer goods and engaging in commerce also gave him a way to prevent the opposite from occurring: he could resist relegation to a lower status in the colony. Carroll expressed his resistance through a mixture of material values, his advocacy of Catholic interests, his political opposition to the authority of royal governors, and his purchasing the consumer goods that would command respect. Robbed of all economic prospects in Ireland by the wars of his youth, with his family property confiscated, and barred from the professions of law or medicine by the anti-Catholic legislation of the 1690s, James Carroll was in Maryland to build a new fortune from scratch, and the market gave him the opportunity to do so.

In addition to the works cited above, I have analyzed Carroll's life as a Maryland merchant and a consumer in light of the important work in social history conducted by scholars working in the collections of the Maryland State Archives and other institutions. This scholarship has contributed important insights to the study of colonial life by analyzing the data contained in probate records. The historians of this field whose work have been the most important to this dissertation are Lois G. Carr, Lorena S. Walsh, and

Earl fought alongside the Young Pretender in the '45 Rebellion, for which he lost his head. Economically, the Boyds were unable to recoup their losses in Scotland or Ireland, where many moved. Late seventeenth – and early eighteenth-century Ireland, where Augustus was born, was no place for an ambitious young man... Young Boyd found his opportunities limited.

Boyd turned to the new world, in his case to the eastern Caribbean... Before ten years had passed, he had rented forty-nine slaves and a medium-sized plantation in the English Quarter of the island and begun cultivating sugar; within twenty years, by 1718, he had acquired another 150-acre plantation in what had been the French Quarter, struck up a trade supplying planters in neighboring islands, and married the only daughter of a prominent planter and the Speaker of the Assembly... Yet, despite these achievements, Augustus Boyd's rise was blocked by powerful English individuals who monopolized all lucrative and powerful governmental offices."

Gloria Main. They have brought the full range of Maryland society into view and presented a much better informed view of life in the colony than those based on other types of evidence.

Social historians of their school analyze probate documents to construct statistical models of the possessions and lives of colonial people who left no or very little textual evidence behind. The questions they ask of the past are akin to those asked by scholars working with other types of evidence, but the strength of their method is the broad net they cast over historical action in their data gathering. The weakness is that there are few individuals in their studies. They deal in the data that yields compelling explanations of colonial life, but not stories of individual colonial lives.

Social historians have been central participants in the scholarship of the emerging consumer society of the eighteenth century. In their 1988 essay, “The Standard of Living in the Colonial Chesapeake,” for example, Carr and Walsh used statistics to point out how, “The idea of what was a desirable lifestyle changed in both England and her colonies over the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and affected contemporary perceptions of what the standard of living should be.”³⁷ They dated this change to the years after 1730 and linked it to the emergence of a middling level of colonists anxious to buy fashionable items and stores well stocked to serve them. Continuing the discussion in a co-authored essay entitled “Changing Lifestyles and Consumer Behavior in the Colonial Chesapeake,” Carr and Walsh concluded that the changes in colonial society were associated with a the new cultural meaning of consumer goods which sustained the

37. Lois G Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, “The Standard of Living in the Colonial Chesapeake,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser., 45, no. 1 (1988): 135-159.

desire triggered by the increased supply of them, a new cultural goal they summed up with the word “gentility.”³⁸

The single most useful work of Maryland social history for this project has been Gloria L. Main’s *Tobacco Colony*.³⁹ Main used the study of probate records to support a study of Maryland during the last decades of the seventeenth century and first decades of the eighteenth century. The strengths of Main’s work are many, but this project owes a particular debt to her explanation of the shift from servant to enslaved labor and her discussion of what people on various levels of society owned. Main provided a useful set of generalizations and specific instances that provided a context in which James Carroll’s lists and actions had meaning.

The analysis done in this study is a dialogue between the entries in a daybook and scholarship. Social histories of Maryland were the most important contributors to the balance of original and published work. This dissertation informs the work of social historians as an important case study that shows processes of acquisition in action. A weakness of social history is that it uses numbers derived from the end of life, final tallies of goods. It does not speak to how individuals made choices with respect to consumer goods as an ongoing process. Carroll’s daybook, addresses these issues quite well and complements the work social historians have done by showing individuals acting daily to buy and sell a wide range of possessions. Rather than primarily seeing the goods people owned, one can see the deals and strategies through which they acquired them.

38. Carr and Walsh in Carson et al., 60 – 61.

39. Gloria L. Main, *Tobacco Colony: Life in Early Maryland, 1650-1720* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982).

Carroll's successful trading in land, goods and money made him an active participant in a market economy, but his use of consumer goods was complex. He did not acquire goods only to emulate the elite, but also to resist them. By owning the consumer goods that the elite valued and using them to perform social rituals in a graceful way, he could flaunt his Catholicism in the face of his hostile Protestant contemporaries.

My thinking about how consumer goods could be part of a strategy of resistance is indebted to historian T.H. Breen's writing on the influence of material goods on the actions of colonists in the Pre-Revolutionary era. In his essay, "The Baubles of Britain: The American and Consumer Revolutions of the eighteenth century,"⁴⁰ Breen argued that neither the quantities of economic historians nor the documents of political historians could explain why ordinary Americans of all colonies decided to rebel. Instead, he asserted, Americans saw a new significance in consumer goods. Breen argued that "eighteenth-century Americans... communicated perceptions of status and politics to other people through items of everyday material culture, through a symbolic universe of commonplace things...which for their original possessors were objects of great significance. By focusing attention on the meanings of things, on the semiotics of daily life, we gain fresh insight into the formation of a national consciousness."⁴¹ Breen asserted that by the 1760s, the consumer market gave rise to American values threatened by changes in the British administration of the colonies and which gave the Americans a

40. T.H. Breen, "Baubles of Britain: The American and Consumer Revolutions of the Eighteenth Century," *Past and Present* 119 (1988): 73-104. See also, T.H. Breen, "An Empire of Goods: The Anglicization of America, 1690-1776," *The Journal of British Studies*, 25, no. 4 (1986):467-499. See particularly, 487-489.

41. Ibid., 487.

strategy to resist encroaching authority. Putting political history aside, the significant concept that Breen's work contributed to this study was the idea that a substantial change in material life reflected the emergence of a new set of values in the colonies. The consumer revolution was a widespread change in how colonists looked at life and how they defined their political lives. Carroll's career was a few generations earlier, but Breen's assertion lends support to my argument that trade reflects both what goods and services people valued as well as the value system in which these transaction were situated, that a commercial system was a cultural system.

Other types of scholarship about Maryland and colonial history have proven very important in the work of establishing the context for James Carroll's career. These works vary in age, topic and approach, but they have provided the factual backdrop essential to this work.

Studies based on governmental documents have been invaluable in providing access to the contest for power waged in Maryland during the years recorded in Carroll's daybook. This study has relied heavily upon the online version of the *Archives of Maryland*,⁴² a digitized collection of records that – either in print form or online - has informed virtually every recent study of Maryland colonial history. I have used this source with an important caveat, however. Some of the political action and speech in the *Archives of Maryland* preserves public action, theatrically staged for an audience. From a distance, it is important not to accept any speeches or legislative action at face value. Decoding this drama requires that one know a lot about the actors and their immediate

42. Edward C. Papenfuse et al., ed., *Archives of Maryland* (Annapolis: The Maryland State Archives).
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/html/index.html>
(Accessed 2005/04/01).

historical setting. Unfortunately, most of this important contextual information is gone. The *Archives* series was used in this dissertation in conjunction with published scholarship of the era to flesh-out James Carroll's political actions, but with an eye as much to drama as to facts.

The other side of how the *Archives of Maryland* informed this study is how this study contributes to scholars using the *Archives* series. Publicly staged speech and action begs the question of what the same cast of actors did or said when off stage. James Carroll, for example, was an important participant in a dispute involving Governor John Hart that began in 1715 and lasted throughout the five years of Hart's administration of the colony. As this study shows, James Carroll's daybook takes a reader behind the public posturing to catch a glimpse of the social and business networks that surrounded the public moments of the long-running conflict.

Other nineteenth-century sources based on governmental documents included in the *Archives of Maryland* series, especially James Kilty's *The Land Holder's Assistant*⁴³ and Donnell McClure Owing's *His Lordship's Patronage*, were very helpful in explaining the land system and administrative offices of the proprietary system. These sources were more factual in nature, and less dramatic, but they provided a wealth of information about the systems in which James Carroll worked.

A range of secondary sources provided the historical context for describing James Carroll's life. Three types of biographies have proven useful, those of men closely associated with Carroll, those of political figures of his era, and the biography of a Maine

43. John Kilty, *Land Holder's Assistant and Land Office Guide* (Baltimore: G. Dobbin and Murphy, 1808) *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 73, <http://archivesofmaryland.net/000001/000073/html/index.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01)

midwife that pointed the way in how the terse contents of a daybook might be read to extract a narrative.

Laurel Thatcher Ulrich's biography of the late eighteenth-century Maine midwife Martha Ballard⁴⁴ was enormously influential in shaping the thinking that underlay this reading of James Carroll's daybook. Working from the brief entries in Ballard's journal, Ulrich managed to describe her life in a compelling fashion by using a wealth of sources to add context to the entries. The initial goal of my study was to write a chronologically based narrative of Carroll's career in Maryland, but over time, it became clear that the best contribution I could offer to the literature of Colonial Maryland was as a study of Carroll's actions with respect to the major topics evident in his accounts. There is very little narrative in Carroll's daybook and the danger posed in reading too far into its entries was one of imposing a fictional plot structure on his history in order to create a consistent narrative of events. Instead, focusing on separate topics preserved the individuality of each. This is not as complete a study as Ulrich wrote, but it adds to the genre of history she initiated. The major way in which this work augments Ulrich's work is by building a narrative from what is, essentially, a book of names, dates and numbers. Ulrich explained what a midwife knew and valued. This work strives to explain what a merchant knew and valued.

Among the sources on Maryland history, Beatriz Hardy's essay on the Maryland politician and merchant Richard Bennett⁴⁵ was useful to this dissertation, as it was based

44. Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on her Diary, 1785-1812* (New York: Knopf, Distributed by Random House, 1990)

45. Beatriz Betancourt Hardy, "A Papist in a Protestant Age: The Case of Richard Bennett, 1667-1749" *Journal of Southern History* 60, no. 2, (1994): 203-228.

on a broad range of evidence types and demonstrated the significance of private networks in the colony. Hardy wrote of the interwoven family, political, religious, and social network that tied the Maryland Catholic gentry into a religious community, but which also linked them to powerful Protestant neighbors, friends, and relatives. Her work showed that the colony was not a society of exclusive interest groups, but a complex community coming to economic and political maturity in the decades after 1700. She described how a local network divided Maryland and London opinions about governing Maryland. Her comments on how the Colonial Assembly worked to oppose the plans of Governor John Seymour in the latter part of his rule were especially informative. She demonstrated the Maryland side of an era when local interest groups were coalescing around the Catholic gentry and among the Protestant planters in the Assembly with both factions becoming more able to wield power to achieve goals based on representing the interests of wealthy, interrelated families in Maryland. Across the ocean, British plans to centralize control of the colonies under royal governors and the proprietor's ambition to restore his authority faced a better-organized Maryland opposition. Local Protestant planters sustained a grip on local office, resulting in a standoff, with the Protestant interests dominating election to the Assembly, and the Catholic interests controlling the proprietary land system.

Hardy's scholarship presented a compelling and useful perspective on Maryland society during the years of Carroll's career. Further, her delineation of Richard Bennett's career presented invaluable information on the merchant who served as a major investor in an importation of enslaved people that Carroll managed in 1718.

The subsequent writing about Maryland's governmental history, including this dissertation, has been influenced by Aubrey Land's, *Colonial Maryland: A History*,⁴⁶ which traced the changes in Maryland government throughout the colonial era. Land's writing on the early decades of the eighteenth century was used especially well in Beatriz Hardy's dissertation on the Catholic gentry in the colony, "Papists in a Protestant Age."⁴⁷ Land's scholarship also provided this dissertation with many important facts. His work was limited, though, in that he based his analysis primarily on governmental documents and mostly considered the actions of a small cast of actors at the top of the political system. This dissertation attempts to build on the factual base that Land presented, but to incorporate a discussion of more aspects of Carroll's life and a discussion of the lives of the people of lower levels of power and authority associated with him.

A key moment in James Carroll's career was his 1716 confrontation with Royal Governor John Hart. Again, while Land's work was helpful in approaching this topic, this dissertation also relied on the work of Beatriz Hardy in seeking to understand the significance of religion in this series of events. Hardy's "Papists in a Protestant Age: The Catholic Gentry and Community in Colonial Maryland, 1689-1776" was insightful about the Carroll-Hart conflict, and she provided an especially clear reading of the confusing events of the summer of 1716. This dissertation owes a great debt to Hardy's work, but it supplements her study in two ways. First, by bringing James Carroll from the historical background to the foreground, it adds important detail to the understanding of the

46. Aubrey C. Land, *Colonial Maryland: A History* (Millwood, NY: KTO Press, 1981).

47. Beatriz Betancourt Hardy, "Papists in a Protestant Age: The Catholic Gentry and Community in Colonial Maryland, 1689-1776" (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland at College Park, 1993).

political tactics and Jacobite tone of the Catholic gentry. Second, by considering the conflict with more attention to Irish and British politics, it connects the Maryland actions to the larger action of change within the empire.⁴⁸

The works by Land and Hardy were excellent studies, but they did not tell the whole story. Royal governors and the Catholic gentry did not battle in isolation. The story of the first two decades of the eighteenth century also concerned the rise of the Assembly. The transformation of Maryland politics from a proprietorship controlled by a tiny cadre of Calverts and their Catholic relatives and associates to a colony dominated by an oligarchic, Protestant planter group was a theme explored in essays by David Jordan and a book he co-authored with Lois G. Carr. The most valuable of Jordan's works to this study of James Carroll were *Maryland's Revolution in Government*⁴⁹ and

48. This study relied primarily on the following sources for its information on British and Irish history: Thomas Bartlett, *The Fall and Rise of the Irish Nation: The Catholic Question 1690-1830*. (Savage, Md.: Barnes and Noble Books, 1992). Éamonn O'Ciardha, *Ireland and the Jacobite Cause, 1685-1766: A Fatal Attachment* (Dublin and Portland, OR: Four Courts, 2002). S. J. Connolly, *Religion, Law, and Power: The Making of Protestant Ireland, 1660-1760* (Oxford, England: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1992). Hoffman Ronald, *Princes of Ireland*. Geoffrey S. Holmes, *British Politics in the Age of Anne* (London: Macmillan; and New York: St. Martin's Press, 1967). John Miller, *Popery and Politics in England 1660-1688* (Cambridge, England: University Press, 1973). Alison Gilbert Olson, *Anglo-American Politics, 1660-1775: The Relationship Between Parties in England and Colonial America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973). J. G. Simms, *The Williamite Confiscation in Ireland, 1690-1703* (London: Faber and Faber, 1956). Ian Kenneth Steele, *Politics of Colonial Policy: The Board of Trade in Colonial Administration 1696-1720* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968). Stephen Saunders Webb, *The Governors-General: The English Army and the Definition of the Empire, 1569-1681* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va., by the University of North Carolina Press, 1979).

49. Lois G. Carr and David W. Jordan, *Maryland's Revolution of Government, 1689-1692* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1974).

“Political Stability and the Emergence of a Native Elite in Maryland.”⁵⁰ In the first, Carr and Jordan examined changes in Maryland government after 1689 and demonstrated how changes in office holding, from local sheriffs to the colonial Assembly, signaled an important social change as local Protestant planters gained the political and economic influence to push the Catholic friends of the proprietor to the edge of the political stage. Jordan further delineated this development in “Political Stability and the Emergence of a Native Elite in Maryland,” an essay that showed how sequential election to office made the contest for authority in Maryland a three-way battle, with royal governors, the Catholic friends of the proprietor, and the planter-dominated Assembly sharing claims to authority in the first decade of the eighteenth century. These studies of Maryland government were important to this dissertation because they explained how the political losses suffered by the Catholic gentry were not exclusively due to religious prejudice, but part of a political reshuffling engendered by economic change in the colony and imperial reorganization in London.

This dissertation adds to the story of social change presented by Carr and Jordan by tracing the career of James Carroll from a partisan of a doomed political faction to a merchant. His accommodating to changing times makes him a good source on a larger pattern of change happening in the early years of the century, as his shift from a political to a commercial path to fortune entailed his embracing the market economy as his primary focus. In a sense, his career shows how individuals made the best of a

50. David W. Jordan, “Political Stability and the Emergence of a Native Elite in Maryland,” *The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society*, ed. Thad W. Tate, and David L. Ammerman, (Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture by the University of North Carolina Press, 1979), 243-273.

transitional era when Catholic fortunes in Maryland were most reliably based on marriage and political bonds to an age in which the Atlantic market economy was the best path.

The emergence of an established Anglican church in Maryland during the decades immediately before and after 1700 has led to studies of the Anglican establishment and the consequences of its emergence for Maryland's Catholics and Quakers. James Carroll arrived in the colony around 1700,⁵¹ a time when religious tension riled several layers of British colonial life. Religious warfare had driven him from his home in Ireland when Protestant forces defeated the Catholic supporters of the deposed James II in a series of military battles that cost many of Carroll's relatives either their lives, fortunes, or both. Internationally, England waged two decades of warfare from the 1690s to 1714 against the Catholic allies of French King Louis XIV. In Parliament, the Tory supporters of Queen Anne worked legislatively to impose political restraints on both Catholics and Protestant dissenters. This process had begun a few years earlier in Maryland when the self-styled Protestant Associators overthrew the Calvert proprietary government, continued in the mid-1690s when Royal Governor Francis Nicholson established the Anglican Church in the colony, intensified in Royal Governor John Seymour's advocacy of an explicitly anti-Catholic 1704 law entitled, *An Act to Prevent the Growth of Popery*, and culminated in the 1718 disenfranchisement of Catholics in the colony. This series of

51. The earliest documentary evidence of James Carroll's being in Maryland is his having witnessed a 1700 mortgage from James Finley to John Gaither. Maryland State Archives. Land Records, Anne Arundel County, Liber IH #3, p. 21 and his appearance as a juror in the January Court of 1702/3. Maryland State Archives, Anne Arundel County, Index 33, Miscellaneous Records, Liber G, 37-38.

changes in governmental policy was a revolution that greatly reduced the status of the Catholic gentry who had been at the center of power under Lord Baltimore.⁵²

James Carroll's daybook provides a view of how religious policies contrasted with everyday life. Carroll was a partisan Catholic who supported the clergy with gifts of money and offers of land,⁵³ yet he lived in a religiously diverse household. At least two of his employees or servants were Quakers,⁵⁴ and he did business with his neighbor, Anglican minister, Joseph Colebatch.⁵⁵ Carroll's daybook never mentions religion as a bar to trade, employment, or friendship. He and his trade partners appear to have been quite tolerant on a business level, while living in a political age growing increasingly intolerant. This paradox underscores the significance of the market economy as a force of social affiliation. Commerce was able to bridge all religious, economic, political or social gaps in a compartmentalized world.

One of the principal goals of this dissertation is to discuss the importance of commerce to James Carroll, and to add to the discussion of the growth of consumption in the eighteenth century. It is important to note that James Carroll's story is not of his

52. My reading of the religious politics of the period after 1700 has been influenced by the works cited above as well as the following: Michael Graham S.J., "The Collapse of Equity: Catholic and Quaker Dissenters in Maryland, 1692-1720," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 88, (1993): 8-25 and "Churching the Unchurched: The Establishment in Maryland, 1692-1724," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 83, (1988): 297-309. Tricia T. Pyne, "A Plea for Maryland Catholics Reconsidered," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 92, (1997): 162-181.

53. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 25, Page 332.
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000025/html/am25--332.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

54. Carroll, 43C, 58D.

55. Ibid., 20.

prospering in a free market or of his mobility in a fluid society. As Allan Kulikoff,⁵⁶ John Hemphill,⁵⁷ and Gloria Main,⁵⁸ among others, have shown, Maryland society became increasingly oligarchic in the early decades of the eighteenth century. An elite group of planters, of whom James Carroll was among the wealthiest, dominated the production of tobacco. The key reasons for their dominance were their ownership of the most fertile land along the colony's rivers and their ability to purchase expensive enslaved Africans. Earlier, a flood of English indentured servants had made tobacco labor affordable to even small planters. With the one time flood of servants reduced to a trickle, life-long and hereditarily bound labor took its place. Enslaved people, however, were very expensive and only the wealthiest could afford them. This gave them overwhelming dominance of the tobacco economy by 1720. In general, intermarriage among gentry families, longer life spans, and successive election to political office built these leading planters into a powerful network across Maryland, a numerically tiny group enjoying a monopoly on wealth and power.⁵⁹ James Carroll was a partial member of this oligarchy. He had the wealth to rank among the colony's elite, but his story was complicated to the extent that his religion made him an outsider in the colony who used commerce to maintain his standing after his political claim to status was gone.

56. Allan Kulikoff, *Tobacco And Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia by the University of North Carolina Press, 1986).

57. John M. Hemphill, "Virginia and the English Commercial System, 1689-1733: Studies in the Development and Fluctuations of a Colonial Economy Under Imperial Control" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1964).

58. Main, *Tobacco Colony: Life in Early Maryland, 1650-1720*.

59. See Kulikoff for a detailed study of this topic.

A geographic source also enriched my understanding of the evolution of Maryland society in these years: Carville Earle's detailed study of the region surrounding Carroll's primary seat of business, All Hallows parish in Anne Arundel County. His work provided context for understanding Carroll's daybook entries within the economic and social evolution of the region.⁶⁰

Similarly, Edward C. Papenfuse's *In Pursuit of Profit: The Annapolis Merchants in the Era of the American Revolution 1763 – 1805*⁶¹ was very helpful in explaining the context of Carroll's career as an early chapter in the story of Annapolis area merchants. Papenfuse described the years after 1715 as an era when Annapolis grew as a governmental center in the colony and as a market for consumer goods. His main emphasis, however, was on later decades of fully-fledged and declining trade in the city. This study seeks to describe the work of a planter merchant in the years when the governmental changes and consumer trades he studied were first taking shape.

James Carroll prospered as a planter, but the compelling story he adds to the understanding of Maryland history is not that of another example of a well-positioned tobacco baron who gained wealth. His daybook shows the processes by which he built his fortune day by day and those by which he used his wealth day by day. My reading of Carroll's daybook as an ongoing sequence of a planter's transactions and work on his property was informed by a reading of Christine Daniel's study of the eighteenth-century

60. Carville V. Earle, "The Evolution of a Tidewater Settlement System: All Hallows Parish Maryland, 1650 – 1783," *University of Chicago Department of Geography Research Paper no. 170* (Chicago Il: The University of Chicago, 1970).

61. Papenfuse, *In Pursuit of Profit*.

Chesapeake planter John Gresham.⁶² Although Gresham was a generation younger and not engaged in the religious struggles of Carroll, Daniels' use of an account book as her primary evidence and her discussion of Gresham's use of enslaved and free labor offered great insight into reading James Carroll's daybook.

This dissertation concerns the Maryland slave trade, but it is not a study of the topic, *per se*. Scholarship by Ira Berlin,⁶³ Lorena S. Walsh,⁶⁴ and others was very helpful in shaping my analysis, but my primary interest was in the particular individuals mentioned in Carroll's accounts rather than on the broader topic of slavery in the colony. The central focus in the study was to discern the origin and quality of life of the enslaved people with whom James Carroll interacted. The most heavily used sources were Elizabeth Donnan's classic study of the slave trade⁶⁵ and Walter Minchinton's more recent work on slave trading in the Chesapeake region.⁶⁶ In terms of material culture, the conclusions of this study are consistent with those presented in Shane and Graham

62. Christine Daniels, "Gresham's Laws: Labor Management on an Early-Eighteenth Century Chesapeake Plantation," *The Journal of Southern History* 62, no. 2, (1996): 205-238.

63. Ira Berlin, "Time, Space and the Evolution of Afro-American Society on British Mainland North America," *The American Historical Review* 85, no. 1, (1980):44-78 and "From Creole to African: Atlantic Creoles and the Origins of African American Society in Mainland North America," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser., 53, no. 2, (1996): 251-288.

64. Lorena S. Walsh, *From Calabar to Carter's Grove: The History of a Virginia Slave Community* (Charlottesville, Va: University Press of Virginia, 1997).

65. Elizabeth Donnan, *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America*. (New York: Octagon Books, 1965).

66. Walter E. Minchinton, Celia King, and Peter Waite, ed. *Virginia Slave-Trade Statistics, 1698-1775* (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1984) as well as, Walter E. Minchinton, "Characteristics of British Slaving Vessels, 1698-1775" *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 20, no.1, (1998): 53-81.

White's study of slave clothing.⁶⁷ Although they studied enslaved people of later eras, it was clear in Carroll's daybook that achieving better clothing was important to enslaved people, a fact that was evident in his 1715 reward to a favored enslaved man and his leaving his clothing to his enslaved workers in his will. My thinking on the question of Carroll's attitude toward the enslaved people he owned was also informed by Thomas Murphy's study of slave holding among the Jesuits in Maryland. Murphy's account covers the period to 1838, but his articulation of a characteristic Jesuit attitude and treatment of enslaved people was consistent with Carroll's slave ownership.⁶⁸ Carroll appeared to keep families together as he moved enslaved people from plantation to plantation and his will sought kind treatment of enslaved individuals who did their duty well. Carroll was not a Jesuit himself, but he was very close to several members of the order, owned books indicating an affinity with Jesuit theology and left his enslaved people and much of his real estate to the Jesuits in his last will.

The most fundamental scholarly debt⁶⁹ owed by this study, however, is to the work of Ronald Hoffman on the Carroll family.⁷⁰ Hoffman's work was invaluable in

67. Shane White and Graham White, "Slave Clothing and African-American Culture in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *Past and Present*, no. 148, (1995): 149-186.

68. Thomas Murphy S.J., *Jesuit Slaveholding in Maryland, 1717-1838*. (New York and London: Routledge, 2001).

69. Also consulted, but not as heavily, was: Thomas O'Brien Hanley, *Charles Carroll of Carrollton: The Making of a Revolutionary Gentleman*. (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University Press, 1970).

70. Hoffman, *Princes of Ireland*, and Ronald Hoffman et al. ed., *Dear Papa, Dear Charley: The Peregrinations of a Revolutionary Aristocrat, as Told by Charles Carroll of Carrollton and His Father, Charles Carroll of Annapolis, with Sundry Observations on Bastardy, Child-Rearing, Romance, Matrimony, Commerce, Tobacco, Slavery, and the Politics of Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill : Published for the

establishing the context for understanding James Carroll's actions. His works were a rich source of information, without which this study could not have proceeded. Hoffman made little mention of James Carroll in his various studies of the Carroll family, however, and this work aims to address that gap. At the same time, it does more. Hoffman's work is admirable in detailing the lives of members of the Carroll clan, but this work surrounds them in a more life-like setting by connecting them to the people who shared their lives. Far from appearing alone on a historical stage, this dissertation shows James Carroll as the keeper of a book of data that documented the intersection of many lives. This is not as thorough a study of its subject's life as Hoffman has conducted in his work, but it shows more daily actions of living and more of a range of people.

James Carroll's story is one of economic success, but it has several dimensions that make it especially interesting. In many ways, he was a transitional figure who used the emerging market economy to build a fortune when advancement in an older system of latter-day feudalism was closed to him. The new path to prominence he followed was also based on loyalty and service, but the service he provided was intellectual rather than military. In his administration of the land system, slave trading, and other avenues of commerce, James Carroll prospered because he was well connected and he could keep reliable records. This dissertation examines five aspects of how Carroll used these skills: his advocacy and service in public life; the furnishings and style of living in his private

Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, and the Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, by the University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

life; his local and long-distance pursuit of profit; his acquiring possessions for himself and supplying them to others; and his providing a legacy for his family.

Chapter 2 The Style of His Public Life: James Carroll's Contributions as a Partisan in a Lost Cause

The records that James Carroll wrote in his daybook between 1714 and 1721 detail his work to build a fortune. The absence of narrative in this book of lists obscures the fact that the catalyst of his rise in the world was his service to a group of Catholic gentry who were attempting to use their links to Lord Baltimore and management of his real estate interest in the colony to re-establish their authority in Maryland. James Carroll acted as an occasional spokesman and record keeper for this faction, and they paid him in money and land for his work. When the Catholic gentry lost their bid for authority, lost control of the land system, and then lost the vote, James Carroll used his connections and profits to invest in a slaving venture and to serve as the Maryland agent for a London merchant. In 1714, Carroll was a tobacco planter, moneylender and merchant, but these ventures were small-scale compared to the significance of the battles for power that surrounded him when he served the Catholic gentry and the scale of commerce he later managed as a slave trader and commercial agent.

Compiling the fullest account of James Carroll's career requires separating dimensions of his life that were interwoven when he lived. This separation is artificial, but necessary to present a coherent narrative. Carroll's daybook recorded only the commercial aspects of his life and left out the political context of his story. His actions as a member of the Catholic gentry faction seeking political authority in the colony are more fully recorded in secondary sources on the era, and this chapter draws information from a variety of published works to add this dimension.

While the Catholic gentry worked together in several ways, their association was not exclusive, and it did not serve as a barrier to trade. Overall, bonds of religion cemented alliances among the gentry in large-scale ventures, such as taking political action, tax farming, and importing enslaved people. At the same time, James Carroll's daybook shows a more complex pattern of trade on the individual level of action. While the political battles described in this chapter were being waged, he was an active participant in the economy of a culturally diverse colony who traded, socialized, and loaned money across religious lines. This chapter focuses on how the Catholic gentry conspired to preserve their inherited authority over Lord Baltimore's land holdings in the face of local and imperial governmental reorganization and presents James Carroll as a leading partisan. The larger context of the full dissertation reveals, however, that while Carroll was a steadfast religious idealist, he was always an economic realist who fully embraced the opportunities presented by trade.

I. The Events that Inspired Defiance

James Carroll first established himself as a public figure by opposing an anti-Catholic law advocated by Governor John Seymour in 1706. Carroll and Seymour had both arrived in Maryland in the early years of the century, a time when authority in the colony was in a state of flux as Protestant planters, Catholic gentry and Crown administrators vied for control. At the time, Carroll and Seymour were men seeking to establish themselves. While virtually no records mention Carroll at this time of his life, Seymour was known as a man of military accomplishments, political connections and religious sentiment. Detailing Seymour's work to establish his authority in Maryland sets

the stage for a discussion of James Carroll's first political action in the colony by describing the politics of the era and the actions of the adversary who spurred Carroll to his earliest public act of defiance.

Carroll had come of age in Ireland just as his extended family was losing its large land holdings in the region of central Ireland known as Ely O'Carroll, as the price of their loyalty to the deposed king, James II. The Carroll family, like most of the Catholic gentry in Ireland, had suffered the loss of their land in the decades after fighting a losing battle against Cromwellian forces in 1641.¹ To members of their class, James II's pro-Catholic policies had offered great hope that their ancestral lands would be returned to them.² Throughout the decade from 1685-95, the Irish Catholic gentry fought in a long series of wars on behalf of the Jacobite cause in Ireland and on the continent of Europe in hope that their military service would regain lost property and authority. James Carroll's father, Anthony Carroll, his uncle Daniel Carroll, and the leader of their family, Colonel Richard Grace, all fought in the battles of 1690-91 that culminated in the devastating defeats of the Boyne and Limerick.³ The family's hopes for restoration died in the war, and James Carroll emigrated to Maryland to avoid disenfranchisement and poverty.

1. Although it makes no specific reference to the Carroll family, an excellent overview of the local circumstances of the seventeenth-century religious tension in Ireland and the interrelationship of religion, economy, ethnicity and politics is presented in Nicholas Canny's, "The Marginal Kingdom: Ireland as a Problem in the First British Empire" in *Strangers in the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire*, Bernard Bailyn and Philip D. Morgan, ed. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 35-66. Understanding the depth of feeling engendered between Protestant settlers and Catholic natives in Ireland in the generation before his birth helps create a context for James Carroll's tenacious attachment to Catholicism throughout his life in Maryland.

2. O'Ciardha, 65.

3. Hoffman, *Princes of Ireland*, 48-49.

James Carroll was most likely too young to have fought in the Irish wars,⁴ but he carried an unbowed Jacobite spirit to Maryland in the form of a fierce adherence to the Roman Catholic faith and an insatiable desire to own land.⁵ His patron in Maryland, Charles Carroll, the Settler, served Lord Baltimore as an attorney and agent.⁶ James Carroll became a very close associate of his uncle, and assisted him as a property manager and commercial partner throughout his years in the colony. His actions over the course of these two decades illustrate the ways by which he sought to recoup the religious freedom and gentry status taken from his family in Ireland.

No information about James Carroll's youth survives, but hypothetically paralleling his preparation for life with that of his uncle supports several hypotheses about his early years. Charles Carroll's education and his start on the road to fortune stemmed from the patronage of Colonel Richard Grace, a relative who owned at least 5000 acres of land near Ely O'Carroll.⁷ It is probable that James Carroll also benefited from Grace's patronage. James Carroll worked as a manager for his uncle from his earliest days in Maryland, making it probable that he had served both branches of his family as a property manager. Estate management in Ireland and Maryland entailed overseeing the tenure of tenants, the work of field hands and the marketing of crops. James Carroll left Ireland at the time Colonel Grace's estate was taken from his heirs

4. Hanley, 9, claims that James Carroll fought in the battle of the Boyne. Yet, Hoffman reports that Carroll's father was born in 1660. Hoffman's dating makes it unlikely that James Carroll was old enough to have fought in the battle.

5. O'Ciardha, 65.

6. Hoffman, *Princes of Ireland*, 1-35.

7. *Ibid.*, 33-34.

(Grace died in the 1691 Battle of Athlone) as punishment for his leadership in the Jacobite army.⁸ Also, he arrived in Maryland at a time when Charles Carroll was in the process of vastly increasing his land holdings in the colony through his marriage to the daughter of Henry Darnall, Lord Baltimore's agent in the colony, and later, by inheriting Darnall's office as head of the proprietary land system.⁹ James Carroll's work as a property manager was clear from his earliest days in the colony, and indicated that he had the education and experience to administer plantations when he left Ireland. In fact, among his earliest recorded actions in Maryland was managing his uncle's land business in 1702 while Charles Carroll was away on an extended trip to Ireland and England.¹⁰ Most likely, in the mid to late 1690s, James Carroll had transferred his service from a withering to a flourishing branch of his family and proceeded to build a fortune as a skilled manager and a reputation as a fierce political partisan.

Royal Governor John Seymour (1702-1709) was the official who first inspired James Carroll's defiance, because he was successful at establishing his authority as governor and used his position to support anti-Catholic legislation. Far from acting alone, James Carroll appeared before the Assembly in 1706 with other Catholic gentry to present a petition against the Seymour-sponsored law, *An Act to Prevent the Spread of Popery*. It is not clear why the other members of the gentry included Carroll in their

8. Simms, Appendix B, 179.

9. Hoffman, *Princes of Ireland*, 65-67.

10. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 25, Page 130
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000025/html/am25--130.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01)

James Carroll's earliest property transaction in his own right was a July 1701 assignment of a warrant for land from him to John Cole of Baltimore County. Carroll Papers, The Library of Congress, Doc. #579

number. They were all long-established members of the colony's elite, while he was newly arrived. What is clear, though, is that this piece of legislation drew Seymour and Carroll into the ongoing religious-political struggles that shaped the rest of each man's career in Maryland.

When Seymour arrived in the colony, he inherited a long-running, multi-party contest for power involving a complex web of Crown and local, appointed and elected officials that defied any easy dominance. The Glorious Revolution and John Coode's Rebellion ended Catholic power in England and Maryland, respectively, in 1689 and touched off a contest for control of the colony's political life. The end of the direct rule of the Calvert family closed a period of Maryland history in which members of the Catholic gentry exercised the most power in the colony. Even after John Coode's band of "Protestant Associators" overthrew them, the Calverts kept control of Maryland's real estate under the terms of a royal grant from King Charles I to family head, Lord Baltimore. Despite the political revolution, anyone hoping to prosper in the tobacco economy of Maryland would have to come to terms with Lord Baltimore to receive the fresh land that tobacco cultivation demanded. This economic reality divided power in the colony between the control of land and the control of government.

Political instability continued in the colony throughout the 1690s. Coode's Protestant Associators soon disappeared as a political force leaving an uncertain balance of power among various officials. A succession of three military leaders was appointed to the post of governor by the Crown during the 1690s, but each was in place for only a

short period, and none established imperial authority as the center of Maryland's political life.¹¹

John Seymour was more successful than his predecessors had been, because he shared their military background, and he had support at the highest levels in London. Seymour began his administration in Maryland with the backing of his brother, Edward Seymour, a leading Tory politician and Parliamentary leader. A second brother was the Duke of Somerset.¹² The Seymours were a family political group, based in the southwestern tip of England. Edward Seymour, the charismatic leader of the family, was a powerful leader in the House of Commons for many years, serving from the 1680s until his death in 1706. In 1702, he achieved the summit of his career by receiving appointment to the position of Comptroller of the Household and membership in Queen Anne's cabinet. Seymour provided safe governmental positions for "shoals of relatives,"¹³ and it seems clear that John Seymour's elevation from military officer to governor was on the coattails of his brother's rise in Queen Anne's government. Authority based on this foundation entitled John Seymour to assert his power in Maryland with confidence.

It also gave Seymour his chief legislative issue, passing anti-Catholic legislation. John Seymour appears to have advocated the Protestant interest in Maryland in a spirit akin to that attributed to his brother Edward, who was said to have been a reckless

11. A detailed discussion of this topic is found in Jordan, "Political Stability."

12. Olson, 86.

13. Holmes, 275.

politician of great temper and strong passion.¹⁴ The Seymour brothers also shared a long-held anti-Catholic religious sentiment. Edward Seymour was a politician who often spoke against the threat posed by dissenting Protestants at home and Catholics abroad. As early as during James II's reign, for example, he had warned of the danger posed by Catholics,¹⁵ and foreign affairs after the 1689 revolution had done nothing to temper his view of the sect as disloyal. In the early eighteenth-century, war with France reawakened the threat posed by Catholics in Ireland, Scotland and Maryland, places where Catholicism opened a door to Jacobite intrigue.

From the moment of his arrival in Maryland, Seymour was an official beset by challenges to his authority and dangers from all sides. England was at war with its perennial enemy, Louis XIV's France, and Ireland was rife with rumors of an impending Jacobite invasion.¹⁶ The seeds of war took root in 1702 when Louis XIV had made an ill-considered promise to the dying James II that he would support his fourteen-year-old son's claim to the British throne. In pledging his support to young James Edward Stuart, Louis repudiated the terms of the recent Treaty of Ryswick that had ended a decade of war between Britain and France. Soon after endorsing the Stuart heir, Louis further repudiated the treaty by defying its settlement of the Spanish succession.¹⁷ The result of

14. Ibid.

15. Miller, 163, 174.

16. O'Ciardha, 119.

17. Ibid., 112.

these events was a revived state of war in 1704 that reawakened Irish and Scottish Jacobite aspirations and rekindled Protestant unease throughout Britain.¹⁸

Seymour was a professional soldier whose military service had involved a substantial amount of fighting against Catholic enemies. He had served as a colonel under the command of Lionel Copley from 1675 until Copley received appointment to the governorship of Maryland in 1691. During his years with Copley, Seymour served in the English port city of Hull, where his commander had distinguished himself as a reliably Protestant commander at the time of the Popish Plot anxiety in the late 1670s. Later, Seymour served as an officer with the Coldstream Guards fighting in Flanders at a time when a Jacobite, Irish Catholic brigade opposed them, fighting for Louis XIV on the continent following their defeat in Ireland.¹⁹ Most recently, he had served in England's offensive against Spain in 1702.²⁰

Seymour's military experiences would have taught him to regard the Catholic population in Maryland with suspicion, especially in a time when renewed warfare with France presented dangers at sea as well as the frightening prospect that France's Native American allies might sweep down on Maryland's frontier at any moment. A slanderous 1705 libel of Henry Darnall, Lord Baltimore's agent in Maryland, reflected the fear that local Catholics would rise up in support of such an attack. Published in St. Mary's County, the warning urged Protestants to, "Defend yourselves from that wicked

18. Ibid., 113.

19. O'Ciardha, 111 and Webb, 491.

20. Graham, "Collapse of Equity," 8. See Pyne, 171 for biographical details on Seymour's serving with the Coldstream Guards in Spain at the time of his appointment in 1703.

contrivance of Darnall and the Popish priests in their agreeing with the French & the other heathens to destroy you all.”²¹ The part of the rumor that pointed to danger lurking at the frontier was especially compelling. Threatening Indians and outlaws who seemed to move at will were a cause of serious concern in the colony.²² In May of 1705, for instance, rumors alleged that an outlaw named Richard Clark was plotting to seize the magazine, overturn her Majesty’s Government and, “bring the heathen Indians together with the said conspirators to cut off and extirpate the inhabitants of this province.”²³ No doubt, Seymour was aware of the climate of fear in the colony, and he took strong action to weaken the Catholics as a threat.

Governor Seymour lost no time in initiating anti-Catholic action in Maryland. His first meeting with the Maryland Assembly, in fact, featured a religious assertion as its most memorable element. When he arrived in the colony, Seymour offered to take a religious oath before the Assembly, but also insisted on being administered an oath pledging to keep the Crown in the Protestant line of succession. The Maryland Assembly reported being unfamiliar with such an oath, but rather than let the matter drop, Seymour dispatched a messenger to Pennsylvania for a copy of the latest relevant instructions on

21. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 26, Page 484,
[http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000026
/html/am26--484.html](http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000026/html/am26--484.html) (Accessed 2005/04/01).

22. See, *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 26, Page 487,
[http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000026
/html/am26--487.html](http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000026
/html/am26--487.html) (Accessed 2005/04/01) for an example of the Assembly’s fear that Clark and other outlaws were working to stir up unrest on the frontier.

23. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 26, Page 513,
[http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000026
/html/am26--513.html](http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000026
/html/am26--513.html) (Accessed 2005/04/01).

the subject from the Crown.²⁴ In this action, he seems to have been intent on establishing himself as a loyal supporter of Queen Anne, but also distancing himself from the colony's very powerful Catholic gentry.

Seymour followed this initial salvo just five months later when he staged a confrontation before the Assembly with two Jesuit priests. The governor charged William Hunter and Robert Brook with saying mass publicly in a chapel at St. Mary's City while the court was in session during 1703.²⁵ This event occurred in a substantial, prominently located church at the site of the proprietary era capital of the colony at a time after Seymour's appointment to this post, but a year before he arrived in Annapolis. Seymour appears to have been doing more than rebuking two clerics for a one-time offense. He seems to have been using the meeting as an occasion to assert his own power at the expense of the Catholic gentry before the audience of the Assembly.²⁶ In this manner, he might establish himself a man of power in the eyes of the Assembly members, the Jesuit priests, and most importantly the Catholic friends of the proprietor among Maryland's gentry.

Seymour's suspicion of the colony's Catholics centered on the powerful gentry. Under the direct rule of the Lords Baltimore, seventeenth-century Maryland was a colony

24. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 25, Page 174,
[http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000025
/html/am25--174.html](http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000025/html/am25--174.html), (Accessed 2005/04/01).

25. Pyne, 173.

26. Ibid., n. 48. Pyne states, "In his correspondence with the council of Trade and Plantations, Seymour attributed part of the confusion to his decision to summon the two Jesuits before the council, as opposed to taking them to court, for fear that a jury would dismiss the case against the priests on this technicality." Governor Seymour to Council of Trade and Plantations, September 29, 1704, CSP, 1704-1705, vol. 22, #585, 264.

in which virtually all appointive offices went to members of the tiny group of elite Catholics.²⁷ When the Protestant Associators overthrew the proprietor, they acted to free the colony from Calvert and Catholic rule. The revolution had started a decline in the status of Catholics in the colony, but they still had a lot of influence in 1704. Seymour's correspondence with the Board of Trade reflected his animosity toward the group. From his earliest days in the colony, the governor complained about how the Catholic friends of the proprietor controlled politics in the colony.²⁸ Seymour resented their continuing influence at home and in London.

Seymour brought the confrontation with the Catholic gentry to a head by advocating, and perhaps authoring, a law based on the current English Penal Law entitled *An Act to Prevent the Growth of Popery*. The Assembly passed the bill in the last week of the fall session of 1704, leaving the Catholics no time to organize any resistance.²⁹ The bill placed very strict handicaps on Jesuits, other priests and Catholics in general. Unable to stop the governor in the Assembly, the Catholic gentry could only work to resist the law's enforcement.³⁰

The law in question was not something new to the British world in 1704. Anti-Catholic legislation had been a consistent feature of English government since the reign of Queen Elizabeth.³¹ The enforcement of the penal laws, though, was inconsistent, and

27. Carr and Jordan, 37-41.

28. Olson, 82.

29. Graham, "Collapse of Equity," 9.

30. Hardy, "A Papist In A Protestant Age," 212.

31. Miller, 51-66.

it waxed and waned over time and from place to place in the British world. By 1704, Catholicism in England was largely confined to rural families worshipping in chapels located in gentry homes and a tiny London Catholic population worshipping in the chapels of foreign legations. The sect was too small in number and too fragmented in leadership to pose a political threat.³² The prominence of Irish Catholics in Maryland, however, was apparently enough to arouse Seymour's suspicions.

James Carroll's career as a political advocate began on an afternoon in April 1706 when he appeared with three other Catholics, Charles Carroll, Henry Darnall and Richard Bennett, presenting a petition seeking the continued suspension of the *Act to Prevent the Growth of Popery*.³³ The Assembly had been slow to arrange for the law's enforcement, and they seemed surprised by the Catholic protest.³⁴ The Assembly journal reflected the Lower House's surprise at the tone of the Catholics who, "seemed rather to challenge than petition for their rights."³⁵ Both sides worked quickly to smooth over their relationship. The Assembly noted that they were uncertain if the English Penal Laws, of which this law was a local copy, applied to Maryland.³⁶ This state of affairs indicated that although the Assembly might support the spirit of Seymour's proposed legislation, it was not in the interest of Maryland planters to enforce harsh, anti-Catholic laws. Supporting

32. Ibid., 12-25.

33. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 26, Page 597,
[http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000026
/html/am26--597.html](http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000026/html/am26--597.html) (Accessed 2005/04/01).

34. Ibid.

35. Ibid.

36. Pyne, 173.

John Seymour's anti-Catholic policies in 1706 would have required the Assembly to agree with the governor's suspicions of their neighbors, friends and even, in some cases, relatives. In the eyes of the Assembly, the anti-Catholic law might have seemed to be a traditional, almost formulaic law of the sort they were bound to enact as an aspect of general British policy, but a policy more honored in the breach than the observance.³⁷

Events and a sense of duty might have prompted John Seymour to take an anti-Catholic stance in 1704, and his connections with Queen Anne's government might have given him confidence to act out of an ambition that he could weaken the Catholic gentry in Maryland as well. In Charles Carroll, Henry Darnall, and Richard Bennett, however, he faced three wealthy, powerful, and well-connected men who had the support and political resourcefulness to resist him.

Charles Carroll had landed in Maryland on the eve of the Glorious Revolution and Irish wars, and since his arrival, he had made a fortune as a lawyer. In 1694, he was married to the daughter of Henry Darnall, Lord Baltimore's agent and the most important Catholic in the colony. Soon after, Carroll was hired as the clerk of the proprietary land office at an annual salary of £100. By 1702, he had purchased warrants – exercised the first step in the process of acquiring land – for approximately 13,000 acres and patented – completed the process of acquiring – 11,000 acres of land in the colony.³⁸

37. For a brief overview of the context of the "Act to Prevent the Growth of Popery," the potential impact of the law on Maryland's Catholics, and James Carroll's inclusion in the group protesting its enforcement, see Beatriz Betancourt Hardy, "Roman Catholics, Not Papists: Catholic Identity in Maryland, 1689-1776" *Maryland Historical Magazine* 92, (1997): 143-144.

38. Hoffman, *Princes of Ireland*, 64-74.

Henry Darnall had been a long-time associate of the Calvert family. Prior to 1689, he had served on the Governor's Council, the Board of Deputy Governors, and the Land Council. He was the proprietor's Receiver General and the Keeper of the Great Seal. His offices enabled him to control the system of real estate in the colony, collect all taxes and fees due to Lord Baltimore and act on Baltimore's behalf in the colony.³⁹ In addition to serving the proprietary establishment, Darnall was among the wealthiest men in the colony. At the time of his death, he owned over 18,000 acres of land⁴⁰ and over one hundred enslaved people housed on five plantations.⁴¹

Richard Bennett III was a wealthy Eastern Shore planter whose sister was married to Henry Darnall's brother. Bennett was a merchant and planter who rivaled Carroll and Darnall in wealth. He owned, for instance, over 7000 acres of land in 1702. He was also a leader in the proprietary land system, having leased the right to collect quitrents on all property in the colony for a term of eight years, beginning in 1699. Bennett also had important family ties to Seymour's opponents in the Assembly. His brother-in-law Henry Lowe, for example, was censured for sending word of the anti-Catholic legislation to London before Seymour could himself. More significantly, Bennett's Protestant stepbrother, Philomen Lloyd, was the chairman of the Assembly's Committee on Laws and positioned to stall the anti-Catholic legislation in the Assembly.⁴²

39. Ibid.

40. Main, 85.

41. Ibid., 79.

42. Hardy "A Papist in a Protestant Age," 211.

The governor and the gentry were two important powers in Maryland in the Seymour administration; the legislature was the third. The Lower House of the Assembly resisted Seymour's authority and asserted its own independence.⁴³ The Colonial Assembly had represented the rising power and economic interests of Maryland planters and served as a counterbalance to the Royal Governors' assertions of authority throughout the 1690s. By the end of the century, Protestant families that had built fortunes in the tobacco economy dominated the Assembly. By 1704, membership of the Assembly had solidified around the leading Protestant planter families who began to voice local Maryland interests and concerns in an increasingly effective way.⁴⁴ Principally, the Assembly worked to keep offices of profit in local hands. This was important because establishing power in his own right required each royal governor to build a network of loyalty through granting offices to friends and family. This practice of using appointments to build coalitions was the cornerstone of British politics in the age of King William and Queen Anne,⁴⁵ but it would prove difficult for any royal governor of Maryland, where the Assembly was actively pursuing its own interests.

The Maryland Assembly was the stage chosen by the governor when he warned the Jesuits and the stage chosen by the Catholic gentry when they responded to Seymour's anti-Catholic legislation. The Assembly was more than just a neutral audience, however. By 1706, it had begun to assert its own independence as a powerful interest group in the colony. The Assembly Seymour convened in 1704 was the first in

43. Jordan, "Political Stability," 260.

44. Ibid., 254.

45. The information in this paper on the actions of British political parties in this era is principally derived from Holmes.

which the majority of the members were either native born or had come to Maryland as children. These legislators would have come of age politically during the 1690s and considered securing their own prosperity as their principal interest.⁴⁶ Fifteen years after the revolution, they might have viewed both John Seymour and Lord Baltimore as outsiders. This same Assembly served as the foundation for the emerging planter elite that would dominate Maryland politics after 1720. The native-born assembly members of this decade often went on to serve multiple terms in office, accumulating a great deal of political authority and wealth.⁴⁷

The Assembly's battles with Governor Seymour were the first occasion for them to assert their power. The governor and legislature contested two major issues, enforcement of the anti-Catholic legislation and reform of the colony's judiciary. The Assembly's response to the religious question was to stall. The legislature tabled the *Act to Prevent the Growth of Popery* while awaiting instruction from Queen Anne's government. No Maryland Catholics were prosecuted under the law, and after Seymour's death in 1709, the legislation was permanently suspended. The Assembly's response to Seymour's attempted reform of the judiciary, on the other hand, showed the grassroots support in the colony for an independent legislature. When the legislature refused to cooperate with Seymour's reform program, the frustrated governor dissolved the body. The next year, voters sent the defiant legislators back to their seats.⁴⁸ These examples suggest that the Assembly was opposing individual pieces of legislature, but a more

46. Jordan, "Political Stability," 254-261.

47. Ibid., 254-255.

48. Ibid., 260-261.

general trend of legislative assertiveness was evident to Seymour and others. Lord Cornbury, the Royal Governor of New York, for example, wrote to the Board of Trade that, “the Assemblies here... think themselves equal to the House of Commons of England.”⁴⁹

The failure of Seymour’s anti-Catholic legislation was not only a product of local opposition, however, but also of the evolution of British religious policy reflected in changes in Parliament. Under William III, Parliament had followed the king’s comparatively tolerant religious policy. The ascension of Queen Anne in 1702, however, coincided with the ascendancy of the “high church” Tories led by Edward Seymour in the House of Commons.⁵⁰ Seymour’s followers pushed for the legislative cementing of the idea of an Anglican queen ruling an openly Anglican state. In England, this led them to work assiduously from 1702-04 for the Occasional Conformity bill, seeking to disqualify dissenting Protestants from holding office.

John Seymour’s actions in Maryland were analogous in seeking to strengthen the Anglican Church in the colony over all other sects.⁵¹ The Catholics gained his particular attention because of their great influence in the colony. Support for Seymour’s harsh religious policy eroded in Maryland after 1706, at the same time that support for similar policies declined in England. An important aspect of the change in Parliamentary opinion

49. Cecil Headlam, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series. America and the West Indies, 1704-1705 Preserved in the Public Records Office* (London: Vaduz, Kraus Reprint, 1964) Doc. 643, 306. This point is discussed in detail in historian Jack P. Greene’s essay, “The Rise of the Lower House of Assembly in Eighteenth-Century Politics,” *The Journal of Southern History* 27, no. 4, (1961): 451-474.

50. Holmes, 101.

51. For a detailed discussion of this topic, see: Graham, “Churching the Unchurched,” 297-309.

was the decline in Edward Seymour's health and leadership.⁵² Seymour's illness removed him from active Parliamentary leadership after 1704, and he left the Cabinet in 1706.⁵³ Politically, the Occasional Conformity bill galvanized his opposition among more moderate Tories who voted with Whigs in defeating the bill in 1704.⁵⁴ The result in Parliament was new leadership by more religiously tolerant interests led by Robert Harley and Sidney Godolphin.⁵⁵ In backing away from supporting Governor Seymour's religious policy, the Maryland Assembly followed a course parallel to that of the British Parliament. The timing of this shift also suggests that the 1706 Catholic petitioners were aware of a decline in Parliamentary support for Seymour's fierce religious policy when they appeared before the Assembly.

The most significant consequence of Governor John Seymour's anti-Catholic policies was the emergence of a Catholic interest group that James Carroll would serve through the most important years of his Maryland life. James Carroll was more than an observer of the emergence of the Catholic interest group during the Seymour years, however. As a newcomer to the colony, his actions were more explicitly motivated to assert his identity as a Catholic, as though he were importing the Irish conflict of his youth to Maryland.

James Carroll did not have deep, propertied roots in Maryland, and he was keenly aware of what his religion had already cost him. A safer route to prosperity might have

52. Holmes, 271.

53. Ibid., 195.

54. Ibid., 101-103.

55. Ibid.

been open to him if he had accommodated himself to the times by converting to Anglicanism. Other Irish immigrants of his generation, such as Thomas Macnemara and Daniel Dulany, chose this path and built successful careers as lawyers.⁵⁶ Carroll's steadfast loyalty to his faith was apparent, however, throughout his Maryland career until his death. In his 1729 will, for example, Carroll left a large sum of money for the education of a nephew in Ireland. He claimed to do so to insure that his heir could pursue a career in law or medicine, careers closed to Catholics by the Penal Laws, without having to renounce his religion.⁵⁷ Providing his nephew with the means to be educated for a career in France indicates that Carroll had built his fortune in Maryland in defiance of a hostile political environment and he was unbowed by the struggle.

That Carroll chose to follow a defiant path was also evident when he chose the name Fingaul for his Anne Arundel County plantation. In 1704, he patented a four hundred acre plantation bordering on a small creek called Stockett's Run in the Birdsville region of Anne Arundel County.⁵⁸ This property served as his home and commercial center until the late 1720s, when he began building a house in Annapolis.⁵⁹ The name he

56. Aubrey C. Land, *Dulanys of Maryland: A Biographical Study of Daniel Dulany, the Elder (1685-1753), and Daniel Dulany, the Younger (1722-1797)*(Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1955), 15-17.

57. James Carroll, Anne Arundel County Wills, 1728, Box C. Folder 102

58. Maryland State Archives, Fingaul, 402 Acres; Patent *Developer/Owner*: Carroll, James, 1704 Patent Record DD 5, 520 MSA S, 1581-1582.

Fingaul, 402 Acres; Patent *Developer/Owner*: Carroll, James, 1704 Patent Record Ry 1, 517 MSA S, 1581-1583

59. Maryland State Archives. Anne Arundel County Deeds. II#1, 1729-30, p 218. James Carroll was mentioned as living on an Annapolis lot bordering on one being sold from Edmund Jennings to George Plater.

chose for this plantation was indicative of his defiant spirit, but projected it in a more international context. In Ireland, Fingaul was the seat of the Plunkett family, leaders in the Jacobite cause for over a century after the 1640s.⁶⁰ An overtly Jacobite reading of the name Carroll selected would associate it with the spirit expressed in an unpublished early eighteenth-century pamphlet by Nicholas Plunkett. Writing of the exiled Irish as a vital political interest group in their home country, Plunkett praised their courage and loyalty to Catholicism and the Jacobite cause.⁶¹ In this context, James Carroll publicly asserted his political defiance and identified himself with the Jacobite cause.

The 1706 petition brought to the fore two men new to Maryland politics, John Seymour and James Carroll. Seymour had expressed the government's religious policy in more strident tones, and it seems probable that James Carroll was responding in the same spirit. In this way, the legislature's surprise would be at the stridency of the newcomer to the gentry group. Considering the context of the event and James Carroll's subsequent career, there seems to have been little reason for their surprise. Throughout his Maryland career, Carroll asserted his right to live as a prosperous Catholic, and acted as a man more inclined to challenge than petition for his rights. Finally, it is important to note that when James Carroll and his fellow members of the Catholic gentry challenged Governor Seymour's authority, they faced a governor and legislature who opposed one

60. O'Ciardha, 123 and Connolly, 243.

61. O'Ciardha, 34-35.

another, and they enjoyed the tacit backing of a Catholic proprietor who viewed both royal governors and the Assembly as usurpers of his right to rule.⁶²

The significance of James Carroll's inclusion in the Catholic gentry who protested before the Assembly in 1706 was in revealing his stature among the group. As a young man new to the colony, he had only his articulate passion to contribute to the group's effort. Little is recorded about the how this group formed or planned their strategy. Newly arrived James Carroll's public defiance of John Seymour suggests that his bold character was the contribution he made to the group. His acceptance among the leaders of the Catholics suggests that his gentry peers respected his strength.

II. A Contest for Power

A contest for power in Maryland emerged when James Carroll helped revive the proprietary land system during the half-decade after 1710. These were years of economic change in the colony. They were also years of generational and religious change in the Calvert family. On a larger scale, these same years witnessed important political and dynastic change in Britain. Overall, the changes helped initiate a battle for dominance in Maryland between the Carroll group and Royal Governor John Hart, who ruled from 1715-1720.

Lord Baltimore, the eighty-three-year-old proprietor of Maryland, faced a doubtful future in 1713. His age, the political climate in England and Maryland, relations

62. The Board of Trade noted in 1712 that with each appointment of a Royal Governor for Maryland, Charles Calvert had petitioned to have his rights to rule the colony restored. Headlam, 1711, doc. 718.

within his own family, and the difficulty of managing a far-off real estate empire were all causes for concern. Upon hearing a rumor that the Board of Trade was, for a third time,⁶³ considering doing away with proprietary colonies in the British Empire, he approached the Lord High Treasurer, Robert Harley, with an offer to sell his rights to Maryland.⁶⁴ The negotiations were never completed, and the Calvert family continued to own Maryland until the American Revolution, but his willingness to sell underscored his uncertainty about the future. Though the Calvert family would weather these challenging times, the next few years were a period when an appointed royal governor and the appointed head of the proprietary land system battled for authority in the colony.

Economic forces were reshaping Maryland in 1713, as well. The tobacco economy returned to profitability after a long wartime price slump. The two decades of slave importations into the colony gave the gentry planters more wealth and more of a dominant position in tobacco production, and Charles Carroll revitalized the proprietary land system as a source of income and power.

The Treaty of Utrecht, signed in 1713, ended two decades of almost constant warfare. These decades of international conflict had a significant effect on Maryland's tobacco economy. Reduced continental markets and losses of tobacco shipments at sea had led to an unstable, sometimes flooded market, and generally declining prices, despite Parliament's efforts to mitigate the situation by permitting continental sales via neutral ships. This decline, combined with rising freight rates and bad weather had driven many

63. See Steele, 60-81, 158-160.

64. Hall, 360.

small planters out of tobacco farming and left the major growers in control of the colony's production.⁶⁵

In the same years, the colony's tobacco labor force changed from mainly white servants to mostly enslaved Africans. This transformation from free to bound labor was uneven, concentrating slaves under the ownership of the major planters who could afford to buy them. Owning enslaved people enabled the planter elite to further their dominance of tobacco production, giving a small segment of the colony's population the opportunity to distance themselves from the lower economic strata of Maryland society.⁶⁶

Looking to the future of Maryland in 1713 might have given Charles Carroll more reason for optimism than it did the elderly Charles Calvert. As a major landowner, planter and slave owner, he was at the economic pinnacle of the colony. Further, upon the death of his father-in-law, Henry Darnall, he had assumed the lead position in the proprietary land system.⁶⁷ The political situation in the colony was also favorable. After John Seymour's death in 1709, Edward Lloyd, a local rather than British-born leader, governed Maryland for six years.⁶⁸ While Seymour had political ties and allegiances to England, Lloyd was the stepbrother of Richard Bennett, Carroll's partner in the 1706 petition.⁶⁹ Overall, Charles Carroll had made his way into the Maryland elite in the

65. Land, *Colonial Maryland*, 113, 102, and 112. Hemphill, 28, 30, 32, Appendix B. Kulikoff, 82.

66. Main, 104, and Kulikoff, 87.

67. Hoffman, *Princes of Ireland*, 73.

68. Land, *Colonial Maryland*, 112.

69. Hardy, "A Papist in a Protestant Age," 216.

1690s, weathered John Seymour's hostility, and now arrived at the economic and political peak of his career.

James Carroll could look ahead in 1713 and expect to profit as a valuable assistant to his uncle. His first area of service would be in helping to administer the proprietary land office. Carroll tracked the colony's growing land-based economy by overseeing the official records of surveys and calculating the annual tax or quitrent due to the proprietor by each property holder.⁷⁰ Carroll held office from the date of his appointment as Rent Roll Keeper in 1706 until his death in 1729 although his appointment was nominal after 1716.⁷¹

The quitrent system was a remnant of the feudal era,⁷² but it was far from extinct in Carroll's day and a lucrative resource for the Calverts. Ultimately, all Maryland real estate belonged to the Crown, but the Lords Baltimore held the colony by virtue of a royal grant. Maryland belonged to Lord Baltimore, and he granted land to holders upon the fulfillment of several conditions. One could not simply settle or purchase unoccupied land. Instead, a prospective landholder paid a fee to warrant land. Having surveyed and settled upon it, one could pay to patent the land. With a patent in hand, a planter could

70. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 73, Page 256, <http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000073/html/am73--256.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01). Also, see, Kilty, 258-60, for a description of the duties of the Rent Roll Keeper.

71. Owings, *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 662, Page 176, <http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000662/html/am662--176.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01)

72. For an analysis of this lineage see *Ibid.*, 1-64.

use his land conditionally upon his paying an annual quitrent.⁷³ Warrant, patent, and quitrent fees were due to Lord Baltimore in two payments per year at Lady Day, March 25, and Michaelmas, September 29.⁷⁴ From 1689-1716, the proprietary family collected fees through the administrators of the land office and the quitrents through tax farmers. The tax farmers paid Lord Baltimore a negotiated price to collect quitrents for a six-year period. By shrewd forecasting of the value of the quitrents due and efficient collecting, the tax farmers could earn a good profit administering Lord Baltimore's interests.

The Rent Roll Keeper was a middle level bureaucrat in this system. At the top, the Keeper of the Great Seal represented the proprietor in the colony. On the second rung, the tax farmers were financially responsible for collecting the rents. The Rent Roll Keeper oversaw the preparation of the actual records of the proprietary system. This responsibility entailed record keeping and surveying property. Clerks and surveyors assisted the Rent Roll Keeper in this work. Taken together, this system was an appointed hierarchy with quasi-governmental authority, although they were completely separate from the colony's royal and elected system of government. Members of the land system were private employees of the proprietor.⁷⁵

73. See, Kity, Chapter 12 for a detailed description of the process of securing a land title. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 73, Page 205,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000073/html/am73--205.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

74. Ibid., 257,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000073/html/am73--257.html>.

75. Ibid., 256,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000073/html/am73--256.html>.

The Catholic gentry had dominated this system since the settlement of the colony. Dating from before the 1689 revolution and until his death in 1712, Henry Darnall had served as Keeper of the Great Seal, the overall head of the land system. Upon his death, Charles Carroll had succeeded him and served in office until his removal in 1716. The quitrent system seems to have been inconsistent in its administration prior to Carroll's taking over. The criticism of the system originated in the Assembly and centered on three complaints: the records were poorly kept, fees were assessed arbitrarily, and Roman Catholics ran the system. In 1710, for example, the Assembly complained that no one could be certain of the bounds of property and that Catholic surveyors were taking unwarranted fees. Lord Baltimore responded that allegations of misdeeds were not proof of crimes, that he had appointed surveyors based on their skill rather than their religion and that most of the surveyors were Protestants.⁷⁶ Henry Lowe and Richard Bennett had purchased the right to farm the rents in 1698, but devastating fires had made their task difficult.⁷⁷ Two fires set by the outlaw, Richard Clark, damaged the state's land records. The first, on October 17, 1704, destroyed the State Capitol and many state records stored there. Just a year later, the second fire destroyed the courthouse and most of the surviving records.⁷⁸ James Carroll was appointed to recreate the rent rolls after the second fire. Lowe and Bennett continued to hold the right to collect quitrents on land until 1712.

76. Cecil Headlam, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series. America and the West Indies, 1704-1705* (London: Vaduz, Kraus Reprint Ltd., 1964). 1710, doc. 293.

77. Hardy, "A Papist in A Protestant Age," 210.

78. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 25, Preface, Page x, <http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000025/html/am25p--10.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

Four years later, in April of 1716, Henry Darnall II secured a lease of the tax farm for six years. The lease, backdated to 1714, granted Darnall and his partners, Clement Hill and William Digges, the right to collect rents outstanding since that year.⁷⁹ The quitrents went uncollected during the first year of this lease. James Carroll compiled the 1715 rent collection just a month before Charles Carroll secured the lease from Lord Guilford.⁸⁰ Noting a few key points summarizes this sequence of events. In 1706, James Carroll recreated the rent rolls. In 1715, he began collecting quitrents for Henry Darnall II and his partners, and in 1716, Lord Guilford retroactively confirmed his right to do so.

The revival of the quitrent system coincided with a traumatic generational change in the Calvert family. Charles Calvert and his son Benedict Leonard were not close. Near the end of this life, the elderly proprietor complained that his son was more eager to pursue his interest in hawking, attending venison parties, and going to horse races than he was in visiting his father.⁸¹ The division came to a head in 1713 when Benedict Leonard Calvert converted to Anglicanism. Calvert wrote a letter to Lord Treasurer Robert Harley

79. The complexity of the lease's dating warrants a detailed quote from *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 30, Page 397, <http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000030/html/am30--397.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01). "Mr. Charles Carroll appearing His Excellency tells him that he now speaks to him on behalf of the Lord Proprietary and this Province and desires that he will let him see the Lease His Lordship has Granted of his growing Rents which being produced and read appeared to be made by his Lordship's Guardian dated the 10th day of April, 1716 to Mr. Henry Darnall for the term of six years from the 25th, Sept. 1714 and in consideration of £300 sterling money of Great Britain."

80. Carroll, 66.

81. Hall, 361 and Hoffman, *Princes of Ireland*, 78-83.

explaining that he would have converted earlier except that he was worried his father would have cut off his income.⁸²

Benedict Leonard's son, Charles Calvert the younger, did not initially share his father's religious sentiment. At the time of the split between the older generations, he was a young student at the Jesuit college of St. Omer's in Belgium. For the moment, he remained steadfast in his Catholicism, stating that he would rather forsake his inheritance than his religion.⁸³ It seems clear from the tone of Benedict Leonard Calvert's letter to Harley about his religious conversion that the timing of his switch to Anglicanism, the question of the return of Maryland to Calvert control, and the selection of a strong Protestant royal governor were not decisions reached in a political vacuum. Reading these moves in the context of the Parliamentary division over succession suggests that the issue of Calvert inheritance of Maryland was parallel to the larger dynastic question. Harley most likely advocated a Protestant succession on both fronts. The Carrolls probably shared the opinion of the opposite faction, the Jacobite Tories, and advocated for a Catholic succession in London and Annapolis.

A year earlier, the impending death of Queen Anne in 1714 had reawakened the political question of who would succeed her to the British throne. The principal cause for anxiety in this question was the possibility of the restoration of the Roman Catholic branch of the Stuart dynasty. A Parliamentary interest group supporting James Edward Stuart's claim arose at that hour among the Tory followers of Lord Bolingbroke, and the Jacobite Tories who openly opposed Hanoverian succession. The Tories were split

82. Hall, 362.

83. Hardy, Beatriz Betancourt. "Papists in a Protestant Age," 131-133

between this interest group and the more moderate branch led by Robert Harley. Across the aisle in Parliament, the better-organized minority Whig party supported the Hanoverian cause.⁸⁴ After two years as the leaders of Queen Anne's government, by 1714, Bolingbroke and the Jacobite-Tories were a spent force in Parliament.⁸⁵ Moderate Tories, led by Robert Harley, and Whigs worked in concert to guarantee the Hanoverian succession, with the result of bringing on a sweeping change in electoral and appointed positions that ended the power of the Tories.⁸⁶

This Parliamentary action adds dimension to understanding the timing of Charles Carroll's actions to revive the proprietary land system after 1712. The division in the Calvert family left the Catholic proprietary administrators in Maryland uncertain of the future and aware that their strongest course would be to revive the land system and ingratiate themselves to the younger Charles Calvert. Uncertainty in England over the continuation of proprietary colonies early in the period, the age of Charles Calvert, and the conversion of Benedict Leonard Calvert fostered an apparent sense of urgency for Charles Carroll to elevate his office from that of a private household employee of the Calvert family to more of an official arm of Maryland government.

Events came to a head early in 1715 when the elder Charles Calvert died. Benedict Leonard Calvert moved quickly to have the colony returned to his direct governance, and he had a Protestant military officer, John Hart, appointed Royal Governor. Benedict Leonard's appointment of Hart had an economic dimension as well.

84. For a detailed discussion of this point, see Holmes, Chapter 9.

85. Ibid., 380-81.

86. Ibid., See Chronology, 456-57.

His break with his father had severely strained the younger Calvert's finances. In return for his post, Hart pledged to pay Calvert an annual fee of £500.⁸⁷ In John Hart, Calvert also selected an outspoken man of strong character,⁸⁸ unlikely to accept the Carrolls' dominance of the land system and eager to effect a significant change.

Benedict Leonard Calvert died in April of 1715, just a few months after he had succeeded his father, and his minor son, also named Charles Calvert, assumed the proprietorship of Maryland under the guardianship of Francis North, the 2nd Lord Guilford. Lord Guilford was a friend of the elder Charles Calvert and served as a member of Queen Anne's cabinet from 1712-15. He was a Tory with sympathies for the rights of Catholics, described as a "Jacobite of debauched habits, whose example corrupted Baltimore's character."⁸⁹ Guilford advised Calvert to act cautiously about religious issues. Years earlier, his father, the 1st Lord Guilford, had served as one of King Charles II's closest advisors and had cautioned the king not to exceed the law in his pro-Catholic policies.⁹⁰ Despite the 2nd Lord Guilford's sympathy for the rights of Catholics,

87. Headlam 1715, doc. 200

88. "Mr. Hart who appears to have been of a character as free from disguise and as void of indulgence, was very sincere in his condemnation of the system of vesting office under the description of an agent, the tenor of whose commission and instructions was not always known to the public and who, as an officer, was amenable only to the proprietary himself." Kilty, *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 73, Page 224, <http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000073/html/am73--224.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

89. Edward C. Papenfuse et al., *A Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature, 1635-1789*. 2 Vols. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979, 1985) cited in Hoffman, *Princes of Ireland*, 80.

90. Miller, 194-195.

he also employed his father's caution. The younger Charles Calvert accepted his advice, in part by converting to Anglicanism upon inheriting Maryland.

Hart landed in Maryland on May 29, 1714,⁹¹ secure in Parliamentary and Royal support for Protestant rule in the colony. Carroll need not surrender too quickly, however. Benedict Leonard Calvert's death offered a ray of hope to the Carrolls and their associates and opened the path to their achieving official sanction for their push for political legitimacy from Lord Guilford and the younger Charles Calvert. Maryland was, once again, a proprietary colony, and from the Carroll perspective, Charles Calvert had the authority to enlarge Carroll's authority to the degree he saw fit. Charles Carroll was quick to seize on this opportunity by traveling to London in 1715 to meet with Lord Guilford and his young ward. In London, Carroll sought to have his authority as head of the Maryland land system confirmed by having Lord Guilford lease the quitrent collection to Henry Darnall II.⁹² For himself, he sought appointment to the post of Naval Officer of the colony, a position that would give him the right to collect all fees and fines due in Maryland.⁹³ Guilford appointed Carroll on March 24, 1715,⁹⁴ reopening the

91. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 27, Page 95,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000127/html/am127--95.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

92. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 30, Page 397,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000030/html/am30--397.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

93. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 30, Page 375,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000030/html/am30--375.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

94. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 30, Page 377
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000030/html/am30--377.html> , (Accessed 2005/04/01).

question of authority in the colony after a year of rule by Hart, in the face of the power changes that had taken place in Parliament, and despite the Hanoverian succession.

John Hart's initial situation in Maryland was somewhat like that which had greeted John Seymour eleven years earlier. Seymour had complained about the influence of the Catholic friends of the proprietor, and Hart had similar grounds for concern. Seymour had distanced himself from the Catholic gentry by staging a warning of Jesuit priests in front of the Assembly; Hart did the same. Both governors also seemed anxious to drive a wedge between the Assembly and the Catholic appointees of the proprietor by stirring up religious animosity.

Governor Hart began his assault on the Catholic interest group by calling two Jesuit priests before the Assembly in January of 1715. His move echoed John Seymour's 1704 action by involving the same participants. Hart cast his net wider, though, by including James Carroll in the dramatic encounter. Calling in James Carroll broadened Hart's attack, but also confirmed Carroll's status as his most viable Catholic target among the gentry. James Carroll was not the most powerful Catholic then in Maryland. Alternately, Hart might have chosen other targets, such as William Digges or Clement Hill – partners in farming the quitrents – or Richard Bennett – Charles Carroll's 1706 co-competition. James Carroll's selection most probably resulted from his having been among the most overtly partisan of the Catholic gentry.

Hart summoned Carroll to explain a letter that Mary Hemsley, the wife of an Annapolis innkeeper, had discovered in a book previously loaned to Jesuit William Hunter, one of the two priests warned by Governor Seymour in his first days as the colony's governor. Mrs. Hemsley alleged that the author of the letter was a second Jesuit

priest, Peter Attwood, and that its intended recipient was a third Jesuit, William Kittuck. Hemsley claimed to have found the letter four months after Hunter had returned a borrowed copy of *The Practice of Physick*. Though she claimed to have kept the discovery secret from her husband, Philomen Hemsley, she did tell several acquaintances that she had a letter of what she termed dangerous consequences that “tended to excite rebellion in the province.” Disclosed in an era of perceived Jacobite threat, the letter seemed suspicious.⁹⁵

It seems a bit strange that a woman of such fierce anti-Catholic sentiment would loan a book to a Jesuit. Mary Hemsley was a relative of Governor Seymour’s and had come to Annapolis with him in 1702. Soon after her arrival in Annapolis, she had married a wealthy Annapolis widower named John Contee. Upon Contee’s death in 1709, she married Philemon Hemsley, a wealthy merchant in the London and Barbados trades who had served as a justice of the peace in Talbott and Queen Anne Counties and owned an inn adjacent to the State Capitol. The Hemsleys were well connected and quite wealthy, owning fifty-four enslaved people and an estate worth over £3,034 at the time of Philemon Hemsley’s death in 1718.⁹⁶

When Governor Hart called Jesuit Peter Attwood to testify, he stated that the letter was one he wrote in answer to questions Kittuck had about a sermon Attwood had

95. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 25, Page 327,
[http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000025
/html/am25--327.html](http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000025/html/am25--327.html) (Accessed 2005/04/01).

96. Anne E. Yentsch, *A Chesapeake Family and their Slaves: A Study in Historical Archaeology*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 38 and 343.

given. The sermon was on the text, “Per total noctem laborantes, nihil cepimus,”⁹⁷ a Latin phrase sounding dangerously like an admission of the Jesuits having been engaged in covert political action in the colony. Attwood assured the governor, though, that he had written the phrase in a purely religious context with no political connotation.

The letter mentioned that James Carroll had offered the Jesuits a tract of three hundred acres of land in Baltimore County for them or other priests who would settle upon it. Attwood’s phrase that the Jesuits must, “Strike while the iron is hot,” troubled Hart, and Carroll assured the governor that he intended the gift of land as an act of charity.⁹⁸

Carroll and Hart then indirectly threatened each other. The governor alluded to Mrs. Hemsley’s fear of being accosted on the road and her reported fearing for her life by reminding Carroll that “such persons who make discoveries to the government are always protected by it.” Hart continued by warning Carroll about several alleged expressions he had made in recent months. Carroll responded to his words in a bold tone. He said, “If a body calumniated him, and if he could not be righted by law, he would do himself justice.” The warning to the governor was clear. In later battles with the Carrolls, Hart

97. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 25, Page 332,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000025/html/am25--332.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01). This phrase is a quote from the Latin Vulgate translation of the New Testament according to Luke, Chapter 5, Verse 5. Literally, it means, “We have labored all the night and caught nothing.” It is part of the disciple Simon’s response to Jesus when Christ approached his fishing boat. The King James Version of the Bible presents the phrase as saying: “And Simon answering said unto him, Master, we have toiled all the night, and have taken nothing; nevertheless at thy word I will let down the net.” Simon recast his net at Christ’s bidding and caught many fish. Written in 1712, the phrase might well have been a cryptic encouragement written from one Jesuit to another that the long-frustrated Catholic interests in Maryland were about to change for the better as a result of the Carrolls’ religious and political support.

98. Ibid.

alluded to people who might hurt or kill him, and he might well have been calling this exchange to mind.⁹⁹

James Carroll's daybook preserves the day-to-day commerce that he conducted while this battle raged and presents a mundane context for the more dramatic events happening on the political stage. His daybook indicates that he was associated across religious lines with several important members of the Assembly such as Prince George's County merchant and Upper House leader, Robert Tyler. Social and commercial links such as these suggest that Maryland politics might prove as hard for John Hart to master as it had been for John Seymour. Overlapping bonds of kinship, religion, economic interests, and friendship formed a complex web of loyalties. Carroll's daybook offers some insight into this complexity. John Bradford and Thomas Macnemara, for example, were his trade partners, men related to him by marriage and yet important Protestant political figures. Bradford was a Justice of the Peace in Prince George's County and Macnemara the Clerk of the Lower House of the Assembly. Carroll's accounts for 1715 reveal a social network of friendship that underlay the political contest. It demonstrates that Carroll spent much of early January with Bradford, Macnemara and Henry Darnall II. Small sums that changed hands among the men suggest that they spent the season in friendly gambling over backgammon and cards.¹⁰⁰ While there was not an explicit mention of gambling in this month's entries, a similar entry from two months earlier was for a debt of approximately half a pound that Carroll collected from another leading

99. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 25, Page 334,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000025/html/am25--334.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

100. Carroll, 10-11.

Catholic, Clement Hill for a sum, “lost at backgammon in partnership with you against Mr. Macnemara.”¹⁰¹ It is impossible to know what the men discussed while gambling, but the struggle between Charles Carroll and Governor Hart and their future moves in the contest were probable topics.

The public events of the Carroll-Hart contest were theatrical and calculated to appeal to both local and British audiences. Each major action happened in a prominent setting, and the key moments took place in front of the Assembly. Off stage, a web of rumor and hearsay featuring gossip and dramatic gestures surrounded the confrontation, including a rumor that James Carroll had offered to drink a toast to the Pretender.¹⁰² Drinking and offering to drink toasts to the Stuarts were gestures of loyalty among Jacobites throughout the British world.¹⁰³ An accusation of engaging in such an action

101. Ibid., 27C.

102. Just after John Hart warned James Carroll about threatening remarks he made to Mrs. Hemsley, he expanded his warning to a more general condemnation by mentioning rumors linking Carroll to alleged treasonous action. “His Excellency acquaints the council that he has had some intimation, that sundry Roman Catholics, and other disaffected persons to his Majesty’s government especially in Prince George’s County, have spoke disrespectfully of the government and showed their disaffection to his Majesty by spreading sundry false rumors, especially of advantage gained by his Majesty’s enemies, and drinking or offering to drink the Pretender’s health, and therefore desires the opinion of the board whether it may not be fit to caution the magistrates and sheriffs of the respective counties, especially at this time, when there seems to be divers commotions fomented in Great Britain, carefully to observe the demeanor of such persons, and upon finding or suspecting any persons, in their respective Counties, to be disaffected to his Majesty and government and to show themselves as such by their evil demeanor to tender them the oaths. On refusal whereof they should cause them to find good sureties, for their good behavior or commit them, to the county gaol.” *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 25, Page 334, <http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000025/html/am25--334.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

103. See, O’Ciardha, 169 for examples of criminal charges based on allegations of Jacobite toasts.

was an accusation of treason. A 1718 letter of complaint Mary Hemsley wrote to the Board of Trade after she had turned against Governor Hart demonstrates the serious regard people had for toasts in this era. Hemsley accused Hart of allowing people to drink toasts to the king in his presence without specifically naming the sovereign.¹⁰⁴

Governor Hart was new to the colony and needed to establish his authority before an Assembly that had enjoyed virtual self-rule for six years. In addition, the limited uprisings in Scotland in support of the Pretender in 1715 had reawakened the Jacobite hopes and Protestant fears of Papist plots¹⁰⁵ that had marked Governor Seymour's early months in the colony. Governor John Hart used these fears to justify his taking a hard line against Charles Carroll's assertions of authority in Maryland. If Hart suspected James Carroll of being a Jacobite, he would not have needed Mrs. Hemsley's old letter to stir up his enmity, but it provided a handy weapon to use against the Catholic interest group.

The Carrolls and their allies had a mundane, economic reason for opposing the governor, beyond the threat he posed to their religious freedom and management of the land system. Hart had been an official in Spain prior to his posting in Maryland, and he was an active merchant trading with the Portuguese islands. He continued this business in Maryland. In a bitter 1717 letter to the king, Thomas Macnemara accused the governor of smuggling. He complained that in 1715, Hart, "In partnership with some of the principal inhabitants imported in a vessel belonging to him and others wines, sugar, etc. from Lisbon, contrary to the Acts of Parliament, and so far awed or influenced the

104. Headlam, 1718, doc. 228.

105. See, O'Ciardha, Chapter III, for a discussion of the 1702-15 fears. O'Ciardha presents evidence to show that the fears were creditable.

custom officers, that they required no entry be made of the said goods.”¹⁰⁶ Macnemara’s relative, Charles Carroll, and his associates were among the colony’s leading merchants, and they did not welcome the entrance of this powerful interloper. This incident was one event in a prolonged battle between Macnemara and Hart, but it was illustrative of the economic aspect of the conflict.

Upon Charles Carroll’s return to Annapolis in the spring of 1716, events in the legislature and streets took on a decidedly partisan tone. Governor Hart was away from Annapolis on the night of Sunday, June 10, when the sound of cannons fired to mark the Pretender’s birthday awakened the town.¹⁰⁷ The people of Annapolis considered the cannon fire to be a serious event. Since 1714, the Assembly had expressed anxiety about the Pretender’s claim to the throne, and they had offered a large reward for his capture in the event of his leading an invasion of any British territory.¹⁰⁸ They also convened a one-day session on April 24, 1716 in response to the Pretender’s proclamation of his right to

106. Headlam, 1717, doc. 289.

107. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 30, Page 372,
[http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000030
/html/am30--372.html](http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000030/html/am30--372.html) (Accessed 2005/04/01).

108. “Resolved Nemine Contradicente that it be an instruction to the said committee of the whole house that they have power to receive a clause to enable and require the Lord High Treasurer or Commissioners of the Treasury for the time being to issue out of any money granted by Parliament the sum of £100,000 to be paid to any person or persons who shall apprehend the person of the Pretender, if ever he should land or attempt to land in any of His Majesties Dominions.” *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 25, Page 282,
[http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000025
/html/am25--282.html](http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000025
/html/am25--282.html) (Accessed 2005/04/01).

the British throne and the French king's support of his claim.¹⁰⁹ Two men, Edward Coyle and William Fitz Redmund, were arrested, jailed and fined for firing the cannons.¹¹⁰ Fitz Redmund and Edward Coyle were not innocent pranksters, but Catholics associated directly with James Carroll.¹¹¹ Fitz Redmund was a clerk employed by Carroll in the land office and said to be his cousin.¹¹² Coyle was an Annapolis tailor with whom Carroll did business. Two months later, on August 14, 1716, James Carroll paid Fitz Redmund money for cash lost at hazard.¹¹³ In light of this payment, it seems fair to ask if firing the cannons was also done on hazard.

It is possible that the Carrolls staged the cannon firing as a pretext for their asserting authority.¹¹⁴ On July 10th, 1716, the Assembly noted having received a receipt

109. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 30, Preface Page vi,
[http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000030
/html/am30p--6.html](http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000030/html/am30p--6.html) (Accessed 2005/04/01).

110. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 30, Page 372,
[http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000030
/html/am30--372.html](http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000030
/html/am30--372.html) (Accessed 2005/04/01).

111. Carroll, 37.

112. Hanley, 8.

113. Carroll, 50.

114. It is impossible to know the full story of the cannon firing or to determine if it was staged. It seems clear from letters written by his son some years later that Charles Carroll returned to Annapolis in 1716 with the understanding that he had the support of the Calverts in asserting his power. This is evident from the tone of bitterness with which his son described the events and referred to the motives of the Calverts. Referring to the treatment Henry Darnall, the younger, received on his removal from office in 1716, Charles Carroll of Annapolis wrote: "Thus has the family for a long time sacrificed us, abandoned their friends, and courted their enemies by bestowing all favors on them, a policy as weak and foolish, as it is scandalous and ungrateful." He continued by cautioning his son, "I think you will act foolishly if from principle you espouse the interests of a family, who have plainly showed they have no principle at all, or at least that gratitude and justice and honor has no influence on their principles." Hoffman, *Dear*

from Charles Carroll for his having collected the fine of forty pounds imposed on Coyle by the Anne Arundel County Court. He went a step further in collecting fines from Fitz Redmund, accepting fees for common criminal offenses as well.¹¹⁵ Fitz Redmund was fined for four offenses: three assaults upon innkeeper John Navar and thirty pounds for drinking a toast to the Pretender's health. In this way, Charles Carroll was asserting civil authority parallel to that of the governor and Assembly.

Carroll claimed that, as Naval Officer, he had been given the right to collect all fines imposed in the colony by the proprietor. Carroll produced a letter from Lord Guilford, dated the 24th of March, 1715, appointing Carroll to be, "Our chief Agent Escheator, Naval Officer, and Receiver General of all our rents, arrears of rents, fines forfeitures, tobaccos or moneys for land warrants." Guilford also granted Carroll the power to, "Lawfully do or cause to be done in the premises notwithstanding any insufficiency or defect in the words... of this our commission."¹¹⁶ The letter from Guilford and Calvert shocked the governor and Assembly by informing them that Carroll

Papa, Dear Charley, 180. Earlier, in describing Calvert's removal of his father from office in 1716, Carroll had written, "The people here, making a handle of the rebellion of 1715 enacted laws enjoining all the oaths taken in England to be taken here and disqualified any person from voting ... who would not take those oaths... to these the proprietary was not only mean enough to assent, but he deprived several Roman Catholics employed in the management of his private patrimony and revenue, of their places and among the rest your grandfather who was his agent and receiver general and had held the former places under three Lords Baltimores, this no act compelled him to do and he did to cajole an insolent rabble who were again aiming to deprive him of the government." Ibid., 169.

115. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 30, Page 516,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000030/html/am30--516.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

116. Ibid., 375-76,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000030/html/am30--375.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

was no longer just a member of the proprietor's household staff, but a political authority in the colony with the power to collect fines.

Hart's immediate response to hearing the letter read was to remark that "the commission being granted to any other person but himself, especially to a Papist is such a lessening of his power and dishonour to his character that he has desired to be recalled unless he can be restored to the full authority he held under the Crown."¹¹⁷ Hart concluded that Carroll had, "Deceived the Lord Proprietor in his tender age and also his guardian in imposing upon them to grant him such a commission." He launched a counterattack on the grounds of religion. He asserted that Carroll had refused to take the,

"Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy and the oath appointed in the Act made in the fifth year of her late majesty for securing her person and government and the succession of the crown of Great Britain in the Protestant line and also enjoined by an Act of Assembly of this province still in force and unrepealed to be taken and subscribed by all persons in this province who shall hold an office or place of trust within the same and without the doing whereof no person can be capable of holding, executing or enjoying any office or trust in the province."¹¹⁸

The Upper House of the Assembly agreed with Governor Hart that Carroll had deceived the proprietor by playing upon his ignorance of the law of the colony requiring an Oath of Abjuration of all Maryland officeholders. The governor summed the matter up by

117. Ibid.,376,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000030/html/am30--376.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

118 . Ibid., 378,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000030/html/am30--378.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

saying, “He always by his letters advised their Lordships never to employ any Papists in the public affairs of the Province.”¹¹⁹

On Thursday, July 19, the Lower House of the Assembly concurred with the governor and Upper House. In a letter signed by none other than James Carroll’s brother-in-law, trade partner, and gambling associate, Thomas Macnemara, as Clerk, the House noted, “It is with great satisfaction we find our religion so well secured under a Protestant king, lord, and governor. These happy circumstances give us a satisfactory assurance that the aspiring interest of those that term us heretics will not be able to prevail against us.”¹²⁰ The Lower House asked for a conference with the governor and Upper House to discuss the matter in a message signed by Prince George’s County merchant Robert Tyler, a man who was also a trade partner of James Carroll,¹²¹ demonstrating again how political, trade, and social lines could be tangled in this era. Described by his contemporaries as an unscrupulous lawyer, Macnemara’s signature on the letter from the Lower House suggests that he was a political chameleon as well.¹²²

The governor pressed his advantage by posing three questions to Carroll. First, did he acquaint the proprietor and his guardian with the laws enacted under Kings

119. Ibid., 378-79.
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000030/html/am30--379.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

120. Ibid., 380,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000030/html/am30--380.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

121. Carroll, 6

122. See *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 33, Page 173, for the Upper House of the Assembly’s description of Macnemara’s unfitness to practice law in Maryland.
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000033/html/am33--173.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

Charles II and William regarding the regulation of trade in the colonies? Second, did he inform them of the laws requiring that he take a religious oath before he could serve in a colonial office? Third, Hart asked Carroll how he “came to take upon him the Office of Escheator General in this province and the office of Naval Officer as well as Receiver General of the public revenue of this province when he knew his intention of not taking the Oath of Abjuration?” In a yet more threatening move, Hart then requested that Carroll inform the governor of the names of the surveyors and deputy surveyors in the land office. Finally, Hart ordered Carroll to prepare an overview of the rents he had collected for the proprietor.¹²³

On July 23rd, Charles Carroll appeared before the Assembly and presented accounts that spelled out his agreement with the proprietor about the rents. Lord Baltimore would farm his rents in return for £300 sterling. The tax farmers, a group that included Darnall and Carroll, would receive £279 sterling. The next day, Carroll appeared again and produced a letter from Lord Guilford to Henry Darnall II that granted Darnall the right to collect rents for six years, starting in September of 1714. Carroll observed that if Darnall rejected the lease, payment for the compilation of the rent rolls, amounting to 10,000 pounds of tobacco would still be due. Darnall then came forward and ceremoniously cancelled the lease by breaking Lord Guilford’s seal from the document. The Assembly noted the termination of the lease on the same day.¹²⁴

123. Ibid., Volume 30, Page 548,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000030/html/am30--548.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

124. Ibid., 396-98,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000030/html/am30--396.html>.

The battle appears to have had mixed results. Hart had his authority cemented, but Charles Carroll had avoided taking an oath to renounce his religion. In pushing the conflict along religious lines, Hart played skillfully upon Carroll's sensibility. Charles Carroll chose religion over career, although even if he had agreed to take the oaths before Hart, it seems unlikely that the governor would have tolerated sharing power in the colony.

As the governor noted in a July 28th letter to the Assembly:

“I shall not fail to put those laws in execution against such persons who shall contumaciously dare to offend against them or have them in any degree of contempt... Your prosperity shall be my constant application to protect and to preserve it from any attempts may be made by artful and designing men whether I have the happiness to remain among you or if it be the pleasure of Providence by the means of yours and my enemies to remove me from their station. I shall steadfastly continue to the utmost of my power to be a sincere friend to the Protestant interest of Maryland.”¹²⁵

The economic winner of the battle was James Carroll. Throughout the winter of 1715, he had collected rents for Darnall; finishing his work about a month prior to Charles Carroll's securing the tax lease from Lord Guilford. Acting quickly, he used tobacco notes from Sheriffs to purchase over a hundred pounds worth of consumer goods from Maryland merchants Patrick Sympson and John Ouchterlong.¹²⁶ On July 24, the Assembly and governor agreed to the 10,000 pounds of tobacco salary for his having compiled the Rent Rolls, leaving him with a large profit from the encounter.¹²⁷ James

125. Ibid., 431,
[http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafolder/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000030
/html/am30--431.html](http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafolder/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000030/html/am30--431.html).

126. Carroll, 35.

127. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 30, Page 397,

Carroll's opportunity to profit from the tax system ended, however, when the Assembly ordered the land office closed as of July 25th. Governor Hart ordered that surveyors be required to take the religious oaths demanded of all office holders when the office reopened.¹²⁸

The battle over the future of tax farming in the colony consumed the rest of the summer. The governor and the Assembly asserted that revenue be collected by imposing a fee of eighteen pence per hogshead on exported tobacco.¹²⁹ Though the Assembly was of this opinion, Charles Carroll still had power. This was clear when on August 2nd the Upper House noted that it had consulted with Carroll about the legality of the new scheme. Carroll artfully replied by writing to the proprietor on August 10th that the new scheme could endanger the £1000 annual salary Lord Baltimore received from fees and taxes in the colony, and submitted a copy of the letter to the Assembly.¹³⁰ Carroll's clever responses made to the Assembly throughout early August offended them. They remarked that Baltimore's "agents in Great Britain as well as his agent in this province are such

<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000030/html/am30--397.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

128. Ibid., 400,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000030/html/am30--400.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

129. Ibid., 419,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000030/html/am30--419.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

130. Ibid., 431,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000030/html/am30--431.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

gentlemen as have given signal marks of their disingenuity.”¹³¹ Carroll’s awareness that his future authority was at stake is clear by his subsequently commissioning James Carroll, Thomas Macnemara, and Henry Darnall II to travel to England to appeal to the proprietor and Lord Guilford.¹³²

III. A War of Attrition

James Carroll’s political life in Maryland from 1716 to 1720 centered on the continuing battles of the Catholic faction with Governor Hart. The summer conflicts of 1716 left the Carroll group in a weakened position. Governor Hart had rebuffed Charles Carroll’s attempt to expand his power into the political governance of the colony and Hart’s successful insistence upon land officials taking religious oaths had obstructed his group’s management of the land office. A public panic stirred up by a man who ran through the Annapolis streets in August of 1716 warning of an impending Catholic attack on the Protestant population strengthened the governor’s hand.¹³³ Taken together, these developments indicated that James Carroll and his co-religionists faced a bleak future as long as Governor Hart remained in office. Rather than give up the fight, however, they renewed their efforts against Governor Hart and continued them throughout the rest of his years in Maryland.

131. Ibid., 471,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000030/html/am30--471.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

132. Carroll, 81.

133. Hardy, “Papists in a Protestant Age,” 153.

Two principal differences distinguished the Carrolls' prospects under Hart from those they had faced under Governor John Seymour a decade earlier. Seymour had elevated Catholicism to a political issue, but he did not have enough support in the Assembly or London to undercut the power of the Carrolls and their allies. The Catholic friends of the proprietor, about whom he complained at the outset of his reign, outlasted him by resisting his power in the Assembly and continuing their management of proprietary land affairs. John Hart was more successful because he had more support in the Assembly and in England upon the ascendancy of a Hanoverian monarch and Whig Parliament in 1715. Hart successfully built on a grassroots fear of Catholics in Maryland and a politically constrained proprietor to bar Catholics from holding any public office or voting in Maryland. Overall, he succeeded in centralizing power in Maryland under his authority with the support of a cooperative legislature. His success also deprived the Carrolls of the ability to use a separate proprietary land system to serve their ends.

Charles and James Carroll lost their positions in 1716, and the tax farming system was ended in favor of a duty on exported tobacco. The Carrolls owned a vast store of land and had a great deal of wealth, but they had been defeated. Their only recourse was to seek Hart's removal from office. Many recent precedents supported their work to combat Hart by undercutting his support in London.¹³⁴ Governing at a distance from the Crown and Parliament, Hart was vulnerable to the extent that the Carrolls could influence the right people in London to turn against him. Ultimately, the target of their appeal would be Lord Guilford, but to enlist his aid they would have to build a plausible case for

134. Olson, 82.

their interest and demonstrate that Hart's rule was ineffective. In 1716, they initiated a dual strategy toward undercutting Governor Hart, a passive and an active attack.

The passive strategy aimed at creating discord over the land system in the colony. In August of 1716, Charles Carroll refused to take the religious oath Hart demanded of him. Hart asserted that Carroll was thereby unqualified to hold office in the colony. This clearly barred Carroll from acting as Naval Officer and collecting fines, but it left unclear his management of the land office, a private position in the Calvert household. Carroll forced the issue ceasing to issue warrants and patents to land in the colony until he was granted half of the governor's share of the tobacco duty.¹³⁵ By 1718, the legislature was besieged by complaints that the land system was not functioning and that the bounds of property could not be determined.¹³⁶ They responded to Carroll's obstinacy on the issue by creating a system in which nine Protestant commissioners for each county would settle land disputes.¹³⁷ Hart also advised landowners not served by Carroll to sue him in court.¹³⁸ The Carrolls passive strategy failed. Although Lord Baltimore reappointed James Carroll to the post of Rent Roll Keeper in 1717, the office had little significance,

135. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 33, Page 168,
[http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000033
/html/am33--168.html](http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000033/html/am33--168.html) (Accessed 2005/04/01).

136. Ibid., 164,
[http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000033
/html/am33--164.html](http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000033
/html/am33--164.html) (Accessed 2005/04/01).

137. Ibid., 177,
[http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000033
/html/am33--177.html](http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000033
/html/am33--177.html) (Accessed 2005/04/01).

138. Hardy, "Papists in a Protestant Age," 164.

and its occupant had little power during the period from 1717 – 1733 when the Calverts' revenue was derived from the export duty on tobacco.¹³⁹

The active strategy entailed the Carrolls attacking Governor Hart on two fronts, London and Annapolis. Both involved direct appeals to Lord Guilford, but developed along distinct lines with the first assault led by James Carroll and the second by Thomas Macnemara. James Carroll undertook a direct appeal to Lord Guilford in the fall of 1716 that was unsuccessful. Macnemara battled Hart for several years in an unsavory fight that outraged the governor and Assembly, cost Maryland Catholics dearly, and ultimately ended Hart's administration.

It is important to distinguish the Carroll interest group from the larger Catholic community of Maryland. Roman Catholics were a minority in Maryland and scattered across the colony. In 1708, for example, the greatest concentration lived in Charles County, but even there they only constituted about one fifth of the population.¹⁴⁰ Maryland's early eighteenth-century Catholics were a fragmented sect that worshipped in private chapels and, as a whole, offered no real political threat to the colony's Protestant majority. The Assembly and governor spoke of Papist dangers in this era, but they were generalizing in responding to the actions of the Carroll group by placing political limits on the Catholic population as a whole. Governor Hart and the Assembly enacted

139. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 36, Page 415,
[http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000036
/html/am36--415.html](http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000036/html/am36--415.html) (Accessed 2005/04/01).

140. Hardy, "Papists in a Protestant Age," 96.

legislation to bar Catholics from public office in 1716¹⁴¹ and from voting in 1718,¹⁴² but did so in response to action by the Carroll group. This small faction was seen as being dangerous because they had the influence to challenge the governor's and Assembly's power through direct appeal to Lord Guilford.

The Carroll interest group was a tight-knit faction led by Charles Carroll, seconded by James Carroll and Thomas Macnemara. Peter Attwood, a Jesuit who came to Maryland in 1712, was important to the group as a priest and a contributor of political ideas.¹⁴³ Macnemara was, by far, the most enigmatic of the allies. A ruthless, violent, ungovernable man,¹⁴⁴ he was at once belligerent and brilliantly wily. Macnemara nominally and cynically converted to Protestantism¹⁴⁵ to advance his legal and political career, and he had been successful in both, despite the chorus of outrage that accompanied his unbroken string of dastardly actions in every venue of his life.¹⁴⁶

141. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 33, Page 288,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafolder/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000033/html/am33--288.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

142. Ibid., 144,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafolder/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000033/html/am33--144.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

143. Hardy, "Papists in a Protestant Age," 158.

144. Although he was born after Macnemara's death, Charles Carroll of Carrollton described Thomas Macnemara's nature many years later by saying, "...his untoward disposition and passions led him on to vice, from vice to want, and from want to ignominy." "A Lost Copybook of Charles Carroll of Carrollton." 207.

145. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 33, Page 287,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafolder/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000033/html/am33--287.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01). . Hardy, "Papists In A Protestant Age," 155. Land, *Dulanys of Maryland*, 15-18.

146. See Hardy, "Papists in a Protestant Age," 155-56, for a summary of Macnemara's criminal and political misdeeds.

Despite his vicious behavior, he was always loyal to the Carrolls and they were loyal to him.

James Carroll initiated the London front in the Carroll attack when he sailed to England in the fall of 1716 with Thomas Macnemara and Henry Darnall II carrying a message of complaint to Lord Guilford. Two unsigned, undated letters written to Lord Guilford in French preserved the gist of their message. The letters discussed the situation of Maryland's Catholics and called upon Guilford to intervene in the situation because he, as the proprietor's guardian, had governmental authority to act in the colony separate from that of the governor, legislature or even king. In its broadest reading, this assertion of local prerogative sought to return Calvert power to its pre-1689 status. On the matter of political authority, the letter claimed:

“The Proprietor has the power to confirm or annul all laws passed by the Assembly. They are not submitted to the Privy Council like those of colonies governed by commission from the king. But if the laws made and confirmed are not conformable to the laws of England, the Privy Council can annul them. Laws passed by the Assembly are in force until they are rejected by the Proprietor, etc. This is why the king cannot interfere in these matters, unless the laws made in Maryland are repugnant to the laws of England.”¹⁴⁷

The second 1716 letter to Lord Guilford warned that the Catholics of the colony were, “Threatened with persecution.” In particular, it identified two acts of legislation that would exclude them from election to the Assembly or Magistracy “though they are the richest and most considerable merchants in the country” and “forbid all exercise of the Catholic religion on pain of perpetual imprisonment for the priests.” The letter pointed out that while the government claimed there were forty priests in the colony,

147. Headlam, 1716, doc. 445.

there were only twelve including ten Jesuits. The tone of outrage rings clear in the sentence that follows. “The real reason for this persecution is that the Catholics have always recognized Lord Baltimore as Governor of the country in accordance with the grant of King Charles, but there are some who wish to deprive him of this inheritance, and cannot do it without first destroying the Catholics, who are and always will be opposed to doing so.”¹⁴⁸

The second letter presented a more emotional description of Catholic persecution and defiance. This difference suggests that the petitions might have had separate authors. The first letter gave advice to Lord Guilford in the cold logic of a lawyer. The second was in the voice of an angry partisan. Tentatively, one might ascribe the more legalistic as being in keeping with Charles Carroll’s crafty responses to the governor and Assembly from the summer of 1716 and the more emotional appeal as being more in line with James Carroll’s heated response to Governor Hart in January of 1715. Neither letter had a signature, but the tone and ideas expressed in the second were consistent with writing by Peter Attwood. Governor Hart’s use of the term Jesuitical to describe the evasive quality of Carroll’s answers to him suggests both their equivocal nature and that Hart suspected Attwood of involvement with the Carroll faction.

Attwood’s influence on the second letter was probable. He had been a close associate of James Carroll since his arrival in the colony in 1712, and the two men met just before Carroll sailed to England in August 1716.¹⁴⁹ The charge of persecution was

148. Headlam, 1716, doc. 444.

149. Peter Attwood, Special Collections Division, Georgetown University Library, Washington, D.C Box: 57 Folder: 1 Correspondence 1638-1766 [202 A1-13] 1638-1766 (memorandum from Attwood to James Carroll requesting books, Aug 1716).

also similar in spirit to an essay Attwood wrote in 1716 on the legal status of Catholics in Maryland.¹⁵⁰ He was writing in an era when the Maryland Jesuits worried that the governor and Assembly would enact legislation barring them from property ownership, depriving them of their livelihood, and threatening the order's future in the colony. Attwood drew upon the teaching of an earlier English Jesuit, Robert Parsons, to argue that all Englishmen had the rights to religious liberty and property.

Writing in 1606, Parsons had argued that religious liberty had transcended nationality because the right to worship had preceded the establishment of the English state. He also argued that the state existed to protect the right of property.¹⁵¹ Parsons' writing fostered the growth of a Jesuit ideology, asserted by Attwood, that any subject of the Crown had inalienable rights that should be unaffected by religious affiliation.¹⁵² His fellow Maryland Jesuit, George Hunter, argued "Catholics desired, that they may be assured that they shall not at any time be molested or affected by any law touching their Religion or Property uncommon to their fellow subjects."¹⁵³ The Jesuits were clearly worried about their future in the colony in 1716. A sham 1717 property conveyance in which William Hunter sold the order's Charles County plantation, known as Newtown, to

150. Hardy, "Papists In A Protestant Age," 158. See also, Hardy, "Roman Catholics, Not Papists," 145. In the second source, Hardy argues that "Attwood's main concern was the effort to impose the English penal laws, and he argued that liberty of conscience was fundamental law in Maryland. For more than seventy years, he observed, no one – from the lowliest Catholic to Queen Anne and her Privy Council – had considered the English laws to extend to the colony. As a result, regardless of any actions by the Assembly, Attwood believed that Catholics were free to practice their faith."

151. Murphy, 24-25.

152. Ibid., 23.

153. Ibid.

Thomas Jameson for the nominal sum of ten shillings demonstrated the depth of their concern.¹⁵⁴

The expense of sending representatives to England suggests that Charles Carroll shared the Jesuits' concern. When the travelers returned in March of the following year, Charles Carroll paid over £265 for their expenses.¹⁵⁵ His spending showed that he was anxious enough about his future to invest a fortune on direct advocacy in London. James Carroll, Thomas Macnemara and Henry Darnall II sailed to England with Captain William Ellis in September 1716 and spent the next several months working as advocates for Maryland's Catholics. The three representatives' principal activity in England was securing opinions of lawyers to bolster the case they would plead before various members of the gentry whom they visited to solicit support to the Catholic cause.

James Carroll's daybook preserves a thumbnail sketch of some of the actions the men undertook and gives a sense of how Carroll presented himself as an ambassador. In addition to carrying a watch, Carroll packed an extensive and varied wardrobe of fine garments. In all, he took two suits, a pair of striped satin britches, twenty shirts, eight neck cloths, eleven handkerchiefs, twenty-three pairs of stockings, three pairs of shoes and a wig.¹⁵⁶ It is clear from the list that being well dressed was important to Carroll. He packed items that prepared him to appear clean, fashionable, and in variable costume when he visited the gentry.¹⁵⁷

154. Ibid., 35.

155. Carroll, 81.

156. Ibid., 55.

157. The concern colonials had about how they would be perceived in England, and the prejudice among the English gentry about them is discussed in Michael J.

The three books that James Carroll packed in his sea chest when he sailed reflected the idea that the mission had religious and legal goals. All three were religious titles. Thomas á Kempis' work, *The Imitation of Christ*, was a book of meditations that pointed its reader to follow the path of religious asceticism. Similarly, *Hell Laid Open to Christians*, a seventeenth-century work by the Italian Jesuit, Giovanni Pietro Pinamonte, urged its readers to shun the pleasures of the world by vividly describing hell as a place of torment awaiting all who give in to temptation. The third book, *The Art of Human Prudence*, was a work whose title suggests the purpose of Carroll's reading throughout the trip. Carroll's religious books with their ascetic themes have added significance in the context of his traveling with his brother-in-law, Thomas Macnemara. Macnemara's years in Maryland had offered scant evidence of his practicing restraint. Among other allegations, he had faced charges of fornication, rape, and sodomy.¹⁵⁸ Taking the books he did might have helped James Carroll maintain his restraint while staying in a city rich in temptation in the company of a licentious relative.

Neither Carroll nor either of his fellow travelers recorded the details of many specific events of the trip, but the overall expense totals support a reconstruction of some of the main actions. James Carroll stayed at a London inn called the Candle and Wick for fifteen weeks, paying £14.15 for washing, firing, and lodging. He took his meals at the Barbing Tavern for one hundred and two days at a cost of eight shillings per day. Earlier, he had hired a servant to wait on him while at sea, and in London he hired a servant and a laundress. He also hired a coach, from November 25 through March 6th, at three shillings

Rozbicki, “The Curse of Provincialism: Negative Perceptions of Colonial American Plantation Gentry,” *The Journal of Southern History*, 63, no. 4, (1997): 727-52.

158. Aubrey C. Land, *Dulanys of Maryland*, 15-19.

per day. Along with the coach, he hired a coachman. He bought clothing for the coachman, dressing him in a coat and britches, speckled shirts, stockings, and shoes. In addition, he supplied the coachman with a bed, blankets, and a pillow. At some unrecorded date, it seems that this coachman encountered trouble with a highwayman, as Carroll recorded an entry for “paying the kidnapper.”¹⁵⁹

Other expenses indicate several types of interactions involving the three representatives with British political and commercial figures. James Carroll paid over £32 for a gold watch, for instance, which appears to have been a gift to a member of the gentry from its daybook entry that states, “As per your note delivered.” The most likely recipient for such an expensive gift was either Lord Guilford or Lord Baltimore. Other entries suggest business affairs. James Carroll paid £107, for example, to a man named Salters.¹⁶⁰ This large amount of money seems most likely to have been payment for goods imported to Maryland. Greshenheim Salters was the name of a slave trader active at this time, and if he were the man named, it is plausible that this money was a down payment for an importation of enslaved people.¹⁶¹ The plausibility of this is supported by noting that James Carroll’s other recorded business in London was with merchants also linked to the importation and slave trades, John Hyde and Thomas Colmore.¹⁶² The payment to Salters was the first expense listed upon Carroll’s arrival in England, but his meetings with the other merchants took place just prior to his return to Maryland in

159. Carroll, 81.

160. Ibid.

161. Minchinton, *Virginia Slave-Trade Statistics*, 29.

162. Carroll, 40, 72.

March. A November payment would serve to initiate a voyage that landed in Annapolis during the next summer.

James Carroll's expense account of his trip to England contained in his daybook gives a view of the material aspects of what was required in terms of money and time to participate in the politics of courting the proprietor's favor. The scale of expense showed the level of Charles Carroll's interest in enlisting Lord Guilford's aid, and its failure was indicative of the degree to which Guilford's ability to directly aid the Carrolls had eroded after 1715.

After hearing from James Carroll, Lord Guilford wrote to Governor Hart and the Assembly denouncing the mission in clear terms. In an address read before the Assembly on June 8, 1717, Guilford stated:

“As we can not enough commend the loyalty and zeal you have shewn for his Majesty and the succession in the illustrious House of Hanover, so none of those laws to which we have assented met with a more ready confirmation than that which makes it penal for men to act in employment without taking the oaths to our dread sovereign King George, whereby Protestants and Papists may clearly perceive that your Lord and Proprietor is not as has been maliciously suggested by some a Papist in masquerade but a true Protestant of the Church of England in which faith he is resolved to live and die.”¹⁶³

Governor Hart expressed his objection to both the content of the letters that the Carrolls wrote to Guilford and their having been delivered. In a speech to the Assembly on April 22, 1718, Hart called Charles Carroll “the first fomenter of our late disturbances.” The governor complained that Carroll was not content to enjoy a level of prosperity in Maryland that he would not have been able to equal elsewhere in the British

163. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 33, Page 54-55,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000033/html/am33--55.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

Empire and that he was insisting on an equal right for Catholics to hold public office. Hart charged that Carroll had threatened to write to Lord Guilford and unnamed higher powers to press for this right that he alleged had been granted to Catholics by Cecil Calvert in a document unfortunately burnt in the 1704 State House fire, but that Carroll had assured Hart that he would not do so. Hart was outraged because Carroll had not only been “Jesuitical and evasive” in his direct answers to the governor, but broken his promise by sending James Carroll to deliver the appeal. He continued by describing the mission in a way that alluded to the second letter presented to Lord Guilford.

“To gain this point, I am informed that a very large sum of money, was subscribed for, by the leading men of the Romish community and some of them went as emissaries to London and were very active there against me, and exclaimed in bitter terms of my prosecuting the Papists in this province and how cruel a manner they were treated in, and even debarred the liberty of a free commerce.”¹⁶⁴

Governor Hart was elated by the message of support he received when Lord Guilford rejected the Carrolls’ petitions. It confirmed his assertion that Guilford supported his removal of Charles Carroll from office and his demanding religious oaths of all office holders. Hart reiterated his charge that Charles Carroll could only have advanced his interests through “surprise and misinformation.” Hart reminded Catholics that they enjoyed the same rights as Protestants in Maryland except the ability to hold office and advised them to live quietly within the law. He described his policy toward Catholics with a military image.

“Yet I shall never forget that maxim I learned when a soldier that whilst the enemy was in arms to oppose them with a vigorous resolution, but

164. Ibid., 204,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000033/html/am33--204.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

when Providence was pleased to bless the juster side with the advantage to treat them with humanity.”¹⁶⁵

Hart’s use of a military image was fitting in light of his having won two major battles against his principal rivals in the colony. At the same time, it also fit the spirit of the second avenue of the Carroll’s active strategy against his continued rule. Hart’s battles with Thomas Macnemara would pit him against one of the most dangerous men of his time. On one level, Macnemara’s greed was at the base of his conflict with Hart. On another level, however, governor and the Assembly regarded him as an active agent of the Carroll interest group. He was James Carroll’s brother-in-law, socialized and traded with him,¹⁶⁶ and served as a lawyer for William Fitz Redmond and Charles Carroll. The governor and the Assembly seldom spoke of Macnemara without widening their attention to warn of the Catholic interests.¹⁶⁷ For these reasons, although James Carroll was not directly involved in the Macnemara-Hart disputes, they affected him directly and helped bring about the end of his active involvement in Maryland politics.

Thomas Macnemara was ruthless, and his battles with Hart eventually brought about the governor’s downfall. Macnemara was an Irish immigrant who had come to Maryland as an adult in 1703. Soon after, he seduced and was coerced to marry Margaret Carroll, James’s sister,¹⁶⁸ but the marriage was an unhappy one that resulted in a court

165. Ibid., 7,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000033/html/am33--7.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

166. Carroll, 11.

167. See, for example, Ibid., 172,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000033/html/am33--172.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

168. Hardy, “Papists in a Protestant Age,” 155.

verdict ordering Macnemara to pay for his wife's support.¹⁶⁹ Despite these difficulties, the two men were close friends and spent a good deal of time together.¹⁷⁰ Macnemara was a violent man charged with murdering a man in 1710¹⁷¹ and beating another in 1717.¹⁷² A sexual predator, he was charged with sodomy and rape.¹⁷³ He was also a legal predator, charged several times during his Maryland career with defrauding clients and engaging in questionable practices.¹⁷⁴ He was disrespectful of all authority, and manifested this quality through words, gestures, threats in court, and threats in person to Governor John Hart.¹⁷⁵ He had been sentenced to sit bare breasted in the pillory by

169. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 25, Page 230,
[http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000025
/html/am25--230.html](http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000025/html/am25--230.html) (Accessed 2005/04/01).

170. Carroll, 11.

171. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 77, Page 156-164,
[http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000077
/html/am77--156.html](http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000077/html/am77--156.html) (Accessed 2005/04/01).

172 *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 36, Page 534,
[http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000036
/html/am36--534.html](http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000036/html/am36--534.html) (Accessed 2005/04/01).

173. Hardy, "Papists in a Protestant Age," 156.

174. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 33, Page 113, 126,
[http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000033
/html/am33--180.html](http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000033/html/am33--180.html),
[http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000033
/html/am33--126.html](http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000033/html/am33--126.html) (Accessed 2005/04/01). See, Vol 33, Preface xi-xiii for a summary of Macnemara's conflicts with Maryland government.

175. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 36, Page 532
[http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000036
/html/am36--532.html](http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000036/html/am36--532.html) (Accessed 2005/04/01).

Governor Seymour for an insult in the winter of 1706,¹⁷⁶ disbarred by the Colony of Pennsylvania for his insulting and threatening attitude toward authority in the courtroom,¹⁷⁷ and disbarred by Maryland for his insulting manner toward authority and corrupt practices.¹⁷⁸ Despite these qualities, he was politically resilient. He evaded an earlier attempt at disbarment by sailing to England and gaining admission to the bar at Grey's Inn in 1712.¹⁷⁹ He also served in political office between 1714 and 16, as Mayor of Annapolis and Clerk of the Lower House of the Assembly.¹⁸⁰ Apparently well connected in England, Macnemara reportedly kept his critics in the Assembly at bay by boasting of his close ties with Lord Guilford.¹⁸¹ Throughout his public career, he seems to have been successful in maintaining power in Maryland despite exhibiting, in the words of the Assembly, “A turbulent, babbling, wicked and seditious spirit.”¹⁸²

176. Land, *Colonial Maryland*, 109.

177. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 33, Page 142,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000033/html/am33--142.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

178. Ibid.

179. Hardy, “Papists in a Protestant Age,” 156.

180. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 46, Page 193,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000046/html/am46--193.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

181. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 33, Page 138,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000033/html/am33--138.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

182. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 36, Page 531,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000036/html/am36--531.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

Macnemara's battle with John Hart involved threats of physical violence and verbal taunting carried over several years and had the effect of cementing an alliance between Hart and the colonial legislature. The exchanges began in the summer of 1716, soon after the governor's arrival in Maryland and six months after Hart had warned James Carroll. Hart was away from Annapolis on the evening of June 10 when Fitz Redmond and Coyle fired the city's cannons to mark the Pretender's birthday. It was Macnemara's duty, as mayor of the city, to have the men arrested. He not only failed to do so, but also acted as the men's lawyer in their trial for the offense of drinking the Pretender's health and, in the words of the Assembly "warmly espoused their Cause, as even to dare that Court to proceed against them."¹⁸³ Early in the following year, Macnemara taunted Hart, saying he hoped to see the governor in prison soon.¹⁸⁴ Later that summer, when Hart issued a writ in favor of lawyer Michael Howard and against Macnemara in a civil suit, Macnemara publicly dared the governor to enforce it.¹⁸⁵ Soon after, Macnemara charged Hart with shaking his horsewhip at him and placing his hand on his sword in a threatening way. Macnemara claimed that as an alderman of the city, he could have the governor arrested.¹⁸⁶ A year later, when called before the Assembly by Hart to explain his correspondence with Lord Guilford, Macnemara publicly likened the

183. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 36, Page 529,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000036/html/am36--529.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

184. Hardy, "Papists in a Protestant Age," 156.

185. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 36, Page 531,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000036/html/am36--531.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

186. Ibid.

proceedings of the governor and his council to the Spanish Inquisition.¹⁸⁷ One of the exchanges, though, was particularly significant in John Hart's career. In 1717, Macnemara charged that Hart had called him a "rogue and a rascal" in court during October of 1717. Hart denied the charge and accused Macnemara of having defamed him as governor. The Assembly concurred with Hart's opinion that if Macnemara would not submit to the governor for pardon for this offense, he should be disbarred in Maryland, and enacted legislation to that effect.¹⁸⁸

In his response, Macnemara demonstrated that he was a wily and resourceful adversary, by claiming that his disbarment would interfere with his work as a lawyer for Maurice Burchfield, His Majesty's Collector of Customs, a Crown official with a separate standing from the Maryland government. Macnemara claimed that his disbarment suspended his work before the Court of Chancery and appealed his suspension to King George.¹⁸⁹ Upon learning of the appeal, Hart informed Macnemara that he could continue his cases in chancery, but that he was barred from other courts.¹⁹⁰ Macnemara appealed his disbarment by traveling to London in 1718 and securing the

187. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 33, Page 181,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000033/html/am33--181.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

188. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 33, Page 127-128,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000033/html/am33--127.html>
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000033/html/am33--128.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

189. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 33, Page 128,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000033/html/am33--128.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

190. Ibid.

opinion of three lawyers that disbarring a named individual through an act of the legislature was contrary to common law in that it denied that accused a trial.¹⁹¹ Lord Guilford, agreeing with the lawyers, vetoed the legislation and ordered that if Macnemara would submit to authority and amend his ways, he could return to practice in Maryland.¹⁹² Macnemara offered submission to Lord Guilford, but not to Hart or the Assembly.

Macnemara served as the vanguard to the Carroll faction's assault against Governor Hart, shifting the focus of the battle to England by using London attorneys to undercut the authority of Governor Hart and the Maryland Assembly. He attacked boldly by traveling to London in person and appealing to Lord Guilford. That Hart and the Assembly saw Macnemara's work as service to the Carroll faction was clear from the many times Governor Hart and Assembly spoke of Macnemara and then immediately shifted their topic to discussing the danger posed by the Catholic faction. For example, on May 5, 1718, the Assembly spent the morning discussing complaints against Charles Carroll's not issuing patents, and they spent the afternoon of that day interrogating

191. Ibid., 305-307,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000033/html/am33--305.html>
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000033/html/am33--306.html>
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000033/html/am33--307.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

192. Ibid., 367,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000033/html/am33--367.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

Thomas Macnemara about his correspondence with Lord Guilford.¹⁹³ Later that year, when Macnemara was appealing to Lord Guilford, Governor Hart received letters from Guilford telling of Catholic dissatisfaction in the colony. The Lower House of the Assembly commiserated with him on April 28, 1718, noting that the attack on Hart's character by Papists "and their adherents" was a product of Hart's zeal for maintaining the Protestant establishment against those who seek "equal Share with the Protestants of the Administration of the Government of this Province."¹⁹⁴ The Papists seeking an equal footing were the Carroll faction. Their adherent then attacking the character of Governor Hart was most likely Thomas Macnemara.

The attacks on Hart continued through 1718. In their record for April 28, the Lower House noted their surprise that Catholics were seeking the opinions of London lawyers on the validity of English Penal Laws in Maryland. The Assembly dismissed the charges as false "Jesuitical subtleties."¹⁹⁵ Writing at the same time, the Upper House thanked Hart for his prudent conduct of affairs, when the "dark intrigues and secret machinations of a Popish faction (were) in a great measure defeated and the good people

193. Ibid., 169,
[http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000033
/html/am33--169.html](http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000033/html/am33--169.html) (Accessed 2005/04/01).

194. Ibid., 215,
[http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000033
/html/am33--215.html](http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000033
/html/am33--215.html) (Accessed 2005/04/01).

195. Ibid.

of this Province freed from the mortifying apprehensions of a Lord Proprietor engaged in the interest of Papists and their adherents.”¹⁹⁶

Although he did not live to see it, Macnemara’s strategy was ultimately successful and resulted in Hart’s resignation in 1720. Hart resigned his governorship in the spring of that year, citing Lord Guilford’s undercutting of his authority in the Macnemara case as his chief reason for doing so. In his farewell address to the Assembly, he expressed amazement that he learned of Macnemara’s restoration to the bar when he was presented with a Writ to Practice. Hart considered Macnemara’s return to practice in Maryland without submitting to him personally an affront to his authority.¹⁹⁷ In light of the hostility between the two men, Hart’s meeting with Macnemara was undoubtedly unpleasant. The embittered governor resigned, explaining that when he found that he “could no longer maintain the honor & dignity of my station as Chancellor I voluntarily & cheerfully gave up my interest that I might preserve my integrity which no power on earth can remove from me.”¹⁹⁸ In summing up his accomplishments as governor both he and the Assembly concurred that his greatest service to the colony was in keeping the Catholics from gaining power. They spoke with an Anti-Catholic spirit that clearly reflected the hardening of attitudes against the sect in Maryland throughout James Carroll’s political

196. Ibid., 131,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000033/html/am33--131.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

197. Ibid., 493,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000033/html/am33--493.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

198. Ibid., 491,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000033/html/am33--491.html>

career in the colony and illustrated the contrast of their tone with the Assembly's 1706 surprise that Catholics would feel moved to challenge for their rights. In part, they noted:

"When we consider and reflect upon the many attacks and unnatural rebellions made and raised in Great Britain by Papists & their adherents as dangerous to the full (there is) not a more dangerous enemy than themselves against the person and government of his Most Sacred Majesty King George."¹⁹⁹

The end of the Catholic interest group echoed its beginning but in reverse, when the leading gentry failed to appear before the Assembly in 1720 to substantiate allegations of persecution. Hart challenged the leading Catholics in Maryland to appear before the Assembly and substantiate the charges of persecution made in recent public statements. In April 19, 1720, he sent the Sheriff of Anne Arundel County to summon Charles Carroll, James Carroll, Richard Bennett, William Fitz Redmond and Henry Darnall II. The men did not appear, and despite searches for them, they were not found.²⁰⁰ Macnemara was not included in the list with the Catholics because he had recently died. This summons was interesting in that it included three Catholics who had petitioned the legislature in 1706. From the start of the era of Anti-Catholic legislation in Maryland to the end of the Hart administration, they had remained steadfast in leading its opposition. Throughout the preceding four years, the Catholic group had been

199. Ibid., 495,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000033/html/am33--495.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

200. Ibid., 532-33,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000033/html/am33--532.html>
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000033/html/am33--533.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

consistently rebuffed and Catholics had lost all their rights in the colony, but they had been constant in their advocacy for equality.

IV. Afterward

The Maryland political landscape was far more settled in 1720 than it had been in 1704. The most profound change in the two decades of the century was that the Catholic interest group was no longer politically powerful. The death of Charles Carroll in 1720 robbed the faction of its leader. The death of Thomas Macnemara in 1719 robbed it of its agent provocateur. The resignation of John Hart removed its principal adversary. In 1720, a governor appointed by the Calverts worked in concert with a locally elected Assembly in administering the colony. After 1720, James Carroll's political career was over. He lived on as a planter and merchant for almost another decade, but he had neither political power nor aspirations. The Calverts did not forget James Carroll's service, however. In 1722, he received a grant of 5800 acres of land for his years of service to them.²⁰¹

201. Kilty, *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 73, Page 228,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000073/html/am73--228.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

Chapter 3 The Style of his Private Life: Reading the Material Culture of James Carroll's Home in 1715

Historians of the Chesapeake have pointed to the early decades of the eighteenth century as a time when an unprecedented availability of consumer goods made a new, more refined style of life possible.¹ Studying James Carroll's home as recorded in his daybook provides an opportunity to examine how a man worked through the medium of consumer goods to fashion a life with a distinctly individual style. James Carroll's home and its furnishings were more than just the place where he lived and what he had. His home at Fingaul was a reflection of the complex nature of his life, a collection of furniture and books that offered an intriguing glance at the paradox of a man who assertively pursued wealth while piously reading about religious asceticism. This chapter examines the private sphere of his life to consider the sort of domestic world he fashioned for himself while he fought a losing battle to make the public sphere of his life more favorable to his interests as a Catholic. It also studies Carroll's use of material culture to identify his social and intellectual interests.

Carroll made inventories of his household possessions in 1715 and 1716. His estate administrators made a final inventory at the time of his death in 1729. Taken about fifteen years apart, the earlier and later lists show what he chose to acquire over the last decade and a half of his life. This chapter examines the earlier lists and discusses what

1. See, for example, Lois Green Carr, and Lorena S. Walsh. "Changing Lifestyles and Consumer Behavior in the Colonial Chesapeake" in Cary Carson, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert, eds., *Of Consuming Interests: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century* (Charlottesville: Published for the United States Capitol Historical Society by the University Press of Virginia, 1994) 59-166.

Carroll had prior to managing a large-scale Atlantic commerce. The earlier inventories show his home when he was a planter and an official of the land office, illustrating his material life at the time of the major political battles he and his fellow members of the Catholic gentry waged with Governor John Hart.

Carroll was a devout Catholic all his life, and he was passionately dedicated to restoring the fortune his Irish family had lost. At the same time, Thomas á Kempis' *The Imitation of Christ* was one of his favorite books. Carroll selected this as one of the books he packed when he sailed on an extended trip to England in 1716.² At first glance, this book in praise of religious asceticism seems an odd choice for a man who spent his career building up a fortune. Á Kempis' work presented a series of meditations aimed at inspiring the devout reader to an ascetic life of prayer. He warned of material wealth as a distraction, urging his reader to think of it in these terms:

“Who is the better off then? Surely, it is the man who will suffer something for God. Many unstable and weak-minded people say: ‘See how well that man lives, how rich, how great he is, how powerful and mighty.’ But you must lift up your eyes to the riches of heaven and realize that the material goods of which they speak are nothing. These things are uncertain and very burdensome because they are never possessed without anxiety and fear. Man's happiness does not consist in the possession of abundant goods; a very little is enough.”³

Carroll's reading of this book suggests the divided quality of his thinking about material wealth and his complex motives in pursuing it. Wealth was more than the means to a life of ease. A style of living and socializing were the attributes of his status in society, ways of proclaiming his prominence. In this sense, his clothing, furnishings and

2. Carroll, 55.

3. Thomas á Kempis, *The Imitation of Christ* (London: J.M. Dent; New Youk: E.P Dutton, 1910, new edition, 1960), 36.

the graceful way he acted with them were props essential to his social performance of respectability. The variability of possessions and ways of showing them allowed great latitude in the style an individual's demonstration of his worth. This chapter contrasts James Carroll's possessions with those of a close associate, Thomas Macnemara, to discuss how each man equipped himself for social action. It asks this question: To what extent did his possessions reflect the distinct style each man showed in his social and political action?

I. An Overview of Carroll's Property in 1716

If, as á Kempis said, happiness lay in a moderate portion of temporal things, it is then appropriate to consider Carroll's goods as such a portion and ask for what sort of domestic life this collection of temporal things was sufficient. In James Carroll's case the answer is quite complex. His home reflected the many-layered quality of his life. Overall, his home furnishings and books showed him to be wealthy, intellectually vital and socially active. He was equipped to entertain guests in a refined style. He was a well-read scholar fluent in several languages and a scientist who had advanced mathematical, legal, and medical knowledge. At the same time, he was a deeply religious man whose books suggest his leading a contemplative spiritual life, in contrast with his political action, apparent love of gambling, and wide-ranging commerce.

Carroll's list of possessions support an investigation into what sort of life he lived on a private stage at the time that he was suffering great losses on a public stage. He was an unmarried man of learning who lived on a plantation miles from the nearest town, a highly educated man who spent most of his days among semi-literate or

illiterate farm workers. On a larger geographic scale, his life in Maryland was an exile from centers of European learning, yet the degree of intellectualism preserved in his books associated him with an international society of learned people.

Before analyzing the items inside James Carroll's house, it is important to take stock of his overall holdings in real estate and bound labor. James Carroll's home at a plantation he called Fingaul was located about ten miles southwest of Annapolis in All Hallow's Parish. Fingaul was the center of a small economic empire Carroll had amassed over the course of his, roughly, fifteen years in Maryland. By 1715, Carroll owned three plantations, and he benefited from the work of employees, servants, and enslaved people. Carroll listed the following pieces of property in his 1716 list of patents and deeds.⁴ His home plantation at Fingaul, located in the Birdsville region of All Hallow's Parish, contained 400 acres. Carroll also retained ownership of two acres of an adjacent property named Obligation, having sold James Stockett the rest of the land. Three of his properties were located about ten miles northwest, between the head of the South River and the banks of the Patuxent River on the border of Anne Arundel and Prince Georges Counties. Prior to 1715, he had acquired his second plantation, by purchasing three tracts, the 400-acre property called Anno from Thomas Gassaway, the 400-acre Bright Seat from William Price, and the 214-acre property named Linthicum's Walks from Thomas Linthicum. In addition to these properties, Carroll was establishing a third plantation on a 990-acre property named the Out Quarter located near the border of Anne Arundel and Baltimore Counties near Elk Ridge. He also owned a property called New Year's Gift that was located in the same area. In addition

4. Carroll, 54.

to his plantations, Carroll owned a 780-acre part of a property named Burr and a 330-acre property named James Lark. Carroll also had received 2000 acres of land from Charles Carroll that he intended to resell. On a lesser scale, he also owned lots in three Maryland towns: Queen Anne, Londontown and Annapolis. Just before his death in 1729, he would begin work on a house in Annapolis, but for most of his Maryland career, he lived at Fingaul.

II. Fingaul

Fingaul was not just Carroll's house, but also a plantation where a community of free, indentured and enslaved people lived and worked. At the end of 1715, Carroll owned three servants, eight enslaved adults, four enslaved children and one four-year-old boy listed as a "mulatto having thirty years to serve."⁵ Betty Williams was an adult servant whose husband was a free man employed by Carroll as a plowman.⁶ Andrew Hillman was an adolescent whose service Carroll purchased in September of 1715. The same month, Carroll bought an adult servant, named Jonathan Groves,⁷ whom he would later sell to Daniel Dulany in 1716.

Fingaul's community of enslaved people was undergoing significant change between 1715 and 1716. Carroll had sent his most trusted enslaved person, thirty-four-year-old Dick, along with his wife Maria and their children, to live at a new plantation

5. Ibid., 12D.

6. Ibid., 12D.

7. Ibid., 6D.

he was establishing about twenty miles north in a region of Anne Arundel County known as Elk Ridge.⁸ At this time, the other enslaved people living at Fingaul were Mary and Sarah, two thirty-five-year-old women, and three men, Sambo, Tomboy and Jack, who ranged from thirty-two to twenty-one years of age.⁹ In September 1715, Carroll purchased two young adult men and one woman. Harry was twenty years old; Daniel and Rachel were eighteen years old.¹⁰ All of Carroll's earlier slave purchases had been from Maryland planters. These newcomers had recently arrived in the colony from Africa or the West Indies.¹¹

Carroll was an unmarried man and often away from home on business in the autumn of 1715. An adult and a teen-age male servant had recently come to live in his house.¹² His most trusted enslaved person had been sent to work at a distant plantation, and three newly arrived enslaved people had been moved in.¹³ Fingaul was not a long-established family home, but rather a frontier outpost where Carroll worked to build a fortune in the face of uncertainty. Surrounded by political enemies and servants of unproven loyalty, he wrote an inventory of his household goods in his daybook probably to protect them from theft if one of his servants were to run away. Just short

8. Ibid., 10C.

9. Ibid., 12C.

10. Ibid., 12D.

11. Unlike Carroll's other purchased slaves, the three slaves bought in 1715 were purchased from a Londontown merchant rather than from a Maryland planter.

12. Carroll purchased servants, John Groves and Andrew Hillman in September, 1715.

13. A detailed discussion of these changes in Carroll's community of enslaved people appears in Chapter 4.

of a year later, he inventoried his books and instruments prior to sailing for England and leaving his property in the hands of a hired manager. Taken together, these lists preserve a partial view of what material items were in the house at Fingaul. The supply of furnishings, tools and books he recorded supports an analysis of what sorts of items Carroll was interested in owning, what his tools equipped him to do, and what his books suggested about his intellectual life.

The first challenge in reading Carroll's lists is to picture the sort of house that contained these rooms and furnishings. Estimating the probable house type and size is possible by noting similar features in the eighteen houses located in Charles, Prince Georges, Calvert, and Anne Arundel Counties surviving from the first two decades of the eighteenth century. Three of the extant houses, Larkin Hill, Sudley, and Friend's Choice were within a few miles of the site of Fingaul. Three others, Portland Manor, Cedar Park, and the Charles Carroll the Settler House were houses Carroll visited.

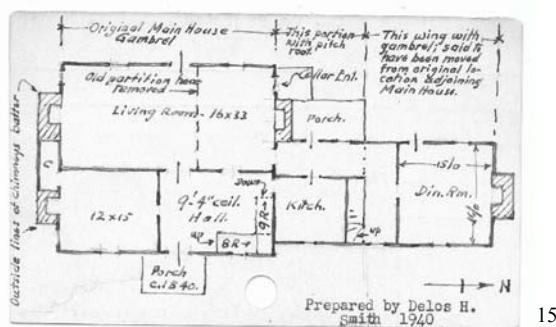
Table 1 Comparable Local Houses and their Features

House Name	Location	# of Stories	Type of Roof	Length	Information Source¹⁴
Burrages End	A.A. County	1 ½	Gambrel	3 bays	<i>National Register of Historic Places</i>
Carroll the Settler House	Annapolis	1 ½	Gambrel	5 bays	HABS
Cedar Park	A.A. County	1 ½	Pitched	4 bays	<i>National Register & HABS</i>
Friend's Choice	A.A. County	1 ½	Gambrel	3 bays	HABS
Grahame House	P.G. County	1 ½	Pitched	5 bays	<i>National Register</i>
Greene House	Annapolis	2	Gambrel	5 bays	<i>National Register</i>
Holland Hohne	Annapolis	1 ½	Gambrel	4 bays	HABS
Holly Hill	A.A. County	1 ½	Pitched	4 bays	<i>National Register</i>
Larkin Hill	A.A. County	1 ½	Gambrel	4 bays	<i>National Register</i>
Maidstone	Calvert County	1 ½	Pitched	4 bays	<i>National Register</i>
Maxwell Hall	Charles County	1 ½	Gambrel	3 bays	<i>National Register</i>
Portland Manor	A.A. County	1 ½	Pitched	5 bays	<i>National Register</i>
Rosehill	A.A. County	1 ½	Pitched	4 bays	<i>National Register</i>

14. The information on houses listed in this table was derived from one of two online sources: *National Register of Historic Places: Maryland Listings*, <http://marylandhistoricaltrust.net/nr/NRPickCounty.html> Historic American Buildings Survey/Historic American Engineering Record, 1933-Present, http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/collections/habs_haer/index.html

Sands House	Annapolis	1 ½	Gambrel	4 bays	<i>National Register</i>
Sarum	Charles County	1 ½	Pitched	5 bays	<i>National Register</i>
Spye Park	Charles County	1 ½	Pitched	3 bays	<i>National Register</i>
Stagg Hall	Charles County	1 ½	Gambrel	5 bays	<i>National Register</i>
Sudley	A.A. County	1 ½	Gambrel	5 bays	<i>National Register</i>
The Exchange	Charles County	2 1/2	Gambrel	3 bays	<i>National Register</i>

James Carroll's house was probably similar to three nearby houses. Friend's Choice is located in Davidsonville, a few miles west of Fingaul; Larkin Hill and Sudley are just a few miles to the east of Fingaul. Friend's Choice was built later, but has a floor plan similar to that suggested by Carroll's inventory. Friend's Choice was a twenty-eight by thirty-three foot rectangle with fireplaces at the gable end of each room. The house was divided into a hall and chamber, and each of these major rooms was sub-divided, as were Carroll's. The relevant section of the drawing inserted below is the rectangle that depicts the main body of the house. The section to the right is a wing that was added later. The original section of Friend's Choice was divided, principally, mid-way from front to back and each room had a fireplace at the gable end. The two major rooms were further divided in a way similar to James Carroll's.



15

Image 1 Floor Plan of Friend's Choice



16

Image 2 Exterior View of Friend's Choice

Two nearby houses are indicative of the probable overall dimensions and shape of Carroll's House. Larkin Hill is a four-bay-long, one-and-a-half story gambrel roofed house located about a mile east of Fingaul. The house is asymmetrical with its entrance

15. The Library of Congress, American Memory Collection, Historic, American Buildings Survey/Historic American Engineering Record, Friend's Choice, Queen Anne Bridge Road, Davidsonville vicinity, Anne Arundel County, MD. HABS, MD,2-DAVI.V,2. <http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=hhphoto&action=browse&fileName=md/md0000/md0067/photos/browsedb&recNum=0&linkText=1&title2=Friend's%20Choice,%20Queen%20Anne%20Bridge%20Road,%20Davidsonville%20vicini,%20Anne%20Arundel%20County,%20MD&displayType=1&maxCols=4> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

16. Ibid.

in the second bay, and it has chimneys on each gable. The second floor is lit by two dormers on the front of the house and two small windows on each gable. The size, style, age, and location of this house make it the best approximation for what James Carroll's house might have looked like when viewed from the front. This house is sided in brick, however, and there is no indication of the siding material of James Carroll's house.



17

Image 3 Larkin Hill

A second nearby house, Sudley, gives the best sense of what Carroll' house might have looked like when viewed from the back, showing the likely arrangement of wings for the study and detached kitchen.

17. The Library of Congress. American Memory Collection, Historic, American Buildings Survey/Historic American Engineering Record, Folly Farm, Mill Swamp Road, Fairhaven vicinity, Anne Arundel County, MD. HABS, MD,2-FAIR.V,1 <http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=hhphoto&action=browse&fileName=md/md0400/md0413/photos/browse.db&recNum=0&linkText=1&title2=Folly%20Farm,%20Mill%20Swamp%20Road,%20Fairhaven%20vicinity,%20Anne%20Arundel%20County,%20MD&displayType=1&maxCols=4>. (Accessed 2005/04/01).



Image 4 Sudley

Carroll also made no mention of the interior finish of his house. Two houses similar to Carroll's in probable size and age are the Charles Carroll the Settler House in Annapolis and Cedar Park in Anne Arundel County. Photographs of the first floor sitting room of each house show similar rectangular rooms. Each room is well lit by tall windows and heated by a large fireplace, which is complemented by windows on either side. The Carroll house has plain plaster walls, but wide, carved window casings and an ornate mantle. Cedar Park has raised wooden paneling on the fireplace wall. Both examples suggest the value placed upon decorative wooden trim.

18. <http://www.marylandhistoricaltrust.net/nr/NRDBDetail.asp?HDID=184&PropName=sudley&RCOUNT=0&StName=&Town=&County=%20&Keyword=&SEARCH=1> (Accessed 2005/04/10).



19

Image 5 Sitting Room: Charles Carroll the Settler House



20

Image 6 Sitting Room: Cedar Park

James Carroll most likely had his joiner, Robert Brooks, make similar trim at Fingaul. Carroll hired Brooks out to work for extended periods in the homes of several

19. The Library of Congress Historic American Buildings Survey/Historic American Engineering Record. HABS, Md, 2-Anna, 30. First Floor, Sitting Room. Charles Carroll the Settler House, 139 Market Street, Annapolis, Anne Arundel County, MD, [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/hh:@field\(DOCID+@lit\(MD0020\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/hh:@field(DOCID+@lit(MD0020))) (Accessed 2005/04/01).

20. The Library of Congress Historic American Buildings Survey/Historic American Engineering Record. HABS, MD, 2-Cumb.V,1-Ground Floor, South Room, South Wall, Detail Showing Fireplace And Wall Paneling Habs, Md,2-Cumb.V,1-13. Cedar Park, Cumberstone Road on West River, Cumberstone (Lothian, Anne Arundel County, MD, HABS, MD,2-CUMB.V,1- [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/hh:@field\(DOCID+@lit\(MD0419\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/hh:@field(DOCID+@lit(MD0419))) (Accessed 2005/04/01).

gentry associates,²¹ and the list of tools he made when he sent Brooks off to work for Notley Rozer named an assortment of molding planes and other tools used in making decorative trim.²² The house at Fingaul was built some years before Brooks entered Carroll's service,²³ but Brooks did not work away from home frequently enough to preclude the hypothesis that Carroll hired him to improve his own home as well as to make money.

Carroll's 1715 inventory listed the contents of four rooms in the main part of his house.²⁴ The list included the hall, chamber, room within the hall and room within the chamber. This was a four-room plan, but not a symmetrical, Georgian, style. The names of two rooms as being within others suggested that the major division of interior space was between the front and back of the house with the hall as the most public room located immediately inside the front door. The chamber would have been more private space, and the small rooms the most private spaces. The study appears to have been a wing off the chamber and the kitchen appears to have been a separate building. The second floor of the house was divided into two rooms called the room over the hall, and room over the chamber. As the names indicated a room in the front and one in the back of the house, it is plausible that the stairway to them was on one gable.

James Carroll's house was without a central entry passage and the room called the hall, the most public space of the house, was entered directly from outdoors. The

21. See, for example, Carroll, 25D, Notley Rozer account.

22. Ibid., 69D.

23. Carroll had lived at Fingaul since before the start of his daybook entries in 1714. He hired Brooks in March, 1716.

24. Carroll, 18, 53.

chamber, a sleeping area, was a mix of public and private space. The study, with its books, mathematical instruments, and most notably its small brass bell, was even more private space and was probably used by Carroll and small groups of visitors. This impression is reinforced by the room's lack of chairs. The bell might have signified Carroll's desire not to be interrupted by servants, yet it also suggests that he spent most of his day in this room and wished to be able to summon servants when he desired.

III. Domestic Furnishings and Social Uses of Rooms

The hall was equipped to serve as a space of entertainment for large groups of visitors. Three of Carroll's four walnut tables were kept in this room along with fourteen chairs. Twelve of the chairs were referred to as being of "turkey leather." This suggests that they were a hybrid of two popular styles of early eighteenth-century chairs, the turkey work chair, covered in intricately woven fabric, and the leather chair.²⁵ These chairs are listed by Carroll as being worth £8.2.0. For comparison, the twelve cane chairs in his chamber were valued at £6.12.0. Thomas Macnemara's 1720 estate inventory listed his having had a dozen leather chairs in his parlor which were valued at £4.16.0.²⁶ By the early eighteenth-century, the cane chair was more fashionable than the turkey work chair, but the latter was more expensive and still quite

25. Benno M. Forman, *American Seating Furniture, 1630-1730: An Interpretive Catalogue*. (New York: W.W. Norton, 1988.), 203.

26. Thomas Macnemera, Inventory, Maryland State Archives, Anne Arundel County, 1720-21, Liber 4, Folio 197-268.

popular.²⁷ Carroll owned both types, yet he chose to place the less fashionable chair in the more public setting.

The presence of backgammon tables along with small oval tables suggests pairs of simultaneous card, dice or backgammon games. Other entries in Carroll's daybook from this era speak of his fondness for gambling and make specific note of his having played backgammon in partnership with his brother-in-law, Thomas Macnemara.²⁸ The hall would accommodate twelve players. The two rush-bottomed chairs mentioned as being in the hall appear to belong to a set of twelve kept in the room above the chamber and to have been kept ready to seat extra guests. The hall was also the only room in the house to have an iron fire back. The desire to project heat indicates the size of the room as well as the need to radiate heat to guests seated across the room during winter afternoons and evenings of gambling.

The equipment list for the hall includes only items useful in gaming. There were no coffee or tea serving or drinking utensils, no dishes stored in the room, and no books. There were also no tools of domestic craft or storage in the room. The only displayed items were the furniture. The turkey leather chairs might be argued to have been a replacement set bought to take the place of the rush-bottomed chairs subsequently kept in the room over the chamber. One of the rush-bottomed chairs is noted as being broken. Chesapeake gentlemen played with a gusto that included their

27. Forman, 203.

28. Carroll, 27C.

slamming their cards and dice down for great effect. Delicate chairs were out of place in a room used by such animated company.²⁹

The chamber was more private space and equipped for less lively gatherings. It was not completely private space, however, as it was furnished with twelve cane chairs, one cane couch, and one bed. The bed in this room was the best in James Carroll's house, a featherbed covered with a pair of blankets and a quilt. The chamber's dozen chairs and couch seem more genteel and comfortable than the chairs of the hall. One item on the list is a squab and pillow, for example. The fashionable, up-to-date chairs seem ideally suited to social occasions dedicated to conversation over coffee or tea. The inventory states that the chamber had three sets of curtains, but it is not clear whether they were bed or window curtains. The sets range in value from one set bought in London appraised at £5.10.0 to a set of linsey-woolsey, printed curtains worth £2.10.0. By comparison, Thomas Macnemara's 1720 inventory includes items specifically called window curtains in several rooms, each set valued at four shillings.³⁰ The higher value of Carroll's curtains indicates that they were probably bed curtains.

The study was the next room listed after the chamber. It contained the tools of Carroll's surveying trade, as well as his books. A scale and weights were ready to assess money, indicating Carroll's acting as a source of credit, selling goods, making loans, and trading tobacco for money. Actual specie was in very short supply in Maryland, and the scale reflects a wary merchant's caution that coins could not be

29. See, T.H. Breen, "Horses and Gentlemen: The Cultural Significance of Gambling among the Gentry of Virginia," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser., 34, no. 2, (1977): 239-257. See also, Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790*, 118-119.

30. Macnemera Inventory.

taken at face value. The scales would measure the weight of metal in any coin Carroll received, and several entries in the daybook indicate occasions when Carroll had discovered coins taken in trade to be short of weight.³¹ The study's most distinctive collection was its sixty-three books. A topical division of the collection – discussed in detail below - identifies fifteen books on theology, eight books on law, seven medical books, thirteen books on mathematics, twenty books on history, one French novel, and one French dictionary.

The size and location of the two “little rooms” was not made explicit. Neither room was listed as having fireplace equipment. The description of the first floor rooms also suggests that these smaller rooms were located away from the main traffic paths in the house. The contents of the rooms suggest that they functioned as dressing rooms and storage places. The little room in the hall contained a bedstead and a bolster. This provided a sleeping space, but it was not as comfortable as the chamber. No curtains were associated with this bed, and it was not listed as a feather bed. There were also two storage trunks in the room. One contained the household linen. The other held substantial yardage of cloth. Carroll’s daybook records many occasions of his having had clothing made for himself³² and others and having sold cloth³³ or used it as payment for employees.³⁴ The little room kept these materials in a handy yet secure location.

31. See, for example, Carroll, 23C

32. See, for example, Ibid., 37D.

33. See, for example, Ibid., 32D.

34. See, for example, Ibid., 47D.

The little room in the chamber held Carroll's punch bowl and tea set. It is impossible to say where tea drinking took place, but the fact that these items were stored out of sight suggests that their display was not as important to Carroll as their security from theft. They were kept ready but out of the hall, suggesting that tea or punch could be brought to people socializing in the hall or chamber. Rather than the items themselves serving as signs of status, the act of serving guests done by a servant would lend an air of refinement to the use of these items.

Each of the little rooms contained powder boxes, and the little room off the hall had a looking glass. These items show a concern with grooming, particularly to the act of arranging a wig. Carroll's purchases from merchants reflect his attention to his appearance. Owning multiple sets of fine clothing gave him the opportunity to appear clean and stylish on a variety of occasions. It is not clear that washing and wig care were managed in the same space, as neither room contained a washbasin. Carroll purchased soap from Patrick Sympson in 1715,³⁵ but it is not clear how frequently or where he bathed.³⁶

The second floor rooms served as sleeping and storage space. The room over the hall had two flock beds and the room over the chamber had one curtained bed. This

35. Ibid., 39.

36. Carroll's buying soap and his owning multiple shirts indicated an interest in cleanliness, but he made little mention of bathing. This ambivalence is consistent with the findings of historians Richard L. and Claudia L. Bushman, who pointed to a later generation as the era when the fashion of bathing spread from the British to American gentry. "Until the second half of the eighteenth century, the practical implications of genteel cleanliness had varied. Fashions in cleanliness came and went like other fashions... In the second half of the eighteenth century, the interest in cleanliness revived in English polite society, and the American gentry, always alert to clues from London, took immediate notice." "The Early History of Cleanliness in America," *The Journal of American History*, 74, no. 4, (1988): 1213-1238.

suggests that the second best sleeping space in the house was the room over the chamber. It also had a looking glass and a chest holding two sets of bed curtains. This looking glass indicates that the person sleeping in this space and the person using the little room in the hall were given the opportunity to groom before leaving their private quarters. This room also had the house's only close stool. It had seven good and one broken rush-bottomed chairs, and three sets of curtains as well. The number of chairs in the room suggests the possibility that it was a private socializing space for the person or people who slept here. Carroll's lists of linen indicated that some bedding was being used by servants. The nature of the list suggests that these individuals slept in various rooms of Carroll's house.³⁷ If so, it is possible that Carroll's servant, Jonathan Groves, his plowman, Jonathan Williams, and Williams's wife, Betty, lived in these upstairs rooms. The chairs and the curtained bed make this room a second chamber. The other second floor room, by contrast, offered lesser accommodations with flock beds, no looking glass, and a pewter chamber pot.

The rooms that have been discussed were the main indoor spaces used by Carroll and his visitors at Fingaul. These rooms contained the equipment for eleven distinct activities. The items are arranged by use on the following chart:

37. Carroll, 21C

Table 2 James Carroll's Domestic Equipment Categorized by Use

Seating	Sleeping	Sanitary	Fire/Heating	Eating/Drinking
37 chairs (12 leather 12 cane 10 rush- bottomed 3 wooden) 1 couch	5 beds 6 sets of bed curtains 1 squab and pillow 4 pairs of blankets 3 rugs 2 bolsters 1 quilt 1 feather bed 1 feather bolster	1 close stool 1 pewter chamber pot	1 iron back 3 sets of tongs and shovels 5 bellows 5 sets of iron dogs one fender	1 punch bowl 1 sugar box 6 coffee dishes
Lighting	Scientific	Merchandise	Storage	Grooming
1 tin candlestick 1 Japanned standish	surveying instruments globes 63 books	148 yards cotton 196 yards osnaburg	2 trunks 1 chest 1 chest of drawers 2 port manteau	4 powder boxes 2 looking glasses
Gambling				
1 pair of backgammon tables				

IV. Contrasting Carroll's Possessions with those of Thomas Macnemara

The furnishings listed at Fingaul reflect James Carroll's choices of possessions, and invite inquiry into the individuality reflected in his collection of goods. Assessing Carroll's possessions with those of his closest contemporary supports making hypotheses about what he had. Carroll's close friend and brother-in-law, Thomas

Macnemara, was associated with him through almost all the significant actions of his Maryland life. The two men arrived from Ireland in the early years of the eighteenth century and proceeded to use their connections to Charles Carroll to build fortunes through intellectual work. Both men arrived in the colony as educated adults, but it is not clear where either received his training. Both men quickly established themselves as vocal critics of Royal Governor John Seymour and continued to contest the legitimacy of royal authority in the colony for the next two decades. Macnemara was a worldly lawyer who made light of renouncing his religion for the sake of wealth and power.³⁸ Carroll worked as a land system administrator, planter, and merchant while steadfastly maintaining his Catholicism in the face of daunting political obstacles. Both men built large fortunes, and asserted their status in the face of the opposition of both the local elite and royal establishment. Carroll made inventories of his possessions in 1715 and 1716, while Macnemara's estate administrators itemized his goods at the time of his death in 1720. By juxtaposing what the two men had, one can learn about each man's choices of possessions in contrast with those of the other. Macnemara's love of social life and his enjoyment of comfort are made clear by this contrast, as is Carroll's distinctive mixture of business skill, broadly based intellectualism, and religious passion.

Thomas Macnemara owned a nine-room Annapolis home at the time of his death in 1720. His probate inventory itemized the contents of each room, but it did not give a clear picture of the layout of the house. Macnemara's house was more elaborately and stylishly furnished than James Carroll's, but it was equipped for the

38. Land, *Dulanys of Maryland*, 18.

same principal social activities of gambling, fine dining, tea and coffee drinking, and enjoying comfort. Both houses also had separate studies with extensive book collections. A key difference between the two houses was that Macnemara's storeroom was stocked with goods of a type and quantity that suggest it was used as a retail store. James Carroll's daybook mentions visits to the stores of several local merchants,³⁹ but never Macnemara's.

Table 3 Thomas Macnemara's Household Goods Inventoried in 1720⁴⁰

Parlor	Bed Chamber	Room Over the Cellar	In the Green Room	In the Plate Room
1 large oval table	1 large oval table	1 elbow chair	1 feather bed and furniture	3 trunks, very old
1 small oval table	1 small oval table	1 feather bed and double furniture	2 sets of window curtains	1 chest of drawers, old
1 dozen leather chairs	1 cane couch - broke	2 sets of window curtains	5 coffee cups and saucers	2 old chests, small
1 elbow chair	1 dozen leather chairs	1 large looking glass	3 broken decanters	8 whole saucers, 2 broken
1 set of playing tables	1 elbow chair	1 Russian leather couch	1 rush-bottomed chair	5 coffee cups
1 large looking glass	1 tea table and set of china	1 iron back	1 trunk and 1 chest in the passage	1 flock bed and furniture
2 small sconces	12 saucers	1 pair of iron dogs		2 sets of window curtains £ 88 of plate
1 card table	1 dozen coffee cups	1 pair of tongs and shovel		
1 pair of iron dogs	1 earthen tea pot	1 earthen tea pot		
1 pair of iron tongs and shovel	1 iron back	coffee cups		
1 tea table and set of china	1 fender	14 saucers		
11 coffee cups	1 pair of tongs and shovel	1 mustard pot		
1 dozen saucers	1 pair of bellows			
1 earthen tea pot	1 looking glass and 4 sconces			

39. See, for example, Carroll, 6,10, 32, 39.

40. Thomas Macnemara Inventory

1 iron fender	1 feather bed and furniture 3 sets of window curtains			
In the Study	In the Kitchen	Kitchen, cont.	In the Store Room	In the Kitchen Loft
1 large oval table standish 1 square table 1 grindstone books, 151 titles	1 brass mortar and pestle 1 bell metal mortar and pestle 3 brass snuff cups 9 snuffers 224 oz of pewter 4 dozen and 4 Patti pans 5 pastry pans 1 dish cover 2 plate covers 6 tin pans 4 very old tin pans 2 tin cheese toasters 1 tin apple roaster 3 pepper boxes 1 pair of hand irons 1 iron ladle 4 spits 1 iron jack and weights in use 1 pair of hand irons 1 iron back 3 pair of pot hooks 3 pair of pot racks 1 iron chafing dish	2 diaper table cloths 1 huckaback table cloth 8 diaper table cloths 8 dozen huckaback napkins 3 holland towels 2 huckaback towels 2 pair of holland pillow cases 5 pair of holland pillow cases, very old 2 holland sideboard cloths 1 pair of checked holland sheets	1 handle of a teapot 3 rush-bottomed chairs 1 small table 1 dressing looking glass 4 coffee cups cracked 1 bell and glass lanthorn 12 brass candlesticks	1 cross cut saw 1 whip saw 1 fire screen 3 horse collars and cart saddle 1 saddle and housing 2 old saddles and housing 4 bridles 1 cloak bag and pad 1 pair of boots 1 horse brush a parcel of joiner's tools 177 lbs. of wool a large cask 21 dozen glass bottles 13 hair brushes and brooms 1 old lanthorn 1 large gold scale and weights 1 pair silver scale and weights 1 pair brass scale and weights 1 pair of old silver steelyard 1 dozen earthen plates 3 earthen dishes 1 punch bowl

	1 iron dripping pan 1 frying pan 1 double nozzle bellows 9 buckhorn handled knives 12 buckhorn handled forks 2 brass chafing dishes 1 iron cleaver 1 hominy mortar and pestle 1 copper pot 1 bell metal skillet 1 brass plate heater 4 coffee pots, broken 2 grid irons 2 flock beds 2 pair of sheets 4 pair of sheets 7 pair of sheets, very old 3 pair of osnaburg, very old			1 stone jug and syllabub pot
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Table 4 Thomas Macnemara's Household Goods Organized by Use

Seating	Gaming	Grooming	Lighting	Fire/ Heating
36 leather chairs 12 cane chairs 3 elbow chairs 1 rush bottomed chair	1 set of playing tables 1 card table	3 large looking glasses	6 sconces 1 standish	3 pairs of iron dogs 3 pairs of tongs and shovels 2 fenders 2 iron backs

				1 pair of bellows
Plate	Drinking	Sleeping	Curtains	Books
£ 88 of plate	2 tea tables 2 sets of china 47 coffee cups 51 saucers 3 earthen tea pots 8 broken decanters	3 feather beds 1 flock bed	9 sets of window curtains	115 titles
Storage	Other			
4 trunks 2 chests 1 store room	1 hourglass			

The first room listed in Macnemara's inventory was the parlor. This room had an elbow chair and a dozen other leather chairs. The elbow chair suggests that its owner enjoyed presiding over gatherings of up to thirteen people. With the exception of the large oval table, each piece of furniture was identified according to a specific use. For example, Macnemara owned a set of playing tables and a card table for gambling. A fourth table held a tea set that included a china teapot with a dozen cups and saucers. A large mirror and two sconces added light, and an iron heater radiated heat from the fire. The room's hourglass kept track of time during hours of play.

Macnemara's bedchamber was also well equipped for comfortable socializing. It, too, contained thirteen chairs, including one elbow chair. A cane couch completed the room's seating. This room also had a tea table with a dozen cups and saucers and a teapot. The room had a large looking glass and four sconces for lighting, and it had an iron back in the fireplace for heating. The room also had a feather bed and furniture.

The bedchamber was more private than the parlor, being furnished with three sets of window curtains.

The room over the cellar was a warm and comfortable space equipped for sleeping and socializing, but not as well equipped as the bedchamber. It too had a feather bed and window curtains, but only a single Russian leather couch for seating. The room had fire equipment and an iron back. It also had a teapot and coffee cups, but no tea table. A mustard pot listed in the inventory suggests that the occupant of this room sometimes ate there.

The third sleeping space, the green room, was still less ornate. It had a feather bed and window curtains, but no fire equipment. This room had only one rush-bottomed chair, five coffee cups and three broken decanters. In addition, this room was a storage place containing a trunk and with a chest in the passage nearby.

The room called the “plate room” had a flock bed, window curtains, and a number of old, broken, or stored items. It had eight whole and two broken saucers and five coffee cups. For storage, it had three very old trunks, an old chest of drawers, and two old, small chests. It was the least public room of the house and contained Macnemara’s £88 worth of plate.

Macnemara was married and had a son,⁴¹ but his family life was far from settled. In 1712, the Maryland Assembly had ordered him to provide separate living

41. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 77, Page 620,
[http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000077
/html/am77--620.html](http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000077/html/am77--620.html) (Accessed 2005/04/01).

accommodations for his wife,⁴² and there is no indication from the inventory that his family was either separated or united in 1720. Macnemara had two white servants who lived with him, a man named John Wood and a very lame man named Gilbert Carr. He also owned a Negro girl named Nanne and a boy named Julian. It is not clear where the household members slept, but it seems likely that the servants and enslaved people either slept on the flock bed in the plate room or on the two flock beds listed in the kitchen.

The diffusion of coffee cups throughout Macnemara's house suggests that a "trickle down" pattern of refinement might have been taking place. First, it is important to note that Macnemara, himself, was an immigrant from the western extreme of County Clare, Ireland,⁴³ geographically and culturally as far from London as possible in the British Isles. He had most likely learned how to present a metropolitan style of living as an adult. The same was the case for his indentured servants. They, too, were new to Maryland, but lacked Macnemara's advantages of wealth, education, and social experience with the gentry in London and Maryland. Drinking tea and coffee from china cups was an activity associated with the socially refined elite, yet the presence of old and broken coffee cups in the plate room suggests that the men who slept on flock beds also drank coffee. Refinement entailed having acquired tastes for imported drinks and using stylish specialized glasses or cups when drinking. Enjoying

42. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 25, Page 231,
[http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000025
/html/am25--231.html](http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000025/html/am25--231.html) (Accessed 2005/04/01).

43. Land, *Dulanys of Maryland*, 15.

coffee from old or broken cups suggests that the acquisition of taste ran ahead of achieving freedom, wealth, or access to stylish equipment.

V. Kitchen Equipment as Evidence of a Style of Living

Dining is a fundamental social activity, and was an important venue for displaying gentry status. Meals can rise above providing simple nourishment by virtue of the skill required to prepare the food, by the quality of dining equipment used, and by the grace of manners used when eating. Refined dining was an activity both Carroll and Macnemara enjoyed, and a pursuit each house was well equipped to support. It is clear, though, that while the two men staged meals in the same general style, differences in the complexity of food and elaborateness of dining equipment used at Macnemara's house suggest that his meals were slightly more refined and presented with more theatrical flair.⁴⁴

Thomas Macnemara's kitchen was equipped for preparing fried, boiled, and baked food. It was best equipped for baking with five pastry pans, two cheese toasters and four old tin pans. In addition to this ready supply of pans, the nearby storeroom held a flour storage box, twelve biscuit pans, and eleven old tin pans. It is not clear whether items in the storeroom were exclusively for resale or for household use, but it is likely that they were used when needed. This elaborate store of equipment suggests that baked goods were a regular part of Macnemara's diet and that he had a skilled

44. The analysis of dining styles from kitchen items and tableware undertaken in this section was informed by Barbara Carson's study of nineteenth-century Washington dining, *Ambitious Appetites*, particularly pages 59-74.

cook. The number of baking pans also suggests that the kitchen was equipped to serve fancy baked goods to large groups. In addition to the baking equipment, the storeroom also had two items that probably were used in Macnemara's kitchen, a malt mill and hopper, and over twenty pounds of pepper.

Table 5 Items in Thomas Macnemara's Kitchen Organized by Use⁴⁵

Frying	Baking	Boiling	Utensils	Linen
2 grid irons 1 iron dripping pan	5 pastry pans 2 tin cheese toasters 4 very old tin pans 1 tin apple roaster 1 old warming pan 1 chafing dish 2 brass chafing 1 brass plate heater	1 copper pot	1 brass mortar and pestle 1 bell metal mortar and pestle 3 box irons and heaters 1 pair of hand irons	2 diaper table cloths 1 huckaback tablecloth 8 diaper table cloths 8 doz. huckaback 3 holland towels 2 huckaback towels 2 pair of holland 2 holland sideboard cloths 1 pair of check holland sheets 2 pair of sheets 7 pair of

45. Thomas Macnemara also had a store room that contained various quantities of sixty-four different items. Summarizing them in categories of items yields the following values: apparel £ 4.11.0; materials for clothing £ 9.13.0; slave clothing £0.13.0; food £1.14.0 (including 22 ¾ lbs. of pepper); items for food preparation £11; farming tools £7.12.0; general equipment (e.g., locks, knives, and thimbles) £1.14.0; woodworking tools, no value; playing cards £2; and items for cleaning (5 brooms) £0.7.0.

				sheets 3 pair of osnaburgs
Lighting	Fire	Pewter	Eating	Eating Utensils
3 brass snuff cups 9 snuffers	3 brass tongs and shovels 1 pair of double nozzled bellows	£ 11.4 of pewter	1 dish cover 2 plate covers	9 buckhorn handled knives 12 buckhorn handled forks 10 ivory handled knives 10 ivory forks
Drinking				
4 coffee pots, broken				

The quality and scale of meals prepared in Macnemara's kitchen was also indicated by the large store of linen and dishware in the room. He had ten tablecloths, eight dozen napkins, seven towels and three sideboard cloths. The dishes were not itemized, but the value of the kitchen's £11 of pewter and the plate room's £88 of plate indicate that Macnemara's guests ate fine food in an elegant setting. The refined level of dining in his house was also evident in the matched sets of forks and knives in the kitchen. Macnemara owned a matched set of a dozen buckhorn-handled forks and knives and a second set of ivory-handled forks and knives.

Macnemara was a self-made man of dubious personal character, but he entertained in the style of the gentry. The disparity between his public virtues – he was

a successful lawyer and politician who served as Mayor of Annapolis in 1715⁴⁶ - and his public vices suggests that style triumphed over constancy of virtue in his presentation of himself to his Annapolis neighbors.

James Carroll's home presented a different impression; his style of living directly reflected his character. He was also a self-made man, but one who lived alone with his servants and enslaved people at a distance of ten miles from Annapolis. He was equipped to eat and entertain in a refined style although on a lesser scale than his city-dwelling associate.

James Carroll's kitchen had the tools to pursue twelve different operations. This space should be looked at separately from the main rooms of the house, because it seems clearly to have been a workspace that James Carroll would not have used in the same way as the other rooms. The work done in the kitchen was done for Carroll by his enslaved people and servants and probably involved him only when he ate meals prepared there.

Carroll's kitchen was suited for preparing comparatively plain food. It was equipped for frying, boiling, and simple baking. The list of equipment suggests that his household ate mostly meat and corn with some baked items. The daybook contains entries about raising corn and wheat,⁴⁷ owning hogs,⁴⁸ sheep and cattle,⁴⁹ and buying

46. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 46, Page 193,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000046/html/am46--193.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

47. Carroll, 42.

48. See, for example, *Ibid.*, 3, 42.

49. *Ibid.*, 42.

pork⁵⁰ and fowls,⁵¹ items, which along with dairy products probably served as the mainstay of the household diet.

Dining was equally plain in Carroll's household. He owned far more spoons than forks or knives, for example, and the items do not appear to be individual place settings of matched items.⁵² There is no indication if the forks were for lifting food from the plate or holding it while cutting. Spoons were numerous, though, suggesting that less solid items were eaten with spoons, but that larger items were probably eaten with the fingers. Meals were most likely eaten from the pewter plates listed in the kitchen. The style of drinking is harder to link directly to the kitchen equipment. Carroll owned a punch bowl and coffee dishes that he kept in the little room off the chamber. He also bought wine glasses in 1715 and ordered china while in London during 1716. Servants probably used the tankards and mugs listed in the kitchen, especially as half of them were listed as broken or missing handles. Carroll's household was made up of himself and several servants. There is no indication that Carroll ate either with his household members or apart from them on a daily basis. The separate storage of coffee and punch items, however, suggests that these items were reserved for socializing with guests on special occasions.

The simplicity of kitchen equipment does not point to an ascetic diet, however. Carroll drank gin, wine, and rum. In addition, Carroll owned a punchbowl, which suggests that he concocted mixed drinks. That he sold these items to his servants on

50. See, for example, *Ibid.*, 30.

51. See, for example, *Ibid.*, 92.

52. See, Barbara Carson, 63-65 for a brief history of the use of forks and knives in dining.

occasion suggests that he did not regularly drink with them, however. The kitchen list included containers for butter, salt, sugar, and lard, indicating that food and drink was sweetened or salted, that bread or pastry was baked, and that bread was buttered. Carroll also owned a copper pot and a teapot, specialized items showing his attention to brewing tea with care. Carroll enjoyed food and drink, and it is likely that his style of eating was quite different from that of the rest of his household. In terms of daily meals, however, Fingaul appears to have been a place where graceful dining was not a central concern. Contrasting the meals of a man who chose to remain unmarried and who lived outside of town with a man who made different choices is a way of coming to know James Carroll more closely. His plain, but not spartan, kitchen paled in comparison with that of his town-dwelling brother-in-law.

Table 6 James Carroll's Kitchen Equipment Categorized by Use⁵³

Frying/Roasting	Baking	Boiling	Preservation	Plates
1 grid iron 1 spit 1 frying pan 1 bell metal skillet 1 handle of a frying pan	3 tin pans	1 large iron kettle 2 large iron pots 1 smaller iron pot 1 copper pot 1 tea pot		13 pewter dishes 1 cheese plate 37 pewter plates 1 saucer 4 wooden bowls
Utensils	Drinking	Seasoning	Lighting	Cleaning
19 pewter spoons 4 knives 5 forks 2 black hafts	2 tankards 1 stone mug - bottom broken 2 earthen	2 sugar boxes 1 salt seller 16 butter pots 1 earthen lard pot	1 iron candlestick 1 brass candlestick 1 old lanthorn	1 hard brush 2 hair brushes

53. Carroll, 53.

1 old case for knives 1 chest 2 smaller chests	mugs with handles off 3 small mugs	1 lard pot		
Tools	Unexplained			
1 pair of large pot hooks 1 pair of small pot hooks 1 pair of iron dogs 1 box iron 2 heaters 1 box iron broken 1 pair of tongs 3 sifters 1 pair of tin snuffers 1 water pot	1 cattle bead 2 coarse rugs 2 blankets 1 pad			

The differences in furnishings between James Carroll and Thomas Macnemara's houses correspond to their different locations and their being equipped to accommodate different numbers of residents, but they were quite similar in terms of the style of living each supported. Macnemara had more tea settings and plate, more feather beds and window curtains. Both houses, though, were well equipped to support a social life centered on gambling, tea drinking, and fine dining.

VI. Book Collections as Evidence of James Carroll's Intellectual Interests

Both Macnemara and Carroll's houses had a study furnished with a well-stocked library pointing to the important role that reading played in each man's life and career.

Carroll had a room with shelves holding sixty-three books,⁵⁴ and Macnemara had well over a hundred. That the study was set apart in each house indicates that the two men kept their social and intellectual pursuits separate, but that each type of activity warranted their investment of large sums of wealth.⁵⁵

Each man's study displayed its owner's intellectual interests, illustrating what topics each man chose to pursue in private reading.⁵⁶ Thomas Macnemara's book collection was centered on three themes: law, wit and drama. These topics characterize his interests succinctly. Macnemara was a lawyer whose predatory tactics in the courtroom and profiteering from clients prompted two colonies to seek his disbarment. His caustic tongue earned him rebukes and one January day in a pillory from a royal

54. Ibid., 54.

55. Carl E. Garrigus, Jr., "The Reading Habits of Maryland's Planter Gentry, 1718-1747," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 92, 1997: 36-53 Carroll and Macnemara were not unusual in owning book collections. Based on the study of 1,911 probate inventories, Garrigus noted that "books were an integral part of gentility because they offered instruction and support in this slippery world of perception, where a family's prosperity might hinge on the correct nuance of phrase. Books could open doors to the fluid world of upper-class Chesapeake life, where they counted heavily in calculations of standing and social rank. Not surprisingly, during the first half of the eighteenth century, Maryland's economic elite increasingly collected books that supported and defined an emerging genteel world."

56. The analysis in this dissertation was based on the titles of books each man was recorded as having owned. Historian Rhys Isaac conducted a more extensive study of the annotations made in extant books from the library of the Virginia planter, Landon Carter, in the early eighteenth century and used them to hypothesize about Carter's cultural values. He identified Carter's "belief in the benevolent goodness of humankind and an avid study of nature to discover the useful." He also interpreted Carter's political sensibility from his library, arguing: "It was this belief system that gave the leaders of the American rebellion the inspiration to embark on a revolution... Landon shared all these beliefs, but in him the balance was different... He was a diehard patriarchalist, who remained faithful to the old constitution in which a Father King was needed to balance the power of the people." Rhys Isaac, *Landon Carter's Uneasy Kingdom: Revolution and Rebellion on a Virginia Plantation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 103.

governor.⁵⁷ From his first days in Maryland to his death, his career was full of dramatic encounters that were both comic and tragic. Overall, he was a relentlessly self-serving, adversarial man whose vices undercut the prospects of his undoubted brilliance.

His book collection was an appropriate intellectual foundation for his actions. Of one hundred and fourteen titles, eighty-two were on law and fifty-two were reports of cases.⁵⁸ He also owned three dictionaries and a grammar book. He owned a history of the world and a book by the Roman historian Polybius. His owning bound volumes of *The Spectator* suggested his interest in current intellectual fashion. His interest in drama was underscored by his owning a six volume set of the works of Shakespeare. This library reflected the tastes of a man keenly interested in language and drama. Although his contemporaries and later historians were critical of Thomas Macnemara's character, his library shows him to have been well versed in questions of law. He was a wily adversary and verbally bombastic, but he was not ignorant of the law or legal procedure.

Intellectual equipment including books and scientific instruments constitutes an important set of tools that also tells about a more private dimension of James Carroll's life, suggesting which sort of ideas about which he chose to be informed. Examining the particular books he had, and considering them along with the scientific equipment he

57. Land, *Colonial Maryland*, 109.

58. Garrigus, 42. The author noted that "many of the law books in the inventoried libraries of the planter gentry during the century's early years were general works. The elite's preferred legal author was Sir Edward Coke... The two books by Coke listed most frequently in inventories were *Reports* and *Institutes*, the latter being a large, four-part work containing ancient statutes... Supplements (such as abridgements), frequently called reports, and commentaries listed prominent contemporary cases, an important aid in the gentleman's official duties as justice, sheriff, or assemblyman."

owned, shows Carroll to have been far more than a successful merchant planter or a frustrated politician.

Carroll divided his book collection into five categories: divinity, law, medical, mathematics, and history, a division that shows his collection to have been similar to those of the other elite Maryland planters who owned books at this time.⁵⁹ This set of categories corresponds with Carroll's major concerns. All the evidence preserved about him reflects his religious sentiment. His interest in history shows his awareness of destiny's being shaped slowly over time as he built a fortune for his family in this world and showed concern for his soul's fortune in the next. Each category of his library contained several titles. The range of topics shows the impressive breadth of Carroll's mind and the book titles point to some of his principal concerns.

Carroll's religious books suggests several qualities of his life. The first is his intellectualism. One could be a faithful Catholic by following the lead of the clergy in a liturgically centered life. James Carroll, on the other hand, could rely upon his own scholarship and expertise in his religious life. His books reflect his knowledge of three languages, English, Latin, and French, (It is probable that he also spoke and read Gaelic).

59. Garrigus, 39. He noted that "private libraries of the wealthy in the early 1700s suggested a strong concern for religious conduct and everyday business affairs... Overall, 54 percent of identifiable books fell within the religious category in the early part of the century... Sixteen percent of a gentleman's library consisted of law books, making them a distant second to religion." Garrigus presents a table that indicates the following percentages of additional book types in Maryland libraries inventoried from 1718-1722: history 1.2%, science 0.5%, philosophy 0, literature 0.4% and journals 0.4%. Rhys Isaac's study was of the surviving volumes of Landon Carter's once extensive library. He noted that, "those volumes that were serviceable for the pursuit of the liberal professions of the clergyman, the physician, and the lawyer or lawmaker must have been steadily culled from the collection." He categorized the remaining two hundred books as follows: works by classic authors 20%, works on natural philosophy and natural history 25%, works of history 15%, belle letters 15%, works on religion 10%, books on law 5%, and books on politics 5%. Isaac, *Landon Carter's Uneasy Kingdom*, 87.

He owned the scriptures and guidebooks for conducting religious rituals. His three lives of saints were guidebooks on the ideal form of life. His polemic works refuted the Protestant ideas in the ascendancy around him. In sum, Carroll was at once a political exile, an economic opportunist and a religious idealist. He was a self-sufficient religious authority of confirmed convictions following a set of monastic ideals to renounce the world in private while embracing it in public.

Table 7 James Carroll's Religious Books

Divinity	Prayer	Lives of Saints	Polemic Works
- <i>The Old Testament</i> - <i>The New Testament</i>	- <i>A Manual of Prayer</i> - <i>Misale Romanum</i>	- <i>The Life of St. Peter</i> - <i>The Life of St. Anthony in French</i> - <i>The Following of Christ, Thomas á Kempis</i>	- <i>The Holy Court</i> - <i>Hell Open to Christians</i> - <i>The Declaration of the Points of Christian Doctrine</i> - <i>The Liturgical Discourse of the Holy Gospels</i> - <i>A Short Plain Way to the Faith of the Church</i> - <i>The Scriptures Mistaken: The Occasion of Protestantism</i> - <i>Essays Upon Monsieur Fouquet</i>

Renunciation of the vanity of the world was a central theme of a book Carroll owned and highly valued, *The Imitation of Christ* by the fourteenth-century monk, Thomas á Kempis. This highly influential book featured a series of meditations on various aspects of life and served as a guide on how to achieve a contemplative life. It is

not clear from Carroll's list whether his copy was in the original Latin or a translation. In á Kempis' work, life is a period of exile in a miserable world of vanity and false promise. Its value in Carroll's eyes is apparent from its having been one of three books Carroll placed in his sea chest when he sailed to England in 1716, just a month after making his inventory of books.

Carroll's owning *The Life of St. Anthony* reinforces the ascetic, contemplative theme. This fourth century work by Athanasius describes the choice of the saint to renounce the world in favor of a life of solitary prayer. In the desert, Anthony wrestled with devils in various forms, representing the temptations of the world, and espoused a life of constant prayer as the only true refuge of the soul. Carroll's copy of this classic work was in French, raising the question of whether he acquired the book when studying in Europe. It is attractive to view his ownership of this volume as evidence that his education for the clergy was interrupted by the Irish wars and that his work in Maryland was a voluntary exile from Ireland in which he acted publicly to restore his family's fortune but privately to preserve his own soul.

The polemic religious works in James Carroll's library were books on topics that display his informed passion for the Roman Catholic faith and point to his complexity as an individual. Two of the books were works by famous authors, and they provide some insight into Carroll's religious point of view.

The Holy Court, for one, was written in French by Jesuit Nicholas Caussin (1583-1651) who served as Confessor to the French King Louis XIII. Caussin has been identified as one of the three most influential rhetoricians of the sixteenth-century Counter Reformation. A recent essay on Caussin asserted that he was important in articulating the political mission of Jesuit preaching. Following Caussin, Jesuits saw the

social arena as uniquely susceptible to human control by a skilled preacher.⁶⁰ Caussin's book was an instruction in how to persuade deluded Christians to return to the true faith. Caussin, himself, spoke of the poser of rhetoric to, "Win people over... by setting ablaze the inner senses with heavenly ardor..."⁶¹

Carroll's ownership of this book reinforces his link to the Jesuit order. Its being a French work also adds to the likelihood that he was educated in Europe. Third, it underscores the idea that he was not just Catholic by tradition, but an active proselytizer in Maryland. Politically, this suggests that Carroll was not just seeking to maintain the rights Catholics had in the colony when he battled governors Seymour and Hart, but that he was actively working to enhance the power of the Church in the colony by, potentially, bringing converts into the sect.

If *The Holy Court* suggested that James Carroll was interested in preaching, a second work, *Hell Open to Christians*, gave a glimpse into the type of sermon he might have favored. This book was the work of the Italian Jesuit, Giovanni Pietro Pinamonti (1632–1703). Pinamonti's book was first published in Italian in 1688 and quickly translated into several languages, including Latin and French. It was first published in English in 1715, suggesting that Carroll's copy was probably in French.⁶² The book consisted of daily meditations⁶³ that painted vivid pictures of hell as a place of torment,

60. Daniel M. Gross, "Caussin's Passion and the New History of Rhetoric," *Rhetorica* 21, no. 2 (2003): 108.

61. Gross, 108.

62. Thrane, James R. "Joyce's Sermon on Hell: Its Source and its Background," *Modern Philology* 57, no. 3, (1960): 172.

63. Thrane, 173.

fire and spiritual loss. It was a book that warned against the pleasures of the world in stark language that could not have been lost upon its wealthy owner reading in the comfort of his well furnished home. Pinamonti pointed to the horrible discovery awaiting one who “Gave himself over to all sorts of pleasure, whose palate was filled with the greatest dainties; whose flesh had all the ease imaginable, and wallowed in all kinds of impurity...”⁶⁴

Carroll’s list of religious books began with *The New Testament* followed by *The Holy Court, Hell Open to Christians, The Imitation of Christ, and A Manuel of Prayer*. The list might suggest more than a random selection. These titles point to a religious life based on daily prayer and meditation, rather than one of merely seasonal sacramental observance. Carroll seems to have been actively devout and almost monastic in his spiritual life. The resulting picture is a paradoxical one of a man who embraced commerce and politics while reading books that stressed the importance of renouncing sensory pleasure. Carroll embodied a deep division between the apparent goals of his public and private lives. While the two were not completely irreconcilable, he was a complex individual whose partisan advocacy of Catholic interests in Maryland was sincere and deeply rooted.

Carroll’s religious books show him to have been conversant with the main currents of European religious thought of his time. The titles listed as History Books also show his intellectual connections beyond Maryland. His possession of *The History of Oliver Cromwell from the Cradle to His Tomb* reflects his desire to know about a man

64. Pinamonte, pp 26-27, in Thrane, 181.

who was one of the principal villains in the story of the Carroll family's loss of stature and land in Ireland.

In contrast to this work about the Irish past, several bound periodicals among his books illustrate Carroll's ongoing reading about the issues of contemporary British society. Four annual collections are of a history whose title is partly illegible. The exact nature of this book cannot be known, but it is listed for four separate years, 1705-07 and 1712, showing a sustained interest. Also, the four volumes are recorded with the initials T.M. written in the margin next to them, indicating that they were on loan to Thomas Macnemara. The work appears to be a book on recent issues that both Carroll and his worldly brother-in-law found interesting.

Two other bound volumes of periodicals appear on the list. Carroll owned Volumes 2, 3 and 4 of *The Tattler*, also noted as on loan to Macnemara, and Volume 4 of *The Spectator*. These collections of magazines published by Joseph Addison and Richard Steele balance the heavy religious tomes in the library by indicating Carroll's enjoyment of witty essays about fashion and society. While his religious works focused the mind on eternity, these books reflected Carroll's keen interest in social life. Though Carroll lived on the frontier of the British world, the published works of Addison and Steele opened a window onto the world of London coffee houses.

Other books listed as histories were dictionaries and a book on the essential commercial skill of writing letters. Carroll owned both French and Latin dictionaries. He also owned a book entitled, *The English Secretary of Form Letters*. The inclusion of these titles as histories suggests that the books in this category were not just works about the past, but books about society. Reading was a way for Carroll to keep in touch with the larger British and European intellectual worlds. This interest was apparently one he

shared. Macnemara, after all, had borrowed several of the titles and the volume of *The Spectator* was on loan to an individual identified as W.H.. It is easy to imagine conversations about their contents when such books were loaned and returned. Sharing books and thoughts on society, Carroll, Macnemara, and others would use literacy to reach beyond the narrow constraints of their Maryland experience to a larger British frame of reference. This enlarged perspective was evident in two other titles in this part of the book list. *The Art of Husbandry* by Marcom and *Enchiridion on the Art of Human Prudence* could have elevated Carroll's perception of his work as a planter and the grace of his social interaction by reference to a more theoretical level.

As an official in the proprietary land system and a man beset with political and legal challenges, Carroll understandably listed eight legal titles among his books. One, *The Complete Attorney*, was a general book of instruction. Three others, *Cook and Littleton*, *Cooks Reports* and the *Precedent of Precedents* were on common law practices. Three titles were on property issues, *Kitchen upon the Court of Earls and Barons*, *The Third Part of Intestates*, and *The Touchstone of Wills and Testaments*. A final book in this category might have proven especially valuable to a man whose words took him to the brink of legal sanction, *The Report of Actions of Slanders*. Though barred from the profession of law by his religion, Carroll was very well informed about the law, legal process and the legal maintenance of his interests. In his 1715 confrontation with Mary Hemsley and Governor John Hart,⁶⁵ for example, Carroll noted that if he could not protect his interests through legal means, he would do so in other ways. His words

65. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 25, Page 327,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000025/html/am25--327.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

showed a martial spirit, but his books indicate that his rhetorical bluster was theatrical; he could ably protect his interests in a court of law.

James Carroll was well versed in legal procedure, but he also had an interest in human nature that probably served him well in planning his rhetorical and legal tactics. He owned a copy of *Machiavelli's Discourses*, a book entitled, *A Report from the Committee of Heresy*, a book called *Female Polassey Detekted*, and a novel written in French, *The Duchess of Medo*. This diverse set of books indicates an interest in discourse appropriate to a man fond of subtle and calculated interaction. In his moments of frustration, Governor Hart referred to his Catholic adversaries as being given to Jesuitical equivocation. James Carroll's library suggests that he was intellectually capable of action that warranted the governor's charge.

Carroll was more than a well-read man and a wily rhetorical adversary. He was also a well-trained mathematician and scientist. His list of books included sixteen books on mathematics and sixteen items he called Mathematical Instruments. Among the books were works of geometry, arithmetic, surveying, and navigation. His books on arithmetic, surveying, and one on bookkeeping seem directly related to his work as a land official and merchant, but other titles suggested more far-reaching interests. Carroll owned a copy of *Euclid's Elements*, for example, a work useful to a surveyor charged with measuring irregular lots of land, but also one that suggests training in more theoretical aspects of mathematics than demanded by his everyday work. Similarly, though he imported and exported cargoes and enslaved people, Carroll's works on geography and navigation indicated far more than a passing interest in the Atlantic world.

The breadth of Carroll's scientific interests is further illustrated by the heading Physical Books. He owned three books on treating illness, a topic that seems appropriate

for a planter who faced the challenge of treating the illnesses of his servants and enslaved people. He also owned a book on anatomy and two books on surgery. Once again, his interests appear to have been more theoretical than practical, however. Carroll's books indicate that he was interested in the science of health and had a depth of knowledge that probably placed him on a par with most Maryland doctors. His immersion in the theoretical, however, is underscored by noting that no entries in his daybook reflect Carroll's having acted as a physician. In fact, in several entries he paid doctors to treat himself and others.⁶⁶

Carroll's mathematical instruments were the staffs, quadrants, and protractors used in measuring land. He also owned a microscope and a lodestone. The last two items suggest that he was not just interested in measuring land, but also in examining minerals. At the time of his death in 1729, his nephew, Charles Carroll of Annapolis, and other investors were engaged in establishing an iron mine near the Patapsco River.⁶⁷ In doing so, they could well have been following up on deposits of the type James Carroll was equipped to identify.

The significance of Carroll's 1715 list of books lies in the dimension it adds to an understanding of James Carroll as a thinker. His business accounts and political actions convey a rather narrow view of a man single-mindedly focused on making money and protecting his rights. His books widen this view by showing him as an Enlightenment

66 See, for example, Carroll, 30.

67. Carroll's estate executors, Charles Carroll of Annapolis and Charles Carroll, the Doctor, along with Benjamin Tasker and Daniel Dulany established the Baltimore Iron Works just two years after James Carroll's death. Their operation was located in the Elk Ridge area. For a more detailed discussion of this topic, see: Keach Johnson, "The Genesis of the Baltimore Iron Works," *The Journal of Southern History* 19, no. 2, (1953): 157-179.

intellectual thoroughly grounded in the world of European and British ideas. It seems highly unlikely that Carroll was a self-educated planter-merchant, but rather that he was an educated Catholic intellectual making the best of a frontier exile. Carroll's study serves as a metaphor for its owner. This refuge, a singular room with its shelves of books, was cut off in many ways from the workings of his plantation and household, yet a room intimately connected to European ideas.

VII. Conclusion

James Carroll's house was far more than a repository of commercial profit and the hub of a plantation. It was also a place of social gatherings and intellectual pursuit. In a sense, it was a small island of Enlightenment thought surrounded by miles of forest and tobacco. The separation of his house from its surroundings made it a private place of Catholic sensibility in a Protestant environ and of international literate culture in a region dominated by local, oral exchanges. Publicly, Carroll was fully engaged in the commerce and politics of Maryland, but privately he was a contemplative reader with interests far beyond the day-to-day events of his life. Ultimately, the existence of this private part of his home lends perspective and dimension to a study of James Carroll as a person.

Chapter 4 Local Commerce: James Carroll's 1715 Accounts as a Maryland Tobacco Planter and Tax Farmer

I. Why Carroll's Local Commerce was Significant

The public confrontations and theatrical gestures of James Carroll's political life showed him as an actor at ease on a public stage. At the same time, his home at Fingaul showed him in a different light, as an educated man who read religious books espousing a contemplative way of life. These different perspectives on his personality add dimension to the sketch of him preserved in historical evidence, but considering his actions as a planter and quitrent collector adds important information to the study of his career. Exploring how Carroll earned his money adds a third perspective by discussing how he gained a living from his plantations, local trade, and position in the colony's land system. The analysis in this chapter considers the entries recorded in Carroll's daybook between September and the end of the old style calendar year in March of 1715. These transactions were small when compared to those of his trans-Atlantic commerce examined in the next chapter. On the local level, James Carroll prospered by growing crops, collecting quitrent payments, and conducting transactions with planters, merchants, tradesmen, servants and enslaved people who lived, primarily, in Anne Arundel and Prince Georges Counties, Maryland. Carroll interacted with a wide range of people during these months. The entries in his daybook illustrate the economic and social world that he and his neighbors shared. Carroll wrote more information about his local trade during these months than at any other time. In addition, Carroll managed the

quitrent collection contracted from the Calverts by a group of Catholic Maryland planters during these months.

Four themes are evident in these accounts. First, during these months, Carroll was a man engaged in almost continual local travel. Second, he was an active buyer of servants and enslaved people; his actions were illustrative of a credit-based economy at work. Third, he was the master of an extensive plantation business with the intellectual ability to manage complex and diverse branches of commerce. Fourth, he was a successful political opportunist who made the most of a chance to participate in the collection of quitrents due to the proprietor and “farmed” by members of the Catholic gentry. These four topics show the opportunities James Carroll had to get wealth and how he took advantage of them. Taken together, they demonstrate that Carroll made frequent face-to-face bargains with people from all levels of Maryland society and show his skilled intellectual work of planning, record keeping, and managing the work of others. He was not so much a producer of crops or a seller of goods as he was a deal maker and a master of commercial information who saw beyond the immediate concerns of his land, crops, and workers to make the most of opportunity.

The entries in Carroll’s daybook for these months showed other people representing a wide spectrum of Maryland society as well. They were active as buyers and sellers, workers on plantations and the keepers of shops. Ultimately, this discussion of a network of local trade demonstrates the importance of a fundamental equation that paralleled Carroll’s work: useful service to people of higher economic or political status yielded either credit or direct access to consumer goods.

II. A Merchant on Horseback

The first theme evident in the daybook entries for 1715 is that Carroll traveled extensively over the local roads in pursuit of deals.¹ Travel is a central element of each section of this chapter. The first section will introduce the theme by looking closely at Carroll's actions in the autumn of 1715, but leave the rest of the story intertwined implicitly in the later sections to avoid repetition.

James Carroll spent the lion's share of his days in 1715 making small-scale deals. He did not specify the location of every exchange in his daybook, but he mentioned places frequently enough to support a rough sketch of his movement. Carroll was mainly around Annapolis in August and September of 1715, but he also stopped at Londontown, the small port and ferry crossing between his home at Fingaul and the capital, and rode southwest from his home to the nearby Prince George's County towns of Queen Anne and Nottingham Town.

One of the earliest entries in Carroll's daybook figuratively set him in motion. Carroll noted paying Annapolis saddler Thomas Docwra for fixing a saddle on August 17th.² Carroll was primarily a merchant on horseback throughout the next several months, surveying land, collecting fees,³ and engaging in exchanges with people from all

1. For a map of the Anne Arundel County roads in existence in 1734, see Earle, 155.

2. Carroll, 43C.

3. Owings, 88 – 89, *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 662, Pages 88-89, <http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000662/html/am662--88.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

occupations. During the same days that Thomas Docwra was mending his saddle, Carroll spent time at Amos Garrett's Annapolis store⁴ playing whist with a schoolmaster named Richard Crockett⁵ and Carroll's brother-in-law Thomas Macnemara.⁶ Early the next month, he visited stores run by merchants Samuel Peele and Patrick Sympson, at Londontown.⁷ His sister Joanna, the wife of Richard Croxall; his brother-in-law,⁸ the Prince George's County planter and colonial militia colonel John Bradford; and Thomas Macnemara were with him, and Carroll mentioned their names in the records of small transactions made at the stores. The social event that brought the family together was a slave sale conducted by Peele. Charles Carroll, the head of the extended family, was not with them. He was then on his way to England to court the favor of Charles Calvert, the new Lord Baltimore, and renew his friendship with Calvert's guardian, Lord Guilford.⁹

4. Edward C. Papenfuse identified Amos Garrett as one of Annapolis' leading merchants of this era. He noted that the Annapolis market for consumer goods was small and dominated by a few merchants. He described Garrett's importance by observing that "from the first decade until his death in 1728, the most prominent and by far the most successful was Amos Garrett... Garrett built his fortune on lending money at interest and dealt in imported goods as a modest sideline." Papenfuse, *In Pursuit of Profit*, 13.

5. Carroll, 7C.

6. Carroll, 11C.

7. Carroll, 5D.

8. Hoffman, *Dear Papa*, 38.

9. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 30, Page 397,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000030/html/am30--397.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

The same month, Carroll traveled a few miles to the southwest of his home to the store kept by Prince George's County merchant Robert Tyler¹⁰ at Nottingham Town, Maryland, near the head of the Patuxent River estuary.¹¹ The men met on September 3rd, and Tyler paid Carroll with two quilts for surveying fees due to him. He returned to Tyler's store a month later and made several small purchases, buying playing cards, sheeting, and ginger. The small monetary value of these transactions suggests that the visits were as much social as commercial. Carroll's visits to Tyler's store were probably times to play cards and talk about politics and business. This speculation about store visits as social occasions extends to hypothesizing about who else might have been present besides the parties named in transactions listed in the daybook. Carroll, for example, did not mention Tyler's neighbor, Daniel Dulany, a close friend and law partner of Thomas Macnemara.¹² The two educated young men from Western Ireland knew each other, and they probably met in casual gatherings in places such as Tyler's store. In addition, Carroll sold Dulany a servant a few months later.¹³

Carroll, apparently, spent most of October at Fingaul, but November saw him on the move again, spending time in Annapolis, Queen Anne, and at Mount Pleasant, the Prince George's County plantation owned by Clement Hill,¹⁴ a member of the gentry group who had contracted to manage the quitrent collection. While he was in Annapolis,

10. Carroll, 49C.

11. Land, *The Dulany's of Maryland*, 25

12. Ibid., 15-17.

13. Carroll, 33C, 38D.

14. Ibid., 27C.

Carroll attended court sessions related to a debt case,¹⁵ stayed at Thomas Davis's inn,¹⁶ visited John Navar's tavern,¹⁷ and hired a man to manage one of his plantations. During the previous month, Carroll had taken stock of his Fingaul property and begun planning a new plantation located about twenty miles north at Elk Ridge. While he was in Annapolis, Carroll hired a man named John Ball¹⁸ to oversee the work of clearing fields, cutting lumber, and preparing for the building Carroll planned to start in the spring.

When he left Annapolis, Carroll rode southwest, probably crossed the South River at Londontown, and continued on to the town of Queen Anne, located just a few miles southwest of Fingaul. At Queen Anne, he purchased soap and a mousetrap from Captain John Murdock.¹⁹ The items Carroll purchased were not flashy imported goods, but useful ones. Apparently, the cool fall nights were driving mice into his house, and the soap might have been useful to prepare his clothing for his next travel.

Three weeks after visiting Murdock's store, Carroll rode to Clement Hill's home where the two probably discussed the quitrent collection that Carroll was about to begin. Carroll and Hill played backgammon with another guest, Thomas Macnemara, who served as Carroll's partner on the losing side.²⁰ This lop-sided arrangement indicates that

15. Maryland State Archives. Judgments Index, 1715, November Court, p.176.

16. Carroll, 25C.

17. Ibid., 26D.

18. Carroll, 25D.

19. Ibid., 27C.

20. Ibid..

other players were also at the table. Most likely, Henry Darnall II or William Digges was the fourth, as they were Hill's partners in the quitrent venture.

Spending time drinking and gambling with Thomas Macnemara involved an added element of risk. Macnemara frequently committed acts of violence and sexual license when drunk. An enigmatic entry in the daybook suggested that this visit also triggered Macnemara's lust. Carroll paid a man named Neal Coop nine shillings while he was at Mount Pleasant, his wife's charge for what was termed "serigdos."²¹ Although its exact meaning is unknown today, this word suggested a relationship to the word seraglio, meaning a harem. If this is the case, it seems likely that Carroll was paying a sum to satisfy an aggrieved or cooperative spouse. It is improbable that Carroll would have been tempted in this way, as there is no similar entry in the daybook. Macnemara's presence and reputation, though, lend credence to this interpretation of the entry.

Carroll rode back to Queen Anne after his return home to collect the annual rent due from a tenant named Michael Morris.²² Morris was a tailor living in a house that Carroll owned, and he paid his rent by delivering two kersey coats and a new bridle to Carroll.

Carroll's visits to homes, inns and stores brought him into contact with a wide range of people. It seems clear that he enjoyed conversation and gambling. He also seemed to be a good person to ask for a loan. The pattern in how he loaned money this fall suggests that he did so frequently and readily. His daybook entries for the year began

21. Ibid..

22. Ibid., 62D.

with a list of debts owed to him totaling £206.²³ The list was just over two pages long, and the vast majority of the debts were for less than two pounds.²⁴ During his autumn travels, Carroll made additional small loans. While he was in Annapolis in November, for example, he loaned four shillings to a man named John Hawkins²⁵ who lived at West River, a location on the Chesapeake shore just east of Fingaul. Later that same month, while he was at home, Carroll loaned a saddler named Richard Tootle £1.13.0 on a day when Tootle was at Fingaul on business.²⁶ It is hard to know whether Carroll lent money in a miserly or friendly spirit. The context of these loans, though, suggests that they arose out of conversations and chance meetings.

While Carroll's political life suggested that he was strident and confrontational in staged events, these entries suggest his having the opposite qualities in his everyday life. Carroll's local business featured repeated visits with partners, exchanges involving items

23. Ibid., unnumbered pages at the start of the daybook.

24. Carroll loaned small amounts of money to a wide range of people, a pattern historian Aubrey C. Land described as being quite common among Chesapeake planters. Land described the economy of the region as one in which "everyone owned everyone." He described the role of wealthy planters in this system in this way: "The larger and more complex tissue of debt resulted from local processes that made colonials themselves the capitalists. The lenders... established credit for the borrower and received the borrower's obligation to repay the loan in one of several forms – mortgage, bond, note of hand... To be brief, planters creditors... were more nearly creative capitalists, entrepreneurs whose fortunes grew in rough equivalence to the economic growth of the Chesapeake. If many of them profited handsomely, they also made essential contributions: they provided banking services to the community, and they took the risks." Aubrey C. Land, "Economic Behavior in a Planting Society: The Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake," *The Journal of Southern History* 33, (1967), 479 See also, Aubrey C. Land, "Economic Base and Social Structure: The Northern Chesapeake in the Eighteenth Century," *The Journal of Economic History* 25, no. 4. (1965), 639 - 654

25. Ibid., 26D.

26. Ibid..

of small value, and loans of small sums of money. With no narrative evidence, it is impossible to be sure, but these repeated encounters suggest that Carroll interacted with others in a friendly way. The overall impression projected by these episodic encounters is that these were social as well as commercial encounters, and that Carroll visited people, such as storekeepers Patrick Sympson, John Murdock and Robert Tyler for conversation as well as trade.

III. A Buyer of Enslaved People and Servants in a Credit Economy

The second theme evident in the daybook entries from 1715 was that Carroll was an active buyer of servants and enslaved people whose purchases show the importance of loans of credit from family and neighbors in such transactions. At first glance, it seems odd that a man who spoke of achieving the sweets of independence would impose the bitter condition of servitude on others, but these transactions suggest that while Carroll would not willingly be a dependant, he was anxious to own them. These purchases show how Carroll worked to become the capstone of a plantation economy, the master of a pyramid-shaped hierarchy of authority linking the people bound to his plantations. Carroll owned indentured servants and enslaved Africans, and his actions as a buyer and seller of people suggest that he treated people who did not have freedom as a commodity.

Carroll and others were eager to purchase the indentures of servants and to buy enslaved people, but they had to bring together sufficient credit to make these purchases. The entries in this section of Carroll's daybook show him, along with port town merchants, gentry buyers of servants, and members of family networks using the strategy of pooling resources of credit when buying servants and enslaved people. These

transactions show the links among people with whom Carroll was associated, but they also underscore the importance of the written records kept by merchants as vital data in an economy run almost completely on barter and credit. A daybook, such as Carroll's, was an artificial "place" where these networks came together, preserving the written memory of their existence and commercial terms.

Carroll bought three enslaved people while he was in Londontown with relatives in September 1715. Although Carroll did not record the explicit details of his purchases, it is possible to reconstruct the context of the sale. The sale of enslaved people and servants took place in Londontown, where Sympson and Peele operated stores. Carroll used credit from his brother-in-law Thomas Macnemara when he bought.

The social and commercial networks active in the sale were suggested by patterns in the entries Carroll made in his daybook. He listed having visited both merchants during the month and named Peele as the source of two enslaved people when he made a list of people on his plantation in October.²⁷ Carroll visited both Peele's and Sympson's stores on August 26th. Then, a day short of a month later, he purchased three enslaved people from Peele for £78,²⁸ and the next day purchased goods with Macnemara at Sympson's store.²⁹

Carroll intertwined matters large and small, ranging from gifts to major purchases and lucrative political patronage in his accounts, and kinship served in most as the base of

27. Ibid., 12D.

28. Ibid.,

29. Ibid., 11D, 11C.

credit.³⁰ The loans in money were just one sort of exchange among family members. Transactions this month also show Carroll giving gifts. On August 26, for example, Carroll bought his sister a saddle, eight yards of sagathy cloth, and three pairs of shoes from Patrick Sympson. The same day he also bought her a pair shoes from Samuel Peele.³¹ The shoes were of little value, a small gift from a brother to a sister who was newly arrived in the colony, more expressions of affection than commercial links.³² Carroll recorded a similar family interaction the same month with his brother-in-law, Thomas Macnemara, but a closer examination suggests that the apparent gift giving was, in fact, part of a credit agreement through which Carroll borrowed £78 from Macnemara to buy the enslaved people from Peele.³³

Macnemara was James Carroll's most frequent trade partner during the month, but uncovering the details of the September loan requires some digging through his accounts. On September twenty-sixth, the two men engaged in what seems at first glance to have been a minor transaction. Macnemara received £2 in eight-penny nails, seventy-four yards of cotton and nine yards of osnaburg at no cost, £3 in cash, and Carroll's assumption of debts totaling approximately £14 in a deal made in Londontown.³⁴ The

30. Carroll's reliance upon kin for capital is an exception to the general conclusion argued by historian Trevor Burnard in his essay, "Associational Networks of the Maryland Elite." Burnard determined that wealthy Maryland gentlemen borrowed from local sources, but usually not kin. See, Trevor Burnard, "Associational Networks of the Maryland Elite," *The Journal of Southern History* 61, no. 1 (1995): 33.

31. Carroll, 5D See Earle, 69 –73, for a brief overview of the work of these Londontown merchants.

32. Hoffman, *Princes of Ireland*, 53.

33. Carroll, 12D.

34. Carroll, 11D,11C.

cloth Carroll gave to Macnemara was actually quite valuable. The next month, he valued a length of best cotton given to one of his enslaved people at three shillings per yard and osnaburg at one shilling, two pence per yard.³⁵ At those prices, his gift to Macnemara was £18.10.0 worth of cotton and £0.10.6 worth of osnaburg. This conveyance worth just under £37 to Macnemara might have served as a down payment for the loan. There is no explicit mention in the daybook of the transaction for the enslaved people, but on the previous day, Carroll had paid Samuel Peele £78 for three enslaved people. There were only two entries in Carroll's daybook for the sum of £78. These were the September 26, 1715 purchase of three enslaved people from Peele and a daybook entry recorded on July 1, 1716 of a bill drawn on London merchant John Hyde listed as, my bill payable to Thomas Macnemara.³⁶ Macnemara and Carroll had frequent transactions during 1715 and 1716, but no other was for a sum above £10.³⁷

Other family members might also have been interested parties in the September slave sale as well. On September 3, James Carroll accepted a note from his brother-in-law, Major John Bradford, to pay a man named Neale Clark two sums. The first was £2 for an unspecified service. The second was also for an unspecified service and totaled one shilling, ten pence. The entry stated that Bradford's note originated on August 17, 1715.³⁸ The other time Carroll mentioned Clark in the daybook was on April 1, 1719 when he paid Clark one shilling, ten pence redeeming a note from Captain James

35. Ibid., 24D.

36. Ibid., 45C.

37. Ibid., 11D, 11C.

38. Ibid., 10D.

Cassells.³⁹ Cassells was paying Clark what he was due for acting as the constable during an August and September slave sale. In the latter sale, James Carroll managed the importation of a cargo of enslaved Africans owned, principally, by the London merchant Samuel Bonham. He paid Clark on behalf of the Captain of the importing ship.⁴⁰ It is plausible that a ship carrying enslaved people and servants was in Annapolis and Londontown during August and September of 1715 and that Clark was involved in the sale of enslaved people. That Carroll arranged for Clark to be paid suggests that John Bradford was involved with Peele in the slave venture.

While Patrick Sympson was not listed as directly involved in this slave sale, evidence from other sources suggests that he was also in the business of selling enslaved people at Londontown in cooperation with gentry investors. Sympson and Peele were factors operating stores in this small Maryland port for firms run by their London relatives. Peele represented his brother, London merchant John Peele.⁴¹ Sympson was the son-in-law of the London merchant Gilbert Higgonson.⁴² Entries in the *Higgonson and Bird Letter Book*⁴³ show Sympson acting as an agent for the firm in slave importations. Higgonson's firm imported enslaved people to Maryland in partnership with Maryland investors and used Sympson as their local agent. Letters from 1718 demonstrate the firm's interest in forming partnerships with members of the gentry who

39. Ibid., 10C.

40. Ibid..

41. Earle, 74.

42. Ibid., 69-73.

43. "The Higgonson and Bird Letterbook." Galloway-Maxcy-Markoe Collection. The Library of Congress. Washington, D.C. See also, Earle, 74.

could afford the, approximately, £500 investment needed to finance half of a slaving venture.⁴⁴ The slave sale illustrates the symbiotic relationship of merchants and gentry through which men such as Sympson provided planters access to the London market and gave London merchants access to Maryland resources. The same interdependence linked merchants with men on the rise, such as James Carroll. Securing credit was an essential part of James Carroll's work to build a fortune. He was intelligent and ambitious, but he could not build a fortune on his own. As a man on the make, he was dependant on his network of relatives for credit and dependant on merchants, such as Peele and Sympson, to sell his crop and supply him with consumer goods.

At the same time Carroll was buying slaves in Londontown, he was also purchasing the indentures of servants. In the fall of 1715, he bought the service of an adult named Jonathan Groves and a boy.⁴⁵ Groves had arrived at Fingaul with Carroll's plowman, Jonathan Williams. Carroll's entry about him in the daybook suggests that he did not know the specific circumstances of Groves's arrival in the colony. The next spring when he sold Groves to Daniel Dulany for £15, Carroll noted:

“John Groves, my servant, bought of Captain Perry for (blank) came to my house per John Williams, my plowman, the 7th day of September, 1715. He has five years to serve having no indentures. Which time, as Groves tells me, commenced the 10th of August last being the day of the ship's first anchorage within the province.”⁴⁶

44. Sympson's London backers were particularly interested in associating with Henry Darnall, one of James Carroll's employers in the quitrent collection, and Edward Lloyd, a leading merchant who had served as the colony's governor from 1707-1715. “The Higgonson and Bird Letterbook” Letter # 1727.

45. Carroll, 10C, 12D.

46. Ibid., 6D.

Although his name was not recorded at the time, Carroll most likely paid Sympson 856 pounds of tobacco⁴⁷ for Andrew Hillman, a servant mentioned periodically in daybook entries until 1718. Hillman most likely worked as a personal servant who traveled with Carroll. On March 10, 1715, for example, Carroll paid Robert Gudgeon of Baltimore County for lodging himself and a servant in his house.⁴⁸ Two days later, Carroll purchased shoes at Ouchterlong's store "for Andrew."⁴⁹ On May 19 of the next year, Carroll noted purchasing more shoes from Sympson for "Andrew,"⁵⁰ and on January 29, 1717, he paid George Douglass for making "Andrew's clothes."⁵¹ Carroll mentioned Andrew infrequently in the accounts, but he appears to have been part of the Fingaul household through at least 1718. In that year, Carroll identified Andrew as the messenger he sent to a trade partner, James Heath, with news of the arrival of a cargo of enslaved people. Carroll referred to him as Andrew Hillman, suggesting that he might have been close to adult age by 1718.⁵²

At the time Carroll bought Andrew, he also loaned money to his neighbor, Rev. Joseph Colebatch, the Anglican minister at All Hallows Church.⁵³ Carroll's transactions

47. Ibid., 10C.

48. Ibid., 36C.

49. Ibid., 39.

50. Ibid., 39C.

51. Ibid., 57C.

52. Ibid., 90D, 97D.

53. Harry Wright Newman, *To Maryland from Overseas: A Complete Digest of the Jacobite Loyalists Sold into White Slavery in Maryland and the British and Continental Background of Approximately 1400 Maryland Settlers from 1634 to the*

with Colebatch indicate that religion was not a bar to trade. On a political level, Maryland was a colony where a political chasm was opening between Catholics and Protestants. Yet, on a commercial level, Carroll's daybook shows a leading Catholic partisan and a leading Anglican clergyman making a neighborly deal. At the time, Colebatch was interested in buying a young man named William. He obtained the credit he needed from Carroll in the form of a note worth 2500 pounds of tobacco.⁵⁴ This was about three times what Carroll had paid for his servant, but far less than the amount Carroll paid for Jonathan Groves during the same month.⁵⁵ In addition to the servant, Colebatch received credit from Carroll for the value of the remnant of the glebe's corn and a note against Anne Arundel County Sheriff Thomas Reynolds worth 3500 pounds of tobacco.⁵⁶

These transactions show Carroll participating in his era's market for human beings and the role of credit in a time when both ready money and labor were scarce in the colony. People borrowed money to purchase indentured and enslaved labor, and access to credit enabled a planter to secure the labor needed to increase crop yields. The examples of credit listed in these pages of Carroll's daybook were all extensions of social interactions among kin or neighbors and emphasized the human face of borrowing. A buyer had to be socially well connected if he would make major purchases. In other

Early Federal Period with Source Documentation, (Annapolis, Md.: Henry Wright Newman, 1982) 44 and Earle, 77.

54. Carroll, 20C.

55. Ibid., 12D.

56. Ibid., 20C.

words, if Carroll would build a fortune, he must first build an extensive family and social network.

IV. A Planter's Business

The third theme evident in the daybook entries from 1715 was that Carroll had the intellectual skill to manage an extensive and growing plantation business. This discussion illustrates the many layers of commerce that Carroll managed at the same time. His plantation accounts are also important in showing that, while he profited by owning enslaved people and raising several crops, these ventures yielded comparatively small increments of profit over long times, while the quitrent collection venture offered an equal amount of income through keeping records over a few months. In sum, his plantation accounts show both how Carroll made a living and help explain why he was anxious to take advantage of political opportunity.

The fall of 1715 was a time of building and planning for James Carroll, a time when he built tobacco barns and granaries at the four hundred acre Fingaul property⁵⁷ and planned work to be done at Elk Ridge.⁵⁸ On August 20th, for example, Carroll paid Anne Arundel County carpenter Robert Brown £3 for ten day's work at Fingaul. Carroll paid Brown partly in cash and partly by redeeming a debt Brown owned him. Nine days later, he paid Joseph Meade just under £1 for his work with Brown.⁵⁹

57. Ibid., 12D.

58. Ibid., 24D.

59. Ibid., 5D, 5C, 6D, 6C, 12D.

After the flurry of purchasing servants in September, the entries for October and early November of 1715 center on retail commerce, plantation accounts and making arrangements regarding enslaved people and employees. Carroll was the head a household situated on a farm that produced a diverse range of agricultural products, and which was home to a group of people from a diverse set of ethnic origins.

James Carroll made a list of his enslaved people on September 27, 1715.⁶⁰ The list records the name, age, and origin of each enslaved person. At the end of the list, an entry made in July of 1716 adds more names. Notes in both entries indicate which enslaved people had died. Reading the list gives a sense of the families on Carroll's plantation and conveys twin notions of individuals starting families in the face of enslavement and of the mortality rate within the community.

The list is arranged by age and gender with males listed first. At the end of the 1715 entry is a separate category for a mulatto boy named Davy noted as being four years old on September 29 and having thirty years to serve. The list of enslaved people describes families. Thirty-four-year-old Dick, purchased from Thomas Linthicum, was married to Maria, a woman of about the same age. Maria had a nine-year-old daughter named Nelly and a five-year-old son named Peter. She and Dick had two sons, two-year-old Dicky and five-month-old Billy. Tomboy, a twenty-three-year-old male enslaved man purchased from Col. Darnall was married to a thirty-five-year-old woman named Betty. They had a son and a daughter, four-year-old Tommy and two-year-old Judith. By July 1716, however, Betty and both children were dead. (Betty died between May 17, 1716 and July of that year. On May 17, she had given birth to a son who died soon after

60. Ibid., 12D.

birth.) Also on the plantation in September of 1715 were Sambo, a thirty-two-year-old man purchased from Edward Digges, Jack, a twenty-year-old enslaved man purchased from Col. Darnall, and Mary, a thirty-five-year-old woman purchased from Philip Larkin, who were not married.

Carroll's Fingaul plantation was home to two enslaved families, one with four children ranging in age from nine years to five months old and a second with two children, four and two years old. In addition, there were two single adult men, one adult woman and a four-year-old child. September 1715 saw significant change in this community with the addition of two single adult men and one adult woman. Carroll purchased the three newcomers from Samuel Peele on September 25, as noted above. They were twenty-five-year-old Harry, eighteen-year-old Daniel, and eighteen-year-old Rachel.

Carroll divided this community later in 1715 when he began outfitting the plantation at Elk Ridge.⁶¹ Near the beginning of October, he moved Dick and Maria to the new plantation. Soon after, he credited the Fingaul account with the value of Daniel and Mary who left for Elk Ridge later. Tomboy and his family remained, as did Jack, Sambo, Harry, Rachel and, for a time, Daniel and Mary. The shift was from a community made up predominately of families to one of mostly single adults, three of whom were newcomers.

Carroll's allocation of cloth to his enslaved people gave some indication of whom he favored among his enslaved workers. One cold night in October, several men received blanket material. An adult man named Tomboy received two blankets of ten yards of

61. Ibid., 12C.

cotton for blankets, while Jack, Harry, Sambo, and Daniel only received one blanket of five yards each. A few weeks later, Sambo, one of the men who received a lesser amount of cloth, ran away. In early December, Carroll's overseer, George Douglass paid Robert Ward, using Carroll's money, for capturing Sambo.⁶²

Fingaul was also the home to four other employees and servants. The most favored employee was the overseer George Douglass, who conducted business for Carroll. He earned distinctive, valuable clothing for his work.⁶³ Several entries in the daybook show Douglass' conduct of business for Carroll. In October 1715, for example, Carroll charged Douglass for thirty-seven pence because he, "omitted to charge" Robert Grosswater's wife in "the change of a pistole."⁶⁴ Several similar entries illustrate Douglass's conducting business at Fingaul for Carroll.⁶⁵ A purchase of cider from Carroll by another employee, Jonathan Williams, also demonstrates Douglass's authority on the plantation. When Carroll noted having paid Robert Ward for originally supplying the cider, his entry indicated that Douglass had made the deal with Ward who was selling for his own master. Similarly, when Carroll paid Ward for catching Sambo, he was paying a fee for a service arranged by Douglass, paying Ward three ells of cloth for his work.⁶⁶

62. Ibid., 26C.

63. Ibid., 23D.

64. Ibid., 23D. A Spanish gold coin worth from 16-18 shillings. *The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary: Complete Text Produced Micrographically* (Oxford:Oxford University Press, 1971), 2: 908.

65. Ibid., 23D, 57D, 57C.

66. Ibid., 26C.

Douglass and his wife Anna earned payments in tobacco and cloth for their work.

In October, Carroll noted that Douglass had received two hogsheads of tobacco from Fingaul's 1715 crop.⁶⁷ On November 8th, Douglass received four shillings, six pence in cash and a pair of shoes worth six shillings and sixpence.⁶⁸ On January 21st, Carroll bought him a pair of spit boots from Patrick Sympson's store.⁶⁹ On February 15, Carroll gave him a hat with gold lace, a pair of worsted hose, and an India muslin handkerchief, items worth £1.03.2.⁷⁰ In addition, in March of 1715, he received another pair of shoes, these worth six shillings and six pence.⁷¹ Anna Douglass worked in the house, and among other duties, compiled lists of Carroll's linen in 1716, service for which she received a large amount of cloth in payment.⁷²

Carroll also had a plowman at Fingaul, Jonathan Williams, a free employee who was paid wages in money, food, and a share of the tobacco crop.⁷³ Between September and March of 1715, Carroll charged Jonathan Williams for receiving several items, including rum, cider, and shoes. In part, Carroll deducted these items against Williams' share of the tobacco crop.⁷⁴ Within the next few months, Williams received a twenty-

67. Ibid., 12C.

68. Ibid., 23D.

69. Ibid., 39D.

70. Ibid., 23D.

71. Ibid..

72. Ibid., 47D.

73. Ibid., 43C.

74. Ibid., 16D, 16C and 48D, 48C.

eight gallon cask of cider worth four shillings, eight pence and a suit of clothes worth £3.10.0.⁷⁵ In addition, Carroll charged Williams for a pair of shoes he received from Thomas Docwra's Annapolis shop in April of 1716 and one pair received by his wife, Betty, in August of 1714. The shoes were worth a combined eleven shillings, six pence.⁷⁶ Williams' wife, Betty, was an indentured servant, and Carroll owned her service obligation. He would free her when Williams paid him £20 in the form of a loan that Williams was using his share of the tobacco crop and work for other planters to pay off. Williams paid Carroll for the goods with his work for him and with five barrels of Indian corn worth £2.5. He paid for Betty's freedom and other debts with a bill of exchange on the London merchant Micaja Perry valued at £22.11.2.⁷⁷

Carroll identified the type of corn used in Williams's payment as Indian corn, while he described that harvested at Fingaul as corn, suggesting that Williams grew his crop separately.⁷⁸ The daybook did not specify whether the couple lived in Carroll's house at Fingaul, but whether they did or not, they had their own field and a good bed. Carroll noted having loaned them a feather bed and bedding.⁷⁹ The Williamses' situation on Carroll's plantation was that of a couple doing farm work in exchange for food, housing, bedding, and a share of the tobacco crop. Carroll charged them for items not produced on the plantation such as alcoholic beverages, clothing, and shoes.

75. Ibid., 16D.

76. Ibid..

77. Ibid., 48C.

78. Ibid..

79. Ibid., 21.

The Fingaul plantation was a complex agricultural operation producing several crops and several types of livestock raised by the employees and enslaved people. On October tenth, Carroll took stock of his crop and forecast expenses for the Elk Ridge plantation. The accounts of crops that were harvested at Fingaul reflected the type of farm work done by this community of workers.⁸⁰ In addition to tobacco, the plantation produced five types of cereal crops. The year's harvest included thirty-nine and a half bushels of buckwheat, forty-six bushels of oats, fifty barrels of corn, eighty bushels of wheat, eighty bushels of barley, and twenty-seven hogsheads of tobacco. The overall value of this crop was £209. Of this total value, tobacco was worth £139, and grain was worth £70. It is significant to note that approximately one third of the plantation's crop value was from grain. The variety of crops meant that the people who worked on the plantation had to know how to raise six different cash crops.⁸¹

The Fingaul community also raised several types of animals, including cattle, hogs and sheep, to produce both food and, perhaps, cloth.⁸² In March of 1715, Carroll made a list of cattle that he owned.⁸³ While his ten cows would have ensured a supply of

80. Ibid., 12C.

81. One explanation for the success of his planting despite the absence of long-term overseers and Carroll's own minimal experience with growing tobacco is that the Africans brought to Maryland were experienced with raising the crop prior to their enslavement. In her study of Virginia slaves, historian Lorena Walsh stated that tobacco was introduced to West Africa from Brazil by the Portuguese by the early seventeenth-century. By the early 1700s, tobacco cultivation and smoking was widely spread throughout Senegambia, Sierra Leone, and other regions of West Africa. See, Walsh, *From Calabar to Carter's Grove*, 61-64.

82. In July of 1714, Governor John Hart confirmed the pattern of diverse plantation crops, when he wrote to Lord Bolingbroke about his fears of what effect the diversification of crops could have on the tobacco market. Headlam, 1715, doc. no. 717.

83. Carroll, 3.

meat for the community living on the property, they were too few in number to serve as a market commodity, and there are no entries for the sale of beef or cows. Carroll also owned hogs valued at £7⁸⁴ and twenty-three sheep. He purchased cards and combs in December of that year,⁸⁵ indicating an interest in producing wool; however, the daybook does not have any entries to prove that cloth making was a commercial venture at Fingaul in 1715.

It is clear that by October of 1715 Carroll presided over a prosperous plantation that gave him a high level of material success and the opportunity to purchase valuable consumer goods from both Maryland and London merchants.⁸⁶ It was also clear that he was not standing pat at this time. The purchase of enslaved people in September, the engagement of indentured servants, and Carroll's economic and social relationship with his uncle, Charles Carroll, all suggest that he was looking ahead to an expanded economic life in the coming months. No doubt, he saw the renewed assertion of proprietary authority in the colony as a chance for him to make a good profit from government office, and he anticipated using his new income in enlarging his plantation business by setting out a new plantation at Elk Ridge.

His actions in arranging the work at Elk Ridge give a sense of what it took to fashion a profitable plantation.⁸⁷ Starting a new venture twenty miles from home demanded a lot of capital investment and having the personnel to complete the work

84. Ibid..

85. Ibid., 6.

86. Ibid., 39, 40, 49.

87. Ibid., 12C, 24D.

successfully. In mid October, Carroll allocated funds for building a fifty-foot shed (£13), a granary (£8), and a barn (£30). A week later, he bought 600 eight penny nails and three grubbing hoes. On November 2, 1715, Carroll drew up an agreement with Jonathan Ball to oversee his Elk Ridge plantation. Carroll agreed to pay Ball eighteen shillings, six pence.⁸⁸ He also arranged for Dick and Maria to move to the property.⁸⁹ The enslaved people probably set off for Elk Ridge right away. Carroll, for example, did not mention Dick when he issued blanket material to his other enslaved people.⁹⁰

Carroll charged the Elk Ridge plantation for items that speak of the living conditions and work Ball, Dick, and Maria experienced. Ball and Dick each received one narrow ax. Additionally, they received two bushels of corn and a peck of salt. Carroll also gave Ball a seabed and five yards of cotton for a blanket. He gave Dick six yards of best cotton for “him and his child.”⁹¹ Living conditions at Elk Ridge were meager and the two men cleared land for spring planting. Later, Daniel and Mary joined the others at Elk Ridge.⁹² Carroll also bought nails for building a hen house.⁹³ These nails, along with a quantity of nails he purchased for the plantation in October, anticipated the building that was to take place on the property in the spring. The trees felled by Ball and Dick were probably the wood for this construction. On February 11, Carroll also purchased a

88. Ibid., 25D.

89. Ibid., 12C.

90. Ibid., 23D.

91. Ibid., 24D.

92. Ibid., 12C, 24D.

93. Ibid., 24D.

six-foot peg-toothed saw and file. The same month, Carroll paid carpenter William Stephens £2.9.0 for building a fifteen-foot square house.⁹⁴ Carroll needed a lot of wood cut. When Stephens was finished building the house, Carroll expected him to begin construction of two fifty-foot tobacco barns.⁹⁵

There were personnel changes on the Elk Ridge plantation in February of 1715. On February 14, 1715, John Bruss replaced Ball. An undated final entry in the Ball account states, “things being left as quit.”⁹⁶ Bruss received four shillings, four pence, bacon, and a frying pan when he and his wife Betty went “up the bay.” This entry indicated that Carroll hired the couple in either Annapolis or Londontown.⁹⁷ The food situation at Elk Ridge improved during February. Bruss brought a frying pan and bacon, and Carroll purchased four hundred pounds of pork and twenty barrels of corn.⁹⁸ He also supplied the plantation with two fifty-pound iron pots and two hogs.⁹⁹

A list of merchandise Carroll bought from merchant John Ouchterlong at his store in nearby Patapsco reflected the value of Dick and Maria’s contribution to the work at Elk Ridge. In addition to farm equipment, a steel spade, construction material, nails, and two files, Carroll bought items specifically for the couple. He bought Dick a tobacco box, a pair of tongs, and a half-pound of colored thread. For Maria, he bought fifteen ells

94. Ibid..

95. Ibid., 12D and 24D.

96. Ibid., 25C.

97. Ibid., 33D.

98. Ibid., 24D.

99. Ibid., 30C, 35C.

of osnaburg, fifteen yards of canteloон, and a quantity of sewing needles. These items totaled just over £1.15.0 in cost.¹⁰⁰ The specific listing of Dick and Maria's names is worthy of note beyond the monetary value of the items they received. He did not mention Daniel and Mary, for example. The goods given to Dick and Maria suggest that, compared to other enslaved people, they had achieved a high status in Carroll's view. No doubt, they valued owning a tobacco box, cloth, and thread. The cloth and thread indicated that they were able to make their own clothing and the tobacco box and tongs suggested that they had access to their own fire. The purchases from Ouchterlong suggest that another white employee, Jonathan Williams, was also at Elk Ridge with Carroll in March. He received a pig of iron and two files, suggesting that he might have worked with Stephens on the construction projects, most likely using the files in the wood-sawing operation.¹⁰¹

Carroll's far-flung business interests demanded that he be able to trust employees and enslaved people working at a distance. From reading the accounts of the Elk Ridge venture, it seems that John Ball did not prove to be worthy of trust. Dick, on the other hand, seems to have been a very reliable worker. Working independently for weeks on end, Dick and his family had helped to clear a plantation and Carroll had rewarded them. Most importantly, he made a record of his decision to do so.

In the end, it was Carroll's written records that preserved the data of his plantation business long after the plantations themselves were gone. Carroll's ability to translate the

100. Ibid., 40.

101. Ibid..

essential facts of business and of people's lives in numbers made his daybook an effective substitute for, and record of, the actions that transpired over time.

V. The Profits of Proprietary Office

The fourth theme evident in the daybook entries from 1715 was that Carroll was a successful political opportunist who made the most of a chance to participate in the collection of quitrents due to the proprietor and "farmed" by members of the Catholic gentry. Working from November to March of 1715, Carroll created records of rent due for Darnall, Hill, and Digges, collected some of the rent, and cashed in tobacco notes with Maryland merchants. This aspect of his records shows how he seized opportunity, and it shows the importance of storekeepers as the arbiters of gain, the gatekeepers of the consumer market.

This aspect of Carroll's trade was the least directly tied to a tangible product, and it demonstrates that his having the intellectual skill to manage accounts made him valuable to his partners. Carroll was paid for administrative work: he researched land records, calculated the payments due, and collected the amounts owed. Further, the expected payments were in the form of tobacco notes due from sheriffs. Carroll would have to be clever to arrange a plan to make the sheriffs pay and to translate the value of the notes into goods if he would collect his salary. That he was entrusted to act as the central figure in the tax farming venture is a testament to the respect his gentry employers had for his intelligence and skill. Similarly, that he was able to collect his salary speaks highly of his resourcefulness.

On December 2, 1715, James Carroll visited Henry Darnall II and made an itemized list of what he expected Darnall, Clement Hill, William Digges and Charles Carroll to pay for his services in the collection of proprietary quitrents.¹⁰² During the next five months, he would compile the colony's rent rolls, lists of property and the amount of tax due from each, make copies of the rolls for each partner and collect taxes. The figures justified a salary of 10,000 pounds of tobacco. This was a lot of money. Using the price of 12 shillings per hundred pounds of tobacco that Carroll settled upon with Londontown merchant Patrick Sympson two months later,¹⁰³ the salary would be approximately £60.0.0. The round number, 10,000, suggests that the overall salary was decided in advance and comprised of separately tallied charges for service. In return, Carroll received an order from the tax partners redeemable at the end of the year in March.

Historian James Kilty's description of the process of making rent rolls shows James Carroll's probable contribution to the venture. Describing a period later in the eighteenth century, when a revived the quitrent system used separate roll keepers for the eastern and western parts of the colony, Kilty gave an account of a system that serves as a model for the type of work James Carroll carried out in 1715.

"There was a general rent roll keeper for each shore, whose duty it was by a certain day in every year to make out, sign, and deliver the necessary debt books to the farmers or receivers of the quitrents in each county of their respective shores. In order that the rent rolls might be

102. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 30, Page 397,
[http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000030
/html/am30--397.html](http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000030/html/am30--397.html) (Accessed 2005/04/01).

103. Carroll, 32C

complete the judges of the land office were bound to return to the keepers, annually a list of all the lands patented within the twelve months immediately preceding.”¹⁰⁴

James Carroll based his legal authority in undertaking his commission on a September 12, 1712, letter from the elder Charles Calvert to Charles Carroll authorizing him to collect quitrents. Calvert stipulated that James Carroll was to receive 10,000 pounds of tobacco for keeping the rent rolls in order.¹⁰⁵ The question the tax farmers faced in 1715 was whether they could continue this arrangement under the new Lord Baltimore and the new governor. Young Charles Calvert had become proprietor upon the unexpected death of his Protestant father, Benedict Leonard Calvert, earlier in the year, and his guardian, Lord Guilford, guided him.¹⁰⁶ It seems plausible that the tax farmers were acting in the expectation that their reassertion of Catholic and proprietary power in the colony would be viewed favorably by the Calverts. The tax farmers’ decision to collect the quitrents at that time seemed to be something of a political gambit, a bold attempt to make money from the proprietary land system in advance of explicit authority during a period of transition in the Calvert family as well as in the governorship of the colony.

104. Kilty, *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 73, Page 258,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000073/html/am73--258.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

105. Ibid., 129.

106. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 30, Page 380,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000030/html/am30--380.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

Quitrents were an important part of the money the proprietary family earned from the colony. In the summer of 1716, Charles Carroll had reminded the Calverts that these payments made up about a third of their £1000 annual income from the colony.¹⁰⁷

Royal Governor John Hart was newly arrived in 1715.¹⁰⁸ With his authority unproven, there appeared to be no one who could stop the Catholic faction from unilaterally increasing their exercise of political and fiscal power in the colony. If they were successful, the new proprietor and governor might have no choice but to acquiesce in confirming their right to collect the land taxes.

The timing of the tax farmers' actions suggests that they were acting well in advance of their authority. During the winter of 1715, Charles Carroll sailed to England to meet with the young proprietor and his guardian. When he returned in the spring, he carried with him a lease signed by Lord Guilford confirming the lease as a six year right to collect beginning in 1714.¹⁰⁹ Carroll presented this lease to the Maryland Assembly in July of 1716, and he met with fierce opposition. In fact, the governor and Assembly objected so strongly that Carroll and Darnall had to tear up the lease.¹¹⁰ By that time,

107. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 30, Page 396,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000030/html/am30--396.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

108 . For a detailed study of the Hart-Carroll confrontation, see Hardy, "Papists in a Protestant Age" 226-234.

109. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 30, Page 396,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000030/html/am30--396.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

110. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 30, Page 397,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000030/html/am30--397.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

however, the taxes for 1715 had been partly collected. In sum, James Carroll's work in the tax system took place before the colonial government was convinced that he had a right to do so.

James Carroll was the key member of the actual tax collection system. His assignment to make the rent rolls was that of gathering and organizing the information the others needed to receive their revenue from the plan by the end of the year in March. His work was especially important because of the multi-layered quality of the tax farming system. At the end of the year, the proprietor and the tax partners expected payment of a set amount in sterling. The proprietor would receive £300 and the partners would receive shares of £269. The Calvert family would receive their take in hard currency. James Carroll earned a salary in tobacco for his administrative work. His take depended upon several conditions, however. He had to find merchants willing to accept tobacco notes from him. Carroll could buy goods with his tobacco, but the prices for tobacco and consumer goods changed over time. Consumer goods were of crucial importance to James Carroll in this venture. He would be left holding worthless notes if the new proprietor did not endorse the tax farmers' right to collect the taxes.¹¹¹

James Carroll derived a salary from a portion of the taxes collected by sheriffs in the three counties near Annapolis. The tax farmers assessed Prince George's County Sheriff Thomas Clegget 2665 pounds of tobacco. They assessed Baltimore County Sheriff John Sloaks 5252 pounds; they charged Thomas Reynolds, Sheriff of Anne

111. Unpaid tobacco notes were subject to court action. In 1715, Thomas Macnemara had won such a case, representing William Fitz Redmund against Philomen Hemsley. Maryland State Archives. Anne Arundel County Judgments, 1715, 217-218.

Arundel County, 2672 pounds.¹¹² All told, James Carroll expected to receive 10,499 pounds of tobacco from the three officials. The tax farmers charged each local sheriff an amount to collect in his county. The sheriff, in turn, had the task of the actual collection. Getting the sheriffs to cooperate proved to be difficult, however. The sheriffs served as elected officials, the main agents of the government's contact with residents.¹¹³ Since 1689, a Protestant-dominated Assembly and appointed royal governors had administered the colony's government. The sheriffs were members of this Protestant political system, and they looked on the Catholics representing the proprietor as disenfranchised men seeking to re-establish their long-lost power. James Carroll would have to force the sheriffs to pay him if he would collect his salary.

In addition to these assessments, James Carroll took on other tobacco obligations in the same months from members of his family. While he often dealt in tobacco, he seemed especially willing to hold tobacco notes during these months. This gamble seems to parallel the risk he took in the tax system. Apparently, he felt confident of his prospects in making the sheriffs pay. In January, Carroll accepted a note for 8112 pounds of tobacco from the wife of the absent Charles Carroll.¹¹⁴ The same month, he received a tobacco note from his brother-in-law Thomas Macnemara for 780 pounds of tobacco for an old debt and an order on Sheriff Thomas Reynolds for 1087 pounds of tobacco.¹¹⁵ Reaching beyond his circle of family and religion, earlier in the fall, he had accepted a

112. Carroll, 28D.

113. Owings, 67–71.

114. Carroll, 6D, 28D.

115. *Ibid.*, 11C.

note from the local Anglican minister, Joseph Colebatch, drawn on Sheriff Reynolds for 3500 pounds of tobacco.¹¹⁶ All told, at the end of February he was holding, and in the process of redeeming, as many tobacco notes as he could of a total of just under 22,891 pounds of tobacco.

The notes Carroll received from Madam Mary Carroll, Macnemara, and Reverend Colebatch likely originated as payments due to them for government service. Mary Carroll was not the original holder of her note, but had passed on the tobacco due from Sheriff Sloaks to Phillip Lloyd.¹¹⁷ Macnemara was Clerk of the Lower House of the Assembly¹¹⁸ and Colebatch a minister in the colony's established church.¹¹⁹ If so, James Carroll's taking on these obligations reinforces the notion that he was confident as he looked ahead to his uncle's return from his meetings with Charles Calvert and Lord Guilford.

From February to March of 1715, Carroll worked to redeem what he could of the notes by buying consumer goods, principally from two merchants, Patrick Sympson and John Ouchterlong.¹²⁰ Ouchterlong worked as an agent for Sympson and operated a store about twenty miles north of Annapolis on the bank of the Patapsco River, a location near

116. Ibid., 20C

117. Ibid., 28D.

118. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 46, Page 179,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000046/html/am46--179.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

119. Earle, 77.

120. Carroll 10, 11, 32, 35D, 35C.

the new plantation James Carroll was having built at Elk Ridge.¹²¹ While these were the most significant of Carroll's trade partners in regard to the tobacco, he also used small amounts from the notes to pay Prince George's County merchant Robert Tyler,¹²² Annapolis tailor Edward Coyle¹²³ and Jesuit Peter Attwood¹²⁴ for, respectively, consumer goods, clothing, and charity.

Carroll's dealings with Sympson were not cash and carry transactions. Sympson provided credit in his store for goods that Carroll and others buying on his credit received from time to time. Carroll's purchases were of large quantities of diverse goods, and delivery often occurred at times unrelated to particular transactions. Calculating credit balances, selecting goods, and receiving shipped goods were separate operations, and the value of received goods was independent of any one transaction. Carroll, for example, recorded owing Sympson 3834 pounds of tobacco in September of 1715 for, "Goods he omitted to charge me."¹²⁵ Later that year, on January 14, he noted receiving thirty gallons of wine from Sympson to be included in the goods for which he Sympson did not charge in September. No doubt, the difficulty of carting the goods over roads that could be periodically impassable contributed to the time lag between purchase and delivery. In

121. London merchant Gilbert Higgonson wrote the following letter to Ouchterlong on October 25, 1718. "We received yours of 31 March, last, and thank you for your services in engaging your friends to ship tobacco to us. You may depend, we shall in all respects exert ourselves to serve our friends in the country and that all imaginable care shall be taken to promote their interests for whatever is committed to our management." "The Higgonson and Bird Letterbook," Letter #1641.

122. Carroll, 6D.

123. Ibid., 37D.

124. Ibid., 37D.

125. Ibid., 10C.

addition to his own purchases, several other people also shopped at Sympson's store using Carroll's credit. His employees from the Fingaul plantation made small purchases when they were in Londontown and left Carroll and Sympson to settle later. In sum, Carroll had a line of credit from Sympson, a fluid account that they settled between them from time to time.

The two men met on at least two occasions, once in December and at least once in February, to calculate the valid tobacco notes Sympson would redeem.¹²⁶ On December 12th, Carroll gave Sympson the note for 5252 pounds of tobacco that he was due from Sheriff Sloaks. This was his opening move in his strategy to collect the quitrents, and it underscored the challenge he faced and the importance of the storekeeper in translating the theoretical value of the note into things of real value. The tobacco note was not an explicit promise to pay granted by Sloaks. It was, rather, an order to pay created by Carroll. If Sympson accepted the note and allowed Carroll to use it for money, he would be taking on the job of collecting. If Sympson refused the note, it would have no value. Similarly, if Sheriff Sloaks refused to honor the note when Carroll presented to him, it would have no value. In this case, however, Sympson held the note rather than risk losing valuable goods by adding the note to Carroll's credit at the store.¹²⁷

On February 28th the two men met again, and Sympson agreed to redeem some of Carroll's notes, specifically 4000 pounds of the tobacco from Philip Lloyd's note against Sheriff Sloaks.¹²⁸ In return, Carroll received a side saddle worth 500 pounds of tobacco,

126. Ibid., 10C.

127. Ibid., 28D.

128. Ibid., 32C.

two kegs containing thirty-five gallons of rum valued at 135 pounds of tobacco, a 154 pound of tobacco credit for a woman named Rachel Farmer, and £9.0.7 in cash. In addition, Carroll received 1500 pounds of tobacco added to his store credit.¹²⁹ Sympson was still holding the note from Sheriff Sloaks for the 5250 due on the tax plan. This suggests that Sloaks was not readily cooperating with the tax farmers. It seems likely that John Ouchterlong was also at Sympson's store that day. Carroll's daybook notes that he accepted a note for 602 pounds of tobacco from Carroll drawn on Sheriff Sloaks and originating with a man named John Hall.¹³⁰ The three men probably discussed Carroll's prospects of redeeming notes on Sloaks and made plans to address the matter. About a month later, John Ouchterlong and Carroll took a more direct route to this goal.

Carroll spent much of March 1715 near the Baltimore County Courthouse collecting rent and taking stock of his new Elk Ridge plantation. While he was in the region, Carroll took a bold new path toward receiving his tax system salary. Carroll visited Baltimore County planters and collected their quitrents in person in the form of notes redeemable at Ouchterlong's store.¹³¹ This would give him his money and leave Ouchterlong to press his customers for the value of Carroll's salary. In effect, this would break the large unredeemed note into smaller obligations over which Ouchterlong had advantage as the storekeeper with whom the local planters dealt. Through his visits, Carroll collected notes worth 8544 pounds of tobacco.¹³² The notes were exchanged with

129. Ibid., 32C.

130. Ibid., 28C.

131. Ibid., 66D.

132. Ibid., 66D.

Ouchterlong on March 14th for £51.5.3, a sum that constituted the better part of a total £85.7.7 worth of goods Carroll purchased from him.¹³³

Four days later, Carroll concluded his tax work with a return visit to Henry Darnall II.¹³⁴ He had experienced mixed results in this work. He had not been successful in redeeming notes written against sheriffs, but had been able to redeem about eighty-five percent of his salary through his bold direct action. He had a large store of consumer goods for his work, but he still faced a great risk. Charles Carroll had not yet returned from England, and should his uncle return empty-handed, James Carroll would have spent a lot of money he was not entitled to spend.

Upon his return, Charles Carroll treated the question of his authority to initiate the tax-farming venture as though he were engaged in a high stakes card game. He had a lease, but he needed to make the Assembly accept its validity if sheriffs were to be made to work with him. Charles Carroll still had not disclosed the lease to the Assembly when men fired four cannons to mark the Pretender's birthday on June 10.¹³⁵ The gun firing served as a convenient pretext for Carroll to reveal his enhanced authority in the colony.¹³⁶ His grand gesture failed, but when the outraged governor and Assembly forced Carroll to retract the quitrent lease, he was careful to stipulate that while he, Darnall, and

133. Ibid., 35D, 35C. See 40 for a list of goods received from Ouchterlong.

134. Ibid., 38D.

135. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 30, Page 373,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000030/html/am30--373.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

136. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 30, Page 374,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000030/html/am30--374.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

their partners would forego their rights to tax, the Assembly must honor the 10,000-pound tobacco fee promised to James for his administrative work.¹³⁷ He had two sound reasons to press this claim. He valued his nephew's contributions to the project, and James had already spent most of his salary.

VI. Conclusion

James Carroll's 1715 daybook entries show important aspects of Maryland's local trade and society. Carroll was an ambitious man who benefited from four advantages as he pursued a fortune. He was willing to travel extensively throughout the region within about twenty miles of his home. He had family and social links with wealthy people, and these connections provided him with access to the credit he needed to buy servants, enslaved people and consumer goods. Carroll also had the advantage of possessing intellectual skills of literacy and numeracy sufficient for him to manage a complex plantation economy and diverse assortment of other commercial arrangements. Finally, he had the opportunity to serve the men farming the Calverts' collection of land taxes. Carroll profited by each of these advantages and used what he earned to buy consumer goods. Local storekeepers were the gatekeepers of his desire, and he spent a good part of what he could borrow and earn through local trade links in local stores.

Along with illustrating James Carroll's personal path to fortune, these 1715 entries show something of the world he and his neighbors shared. Commerce was

137. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 30, Page 398,
[http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000030
/html/am30--398.html](http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000030/html/am30--398.html) (Accessed 2005/04/01).

important to people on all levels of society as buyers, sellers or people subject to being bought or sold. On all levels of society, the way to take the best advantage of one's prospects in this world was by providing useful service to others. This seems clear from the discussion of Carroll's work as a merchant and planter and from the work of the storekeepers mentioned. The rewards of useful service were also evident in less obvious ways for less fortunate people.

In general terms, people earned independence from the control of others as they were rewarded for useful service. For Carroll, it meant the freedom to wield authority in the land system for the tax farming partners, the freedom to fashion a plantation over which he presided in an almost aristocratic fashion, and the freedom to buy. For others, such as George Douglass, freedom meant being trusted to manage the day-to-day business of a plantation, or share in a crop of tobacco. For Jonathan Williams, it meant earning a share of a crop and buying a wife from servitude. For enslaved people, useful service could yield the freedom of enjoying their own fire and embellishing their clothing far from the direct overview of their owner, as it did for Dick and Maria. While these benefits were of very small value and meager compensation for a life without hope of freedom, Dick and Maria gained some comfort and the material to distinguish their clothing from that owned by other enslaved people on Carroll's property. These varying degrees of freedom were distinctions earned, and it seems clear that material goods, such as clothing, were important means of signaling the status one had achieved to others. This was true for James Carroll and for the others with whom he interacted as he traveled the roads of Maryland building a fortune from local commerce.

Chapter 5 Atlantic Commerce: James Carroll's Work in a Network of Trust, Credit, and Accountability

I. Trust, Credit, and Accountability

Local and long distance networks of trust granted on the strength of well-managed commercial affairs were the foundation of the Atlantic market economy. Ships sailed across oceans to fulfill commercial agreements. Thousands of enslaved people, millions of tons of tobacco and other crops, and thousands of pounds worth of consumer goods were carried to distant ports as commercial deals linked points of the globe as distant as London, Sierra Leone, and Annapolis. Fortunes were built or lost based on speculation about what products might appeal to distant buyers. At the same time, large sums of money were exchanged in the form of credit due later from third parties. In this far flung world of trade, having trusted partners in distant ports was essential to achieving success. The distances, time it took for deals to be completed, and the sums of money involved were too great for one merchant to master, the markets were too unpredictable to forecast at a distance, and credit was too unreliable without strong local enforcement of debt obligations.¹

1. Hancock, 57, describes the consequences for larger-scale merchants of the expansion of the Atlantic market in the decades after Carroll's death, but his description of trade provides a useful conceptualization of the Atlantic economy Carroll entered, if one considers Carroll's trade as a simplified, smaller version of the following: "Successful trans-Atlantic merchants had to consider the buying and selling activities of their firms as parts of a whole. It took three months for codfish from Gloucester, Massachusetts to reach Funchal, Madeira, and eighteen months to arrange and execute the distribution of West African slaves to a French slave-trading consortium... A successful merchant had to manage not just individual transactions but also a portfolio of simultaneous operations, which included the affairs of others... And they forced him to improve and raise the level of commercial communication."

James Carroll kept accurate records and ensured that anticipated values and debts were actually realized. He could be trusted to manage exports, imports and debts. The ability to keep accurate business records made Carroll a reliable trade partner in this Atlantic trade network, and this commercial trust was an important element of his success as a merchant. This chapter discusses Carroll's merchant career by examining four series of entries in his daybook. Between 1715 and 1721, Carroll exported tobacco; imported enslaved people; used his credit with John Hyde and Thomas Colmore; and imported goods from Colmore for resale. These were each important avenues of commerce in Maryland, and Carroll's daybook entries show how he worked in each of them.

As an exporter, importer, slave trader and credit source, James Carroll participated in several branches of the Atlantic economy, serving as a partner for buyers and sellers in Maryland and London. There were many such men active in the British world of his day, but Carroll is a good example to study because his detailed accounts show him building a network of trust with other merchants in ways that illustrate the importance of this concept to the emerging market economy.

Studying Carroll's Atlantic commerce reveals six main qualities of his trade. First, exporting a market crop in bulk earned a significant part of his income. His proprietary land system office, coupled with the annual crops of his plantations gave him a steady supply of tobacco. Second, his trade was channeled through two merchants, enabling him to build up large credit balances that could be used to buy consumer goods, make loans, or make investments. Third, the slave trade was his most valuable investment. Fourth, Carroll, along with London merchants, ship captains and other planters were the financial agents whose actions helped make the market economy thrive by making credit widely available. Fifth, Carroll formed an alliance with a London,

merchant that enhanced the merchant's access to the retail market in America and served this merchant as a local manager. Most importantly, his trade flourished because he kept reliable business records. His achievements in commerce can be summed up in terms of his having mastered three concepts: trust, credit, and accountability.

II. James Carroll's Trade in Tobacco

As a planter, proprietary official, and merchant, James Carroll grew tobacco and he received it in the form of tobacco hogsheads and notes. He shipped tobacco on consignment to London merchants, redeemed tobacco with them and local merchants, and shared the proceeds of these ventures with some of his employees. Carroll acted as a go-between in these transactions, and his accounts solidified values in the time between when a commodity entered the market and when it was translated into goods and service.

His accounts of his crops also provide insight into how a plantation economy was structured. Carroll owned land on which many people worked to produce a crop. He owned the labor of some and paid others. He received the lion's share of the crop's value, demonstrating that having the ability to command trust was far more lucrative than having the expertise to raise a crop. The accounts reveal that, aside from a few long-time slaves, Carroll's plantations did not have a permanent work force. James Carroll was a planter who hired men to grow crops on his land. His accounts with various men were annual agreements for them to produce crops for shares of the proceeds. Each man

disappeared from his daybook after a few years, suggesting that they used the money they earned to strike out on their own.²

Table 8 James Carroll's Tobacco Trade

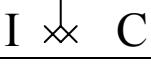
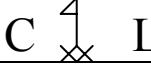
Page	Date	Tobacco Mark	Details	Value (in £ or tobacco)
45	1715	#1	John Hyde's account: The net proceeds of eight hogsheads of tobacco per Stephen Yoakley, July 26, 1715.	43.12.06
34	1715	#2	Tobacco weights as weighed by Mr. George Douglass this 25 th day of February, 1715, made at Fingaul by Jno. Williams this day and marked as (see mark) as per <i>Margaret</i> . The 12 hogsheads go consigned in ship called. Masters Carroll and Garrett owners, Wilson, Master, to Mssr. Perry. Net account for casks 100. total 6046	
48C	1716		Jonathan Williams' account: The eighth part of 4 hogsheads of tobacco at 10 s. per C. as agreed, weighing gross 2546, net acc 102 for casks being my own.	1.12.00
12C	1715		12 hogsheads of tobacco to Mr. Perry per Capt. Wilson 4 hogsheads of tobacco my part sold to Robert Tyler 2 hogsheads of tobacco to George Douglass' account	35.19.00 17.13.03 6.00.00
34	1716	#3	Tobacco weights of the crop made by John Bruss on the home plantation	

2. The short tenure of overseers was a common feature of tobacco culture in the Chesapeake. There is no indication of why Carroll changed overseers so frequently, but the general pattern as a symptom of the difficult relationship among bound laborers, overseers, and planters eager to earn as much as possible is discussed in Lorena S. Walsh, "Slaves and Tobacco in the Chesapeake" in Ira Berlin and Philip D. Morgan, eds, *Cultivation and Culture: Labor and the Shaping of Slave Life in the Americas*. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1993) 178-179.

			anno dui 1716, consigned to Mr. Thomas Colmore per the Annapolis, Yoakley, Master. Total, nine hogsheads. There were three hogsheads that Sympson had viz on George Douglass' account... Two on John Bruss, the overseer's, account. (on the two to Douglass 1408 gross) out of which deduct 102 per casks, Bruss account – 102 for casks) 1990 net. Net weight of the crop 7020 for 1716	
24C	1716		Elk Ridge Plantation account: 8 hogsheads of tobacco sold to Patrick Sympson	52.00.0
72C	1717		The net proceeds of 9 hogsheads of tobacco per Stephen Yoakley per the Judith, Capt. Read, 8/21/17	68.00.08
12C	1717		18 hogsheads anno ending the fall and consigned to Thomas Colmore	
24C	1717		Elk Ridge Plantation account: 12 hogsheads made by Dick shipped in the Booth to Colmore £40 if it clears for so much	
57C	1718		Nicholas St. Lawrence's account: 100 T per hand for 2 years on 6 and 7 hands, 1717 & 1718.	1300 T
83	1718		Thomas Colmore's account: The net proceeds of 41 hogsheads tobacco as per fo. 72 in two blank articles	* Itemized below
83	1718	#5	Thomas Colmore's account:* May, the net proceeds of 12 hogsheads of tobacco per the Judith, Capt. Read	46.08.03
		#6	Sept. 29. 6 hogsheads per the Booth 6/7 26.04.05	26.04.05
			23 hogsheads per the Booth 100.00.0	100.00.00
34	1718	#4	Tobacco weighted the 18 th of April, 1718, being the crop made anno 1717 by Nicholas St. Lawrence and 7 sharers. 12 hogsheads. 8328 total	
93D	1719		Elk Ridge Plantation account: (illegible) the crop of 1717, ending 8, 1718, cleared less than I gave credit for fo. 24	

93C	1719		Elk Ridge Plantation account: The crop made by Titus Pennington anno 1718: 13 hogsheads per the Booth, James Bradford, Master. I have of 4 ½ shares, 3 ½	(see next item)
83	1719		Thomas Colmore's account: The net proceeds of 13 hogsheads of tobacco per the Booth, James Bradford, Master	52.07.02
70C	1719		Titus Pennington's account: 2/9 of 13 hogsheads shipped per the Booth, James Bradford, Master and sold as account says dated in London by Mr. Colmore 52.07.02 of which is 11.12.04	11.12.04
70D	1719		Titus Pennington's account: His levy I pay, anno 1717, 199T. 1.13.04 His agreement to pay for stripping, packing and prizeing his crop. 1.05.00	
83	1719	#5	Thomas Colmore's account: The net proceeds of 13 hogsheads per the Baltimore, Capt. Dowell on 7/8	48.18.07
93C	1719		Elk Ridge Plantation account: The crop of tobacco ending 8, 1719	50.00.00
83	1720		Thomas Colmore's account: 19 hogsheads per Wills – 1719 crop	40.03.01
43	1721		John Hyde's account: Eight hogsheads per the Unity per Capt. Arbuthnot	6.19.09

Table 9 Tobacco Marks Used in Carroll's Trade

Number on table above	Mark	Identifiable sharers:
#1	C  W	James Carroll and Jonathan Williams
#2	 W	James Carroll, George Douglass and Jonathan Williams
#3	I  C	James Carroll, George Douglass and John Bruss
#4		James Carroll and Nicholas St. Lawrence
#5	C  L	Not clear, but probably James Carroll and Nicholas St. Lawrence
#6	IC	James Carroll

When James Carroll's tobacco was shipped to London for sale, he was not the only beneficiary. Plantation workers are noted as owning shares of four marked cargoes. These sharers were plantation overseers, one plowman and one enslaved man. The overseers were George Douglass,³ John Bruss,⁴ Nicholas St. Lawrence,⁵ and Titus Pennington,⁶ each of whom worked for Carroll for a few years. Douglass managed Fingaul in 1715 and 1716. John Bruss was an overseer at Fingaul and at the Elk Ridge plantation in 1716 and 1717. Nicholas St. Lawrence was the overseer at Fingaul in 1717 and 1718. Titus Pennington was the overseer at Elk Ridge from 1717 until 1720. Jonathan Williams was listed as Carroll's plowman at Fingaul until 1716 and received

3. Carroll, 23, 57.

4. Ibid., 33.

5. Ibid., 57.

6. Ibid., 70.

shares of the 1714 and 1715 crops. The 1716 Elk Ridge crop was listed as having been made by Dick.⁷

With the exception of Dick, these men produced Carroll's crop, but were treated as independent contractors selling their labor for money. The use of marks on the cargoes of tobacco showed them to be sharing in the risk of the market as well as enjoying its benefits. Entries in Carroll's daybook demonstrate the variable price of tobacco and suggest the differences in the size of hogsheads and the quality of tobacco. The men's payment was dependant upon the arrival and sale of particular hogsheads. Carroll also charged them for the casks in which their tobacco was marketed.

One of the men, George Douglass, was more than just a plantation worker, however. With his wife, Anna, he managed Carroll's plantation and household at Fingaul and looked after all of his employer's business affairs during Carroll's time in England during the second half of 1716. Douglass was compensated well and in a variety of forms for his service.⁸ The tobacco transactions illustrate his oversight of the production at Fingaul during 1715 in return for two hogsheads of tobacco worth £6 when sold by London merchant, Majaica Perry.⁹ During February 1715, Douglass weighed Carroll's crop and readied it for market.¹⁰ The same month, when Carroll and he visited Patrick Sympson's store in Londontown, Douglass received over £2 in goods at the store on

7. Ibid., 24.

8. Ibid., 23, 57.

9. Ibid., 48C.

10. Ibid., 34.

Carroll's credit.¹¹ The concurrence of completing a yearly cycle of work and receiving consumer goods suggests that Douglass was as active a participant in the consumer market as Carroll himself was, but on a vastly smaller scale. He produced a crop in exchange for the chance to buy clothing and for cash to spend as he would. The next year's payment of three hogsheads shows that Douglass was better paid as a manager than as a tobacco foreman.¹² It also shows Douglass' autonomy. He sold the hogsheads to Patrick Sympson while Carroll was in England.¹³

Bruss, St. Lawrence, and Pennington did not have the same degree of responsibility that Douglass had exercised in 1716, serving only as overseers. Bruss received two hogsheads of tobacco in 1716, worth about £6.¹⁴ St. Lawrence was paid by a complex formula that involved his sharing with seasonal workers he supplied to help make the crop. Carroll also assessed him for food for the workers, charging 1300 pounds of tobacco for six hands' in 1716 and seven in 1717.¹⁵ When the crop they produced was marketed, St. Lawrence and his men split the take with Carroll – six shares to Carroll and seven to St. Lawrence in 1716; seven to Carroll and eight shares to St. Lawrence in 1717.¹⁶ St. Lawrence divided about £13 among himself and his men after the first year and £24 after the second.

11. Ibid., 23D.

12. Ibid., 34.

13. Ibid..

14. Ibid., 33D.

15. Ibid., 57C.

16. Ibid..

Titus Pennington was paid by a less complicated formula, earning 2/9 or about twenty-two percent of 1721's thirteen hogshead crop, £11.12.04. Pennington was the overseer at Elk Ridge, operating about twenty miles north of Carroll's home at Fingaul. His autonomy was underscored by his agreement to pay for stripping, packing, and prizing the plantation's tobacco in 1719.¹⁷ In effect, St. Lawrence and Pennington provided a degree of production management that enabled Carroll to play virtually no role in the production of his plantation's crop.

The comparatively small amount earned by Carroll's plowman, Jonathan Williams, and Carroll's payment to St. Lawrence for workers suggests that producing a crop required the work of many part-time workers in addition to Carroll's slaves. These seasonal workers were not always named in Carroll's daybook, indicating that his overseers tapped into a local network of seasonal employment for cash, of which work for a major planter was one part.

Jonathan Williams presents an interesting hint of this cash economy. He is listed as Carroll's plowman in the daybook,¹⁸ but he appears to have had other sources of income that produced more money than Carroll paid him. His share of the 1716 crop, for example, was a mere £1.12.00.¹⁹ Williams was working for Carroll while earning the money he needed to buy his wife's freedom from Carroll.²⁰ Relying upon his tobacco share alone would not provide enough money for him to do so. Williams paid for his

17. Ibid., 70D.

18. Ibid., 43.

19. Ibid., 43C.

20. Ibid..

wife's freedom with a £20 bill of exchange on London merchant Majaica Perry in 1716, but it is not clear where his credit originated. Credit with a London merchant could only have come via exported tobacco or a note for its value, but his share of Carroll's crop was too small. It is clear from his debt record in Carroll's daybook that Williams was earning money from other sources. In May of 1714, for example, his name was included in Carroll's list of debts as owing £8.06.09.²¹ Some time after, the debt was marked as paid. His wife, Betty, was listed as having a value of £10 in 1714. It seems likely that William's 1716 bill of exchange paid off both debts, but it is unlikely that Carroll was the source of his money. Williams was listed as earning a total of only £4.04.01 from Carroll during all of 1715 and 1716. Conceivably, Williams had his own tobacco crop or received shares for his service to other planters, but either way, his example shows a thriving local economy involving men who also worked for James Carroll.

William's income could have been derived from his work for other planters as a plowman for hire. Historian Gloria Main noted that the practice of plowing fields cleared of stumps had spread in the early decades of the eighteenth century as richer planters began growing crops of wheat and other grains to supplement their production of corn and tobacco. She pointed to a desire to a better diet including bread made from wheat as a catalyst of this change.²² James Carroll was equipped to cook various flour-based items, but he also bought and sold wheat frequently. His accounts suggest that there was an active local market in small amounts of wheat involving large and small planters. Carroll produced wheat on his own plantation, for example, paid Williams and George

21. Ibid., 3.

22. Main, 75-76.

Douglass for wheat, and sold wheat in small quantities to several local buyers.²³ This local market would have provided opportunities for men with plowing equipment to earn money by plowing.

James Carroll and his employees were involved in a local network of tobacco trade. Their work reflected the value of Carroll's crops and his plantations' role in generating income for many people. Lucrative though their work was, it was only part of the total tonnage of tobacco Carroll sold, and the other men's take was tiny in comparison to what Carroll earned from tobacco. This disparity demonstrates how much more could be earned by selling a crop than by producing one. Carroll had three advantages that enabled him to profit by engaging in the tobacco market on a larger scale than his employees could achieve. He had the capital to set up and run plantations; an office in the colony's proprietary establishment that paid him 10,000 pounds of tobacco per year; and connections with London merchants. These advantages, along with his ability to keep accurate records, earned him a great deal of wealth.

The daybook also illustrates how increasingly difficult it was for a small planter to remain in the tobacco market after 1715. Examining the tobacco crops grown at Fingaul and Elk Ridge and associating them with the prices received for the tobacco shows two trends. Despite variation in production and price, Carroll was sending about three times as much tobacco to market in 1718 as he had in 1714. At the same time, the price was on a downward trend; he only earned about half as much per hogshead in 1719 as he had in 1715. In fact, he earned about the same total amount on nineteen hogsheads in 1720 as he had on eight in 1715. The fluctuation from year to year in his overall

23. See, for example, Carroll, 13, 32, 42, 50.

income and yield per hogshead was also considerable. His record of sales suggests that in order to survive, a planter would need to have the capacity to absorb large discrepancies between what he expected to earn and what he ultimately took in. Two of Carroll's entries show just how large this difference could be. In 1716, he forecast that twelve hogsheads of tobacco made by Dick at Elk Ridge would sell for £60. When marketed, the crop brought in only a bit over £39. Carroll was off by 33%. Again, in 1719, he estimated that the Elk Ridge crop of nineteen hogsheads would sell for £50, but it only brought in £40 when it was sold, a 20% decline.

Table 10 Carroll's Tobacco Marketed by Year

Year Grown	Year Marketed	Total of Hogsheads Marketed	Total Income from Marketed Tobacco In Pounds	Yield per Hogshead in Pounds
1714	1715	8	43.12.06	5.3
1715	1716	26	111.13.03	4.2
1716	1717	9	68.00.00	7.5
1717	1718	18	73.12.08	4
1718	1719	26	101.09.09	3.8
1719	1720	19	40.03.01	2

Historians of the colonial Chesapeake have discussed the same decline in the tobacco market evident in Carroll's daybook, and point to the years covered in his daybook as a transitional era in the society of Maryland. They have attributed the change to a tobacco market flooded by increased production and linked it to solidified gentry control over tobacco production and the politics of the tidewater counties of Maryland.

The era of transition began in 1713, when the tobacco price rose sharply,²⁴ reaching 6-8 shillings per hundredweight.²⁵ Coupled with the next year's return of peace after two decades of war, this increase served as a spur to production. About thirty million tons of tobacco was being produced annually in the Chesapeake region in 1714, with about one third originating in Maryland.²⁶ Over time, the production had become increasingly concentrated among the large planters, and the growth in the market strengthened their position. With their large holdings of the most fertile land and wage-free slaves, the larger planters could produce tobacco more efficiently than smaller planters could.

A devastating drought in 1714²⁷ served to further concentrate gentry control of tobacco production, as they could better withstand the crop loss. The crop failure and a peacetime expansion of the market pushed the tobacco price to twenty shillings per hundredweight in 1715,²⁸ but soon the robust market began to decline. The increase in production was also a result of a change in growing strategy among tobacco growers. Southern Virginia growers of sweet scented tobacco aimed for producing a high quality crop sold to the more demanding home market in Great Britain. Growing for a less demanding market, planters in the Oronoco tobacco-producing regions north of the James, by contrast, focused on quantity after 1700 and strove to increase the land in

24. Hemphill, 45.

25. Main, 104.

26. Land, *Colonial Maryland*, 122.

27. Hemphill. 45.

28. Main, 104.

production, laborers in the field, and amount of the crop packed off to London for re-export, even if it meant mixing inferior leaves and stems in with the crop. Production rose rapidly but overproduction led to lower prices,²⁹ a trend that persisted into the 1720s.³⁰ Small planters responded to the market by abandoning the coastal counties and taking up land in the Piedmont. Larger planters responded by investing more heavily in slaves to further lower their cost of production. The years from 1718 to 1720 witnessed a confluence of three trends. Migrants from the Tidewater patented over 800,000 acres of Piedmont land.³¹ The tobacco price fell steadily, and over 11,000 slaves were imported into the Chesapeake region.³²

James Carroll prospered in these trying years because he had a variety of income sources. The addition of the Elk Ridge tobacco to his supply after 1716 gave him an increased crop that balanced in volume what it lost in value. He also changed with the times by becoming more involved in trans-Atlantic commerce. He took advantage of the demand for slaves, for example, by importing a large cargo of them in 1718. He also shifted from being a consignment seller of tobacco for Thomas Colmore to a Maryland agent for him. If nothing else, Carroll proved to be a man who could shift with the times and make the most of circumstance. He seemed to realize that no matter how the market

29. For explanations and charts illustrating this divergent growing strategy and the 1719 peak in profitability, see, Lorena S. Walsh, "Summing the Parts: Implications for Estimating Chesapeake Output and Income Sub regionally," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser., 56, no. 1, (1999): 53-94.

30. Hemphill, 50.

31. Ibid., 59.

32. Ibid., 59. See, Kulikoff for a more detailed discussion of this pattern of change as it affected Prince George's County Maryland.

shifted, there was always a need for a man who could serve as a trustworthy partner in trade.

III. James Carroll's Trade Relationship with Thomas Colmore

The Atlantic market of the eighteenth century was fraught with the peril of shipwreck and other types of loss. One aspect of Carroll's reliability evident from the daybook is that he was able to get his tobacco from Maryland to London in a timely and safe fashion. The daybook shows the pattern of shipping that linked Carroll to the London market. Over the course of six years, he sold tobacco to only three merchants, suggesting that the familiarity between long-term partners was important, but also illustrating the importance of merchant Thomas Colmore in Carroll's business life. In addition to a small number of partners, Carroll also used only a few ships, and five of the ten shipments were made on one of two ships. In the earlier records, Carroll differentiated between the outward-bound shipment and the return shipment with his profit. Later, he did not do so. This suggests his growing trust of Thomas Colmore over the course of their relationship.

Table 11 Shipments and Sales of Tobacco Carroll Recorded in his Daybook

Year	Out-bound or Return	Captain	Ship Name	Merchant	# of Hogsheads
1715	R	Yoakley		John Hyde	
1715	O	Wilson	<i>Margaret</i>	Majaica Perry	12
1715	N/A			Robert Tyler	4
1716	O	Yoakley	<i>Annapolis</i>	Thomas Colmore	9
1716	N/A			Patrick Sympson	11
1717	R	Read	<i>Judith</i>	Thomas Colmore	
1717	O	Bradford	<i>Booth</i>	Thomas Colmore	35
1718	R	Read	<i>Judith</i>	Thomas Colmore	
1718	O	Read	<i>Judith</i>	Thomas Colmore	18
1719	O	Bradford	<i>Booth</i>	Thomas Colmore	13
1719	O	Dowell	<i>Baltimore</i>	Thomas Colmore	13
1720	O	Wills		Thomas Colmore	19
1721	O	Arbuthnot		John Hyde	8

James Carroll's trade relationship with Thomas Colmore began in 1716 when the two met in London during Carroll's visit to the city.³³ Fresh from his political defeat at the hands of Maryland Governor John Hart, Carroll was interested in pursuing new ways of making money. The entry concerning their meeting is undated, but it appears that it took place in March of 1716, just prior to Carroll's voyage home. Carroll noted leaving six shillings with Colmore to pay a laundress employed by brother-in-law Thomas Macnemara and himself. In addition, though no list survives, Carroll later noted that an incensorator and a chamber pot had been omitted from goods Colmore had bought for him at the same time.³⁴

33. Carroll, 72D.

34. Ibid., 72.

This commercial relationship involved Carroll's selling almost all of his tobacco through Colmore for the next three years and his redeeming many bills of exchange drawn on London merchants with Colmore. The sums exchanged were considerable and suggest that a stable association with Colmore gave Carroll a reliable foundation on which to base his extension of credit to his Maryland neighbors. In an age without banks, Carroll could accept their notes on London merchants knowing he had an associate who would see that they were made good. Colmore was also the essential intermediary for two of Carroll's most important ventures.

The first was important in making it possible for James Carroll to help his brothers in Ireland. On February 17, 1717, Colmore wrote a bill of exchange conveying £42 to Daniel Carroll in Ireland. James Carroll had made a lot of money during his two decades in Maryland, and this payment showed his generosity. While he benefited from his fortunate association with Charles Carroll, his Irish brothers continued to suffer from the political and economic hardships that had prompted James Carroll and his sisters to try their luck in Maryland.³⁵ This payment was probably of great benefit to the family. Indirectly, this payment also might have been related to James Carroll's receiving the service of an Irish nephew in Maryland. Soon after this payment, Carroll's daybook noted his paying for schooling for his nephew Dominick, the son of James and Daniel's brother, Michael,³⁶ who had come to live with his uncle James in Maryland.³⁷

35. Hoffman, *Princes of Ireland*, 53-56.

36. Carroll, 82.

37. See Hoffman, *Princes of Ireland* Chart B for the membership of James Carroll's family and further evidence of Dominick's emigration to Maryland.

Carroll's investment in a slave importation was the second venture supported by trade with Colmore. Carroll's investment was first reflected in a bill payable written in May of 1718 from James Carroll to an almost illegible party for the sum of £200. The name appears to be Bennett and Company. The name Bennett appears three times in the daybook, and two of the entries seem clearly associated with the slave trade. In 1719, the name appeared as the recipient of an £80 payment from Carroll through London merchant William Hunt that accompanied a bill payable to Swanley, "a Guineaman."³⁸ The third mention was about a 1720 payment to Thomas Colmore.³⁹

The money listed with the name Bennett in the spring of 1718 appears to be a sum that Carroll advanced through Thomas Colmore to London slave trader Samuel Bonham for the cargo of slaves Bonham shipped on consignment to Carroll in August of that year. There are three reasons for endorsing this reading. Related entries in the daybook tend to be clustered on contiguous pages, reflecting the book's roughly chronological format. The bill payable was entered on page 83. The details of the slave importation are entered on page eighty-five. Second, the slave importation was a large-scale endeavor entailing Bonham's sending a ship to Sierra Leone and purchasing a cargo from two partners in the African trade, Robert Plunkett and John Leadstine. Carroll needed credit with a London firm to initiate this far-flung transaction. Associating himself with Colmore would do so.

38. Carroll, 108. This November, 1719 entry fits the pattern associated with Carroll's other slave trade investments. In this transaction, Carroll appeared to be acting in partnership with Anne Arundel County planter Caleb Dorsey, who had recently purchased the Elk Ridge estate from him. Carroll sent a bill of exchange worth £209 written by Dorsey to London merchant William Hunt along with just over a pound owed to himself by slave trader John Leadstine. In August, 1720, he had Hunt redeem Carroll's £20 bill of exchange on Thomas Manuel, pay £30 to Swanley "a Guineaman," and £80 to "Bennett and Company."

39. Ibid., 99.

Third, there are no other expenditures of this scale in Carroll's entries for proximate months.

The £200 payment was in the form of a bill payable. This suggests a direct chain of contact in which Colmore would approach Bonham on Carroll's behalf using the money Colmore owed Carroll. Bonham could trust Colmore more readily than he could trust a distant Maryland planter. He could set the affair in motion secure in his business relationship with Colmore. In the context of the accounts of the sale, it seems clear that Carroll's £200 paid for freight for several slaves in advance. It constituted a down payment proving him worthy to be entrusted with the consignment of a cargo worth in excess of £2000.

Carroll's link to Colmore was central to this venture, but he also had several Maryland partners. The name Bennett most likely refers to Richard Bennett, a Catholic Maryland planter, political figure, and merchant who was a leading member of a large extended family living near the Wye River on Maryland's Eastern Shore. Bennett owned nearly fifty thousand acres of land and was said to be the richest man in America at the time of his death in 1749.⁴⁰ Bennett was also a long-time associate of the Carrolls. He had leased the right to collect quitrents in the colony with his brother-in-law, James Heath, from 1699 to 1710.⁴¹ In 1706, he petitioned the Assembly, in the company of James Carroll and Charles Carroll, for an end to political discrimination against Maryland Catholics. In addition, throughout Governor John Seymour's administration, (1702–1711), Bennett worked with his brother-in-law Philemon Lloyd to oppose Seymour's

40. Hardy, "A Papist In A Protestant Age," 203.

41. Ibid., 210.

policies, while in the same years, another brother-in-law, Henry Lowe, was forced out of the legislature for failing to take the religious test oaths required by Seymour.⁴² Economically, Bennett was one of the colony's leading moneylenders, owned nine ships, and carried on extensive trade with New England and the West Indies. Bennett was also involved in the slave trade in later years. In 1741, he formed the Sassafras Company in conjunction with London merchant John Hyde to import slaves under the management of James Paul Heath, the son of James Heath.⁴³ In light of this information, he seems the most likely Bennett referred to in James Carroll's daybook.

James Carroll's partners in the 1718 slave venture were Henry Lowe and James Heath.⁴⁴ Lowe was Richard Bennett's nephew⁴⁵ and James Heath was Bennette's relative by marriage and business partner. The relationship of the men in the venture was probably as cooperating investors. Geographer Carville Earle noted that undertaking such a venture required about £500 in capital.⁴⁶ James Carroll's £200 was probably matched by money put up by Bennett. If so, the structure of the deal had several layers. Charles Carroll backed James Carroll; Richard Bennett backed Heath and Lowe. Carroll, Heath, and Lowe managed the sale.⁴⁷ James Carroll was the most active partner,

42. Ibid., 211.

43. Ibid., 222.

44. Carroll, 98.

45. Papenfuse, *Biographical Dictionary*, 549.

46. Earle, 74.

47. Carroll, 88.

however, as his association with Thomas Colmore initiated the venture and as Carroll kept all the records of sales and debts.⁴⁸

IV. James Carroll's Work as a Slave Trader

James Carroll's commercial activities crossed a threshold in 1718 in which he changed from being a local planter who also profited from political office and money lending to being an importer of valuable slaves for resale. Operating on this new scale demanded large amounts of credit and far-flung commercial links. The proceeds in tobacco Carroll received for his work as Rent Roll Keeper cemented the essential commercial link between himself and Thomas Colmore that would serve as the cornerstone of Carroll's profiting in this venture.

Carroll began his work as a slave trader by receiving a shipment of 108 slaves on a ship named the *Margaret* in August of 1718. The ship landed in Annapolis under the command of Captain James Cassells. Carroll's partners were the members of the Catholic gentry who had been associated with him in the proprietary quitrent system. Henry Lowe and James Heath shared half of the commission on the sale, and Charles Carroll paid for the freight of six slaves.

48. A letter from London merchant Gilbert Higgonson written in the same year presents a parallel scheme illustrating the investment in money required in a slaving venture, the amount of time a venture took and the desire of London and colonial merchants to form partnerships. "The *Higgonson*, Capt. Mitchell, is not arrived yet from York River, so that I fear she shall be too late to fit her out again for Guinea this year... We intend her for Angola very early next summer that she may arrive in Maryland about May come twelve months... If you will be pleased to be concerned with us one eighth part of said ship's cargo, which will come to about five hundred pounds, you shall then have the consignment of one half if not the whole of the Negroes. Please let us know your mind..." "The Higgonson and Bird Letterbook", Letter #1557.

This was not the first time Charles Carroll had been mentioned in the daybook as a slave importer. On July 8, 1716, at the height of the confrontation with Governor John Hart, James Carroll bought three slaves from Londontown merchant Samuel Peele and his partner, Charles Carroll.⁴⁹

No surviving body of evidence gives a clear picture of the Carroll family's slave business, but there are small clues that support a speculative sketch. Charles and James Carroll appear to have been working in concert through London merchants. Charles appears to have been the major investor in a 1717 shipment and James in 1718. In addition, based on James Carroll's 1719 payment to Swanley, he appears to have also been an investor in a cargo of enslaved people that arrived in Maryland in 1720. Each shipment appears to have been initiated with a payment to a London merchant six months before the arrival of the enslaved people. When in London during the month of November 1716, for example, James Carroll received a receipt from a man named Salter for a payment of £107 made by Charles Carroll. It is possible that this receipt was from Greshenheim Salter, a London slave trader who imported a cargo of slaves from Barbados to Virginia in the summer of 1717.⁵⁰ If so, it would have constituted James Carroll's' making a down payment on the 1717 sale as Thomas Colmore did on his behalf in 1718. It is hard to be sure, but if correct, the payment's being about half of James Carroll's 1718 payment suggests that the slaves bought to Maryland in the summer of 1717 were from a cargo of about fifty slaves or that Charles Carroll was a minor partner in a larger venture.

49. Carroll, 12D.

50. Minchinton, *Virginia Slave-Trade Statistics*, 29.

Another aspect of the slave trade was that ships emptied of imported slaves needed tobacco cargoes to carry on their return voyage to London. Indirect evidence suggests that James Carroll restocked the *Margaret* after selling its cargo, and that he helped restock a slave ship in the summer of 1719. During the summer of 1717, a London captain named William Dowell imported slaves from Barbados to Virginia on his ship, the *Baltimore*, paralleling Salter's venture in time and course. He is recorded as having sold fifty slaves on the Upper James River.⁵¹ Three years later, in the fall of 1719, he carried thirteen hogsheads of James Carroll's tobacco on consignment to Thomas Colmore. There is no evidence that he carried slaves to Maryland in 1719, but, again, the association of his ship with Carroll and Colmore raises possibility of a business link.

Connecting these facts and speculations suggests that the Carrolls and their partners made sizable down payments to London merchants to initiate slave importations that they then managed. The Dowell example suggests that tobacco was the cargo for the slave ship's return voyage to London, and that slave ships sailed between merchant-managers in London and planter-managers in Maryland. Each manager played a small part in a large, complex network of credit exchange dependent on reliable bookkeeping.

Other members of the Catholic gentry were also acting through London merchants to buy into slave importation schemes in 1718. Two letters from merchant Gilbert Higgonson show the involvement of Henry Darnall II⁵² and Edward Lloyd in the

51. Ibid..

52. "Being informed by Capt. Richard Smith that you had some inclinations of being involved in the Guinea trade and that you had sent the sloop *Ann* to London with intentions of proceeding that way, we offer to be concerned with you one half in suitable cargo for Angola and the slaves to have been consigned to you in Maryland. The captain and we had an estimate of cargo drawn up for about 200 slaves which we proposed to be

trade. Written in the fall of 1718, the letters demonstrate the importance of Maryland capital in the ventures, the time needed to buy slaves in Africa, and the role of Patrick Sympson as a manager.⁵³

James Carroll's 1718 shipment of slaves sailed to Maryland onboard the ship *Margaret* of London owned by London merchant Samuel Bonham and commanded by James Cassells. The ship was built on the Thames River in England in 1716 and was used in the slave trade as late as 1727.⁵⁴ Its 1718 cargo appears to have been smaller than the ship's capacity. In 1721, for example, Cassells transported 160 slaves from the Gold Coast to York, Virginia on the *Margaret*,⁵⁵ and in 1727, Captain William Weedon – also working for Bonham – carried 244 slaves from Angola to York on the same ship.⁵⁶

Samuel Bonham, a merchant associated with the Royal Africa Company, had a long career in the slave trade. In 1708, for example, he was cited as a London slave ship

with you in May or June..." The Higgonson and Bird Letterbook. Letter no. 1705. Gilbert Higgonson to Henry Darnall, November 10, 1718.

53. Higgonson wrote to Sympson, "We would have you talk with Colonel Darnall about his sloop going to Guinea and if he doth not incline to that, use your endeavors to persuade him to be concerned a part in the ship *Higgonson* and her cargo. You are ambitious of such gentlemen being concerned with us. You may also talk with Col. Edward Lloyd, Mr. Richard Snowden or others you shall think fit on that head and if you can persuade any of these gentlemen or others to hold parts of proper ships and cargoes for that trade then let them remit us early in the spring ... and we will dispatch ships out accordingly to be with them early next year after. You know what further to acquaint them." The Higgonson and Bird Letterbook. Letter no. 1727. Gilbert Higgonson to Patrick Sympson, November 10, 1718.

54. Minchinton, *Virginia Slave-Trade Statistics*, 63.

55. Ibid., 49.

56. Ibid., 63.

captain active in Africa.⁵⁷ In 1727, he was listed as the owner of two ships that imported slaves into Virginia. One, the *Sarah Galley*, was commanded by James Cassells; the other was the *Margaret*.⁵⁸ In 1739, he was listed on a petition from slave traders to the House of Lords seeking naval protection for their ships.⁵⁹

The slaves were bought from Robert Plunkett, governor of the Royal Africa Company fort in Sierra Leone, and from one of the leading merchants in the region, John Leadstine.⁶⁰ An account of a 1721 expedition against pirates, written by John Atkins, provides a glimpse into the African origin of Carroll's slaves:

"The trade for our African Company here (Sierra Leone) is carried on from Bense or Brent Island, about five leagues distance from our anchorage, by factors, of whom Mr. Plunkett is chief. [Governor Plunkett was soon after this transferred to Gambia, where he lost his life in 1725].⁶¹ The pirate traders about thirty in number, settled on the starboard side of the river...and with their profits purchase from time to time, strong beer, wine cider and such necessaries, of Bristol ships, that more frequently than others put in there; of these, John Leadstine, commonly called old Cracker, is reckoned the most thriving...They all keep gromettas (Negro Servants) which they hire from Sherbro River, at two accys or bars a month. The menservants work in the boats and periagoes, which go a trading in turns with coral, brass, pewter, pans, pots, arms, English spirits, etc, and bring back from the Rio Nunes, slaves and teeth; and from Sherbro, camwood for dyers...The slaves when brought here, have chains put on, three or four linked together, under the care of their gromettas, till opportunity of sale; and then go at about 15 Pounds a good slave, allowing the buyer 40 or 50 percent advance on his goods...As these slaves are

57. Donnan, 2: 43.

58. Minchinton, *Virginia Slave-Trade Statistics*, 63.

59. Donnan, 2: 468.

60. See, Hancock, 172-176, for the location of Bents (also spelled Bance, Brent and Bense) Island, maps and descriptions of the slaving fort, and its history from its establishment by the Royal Africa Company in the 1670s, to its destruction by African attackers in 1729, to its reestablishment after the late 1730s.

61. Donnan, 2:264.

placed under lodges near the owner's house, for air, cleanliness and customers' better viewing them, I had every day the curiosity of observing their behavior, which with most of them was very dejected.”⁶²

James Carroll paid Anne Arundel County Sheriff Benjamin Tasker a two pound per head import duty when his shipment of enslaved people arrived from Samuel Bonham. The payment record mentioned its being for 117 slaves. The record of the sale suggests that only 108 people were sold. The nine individuals not included in the sale probably included eight who were unsold. These were the six that Charles Carroll paid £72 to import and two of the people James Carroll paid to import. James Carroll's partner, James Heath, is said to have taken two of these people for his own personal use, and paid James Carroll a commission when he sold the other, among a group of four of the *Margaret*'s cargo of enslaved people that he sold in July of 1719.⁶³

The cargo of enslaved people was divided into several lots. Plunkett, Leadstine, and Bonham had sent particularly marked individuals as private ventures of their own. Plunkett sent five enslaved people marked on the left shoulder with a bowl of a tobacco pipe. Leadstine shipped six men and one boy marked “IL” on the left breast. Samuel Bonham sent nine people marked “SB” on a piece of lead hung around their necks. Captain Cassells also imported two people, but they were not specifically marked. In addition, Charles and James Carroll each paid to import six enslaved people.⁶⁴

62. Donnan, 2:264-65.

63. Carroll, 97.

64. Ibid., 86.

When Carroll learned that the *Margaret* was in port, he sent his servant, Andrew Hillman, to inform Heath and Lowe, and he set about preparing for the sale.⁶⁵ He paid sixteen shillings to the provincial clerk for a bond on Captain Cassells. He bought corn for the enslaved people, and he spent £2.15.00 to publicize the dates and location of the sale. He also hired Clark to act as constable. Carroll then spent £7.04.00 on liquor for the sale and five shillings for pipes and glasses.⁶⁶

The quantity of this liquor was quite large. One cannot know what type it was, but comparing it to three other transactions in the daybook gives a sense of scale. On the best terms, Carroll's purchase of thirty gallons of rum from Patrick Sympson in September of 1715, suggests that rum cost £0.02.07 per gallon.⁶⁷ His sale of rum to John Williams⁶⁸ in 1716, however, shows the large margin Carroll added to the price. He charged him three shillings per half gallon, or about double the price he paid. Estimating according to the inflated price suggests that Carroll could have supplied about twenty gallons of rum for the sale. About half of the people were sold on the first three days of the sale to forty-nine buyers. If half the people attending the sale were buyers, one can hazard a very rough estimate of each person at the sale's having drunk the equivalent of about six ounces of rum. This estimate adds to the picture of the conditions of a slave sale. On several summer days, groups of about forty men and women chatted, smoked, and drank while a second group of people, some sick and dying, waited in chains to be

65. Ibid., 97.

66. Ibid., 84.

67. Ibid., 10.

68. Ibid., 16.

inspected, purchased and separated from a group probably including their parents, spouses, children, or kin.

It is probable that the whole cargo of people was exposed for sale at one time to give buyers the best choice. Ranging in age from old men and women to small boys and girls, this cluster of people stood and waited while buyers made choices. James Carroll hired a clerk to record the transactions. The best guess is that it was a man named David Gray, one of Carroll's overseers whose name appears in regard to his having put money in Carroll's cash bag in the weeks around the sale.⁶⁹ The two men had the daybook with them and stood ready to make entries.

The brother of a pirate⁷⁰ and outlaw, constable Neale Clark was from the shore of the South River, near Londontown, and appears to have been hired especially to keep order at this event. Constables were unpaid local officials appointed by the courts to break up fights, report offenders, and keep tax lists.⁷¹ Evidence suggests that Clark was good at this sort of task. In 1706, for example, his outlaw brother, Richard Clark, had claimed he needed Neale's help if he hoped to escape from Anne Arundel County to the Potomac River.⁷² Later, in 1715, James Carroll had paid for Clark's serving at another

69. Ibid., 92.

70. Donald G. Showmett, *Pirates of the Chesapeake: Being a True History of Pirates, Picaroons and Raiders on Chesapeake Bay 1610-1807*. (Centerville, MD: Tidewater Publishers, 1985), 167-169.

71. Lois G. Carr, "Sources of Political Stability and Upheaval in Seventeenth-Century Maryland" *Maryland Historical Magazine* 79, (1984): 48.

72. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 26, Page 462,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000026/html/am26--462.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

sale. That Carroll brought in Clark, rather than using one of his own overseers or another local person to keep order, reinforces the idea that Clark was especially able to manage the affair. Clark's age, however, suggests that he was not present merely to keep the enslaved people under control. At the time of the sale, Clark was a fifty-eight-year old man who enjoyed some authority among the small farmers near the South River.⁷³ His being hired suggests that Carroll and his gentry partners were also concerned about keeping order among a group of poor men who were spectators at the sale.

One can picture David Gray sitting soberly by the daybook and cash bag while James Carroll circulated among the crowd of friends, relatives, and neighbors assembled for the sale. Clark would be watching, ready to step in at the first sign of trouble. While the talking, viewing and watching went on, another man, a free African named Mungo Roy,⁷⁴ conducted the actual selling.⁷⁵ The almost random order of sales, with respect to

73. Maryland State Archives, Anne Arundel County Land Records. 1717 vol. NH1, 8.

74. The name of this seller raises questions about his ethnicity. The name Mungo appears one other time in Carroll's daybook; see page 58D. On June 26, 1716, Carroll recorded several transactions with a man named Mungo Sivogy described as a free negro.

The most plausible explanation of Roy's work in the sale is as an African Creole working for Cassells to market the slaves. Historian Ira Berlin has noted the presence and work of Creoles as vital members of the Atlantic commercial labor force throughout the slave trade era. Ira Berlin, "From Creole to African: Atlantic Creoles and the Origins of African-American Society in Mainland America." He noted, "...By their experiences and sometimes by their persons, they had become part of the three worlds that come together along the Atlantic littoral. Familiar with the commerce of the Atlantic, fluent in its new languages, and intimate with its trade and cultures, they were cosmopolitan in the fullest sense." (254) "The emergence of Atlantic Creoles was but a tiny outcropping in the massive social upheaval that accompanied the joining of the peoples of the two hemispheres... Some traveled as blue water sailors, supercargoes, shipboard servants, and interpreters – the last particularly important because Europeans showed little interest in mastering the languages of Africa." (p 255) "The characteristics that distinguished Atlantic Creoles – their linguistic dexterity, cultural plasticity, and social ability – were precisely those qualities that the great planters of the New World

age and gender, suggest that as a customer showed interest, Roy stepped in to demonstrate the qualities of the person selected and close the deal.

The idea of a sale's involving this sort of guided inspection is supported by John Atkins' 1721 account of his visit to Leadstine's Sierra Leone establishment.

"Once, on looking over some of old Cracker's slaves, I could not help taking notice of one fellow among the rest, of a tall, strong make, and bold, stern aspect. As he imagined we were viewing them with a design to buy, he seemed to disdain his fellow slaves, for their readiness to be examined, and as it were, scorned looking at us, refusing to rise or stretch out his limbs, as the master commanded; which got him an unmerciful whipping from Crackers' own hand, with a cutting manatee strap, and had certainly killed him but for the loss he must sustain by it..."⁷⁶

Table 12 Purchases Made of Enslaved Individuals and Sources of Credit Used

Date	Gender	Health	Buyer	£ Price	Importer	Issuer of Bill of Exchange	Amt. of Bill
8/22	Boy		Peter Galloway	29	Robert Plunkett	Francis Wasson	8.85
8/23	Woman		Amos Garrett	26			
8/23	Woman		Edward Smith	28			
8/23	Man		Henry Tripp	30	John Leadstine	Jon Scarth	16.8
8/23	Man		Isaac Butterworth	30		Gilbert Higgonson	15

disdained and feared... Simply put, men and women who understood the operations of the Atlantic systems were too dangerous to be trusted in the human tinderboxes created by the sugar revolution... Atlantic Creoles were frequently exiled to marginal slave societies..." (263) "Atlantic Creoles trickled into the mainland singly, in twos and threes, or by the score... some found employment as interpreters, sailors, and grumetes on the very ships that transported them to the New World." "Indeed, Atlantic Creoles often worked alongside their owners, supped at their tables, wore their hand-me-down clothes, and lived in the backrooms and lofts of their houses." (283)

75. Carroll, 84.

76. Donnan, 2:265.

8/23	Man		Isaac Butterworth	30		Thomas Bond	30
8/23	Man		John Connaway	30		Thomas Peigne	30
8/23	9 year old. child		John Galloway	2			
8/23	Girl		John Galloway	26		Samuel Hyde	28
8/23	Man		John Galloway	30			
8/23	Man		John Navar	30			
8/23	Man/boy		Philip Thomas	29.5			
8/23	Man/boy		Philip Thomas	29.5		William Lowell	59
8/23	Man		Thomas Bond	30	Samuel Bonham		
8/23	Man		Thomas Bond	30	Samuel Bonham	Edward Hankin	27
8/23	Man		Thomas Bond	30	Samuel Bonham	Thomas Bond	42
8/23	Woman		William Cockey	28			
8/23	Man		Zachiariah Mccubbin	30	Samuel Bonham	Phil. Smith	30
8/25	Man		Alexander Rosinquest	30	Robert Plunkett	Phil. Smith	30
8/25	Man		Amos Garrett	26	Samuel Bonham		
8/25	Man		Charles Carroll	20	John Leadstine	M. Perry	12.6
8/25	Man		Charles Carroll	29	John Leadstine		
8/25	Girl		James Carroll	25	James Cassells		
8/25	Man		John Burle	29	John Leadstine	Phil. Smith	29
8/25	Man		John Rawlings	30	John Leadstine	Jon Scarth	30
8/25	Woman		John Ward	28	Samuel Bonham		
8/25	Woman		John Ward	28	Samuel Bonham		
8/25	Man		John Ward	30	Samuel Bonham	John Hyde	86

8/25	Man		Thomas Worthington	22.1	John Leadstine	Benj. Hatley	23
8/25	Man		William Ennalds	29	John Leadstine	Jon Scarth	29
8/25	Girl		William Slade	28	Samuel Bonham	Phil. Smith	28
8/26	Man	elderly	Amos Garrett	28			
8/26	Woman		Anthony Ruly	28		John Scarth	28
8/26	Woman		Charles Carroll	28		M. Perry	
8/26	Man		Charles Carroll	30			
8/26	Woman		Edward Coyle	28		Thomas Colmore	28
8/26	Woman/girl		Elizabeth Jones	28			
8/26	Man		Elizabeth Jones	30		Medford	58
8/26	Boy		James Carroll	25	James Cassells		
8/26	Woman	Languishing	James Lueny	9			
8/26	Boy		John Eglestone	27		Phil. Smith	10
8/26	Girl/child		John Gardner	20			
8/26	Small boy		John Gardner	20			
8/26	Small boy		John Gardner	20			
8/26	Boy		John Howard	16			
8/26	Boy		John Howard	16			
8/26	Man/boy		Oneal Robinson	30		Phil. Smith	30
8/26	Man		Rachell Howard	30			
8/26	Child/boy		Robert Edney	8		William Hunt	8.5
8/26	Woman/girl		Sarah Betty	26		Thomas Colmore	26
8/26	Man		Susana Mitchell	30			
8/26	Man		Susana Mitchell	30		Gilbert Higginson	40.05
8/26	Woman		Thomas Gosling	28		Bowles	28
8/26	Man		Thomas Johnson	30		Phil. Smith	30

8/26	Small boy		Thomas Rockhold	10			
8/26	Small boy		Thomas Rockhold	10			
8/26	Small girl		Thomas Rockhold	10		John Monday	30
8/26	Woman/girl		William Anderson	28		G. Nelthrop and Harwell	28
8/26	Man		William Cromwell	29			
8/27	Man		Abraham Frizall	30			
8/27	Boy		Henry Lowe	25			
8/27	Man		Henry Lowe	30			
8/27	Boy		Henry Wright	19			
8/27	Girl		Henry Wright	19			
8/27	Woman/girl		John Danidge	27			
8/27	Man		John Frizall	30			
8/27	Man/boy		John Hammond	26		Jonathan Howard	26
8/27	Man		Joseph Cheny	30			
8/27	Boy		Lancelot Todd	20			
8/27	Woman		Nicholas Rogers	26		John Willes	3
8/27	Boy		Philip Jones	18			
8/27	Man/boy		Richard Sheppard	30			
8/27	Man/boy		Robert Danidge	28			
8/27	Small boy	Languishing	Robert Jubb	5			
8/27	Small girl		Robert Jubb	13		Jonathan Howard	18
8/27	Small girl		William Ennalds	11			
8/27	Man		William Ennalds	30			
8/27	Man		William Ennalds	30		Jon Scarth	71
8/27	Woman		William Frizall	28			
8/28	Woman/girl		Daniel Hilliard	28			

8/28	Man		George Norman	28			
8/28	Girl		Hugh Kennedy	13			
8/28	Boy		Hugh Kennedy	18			
8/28	Girl		Thomas Jobson	18			
8/28	Woman		Charles Carroll	29	Robert Plunkett		
8/28	Man		Charles Rockhold	30	Robert Plunkett	John Medford	30
8/28	Man		Francis Lewis	30	Robert Plunkett	John Medford	30
8/29	Woman	infirm	James Crooke	5.16			
8/29	Woman	infirm	James Crooke	5.16			
8/29	Woman	infirm	James Crooke	5.16			
8/29	Woman	infirm	James Crooke	5.16			
8/29	Woman	infirm	James Crooke	5.16			
8/29	Woman	infirm	James Crooke	5.16			
8/30	Man		Peter Galloway	22			
8/30	Man		Peter Galloway	25		Francis Wasson	20
8/30	Small boy		Thomas Rutland	18			
9/3	Man	reeling	H. Linthicum	23			
9/3	Man		James Cadle	30			
9/3	Small boy		John Brewer	18		Jon Scarth	18
9/3	Woman		Robert Ward	25		John Scarth	25
9/3	Boy		Samuel Mccubbin	20			
9/3	Man		Thomas Worthington	22			
9/5	Woman	fluxed	Edward Coyle	4.75			
9/8	Man	elderly	Thomas Larkin	22.5			
9/8	Man	elderly	Thomas Larkin	22.5			
9/8	Woman	Maugre ⁷⁷	William Ford	20			
9/9	Boy	infirm	Anthony Ruly	23			
9/9	Man	old	Richard Isaac	22.5			

77. Defined as “ill-will, displeasure or spite.” *The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary* 1:247.

10/10	*		Arthur Neal		Jacob Elton	3.5
10/10	*		Edward Teels		John Willes	16
10/10	*		Henry Latur		John Medford	3
10/10	*		John Pollinger		Benj. and James Bradley	22.5
10/10	*		Richard & Alex. Warfield		Jon Scarth	20
10/10	*		Richard Burroughs		William Hunt	6
10/10	*		Richard King		John Willes	14.67
10/10	*		Richard King		John Willes	7.5
10/10	*		Samuel Galloway		Jon Scarth	20
10/10	*		Samuel Thomas		Jon. Scarth	30
10/10	*		Edward Coyle	John Leadstine	Thomas Colmore	7.7

* Supplied Credit to Buyers

The sale began with the most attractive individuals sold first. This can be deduced by noting that the prices were high and that there was no mention of illness among them. Peter Galloway was the first buyer. He bought a boy who was one of the people imported by Robert Plunkett, paying £29 for him on August 22.

The sale began in earnest the next day when sixteen enslaved people were sold. That day, ten men, three women, two individuals described as “man/boy,” a girl, and a nine-year-old child were sold for a total of £469. The average price paid was £27.10.00. Fifty seven percent of the payment was in the form of bills of exchange on merchants and £203.10.00 was in cash or other forms of payment. The prices paid were consistent. Each of the men sold for £30. Two of the women sold for £28 and the third sold to Amos Garrett for £26. Garrett was a trade partner of the Carrolls, co-owner of the ship (also named the *Margaret*) that had carried Carroll’s tobacco to market in 1715. The eight

percent reduction in his price could have been a nine percent discount derived by Carroll and Heath subtracting their commission from the sale price. Four of the people sold on this day were men shipped by Samuel Bonham. The fifth was a man shipped by John Leadstine. One buyer, Thomas Bond, bought three of Bonham's men for £90, passing bills of exchange on himself.

There were no sales on the twenty-fourth of August. The next day, all of the individuals sold had been imported by named men. Of the thirteen people sold, six had been sent by Leadstine, five by Bonham, and one by Cassells. James Carroll bought a girl imported by Cassells for £25. Charles Carroll bought two men shipped by Leadstine for £59. Four other men sent by Leadstine were sold for prices ranging from £22 to £29. Amos Garrett bought a man imported by Bonham for £26 and four additional people of Bonham's lot were sold to two buyers for prices ranging from £28-30. John Ward bought three men and William Slade bought the fourth. Just over £354 was taken in, of which £267.12.00 was in the form of bills of exchange on London merchants. Approximately £70 was due from Charles or James Carroll, leaving about £16 due in cash.

The twenty-sixth of August was the busiest day of the sale, seeing twenty-seven individuals sold to twenty buyers. Assuming the selling day to have lasted about five hours, we can calculate that purchases of single or multiple people were decided at a fifteen-minute average. Surely, the business was clustered in time, but the average illustrates the briskness of the day's commerce. The buyers spent £652, an average of £23.02 per person. Repeat customers and women buying enslaved people also distinguished this day's commerce. Amos Garrett was back for a third day of buying, paying £28 for an elderly man. Charles Carroll bought a woman and a man, paying £28 for the woman and £30 for the man. James Carroll bought the second of the two people

imported by James Cassells, paying £25 for a boy. The boy was the only privately imported individual sold all day. The rest of the people were of the cargo generally shipped. Three women, Elizabeth Jones, Susana Mitchell and Sarah Betty bought enslaved people. Jones purchased a man and a woman/girl for £58. Mitchell bought two men for £60, and Betty bought a woman/girl for £26.

In addition to Charles Carroll and Amos Garrett, two of the day's buyers also had close links to James Carroll. Elizabeth Jones was the widow of Jonathan Jones and owned a plantation near Carroll's Elk Ridge property. Carroll knew her well, having stayed at her house in 1715 and acted as administrator of her late husband's estate.⁷⁸ Edward Coyle was an Annapolis tailor who made clothing for James Carroll. That Jones and Coyle were Catholics can be deduced from Jones' having passed a letter from Jesuit Peter Attwood to Carroll in 1716⁷⁹ and Coyle's having been arrested for firing a cannon to mark the Pretender's birthday and delivered money from Carroll to Attwood during the same year.⁸⁰

Seven of the people sold on August 26 were men and all but one went for £30, the last for £29. Five were women. Four sold for £28 and one, described as "languishing," sold for only £9. The other eighteen people sold were adolescents and children. Two woman/girls sold for £28 and one for £26. A boy/child and a girl/child were sold, the boy

78. Carroll, 36C.

79. The letter was written by Attwood and consisted of a list of religious books he wished to have Carroll buy for Mrs. Jones while he was in London in 1716. Attwood, Item A3.

80. Carroll, 37D.

for £8 and the girl for £6. Four small boys were also sold, two for £20 and two for £10. A small girl was sold for £10.

A stark pattern is apparent in reviewing the first four days of the sale. At first, mostly healthy adults were sold. The third day dealt exclusively with people privately shipped. By the fourth day, the buyers were turning their attention to children. Looking back across time, it is impossible not to wonder about the emotion of the sales. The children had watched elders, possibly parents, sold for three days before their turn came. Alternately, this was a fourth day of forced partings of parents from children. For James Carroll, it was a lucrative day's work, bringing in £652, of which £344 was in bills of exchange on London merchants.

Twenty individuals were sold on August 27, another day of busy commerce. Five men were purchased, each for £30. Two women were sold for £28 and £26. Again, the majority of the people purchased were children. Three man/boys were conveyed, two for £28 and one for £26. Four boys were sold for £18-20. A languishing small boy was also purchased for £5. A woman/girl was sold for £27 and two small girls for prices ranging from £13-11. Carroll took in £475 of which £118 was in bills of exchange. This had been the last especially busy day of selling. In all, since the sale began, seventy-nine individuals had been sold to fifty-one different buyers. Seventeen buyers had bought more than one enslaved person. Among the multiple purchasers, only two – Charles Carroll and William Ennalds - bought four people. The largest spender, Thomas Bond, had spent £90 on three men.

Charles Carroll bought again the next day, paying £29 for a woman imported by Robert Plunkett. Seven other people were sold that day. Two men shipped by Plunkett sold for £30 each, and a third man was sold for £28. A woman/girl also sold for £28. A

boy and a girl were bought for £18 and another girl for £13. The slackening pace of the sale was reflected in the day's take, £194, of which £60 was in bills of exchange, both drawn on London merchant John Medford.

Twenty-one individuals remained of the original cargo, and ten of them were listed as sick when they were sold in the next weeks. Business was winding down, and on August 29, a buyer named James Crooke bought six women described as "infirm" for just under £31 for the day's only sale. Carroll seems to have been selling his sickest enslaved people in one lot in this transaction. Little is known about James Crooke, but he appears to have been a bargain hunter. It would require a cold heart to buy any enslaved person, but buying many sick people seems an especially unfeeling gamble. The same point can be made about selling people, and Carroll's action on this day illustrates his seeing his cargo as less than human.

Peter Galloway, the first buyer in the sale, returned eight days later, on August 30, to buy two men for a reduced price totaling £47. His was an alternate form of calculated buying. His first purchase was of a choice person, and the second of two men of perceived inferior value.

Four days later, the *Margaret* sailed to Stephen West's dock at Londontown on the South River with the twelve remaining slaves. Half of the people were sold on the first day. Hezekiah Linthicum, on whose credit Carroll had traded at Patrick Sympson's Londontown store in 1715, bought a "reeling" man for £23. Robert Ward, whom George Douglass had paid to capture an enslaved man who had run away from James Carroll, bought a woman for £25. In addition, two men were sold, one for the full £30 and the other for £22. Two boys were also sold for £18 and £20. The following day, tailor Edward Coyle, returned to the buying by purchasing a woman described as "fluxed" for

£4.15.00. His was the same buying strategy as the other two bargain hunters, coming back at the tail end of the sale and buying a sick person for a greatly reduced price. Three old men, a sickly woman and a sick boy remained. On September 8, Thomas Larkin bought two of the men for £22 each. William Ford bought the woman for £20. The next day, Richard Isaac bought the last person, a boy who sold for £22.10.00.

The sale of enslaved people had brought in over £2716 and sold 108 people into bondage. Using the figure of £12, that Carroll was charged for the freight of each of his enslaved people as the wholesale price, supports an estimate that the venture cleared £1408, minus expenses. Carroll and his partners claimed a ten percent commission against £2187 in income or £218.14.06. He and James Heath split this sum, with each making £114.07.03 for fifteen days of work. This large sum of money is illustrative of just how lucrative the ability to manage Atlantic commerce was for James Carroll and how valuable the slave trade was as a form of investment. Reflecting back to the £200 Carroll had invested in May, suggests that he had recouped his £200 through sales, earned a fifty-seven percent return and gained the opportunity to buy two choice enslaved people.

The *Margaret*'s human cargo sold, James Carroll summed up his accounts with Captain Cassells on October 30. Clark was paid £0.02.06 for his work as constable at "Mungo Roy's sale," the same amount he had been paid in 1715. Mungo Roy, himself, was paid £22.06.04 in wages by Cassells. Carroll also paid one of the *Margaret*'s seamen, Thomas Webster, £7.09.06 in wages.

James Carroll's management of the slave venture is descriptive of two important aspects of the emerging market economy of his day. His skilled keeping of accounts was evident in the many complex transactions involved in the sales. He had the skill with

numbers and currency to manage the business reliably and to prepare an accurate account for Cassells, Bonham, the buyers, and the other investors.

Secondly, Carroll's experience demonstrates the importance of having the right commercial links. His trade with Thomas Colmore gave him the credible standing among London merchants he needed to initiate the venture. In addition, his association with the leading Catholic gentry in Maryland enabled him to stage the sale. Having partners in Henry Lowe, James Heath, and Charles Carroll associated him with three of the colony's leading planter-merchants and, no doubt, influenced customers to travel to this sale. On a larger scale, this transaction committed investments on three continents. James Carroll was the hub of a venture spanning months of work and thousands of miles of ocean. He was paid a lot for his ability to do so, an ability grounded equally in commercial skill and association.

V. James Carroll's Use of His Credit with John Hyde and Thomas Colmore

In a society without banks, consumption was based on credit transactions. The ultimate source of credit was bills of exchange drawn on London merchants. When tobacco was sold in London, the exporting planter earned a store of credit he could spend in several ways. He could convey it by a bill of exchange, a financial instrument as sound as currency that could be used at home or with other London merchants and which transferred the credit the planter had with the original London merchant to the recipient of the exchange. James Carroll built up stores of credit with London merchants John Hyde and Thomas Colmore, through tobacco exports to them and by conveying the value of bills of exchange he received from other planters to these merchants. In effect,

Carroll's credit with Hyde and Colmore was his bank account. Reviewing his transactions with respect to these accounts shows Carroll's major purchases and sales for the years between 1714 and 1721.

Table 13 James Carroll's trade with John Hyde and Thomas Colmore

Date	Merchant	Page	Debt Page Entry	Value	Credit Page Entry	Value
1/14	J.Hyde	45D	Balance due to me as per his account	126.18.00		
1/14	J.Hyde	45D	Doctor M. Moore's bill on yourself	4.05.03		
1/14	J.Hyde	45D	Wm. Slade's bill on Gilbert Higginson	3.19.00		
1/14	J.Hyde	45D	Jno. Williams bill on yourself	7.03.00		
1/14	J.Hyde	45D	Benl. Hall on yourself	8.00.00		
1/14	J.Hyde	45D	Josua Ledgwich on Gilbert Higginson	6.06.08		
1/14	J.Hyde	45D	Charles Carroll's order remitted to you	4.07.02		
7/15	J.Hyde	45D	The net proceeds of 8/9 of eight hogsheads of tobacco per Stephen Yoakley, 7/26/15 Mark:: CJW	43.12.06		
7/15	J.Hyde	45C			My bill on you payable to B. Tasker	4.00.00

7/15	J.Hyde	45C			My bill on you payable to Stephen Yoakley	5.10.00
7/15	J.Hyde	45C			My bill on you payable to Wm. Ellie	2.00.00
7/15	J.Hyde	45C			Money expended on the purchase of Bright Seat paid Richard Price	39.11.06
7/15	J.Hyde	45C			My bill payable to Thomas Macnemara	78.00.00
7/16	J.Hyde	45C			My bill payable to Jonathan Howard	45.00.00
10/16	J.Hyde	45C			Goods per Capt. Bixby	2.15.00
10/16	J.Hyde	45C			My bill to Jno. Innstall	10.00.00
3/16	J.Hyde	45D	Edward Reynolds' exchange delivered him when in London drawn on himself	2.00.00		
3/16	J.Hyde	45D	Jno. Bradford's exchange delivered him when in London drawn on himself	20.06.10		
3/16	J.Hyde	45D	James Dawson's exchange delivered him when in London drawn on himself	8.15.06		
3/16	J.Hyde	45C			My order to W, Hunt from Gravesend	4.06.00

3/16	J.Hyde	45C			My order on Doale from Jno. Atkinson	2.05.00
3/16	J.Hyde		Sub-total	246.14.10	Sub-total	207.17.07
3/16	T.Colmore	72D	Cash left in his hands to pay my laundress in London which Mr. Macnemara charges of me as paid by him.	0.06.10		
3/16	T.Colmore	72D	Goods short on my earthenware bill	18.00.00		
3/16	J.Hyde	45D	Edward Reynolds' exchange delivered him when in London drawn on himself	2.00.00		
8/17	T.Colmore	72D	Net proceeds of 9 hogsheads of tobacco per sloop named (blank) Yoakley, per his account dated 8/21/17 per the <i>Judith</i> , Capt. Read	68.00.00		
2/17	T.Colmore	72D	The difference of value between sterling and Irish money. £ 42 contra to Daniel Carroll, dated Feb. 17, 1717	3.19.02		
2/17	T.Colmore	72C			My order to remit to Daniel Carroll	42.00.00
3/17	T.Colmore	72D	Thomas Cromwell's bills on Higginson and Bird	29.09.09		

3/17	T.Colmore	72C			Charge protesting Thomas Cromwell's bills on Higginson and Bird	0.4.3
3/17	T.Colmore	72D	Jno Powell's bills on Phill. Smith	4.05.04		
3/17	T.Colmore	72D	Alice Jones on Higginson and Bird	9.07.06		
3/17	T.Colmore	72D/C	Sub-total to 3/17	133.06.00		42.04.03
4/18	T.Colmore	72D	Thomas Cockey's bill on Jno Hyde per the <i>Experiment</i>	12.00.00		
4/18	T.Colmore	72D	William Gerard's bill on Jno. Crawley	12.00.00		
4/18	T.Colmore	72D	William Holme on Moss and Bradley	3.00.05		
4/18	T.Colmore	72D	The net proceeds of 12 hogsheads of tobacco per the <i>Judith</i> , Capt. Read 6/7	No Amount		
5/18	T.Colmore	72C			Order to pay Perry	1.19.09
5/18	T.Colmore	72C			My bill payable to Mr. Bennett and Company	200.00.00
6/18	T.Colmore	72D	H. Linthicum exchange on Phill. Smith per Patrick Sympson	14.17.05		
6/18	T.Colmore	72D	Pat. Sympson exchange of Gil. Higginson	52.00.00		
6/18	T.Colmore	72D	Jno. Bradford on Jno. Hyde	9.14.06		
6/18	T.Colmore	72D	Abm. Boyd on Bradley	3.15.06		

8/18	J.Hyde	45C			Invoice of goods dated London, August 30, 1718	12.10.00
8/18	J.Hyde	45C			Balance due to James Carroll	0.04.09
9/18	T.Colmore	72D	Josiah Wilson on Joseph Jackson	40.17.00		
9/18	T.Colmore	72D	6 hogsheads per the <i>Booth</i> 6/7 £26.04.05 Mark: CJL	No Amount		
9/18	T.Colmore	72D	23 hogsheads per the <i>Booth</i> . Marked JC £100.09.04	No Amount		
9/18	T.Colmore	83D	Foot of debt from fo. 72	269.14.01		
9/18	T.Colmore	83C			Foot of credit fo. 72	244.04.00
9/18	T.Colmore	83C			My bill payable to Thomas Bond	20.00.00
9/18	T.Colmore	83D	The net proceeds of 41 hogsheads of tobacco as per fo. 72 in two blank articles (See above)	173.10.03		
9/18	T.Colmore	83D	Bills sent and omitted to be charged	122.15.06		
10/18	T.Colmore	83D	Henry Darnall's bill on Hyde per Ellie	10.00.00		
10/18	T.Colmore	83D	George Iam's exchange on W. Lovell	20.05.00		
11/18	T.Colmore	83C			My bill on him in favor of Mr. Benj. Tasker	5.00.00
11/18	T.Colmore	83D/C	Sub-total for 1718	595.06.00		269.00.00
3/18	J.Hyde	45C			My order in favor of Walter Hoxton	3.07.06

3/18	J.Hyde	45C			My bill payable to Mr. Carroll	10.00.00
3/18	J.Hyde	45C			Balance due	12.14.10
3/18	J.Hyde	45D	Balance due	12.14.09		
4/19	T.Colmore	83C			Goods per the <i>Booth</i>	49.07.07
5/19	T.Colmore	83C			My bills to Alphonson Cosden (Total)	69.00.06
8/19	T.Colmore	83C			My bill payable to Sara Brice	12.10.00
8/19	T.Colmore	83C			My bill payable to Charles Carroll	8.00.00
8/19	T.Colmore	83C			My bill payable to Alphonson Cosden	8.00.00
8/19	T.Colmore	83C			My bill payable to Edward Edelin	12.06.00
8/19	T.Colmore	83C			My bill payable to Peter Wills being for a servant bought, Thomas Cockey	10.00.00
9/19	T.Colmore	83D	James Bradford's exchange on you ordered to Jno. Buck	13.00.0		
9/19	T.Colmore	83D	The net proceeds of 13 hogsheads of tobacco per the <i>Baltimore</i> , Captain Dowell (Mark: CJL) on 7/8	48.18.7		
9/19	T.Colmore	83D	The net proceeds of 13 hogsheads of tobacco per the <i>Booth</i> , James Bradford, Master	52.07.02		

9/19	T.Colmore	83D	My part of Jo. Bell's bill of £40 ordered to Elizabeth Jones, viz Eliz. Jones her bill of £27.17.10 both marked S.B.	(No amount)		
11/19	J.Hyde	45D	Caleb Dorsey's bill on yourself remitted to you per the Experiment	119.15.05		
11/19	T.Colmore	83D	Caleb Dorsey's bill on Phill. Smith is remitted by Experiment, Sampson, Master	23.06.07		
11/19	T.Colmore	83D	Cash you place to my account viz a bill of £5 payable to Thomas Boardley which was to retain him as your attorney.	5.00.00		
11/19	T.Colmore	83D	19 hogsheads per Wills, 1719	40.03.01		
11/19	T.Colmore	83C			Sundry of Capt. Wills	0.13.00
11/19	T.Colmore	83C			Part of Jacob Holland's bill of £20 protested. Charge protest 0.04.03	15.09.00
11/19	T.Colmore	83C			My order to pay a glazier what name I know not	2.00.00
11/19	T.Colmore	83C			Bill to Susana Mitchell	1.03.01
11/19	T.Colmore	83D	Jno. Bradford's exchange on yourself	12.00.00		
11/19	T.Colmore	83D	Evan Evans' exchange on yourself	4.00.00		

11/19	T.Colmore	83C			Evan Evans' bill returned protested	4.04.03
11/19	T.Colmore	83D	Joseph Cheney's bill on Jo. Henderson	1.15.00		
1/19	T.Colmore	83D	The following bills viz the first per the ship (blank), master (blank) (These same bills are listed as "bills of exchange by me this 7 th of April, 1718" on p 100 D of the daybook)	217.08.00		
1/19	T.Colmore	83C			Goods per Capt. Brown as per invoice dated in London, Jan. 1719	111.10.10
1/19	T.Colmore	83D/C	Sub-total for 1719	417.02.00		302.01.06
2/19	T.Colmore	83C			Goods per Capt. Carpenter as per invoice dated in London, Feb. 1719	178.08.01
8/20	T.Colmore	83C			4 sets of bills payable to Alphonson Cosden	72.10.00
9/20	J.Hyde	45D	Tho. Linthicum's Exchange on William Lowell	75.00.00		
9/20	J.Hyde	45D	Francis Day's Exchange on William Lowell	40.00.00		

9/20	J.Hyde	45D	Jacob Holland's Exchange on Phill. Smith	18.10.09		
9/20	J.Hyde	45D	79.10.10			
9/20	J.Hyde	45D	Major Bradford's exchange on yourself	5.00.00		
4/21	J.Hyde	45C			My exchange payable to Charles Carroll, the Doctor	10.00.00
4/21	J.Hyde	45C			Jacob Holland's bill returned protested with charges of 4/6 for protest	18.15.03
4/21	J.Hyde	45C			My exchange payable to yourself	10.00.00
4/21	J.Hyde	45C			Goods per Bixby	120.03.03
4/21	J.Hyde	45D/C	Sub-total	350.09.02	Sub-total	148.18.06
8/21	J.Hyde	45D	Eight Hogsheads of tobacco per the <i>Unity</i> , Capt. Arbuthnot	6.19.09		
9/21	T.Colmore	83D	Joseph Cheney's bill on you	12.06.03		
9/21	T.Colmore	83C			Joseph Cheney's bill on you for £12.06.03 with charge of protest 4/3	12.10.06
9/21	T.Colmore	83D/C	Sub-total for after 2/19	12.01.08		262.07.07
9/21	T.Colmore	83D/C	Totals	1020.08.0		847.18.0

Carroll's export trade was not evenly distributed between the two merchants. The first two years recorded in his daybook illustrate his use of John Hyde as his principal

trade partner. It is clear that this was a continuing relationship through which Carroll had built up a credit of over £126 by January 1714. Carroll's visit to Thomas Colmore in March of 1716 marked an important shift in his trade; it was the start of four years of almost exclusive trade with Colmore followed by Carroll's sharing his trade between Colmore and Hyde.

Carroll used his credit with the two merchants to send money to his brother, and to buy enslaved people and consumer goods. In 1715, he used his credit with Hyde in a slave purchase at Londontown. That summer, Carroll gave his brother-in-law, Thomas Macnemara, a bill payable for £78 drawn on Hyde. The same summer, Carroll spent £39 of his credit with Hyde to buy a 400 acre Anne Arundel County plantation, called Bright Seat and located on the Patuxent River about ten miles north of Fingaul, from Maryland planter Richard Price. These purchases added land and enslaved people to Carroll's holdings. Carroll owned Bright Seat until his death in 1729, and while there are no specific records related to its production or staffing in the daybook, his probate inventory preserved an overview of the equipment, crops and personnel on this plantation in 1729.⁸¹

On July 8, 1716, Carroll used his credit to buy three more enslaved people, paying £45 to Charles Carroll and Samuel Peele for three people. Carroll paid for his purchases with a bill payable to Jonathan Howard. As in the previous summer's slave transaction, this payment indicates that Carroll was conveying his credit with Hyde to a named individual, supporting a reading that Howard was the London factor behind the cargo of enslaved people. Howard would later be the source of credit used by three planters who bought enslaved people from James Carroll in 1718, and named in several bills of

81. See chapter 7 for a discussion of this plantation.

exchange. In the later sales, it is clear that the transactions were for enslaved people received from Bonham sold by Carroll and that Howard was named only as a third party. The bill payable in the earlier sale indicates a more direct movement of credit from James Carroll to Howard for enslaved people bought. The timing of this sale is also interesting, occurring just nine days prior to the start of the 1716 Assembly session that would feature a battle for power between Charles Carroll and John Hart.

In the months after the Carroll-Hart confrontation, James Carroll traveled to London and while there, he began a trade relationship with Thomas Colmore. He built credit with Colmore by selling him tobacco grown on his own plantations and tobacco received for administering the rent roll system in Maryland. He also sent bills of exchange he received from Maryland planters and merchants. By September 1718, he had generated over £133 of credit which he over-spent by sending £42 to his brother Daniel and investing £200 in initiating his 1718 importation of enslaved people. By January 1719, his credit stood at £417. The largest single payment from Carroll contributing to this credit account was a shipment of just over £217 in bills of exchange he sent to London late in the fall of 1718. These bills came from a variety of sources, but included at least one derived from the sale of enslaved people a few months earlier. Carroll redeemed these notes and some of his other credit by ordering over £289 in goods he received from Colmore in two shipments sent a month apart ending in February of 1719.

After receiving these two shipments from Colmore, Carroll traded mostly with John Hyde in the following months. During the course of 1720, he sent £217 worth of bills of exchange to Hyde and ordered over £120 worth of goods. Taken together, these shipments from Colmore and Hyde add up to £409 worth of consumer goods bought

within fourteen months. The scale of purchases is massive, yet there are no itemized lists in the daybook of items received. There is also no evidence of Carroll's using these goods for stocking a retail store. There is evidence of a land purchase and a plantation sale, however. In October 1719, Carroll sold his Elk Ridge plantation, including four enslaved people and the tobacco crop then drying, to Caleb Dorsey for £550.⁸² Part of Dorsey's payment was in the form of two bills of exchange sent to London on the ship *Experiment* in November 1719. One exchange for £119 was sent to John Hyde and the other, an exchange for £23 drawn on Phill. Smith was sent to Thomas Colmore. Carroll in turn, spent £149 of his credit with Thomas Colmore buying land in Calvert County from Alphonson Cosden.⁸³

These transactions with London merchants show that ongoing, trans-Atlantic relationships were at the heart of the Maryland economy. A planter who would make good use of these relationships would have to maintain them through careful work and personal relationships. Part of the work that contributed to James Carroll's successful nurturing of his trans-Atlantic relationships was his traveling to London in 1716 and getting to know Thomas Colmore in person. This personal contact has been seen as central to Carroll's importation of enslaved people, but it probably was important in giving Carroll the confidence to send the volume of bills of exchange to London through Colmore that he did after the summer of 1718. On the other side of the relationship, Carroll's ability to trust Colmore to purchase and ship over £200 worth of consumer goods on his behalf speaks volumes of the confidence each had in the other at that time.

82. Carroll, 112D. See also, Maryland State Archives, Anne Arundel County Deeds, Caleb Dorsey from James Carroll, RR Liber 15 #5, 198.

83. Carroll, 102D.

On a less personal level, these transactions show a form of banking taking place. Carroll acted as a Maryland bank, making credit available to others by accepting notes in return that he could pass on to London. In London, Colmore and Hyde were bigger banks redeeming notes and managing large stores of credit. People in Maryland might have chosen to do business with James Carroll as a financial intermediary for any number of reasons. The simplest reasons were faster access to goods or easier access to credit. Carroll, in some cases, had what small-scale buyers wanted, and he would advance them credit. One of the bills included in the sum of £217 he sent to Colmore in January of 1719, for example, was a £4 note representing his loan to small farmer John Powell to finance a land purchase. Another in the same batch was a note from William Cromwell for the purchase of an enslaved person in the 1718 sale. Transactions on a larger scale, such as the land payments from Dorsey and to Cosden, show Carroll managing major capital investments in the Maryland economy. The most logical conclusion from this pattern of trade is that the market economy was a credit economy, and financial managers such as James Carroll were the essential, behind the scenes, operators who made the transactions of merchants and the purchases of consumers possible. In short, the market revolution was a credit revolution.

VI. James Carroll's Work as an Agent for Thomas Colmore

James Carroll was more than just a tobacco shipper to and customer of Thomas Colmore. The transactions between the two demonstrate the extent to which Carroll served as a financial intermediary, using his credit with Colmore as a source of credit for others in Maryland. There was also a third dimension of their business relationship.

Carroll served as a manager for Colmore in the importation and resale of wine. This aspect of their commerce was significant in that it shows London merchants actively reaching out to increase their sales in Maryland, and it shows a Maryland planter acting as the local coordinator of these ventures. Analyzing the shipment of wine is an instructive way to see how Carroll acted as a manager of wholesale shipments of goods intended to be broken down and sold to retail buyers. The wine cargo was sent as a speculative shipment and Carroll's management of it indicates the existence of a cash economy in which small-scale buyers made purchases, and it shows the importance of colonial agents who served London merchants as wholesale dealers.

During 1718 and 1719, Carroll managed a shipment of wine for Thomas Colmore that he divided several ways for resale. It is clear from Carroll's daybook that when the wine was shipped, Colmore entrusted Carroll to arrange for its disposition. The arrangement reinforces the idea that the two merchants operated based on trust begun in their 1716 London meeting and built over the course of their subsequent transactions.

Table 14 Carroll's Management of a Wine Shipment for Thomas Colmore

Date	Page	Item	Value
9/11/18	99D	Expenses made for the cargo of the <i>Judith</i> . Invoice dated, Sept. 11, 1718	
9/11/18	99D	Also, the remnants of the cargo taken proceed of Mr. Jno. Talbott	
9/11/18	99D	Expenses in going up and packaging of the goods received of Jno. Talbott and down as per the particulars fo. 95	
9/11/18	99D	So much paid Mary King, heiress of Henry King for a horse to save herself hire to M. Taylor	1350 T
2/11/18	99D	My note to Robert Gordon to let Michael Taylor have 87 ½ gallons for the store's use and probably for sale	17.09.00

2/27/18	99D	Paid for permit to land 10 pipes of wine out of the <i>Concord</i> , Lax, Master	0.02.06
2/27/18	99D	To transport at pleasure	0.02.06
2/27/18	99D	Duty at 3d per gallon on the ten pipes	9.05.00
2/27/18	99D	Cash paid for scales and weights	0.10.00
7/24/19	99D	Cash paid Thomas Boardly, Esq. for a retaining fee for generally of yours and Madam Millner's concern this day	5.00.00
7/24/19	99D	Account until my account has credit from you which now stands as debt. His bills on me payable to Mr. Thomas Humphrey, 15 guineas	21.00.00
7/24/19	99D	Cash paid Mr. (illegible) for sloop hire as per your order to me in June 1721, 13 ster., and paid to Mr. Bennett, August 1721.	17.06.08
7/26/19	99C	Cash received of Michael Taylor for sundry goods sold	18.08.09
2/6/21	99C	An account of Talbott's dealings – Vid Lib C, fo. 4	
2/6/21	99C	Cash received of Taylor	14.12.02
Undated	103D	Daniel Dullany one pipe- the price to be left to Mr. Colmore	1 pipe
Undated	103D	Rev. Joseph Henderson on the like agreement	1 pipe
Undated	103D	Michael Taylor factor at Patapsco to be disposed of there	1 ¼ pipes
Undated	103D	James Carroll	1 pipe
Undated	103D	Capt. Richard Read at 16 ster.	1 pipe
Undated	103D	Loss at sea and fillidge of the casque to Patapsco and those sent to Capt. Read to be delivered Mr. Colmore's factors in Patuxent	3/4
Undated	103D	Eleven hogsheads or ½ pipe sent by Capt. Read's sloop to be delivered to Mr. Colmore's factors at Patuxent	1/2
Undated	103D	I do not know who the factors are in Patuxent, but seeing no prospect of a market up this way, by Capt. Richard Read's advice I sent to be delivered by him to them on some such of them as he judged would most advance Mr. Colmore's interest	1 1/2
Undated	103D	To the factor at Patapsco, under my own care, I sent two half pipes and a quarter casque, the residue of a pipe that leaked above half, and after fillidge of the 13 half pipes there was left the quarter casque	1
Undated	103D	What loss on the two half pipes and the ¼ casque	

		to Patapsco. The long boat in which they were sent with a bale of woolen goods having been overset in the bay, the bale lost.	
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This set of transactions is enigmatic in that it offers suggestions of the complexity of the importation, but leaves many important details out. Although incomplete, it suggests several qualities of the relationship between Carroll and Colmore that are instructive about their commerce. Carroll was receiving goods for resale beginning prior to the wine importation and lasting until at least 1721; he was arranging with local merchants to sell goods for Colmore, and he had the authority to break up cargoes into smaller lots.

The series of transactions began with Carroll's receiving two cargoes of goods in September 1718 from Captain Read of the *Judith* and from Jno. Talbott. Read is mentioned several times in the daybook as Captain of the *Judith*, and always in association with trade with Colmore. Carroll listed several shipments of goods received from Colmore in the daybook, but did not mention this cargo. This suggests a distinction between goods received for him and others for resale. At the time he received these goods from Read, he also shipped eighteen hogsheads of tobacco on the ship's return voyage to London.

Carroll also received what he called "the remnant" of a cargo from Jno. Talbott.⁸⁴ Nearby entries in the daybook suggest that Talbott was a merchant operating in Maryland

84. Carroll's authority to act in this way was confirmed in a power of attorney he received from Colmore in 1719. Maryland State Archives, Anne Arundel County Deeds, 1720, CW, 216.

for Colmore under Carroll's management. One entry, for instance, alludes to a not extant account book of Carroll's, called *Lib. C* that gives a detailed account of Talbott's work.⁸⁵

Carroll arranged for his cousin, Michael Taylor, to sell the goods on the Patapsco River.⁸⁶ The location of the sale was near today's city of Baltimore. By this time, Baltimore County was a fast-growing region of the colony and several established merchants operated stores there.⁸⁷ By sending Taylor there with a store of goods, Carroll was acting as a commercial interloper sending a cargo of wine to take advantage of a market. It seems clear that Taylor worked as an overseer and manager for Carroll. He, for example, was listed in the daybook as having handled Carroll's affairs during an illness.⁸⁸ Carroll did not appear to be establishing a permanent store at Patapsco, but making a profit on a cargo. As neither Taylor nor John Ouchterlong was a long-term Patapsco merchant, the pattern of Taylor's work for Carroll and that of Ouchterlong's work several years earlier for Sympson, suggests that merchants whose primary market was in the Annapolis area also branched out in search of new customers and fresh opportunities or to respond to oversupply situations.

In addition to keeping track of local stores, Carroll also was responsible for paying the import duties on goods and dividing the cargo for resale. This responsibility was clear in his 1718 work as an importer of enslaved people, but again evident in his management of a shipment of wine sent by Colmore on the ship *Concord* under the

85. Carroll, 99D.

86. Carroll identified Taylor as his cousin in his will.

87. Charles G. Steffan, "The Rise of the Independent Merchant in the Chesapeake: Baltimore County, 1660-1769." *The Journal of American History*. vol. 76, no. 1, (1989): 9-33.

88. Carroll, 92C.

command of Captain Lax in February 1718. Carroll paid Anne Arundel County Sheriff Benjamin Tasker for a permit to land the wine. He also bought scales to weigh the wine and divided the shipment, both into smaller lots and into smaller quantities. Carroll kept some pipes intact, but divided others into half pipes. The divided pipes were sent to Taylor's store by longboat, and the smaller amounts would have been both easier to ship and easier to sell at retail. He kept one pipe for himself and sold two to Daniel Dulany and Rev. Joseph Henderson.

The element of risk he and Colmore assumed is evident in his records of some of the wine. The wine sent to Patapsco included one intact pipe and the residue of another that had leaked during shipment. Carroll repacked the remaining wine, breaking the pipe into two half-pipes and sent the three casks to Patapsco by longboat along with a bale of woolen goods. This shipment suggests that he resupplied Taylor's store from time to time. Taylor had received goods from the *Judith* a few months earlier, and the bale of woolen goods appears to be a restocking of the store. Unfortunately, the longboat sank while on route from Annapolis to Patapsco and the shipment was lost in the Chesapeake.

A second type of risk was that the market could be glutted. Carroll had received wine from Capt. Lax, but apparently found no buyers for one and a half pipes. When Captain Read returned onboard the *Judith*, Carroll consulted with him about the best way to sell the wine. Read apparently knew the Chesapeake market well from stops he made on his annual voyages for Colmore. He advised Carroll to ship the unsold wine on the *Judith* for sale at Patuxent, a port about sixty miles south of Annapolis. Carroll had done business with Read for several years, and his daybook entry indicates that he was trusting Read to find the most reliable storekeepers in Southern Maryland to sell the wine. The wine he sent to Taylor, by contrast, was noted as having been sent under his own care.

James Carroll's daybook also shows another example of the trust underlying his trade relationship with Thomas Colmore's firm. In 1721, Captain George Brown died while in Maryland with a cargo of goods from Colmore. Carroll's accounts with Colmore show that in January of 1719, Captain Brown sailed from London with a cargo that included £111 worth of goods for James Carroll.⁸⁹ Apparently, Brown became ill during his stay in Maryland and he died in October of 1720. James Carroll served as the administrator of Captain Brown's estate and took charge of settling his accounts, having his estate appraised, and moving his goods to a storehouse.⁹⁰

These transactions show James Carroll acting as a manager of Colmore's local Maryland agents and a collaborator with ship captains employed by Colmore in planning strategies to make the best of a cargo and managing goods. The pattern of activity illustrates the many hands through which a product passed between London and its ultimate buyer in Maryland. Linking these hands into a coordinated commercial system was a task that required reliable data, trusted authority, and good business sense. Carroll's relationship with Colmore was based on his being able to supply these services reliably.

In time, Carroll's handling of the wine importation led to hard feelings between him and Colmore with the result that highlighted the importance of a merchant's daybook as a commercial record. In the years after the importation, Colmore sued Carroll. The Maryland courts ruled that Carroll would have to make copies of his daybook records of

89. Carroll, 83.

90. Ibid., 120.

his management of the wine cargo and supply them to Colmore as evidence of his work.⁹¹

Carroll's success as an Atlantic merchant was based on the concepts of credit, trust and accountability. In this instance, the daybook is shown to be an instrument insuring accountability.

VII. Conclusion

Credit and trust were the two chief elements of the Atlantic economy, and both were founded on reliable accounts. On one level, the commerce of the eighteenth-century was comprised of tobacco, enslaved people, and goods, but on a more significant level, it was made up of numbers representing values received and accounts due. James Carroll built a significant part of his fortune on his ability to manage the data generated in the wake of merchant ships navigating the thousands of miles between the widely scattered ports of the Atlantic world. He was also effective at monitoring what buyers and sellers in Maryland owed and at keeping their accounts clear. His ability to record and manage numbers gave him the opportunity to own, employ, trade with, and hold accountable a wide range of people. He was a go-between whose work brought buyers and sellers together. He was one of a type of merchant who wove the Atlantic into a network of commerce, an essential intermediary who gave distant, large-scale merchants

91. Maryland State Archives. Colmore v. Carroll. Chancery Proceedings, Lib. J. R. no. 1, Fol. 98. 19th July, 1725.—Ordered, that all books, papers and vouchers in the answer referred to be subjected to the order of this Court, and lodged with the register for the complainant's perusal; and that he may take copies thereof, if he thinks proper; and the originals to be returned to the defendant within ten days after lodging them. Ordered, that James Carroll, the defendant, pay Mr. Colmore's, the plaintiff's, charge for the copy of those books he lodged, unless he show cause to the contrary.

access to local retail buyers and who arranged the terms by which small-scale buyers gained access to market goods. His singular example of commerce is illustrative of the workings of credit, trust and accountability, the main features of market economy as it evolved in Maryland in the second decade of the 1700s.

Chapter 6 Spending Wealth in Mid-Career: Consumption and Gentility

I. Consumer Goods and Social Status

While the preceding two chapters showed how James Carroll earned his wealth, this chapter discusses how he used his gains to acquire goods for himself and compensate his employees. Carroll lived in an era when unprecedented numbers of people in the British world had an opportunity to participate in a consumer economy. While buying and using items were not new activities, the early eighteenth century witnessed the emergence of a new consensus of how goods could be used to display social status. Over time, owning fashionable goods and using them admirably would be essential to an ever-widely accepted concept of gentility.¹ By dressing in fashionable clothing, following respected conventions of action while dining, and by adhering to a code of behavior in social interaction, a person of James Carroll's day could manage the way in which others perceived him. To the extent that he was conscious of doing so, every man was an actor and the world was a stage. Consumer goods provided the essential costumes and props that gave every social performance the ring of authenticity before the eyes of a critical audience. Every ambitious man and woman was at once self-fashioned and fashioned by

1. Carr and Walsh, "Changing Lifestyles," 61 The authors noted that "the culture of gentility became a means of emphasizing social differences and fueling social competition. Members of the seventeenth-century planter elite had signified their positions with large holdings of land and labor, the sources of their wealth, and these remained basic elements of hierarchical distinctions. But near the turn of the century colonial men of wealth and power began to signal their rank through elegance in lifestyle. By the 1760s, the social position of anyone could be gauged not just by wealth or offices held but by their dress, household arrangement, and social ceremonies."

the world. To the extent that a person could seize the opportunity to self-fashion, however, this was an age of opportunity.²

This chapter examines James Carroll's purchases from merchants and his use of consumer goods as forms of payment to servants and employees. It presents a local, small-scale case study of the use of consumer goods that coheres with a great deal of published scholarship on the era. The years discussed, 1715–18, for example, were within the early decades of the century identified by historians Lois G. Carr and Lorena S. Walsh as the time when wealthy Anne Arundel County probate inventories first reflected patterns of consumer buying.³ These decades were also within the period of 1698-1732 identified by historian Anne Smart Martin when the number of retail shops in London grew rapidly.⁴ As Martin noted, the consumer economy centered on London and

2. Martin, "Buying into the World of Goods," 108-109. "By the early seventeenth century... polite culture was not only a matter of conforming to rules to promote social differentiation, but also being sensitive to the opinions of others, even one's inferiors. There was an increasing sense of the audience watching – that external behavior was the means to measure a man's worth. Tools for social conformity proliferated. Knowing how to behave became increasingly complex, for not only did rules proliferate, but varied by place, time and the company one kept. Each set of relationships carried its own specifics; how to act with superior, inferior, and equal, all of which could be subdivided into gender and age.

To these manners – tools of social conformity – were added new tools of civilization; forks, napkins, and handkerchiefs were needed to prevent touching the food, wiping the face on the tablecloth, or your nose on your hand. One needed not only rules of correct action, but props with which to perform them. By the eighteenth century, rules and tools had begun to spread through the middling ranks." Also, see Chapter 1 of this dissertation for additional discussion of the scholarship that influenced my thinking with respect to this assertion.

3 Carr and Walsh, "Changing Lifestyles," 66. "Over the first quarter of the eighteenth-century change accelerated in the households of the rich and powerful. They began to acquire a greater array of material goods that permitted a style of living truly different from that of more ordinary people."

4. Martin, "Buying into the World of Goods," 164.

made that city the hub of fashion and source of finished goods for British and colonial buyers.⁵

When James Carroll bought clothing, textiles, and glassware from 1715 – 1718, he made purchases either from London merchants, specifically John Hyde and Thomas Colmore, or Maryland merchants serving as factors for British firms, specifically Patrick Sympson and John Ouchterlong, who were agents for London merchant Gilbert Higgonson. Although he lived across the Atlantic, Carroll spent money to incorporate some measure of London style into his wardrobe and home and used these items to dress and conduct the everyday social ceremonies of his life in a more elegant manner.⁶ Similarly, when he conveyed clothing and textiles to his employees as purchases made for them or as forms of payment, he gave them an opportunity to adopt lesser but significant elements of London fashion in their own wardrobes. When they dressed, they reflected their degree of access to admired fashion and distinguished themselves from others who were not as fortunate.

5. Ibid., 166.

6. Anne Smart Martin, “Makers, Buyers, and Users: Consumerism in a Material Culture Framework,” *Winterthur Portfolio* 28, (1993): 153. “One of the harbingers of changing lifestyles was more elaborate equipment for dining, as leisurely consumption of food and drink left the ale houses and feast days and came into households. At the same time, entertaining began to mean eating more elaborate foods, requiring new equipment and furnishings: tables and more chairs for seating, more and different kinds of dishes for ‘genteel victuals,’ and cutlery and napkins to eat in a new civilized manner. Also new was equipment for tea – an increasingly elaborated set of props for brewing, straining, pouring, serving, and drinking. The popularity of card games led to card tables; nighttime entertainment required more lighting. New attention to personal appearance and fashion led to proliferation of forms for the storage of clothes, wigs and jewelry and for sewing, the dressing of hair, and the viewing of the results.”

Many of the purchases discussed in this chapter involved articles of clothing or cloth. Their predominance raises questions of why clothing was desired and how it was useful. The desirability of clothing was probably related to its unprecedented affordability. As historian Carole Shammas pointed out, cloth was only half as costly in 1750 as it had been six decades earlier. Carroll and his contemporary Marylanders were the beneficiaries of a flood of European and Asian imports that drove the price of English cloth down and offered the consumer both greater variety and better prices.⁷ Carroll's daybook indicates that he and his employees responded to this buyer's market by enhancing their wardrobes.

The greater supply of textiles accentuated the trend toward what Carr and Walsh termed "gentility" and historian Richard Bushman called "refinement."⁸ Carroll's daybook suggests that he was keenly aware of the importance of being well dressed with different outfits for various occasions. His employees and servants seemed to be also interested in dressing to advantage. Despite their reduced means they did what they

7. Carole Shammas, "The Decline of Textile Prices in England and British America Prior to Industrialization," *The Economic History Review*, 47, (1994): 483, 484, 504. "Textile prices in the thirteen colonies fell even more substantially between the later seventeenth and later eighteenth century. The issue of price is important for a number of reasons, not the least being its impact upon material well being...According to the inventories, prices per yard... were comparatively high in the first half of the seventeenth century and by the end of that century or early in the following century... had fallen to about one half of their late sixteenth-century levels... The impetus for decline in Europe seems to have been fierce competition from new, lighter, and lower priced textiles produced in Europe and Asia."

8. Carr and Walsh, "Changing Lifestyles," 60. "Not until the early nineteenth century did cleanliness become socially important. Until then, these changes concerned increasing attractiveness and elegance in living quarters and dress, greater individual use of space and utensils, and increased emphasis on manners and social ceremony. In the eighteenth century these could be summed up in the word 'gentility.'" See also, Richard L. Bushman, *The Refinement of America*.

could to acquire stylish clothing. The difference in the number and quality of their purchases suggests that admiration was earned in degrees of performance. Carroll aspired to the elite ranks of society, and he dressed in rich and varied costumes. Seen in context with his purchases of soap, glassware and other domestic furnishings, his use of clothing was part of a larger pattern of graceful conduct that marked him as a member of the social elite.⁹ On the lower levels, individuals acted to buy visible elements of costume and often in single units. They outfitted themselves to look as well dressed or better dressed than others of their social rank.

The new availability of textiles spurred one dimension of a broadly based cultural change that involved the consumer market as a means to achieving new badges of status. England during the seventeenth century witnessed the start of a consumer revolution in which the “warlord gave way to the landlord.”¹⁰ With the return of peace in 1714, James

9 Martin, “Buying into the World of Goods,” 112. “Elite culture can thus be broken down into several key components, all of which were in flux in the eighteenth century. First, an elite was an educated man or woman of taste, trained to pursue the best in language, literature, and the arts, and to express that taste in the environment in which he lived through architecture and furnishings. Second, that genteel person had a set of rules and behaviors that created a self-conscious scripted world of action, which, in its most elaborate form, distinguished him of her from the less worthy by even stance and facial composure. Third, those behaviors and environments were to be enjoyed in the company of peers in pleasurable activities or sociabilities. The performer needed an audience. This code or ethos or value system became a lingua franca recognized from London to the colonies. It was a man’s calling card and credit, his entrance to marriage and business.”

10. Carole Shammas, “The Determinants of Personal Wealth in Seventeenth-Century England and America,” *The Journal of Economic History*, 37, (Sept. 1977), 675. “Seventeenth-century England and, to a lesser degree, its overseas possessions in America are usually considered ascriptive societies where wealth primarily depended on one’s patrimony. Yet these areas were by no means simple traditional communities. In the view of many historians, the seventeenth century was the time when changes that had been in the making for generations actually took place. The warlord gave way to the landlord, a ‘commercial revolution’ occurred. London, the metropolis, grew to an unparalleled size; male literacy rose to include a third or more of the adult population,

Carroll's Maryland began to feel the impact of this revolution. For Carroll, it was a timely development that gave him a chance to both augment his holdings in consumer goods and to pursue new paths to fortune.

Stripped of all prospects in Ireland, barred from the professions of law or medicine, and with his family property confiscated, James Carroll was in Maryland in pursuit of the opportunity to build a new fortune from scratch, to acquire what he called the sweets of independence. He worked toward this goal in three ways: he used politics to attempt to gain authority in the colony; he pursued wealth as a planter and merchant; and he acquired and used material goods to present himself in the most favorable way.

Carroll's commercial activities made him an active participant in a market economy, but his use of consumer goods was not very simple. He did not acquire goods only to emulate the elite, but also to defy them. By owning the things the elite valued and by using them to perform social rituals in a graceful way, he could flaunt his Catholicism in the face of his hostile Protestant contemporaries. In Maryland he could be a Catholic gentleman in a Protestant society.

The value of Carroll's daybook as a source, however, is that it shows far more than his individual consumer buying. Carroll was at the head of a plantation economy, but he also employed others and had indentured servants and enslaved people working on his property who also acted as consumers. The individuals represented different levels of wealth and had vastly different opportunities to acquire goods. This chapter shows that despite their differences in station and opportunity, the buyers of all social ranks

extended kinship declined noticeably and the concept of political deference received some nasty shocks."

particularly desired clothing.¹¹ While Carroll could be argued to be emulating the fashionable people in the British world of his time, and his employees as emulating him in their desire for new clothing, they were also acting locally, displaying themselves as equally or better dressed than others of their station in Maryland. It would be predictable that an elite merchant like Carroll would use consumer goods to set himself on par or above other prominent people of his day or to assert his respectability in a time when his political future was uncertain. A less obvious topic discussed in this chapter is the keen interest in clothing shared by Carroll's free employees, an interest that reflected their desire to display themselves to advantage. The least affluent consumers discussed were a trusted enslaved couple for whom Carroll purchased cloth and colored thread. Consumer buying offered them a way to distinguish their clothing from that of their peers, suggesting that the desire to display status through goods extended to individuals of all ranks of life who had the opportunity to participate. This broad-scale desire for admirable clothing suggests that visual display worked. Clothing proclaimed the man or woman who wore it, and Carroll and his associates used the consumer market to gain respect, fashioning incremental advances in status through each consumer purchase.

11. The desirability of cloth as a consumer good was illustrated in a letter London merchant Gilbert Higgonson wrote to British suppliers in August, 1718. "We desire you would return us on our own account the very first opportunity the under mentioned linens, for we shall have potent occasions for them to answer our order from Virginia and Maryland. Pray, let them be good, well made cloth, as we do not insist upon the exact quantities or process as hereafter mentioned the sending of our linens good and cheap will much contribute to the improving our correspondency." "The Higgonson and Bird Letterbook", Letter # 1477.

II. Purchasing from Merchants

Unfortunately, the more than 2500 entries in Carroll's daybook include only a few itemized lists of goods bought from merchants, but these are consistent and warrant analysis. Reading them in conjunction with a study of the items Carroll bought for servants and employees provides a context for interpreting what he valued and how he used consumer goods. Four underlying social rules become discernible from reading these transactions: access to consumer goods was the key element in achieving gentility; the variety and cleanliness of clothing were important signs of elevated status; consumer goods were important elements in an employee's or servant's compensation; and local retail stores and gentry homes were significant locations for the diffusion of gentility.

The transactions with the merchants listed below were especially important because they provided lists of consumer goods that Carroll acquired in 1715. This was the only year of his life documented in this regard. An explanation for the absence of later lists of purchased items was that Carroll's commerce changed in scale over the years. In 1715, Carroll was trading primarily on a local scale, earning his income from his Anne Arundel County plantations and managing the records of the proprietary rent system. After 1716, he was involved in commerce on a larger scale. In later years, he served as a source of credit for Marylanders, handled large financial transactions for London merchant Thomas Colmore, and imported enslaved people. His accounts from the latter period mostly concern his dealing in bills of exchange and the monetary details of a slave importation venture. His purchases of goods were far larger in these years, but none of them was itemized in his daybook. A simple explanation is that when he was trading locally, his daybook was on the counter as each transaction was made, and that

the later purchases were listed in inventories originating in London and kept in separate files that no longer exist.

The lists of purchases from merchants are analyzed according to the following set of categories that indicate the utility of the various items:

Table 15 The Categories of Use Applied in this Chapter

Food	Dining Equipment	Medicine	Grooming Items
Clothing	Cloth or Materials for Clothing	Religious Items	
Tools	Cash/Credit	Books and Instruments	

John Hyde was a London merchant who bought tobacco from James Carroll. Considering what he received from Hyde suggests how Carroll wished to spend his money in 1715. The finished clothing, material, and thread listed demonstrate Carroll's intention to present an elegant appearance. They also illustrate how access to imported goods was the divider between ordinary and graceful conduct of social activities. This list reflects a social world in which owning admired goods signified status and that status was performed with goods rather than being linked directly to inherited position or occupation.

Table 16 Items Received from John Hyde, December, 1715

Date	Daybook Page	Item	Value
12/7/15	40	2 beverettes @ 1/4	2.08.00
12/7/15	40	3 pair men's best rolled wash gloves	0.07.09
12/7/15	40	3 pair ditto for: wash ditto @ 2/6	0.07.06
12/7/15	40	3 largest soft silk handkerchief 6 s	0.18.00
12/7/15	40	3 Richest double handkerchief at 7/4	1.02.00
12/7/15	40	4 1/2 yards superfine blankets	7.17.06
12/7/15	40	4 1/2 yards fine cloth @ 32 s per yard	7.04.00
12/7/15	40	14 3/4 yards ditto at 9 s per yard	6.17.09
12/7/15	40	18 yards shaloons at 3/4 per yard	3.00.00
12/7/15	40	15 yards co dimity at 2 s	1.10.00
12/7/15	40	3 yards vermillion @ 2/2	0.07.00
12/7/15	40	6 yards buckram at 1/9	0.11.00
12/7/15	40	6 yards wadding	0.05.00
12/7/15	40	9 dozen buttons	0.18.00
12/7/15	40	15 dozen buttons	0.10.00
12/7/15	40	felt mohair thread	1.03.00
12/7/15	40	canvas	0.02.00
12/7/15	40	Apothecary	
12/7/15	40	2 salts Salzburg	1.12.00
12/7/15	40	1 Family box of medicines	3.00.00
12/7/15	40	box of 4 bottles	0.10.00

Table 17 Items from John Hyde Categorized by Use

Food	Dining Equipment	Medicine	Grooming Items
		2 salts Salzburg	1.12.0
		1 Family box of medicines	3.00.0
		box of 4 bottles	0.10.0

Clothing	Cloth or Materials for Clothing		Religious Items	
2 beverettes @ 1/4	2.08.0	4 1/2 yards superfine black cloth	7.17.6	
3 pair men's best rolled wash	0.07.9	4 1/2 yards fine cloth @ 32 s per yard	7.04.0	
3 pair ditto for: wash ditto	0.07.6	14 3/4 yards ditto at 9 s per yard	6.17.9	
3 soft silk handkerchief 6 s	0.18.0	18 yards shaloons at 3/4 per yard	3.00.0	
3 Richest double salince handkerchief at 7/4	1.02.0	15 yards co. dimity at 2 s	1.10.0	
		3 yards vermillion @ 2/2	0.07.0	
		6 yards buckram at 1/9	0.11.0	
		6 yards wadding	0.05.0	
		9 dozen coat buttons	0.18.0	
		15 dozen ditto bright	0.10.0	
		felt mohair thread	1.03.0	
		canvas	0.02.0	
Tools	Cash/Credit			Books and Instruments

The overall value of these items was £37.0.6 of which 83.9% or £31.18.6 was textile related. Eight of the nineteen items were finished wearing apparel, including two hats, six pairs of stockings, and six handkerchiefs. Seven of the items were materials for fine clothing. The other two items were canvas and blanket material. In the other lists of

clothing he made, Carroll indicated the person other than himself for whom each item was intended, making it probable that all of these items were for his own use. The list shows him to be acquiring material that he could then take to a skilled tailor. In this way, his appearance wearing the clothing would be a negotiated product with him supplying the cloth and thread and the tailor the skill in fashioning the garment.

The most expensive items on the list were hats, each worth over a pound. Their cost can be seen in context by noting that, a few months earlier, Carroll had paid a carpenter that amount of money for ten days' work.¹² Carroll's daybook lists two grades of hat, fancy and plain. Soon after, for example, Carroll bought eight hats from Londontown merchant Patrick Sympson. Three were quite expensive: two gold and one silver lace hat (hats decorated with gold or silver lace stitching) cost just over a pound each. He also bought five felt hats from Sympson for five shillings each. Headwear was important to Carroll. In addition to these hats, he owned a wig and several knit caps. Hats were also important as compensation. A few months after the purchases from Hyde and Sympson, Carroll sold his most trusted employee, George Douglass, a gold lace hat.¹³ Wearing an expensive hat was putting on a recognizable sign of elite status, displaying objective evidence that a man was able to afford a rare version of an everyday item. In selling such a hat to Douglass, Carroll was using clothing to proclaim the man in an improved way. Owning an expensive hat elevated Douglass above Carroll's other employees and enabled him to stand out among others of his social level. There was

12. Ibid., 5.

13. Ibid., 23D.

more to an elite performance than wearing a hat, but Douglass was taking a step toward acquiring the appearance.

Silk handkerchiefs were another fashion accessory listed in the items received from Hyde. Carroll owned sixteen of them in 1715, and he took nine with him to England in 1716.¹⁴ While Douglass and other employees received various types of clothing from Carroll, only his most favored employee, George Douglass, received a handkerchief.¹⁵ The handkerchiefs were fashionable versions of a practical piece of cloth, suggesting that Carroll used snuff, but did so elegantly. His packing a silver snuffbox in his sea chest when he sailed to England in 1716 also indicated his use of snuff.¹⁶ Whether or not Carroll used snuff, his handkerchiefs were an example of fashion elevating a mundane activity. Carroll's handkerchiefs would have made even his sneezes an occasion for the decorative unfurling of an expensive silk cloth.

The third type of finished clothing on the list, six pairs of stockings, reflected another element of Carroll's interest in presenting a fashionable appearance. Stockings were highly visible in an era of short breeches, and fine stockings showed a well-shaped leg to advantage. Carroll owned twenty-four pairs of stockings of seven types in 1715. As he had with hats, he also gave his most favored employees and servants stockings. For instance, George¹⁷ and Anne Douglass,¹⁸ Jonathan Groves,¹⁹ Carroll's joiner, Robert

14. Ibid., 55.

15. Ibid., 23D.

16. Ibid., 55.

17. Ibid., 23D.

18. Ibid., 47D.

Brooks,²⁰ and an overseer named Titus Pennington²¹ all received stockings. This type of clothing seemed to be a visible sign of having a modicum of status. Stockings were not practical in a tobacco colony with muddy roads, and wearing clean hose would indicate that a man was above fieldwork. Their value to farm overseers would be as a badge of some distinction. When given to a servant whose duties are unknown, such as Groves, they suggest either that his work was not in the field or, as in the case of Pennington; they were worn when not working. For a planter such as Carroll, owning many pairs of stockings would be useful in that his superior quantity of them would contrast his legs with those of less elite men owning few or none. Carroll's buying stockings from Hyde demonstrates that presenting himself in clean and varied clothing was an important goal for him and others who could afford consumer goods.

The interest in fashionable presentation seen in Carroll's list of items received from John Hyde was also apparent in the list of his apparel that Carroll made in September of 1715.²² It is not clear why he chose that moment to inventory his clothing, but the list is fortuitous with respect to its timing and the sense of color it adds to an understanding of how James Carroll chose to present himself. Carroll also made a list on

19. Ibid., 6D.

20. Ibid., 58D.

21. Ibid., 70D.

22. Ibid., 21.

May 9, 1716, which consists mostly of the same items, with some increase in stockings and handkerchiefs.²³

Carroll divided his list by categories and listed the value of each item. The total value was £55.5.8 and did not include hats, wigs, gloves, shoes, or boots. It is not clear why Carroll omitted these items. Carroll mentioned each several times in various accounts. It is possible that the omitted items were associated with outdoor use and not considered apparel in the same sense as those listed. The items listed were all of imported cloth and most were made by a tailor to fit Carroll; perhaps they were considered to be more associated with his individual display than the types of clothing not listed.

Table 18 A List of James Carroll's Apparel Taken on

Date	Daybook Page		
		Item	Value
		Clothes	
10/14/15	21	1 rateen suit coat waist coat and britches	2.10.0
10/14/15	21	1 silk drugget ditto fuller	1.15.0
10/14/15	21	1 fine broad cloth ditto was L 8.8 bought of Peele	8.00.0
10/14/15	21	1 black broad cloth coat	2.00.0
10/14/15	21	1 Vermillion ditto	0.10.0
10/14/15	21	1 drugget coat and wash coat (Lock)	2.00.0
10/14/15	21	1 pair serge ditto lime britches (Larken)	1.05.0
10/14/15	21	1 set pairs of britches front trimmed in gold	1.00.0
10/14/15	21	1 new coat pillows trimmed in black	2.10.0
10/14/15	21	2 pair striped ticking britches	1.00.0
10/14/15	21	1 new ticking waistcoat and two new pair britches lined through with dimity	1.15.0

23. There is no telling why Carroll made the clothing inventory when he did. One guess is that he did so to protect himself from theft by his newly acquired adult servant, John Groves.

10/14/15	21	1 pair new checked lined britches ditto	1.15.0
10/14/15	21	1 pair osnaburg britches	0.03.0
10/14/15	21	3 flannel waistcoats	0.09.0
10/14/15	21	1 pair holland drawers	0.02.6
10/14/15	21	1 blue cloak laced with gold	5.00.0
			Total: £31.14.6
		Shirts	
10/14/15	21	6 holland shirts	6.15.0
10/14/15	21	6 very fine ditto	9.00.6
10/14/15	21	9 muslin neck cloths	2.16.0
10/14/15	21	8 stocks ditto	0.08.0
10/14/15	21	6 night caps	0.09.0
10/14/15	21	1 pair ruffles (they what remains of 10 pair more)	0.02.6
10/14/15	21	1 knit cap	0.00.6
10/14/15	21	1 large milled ditto new	0.02.0
			Total: £19.13.6
		Handkerchiefs	
10/14/15	21	3 new fine large silk	0.18.0
5/9/16	48	10 handkerchiefs in all	
		Stockings	
10/14/15	21	2 pair milled yarn	0.05.0
10/14/15	21	5 pair milled worsted	1.05.0
10/14/15	21	9 pair short black ditto	0.02.0
10/14/15	21	1 pair stirrup yarn	0.02.6
10/14/15	21	1 pair boot	0.02.6
10/14/15	21	5 pair thread: 5	0.10.0
10/14/15	21	1 pair more ditto	0.02.0
5/9/16	48	29 pair in all	
			Total: £2.19.0
		Sashes	
10/14/15	21	1 India old sash	0.1.0
10/14/15	21	1 ditto worsted	0.0.6

The most valuable category was the list of nineteen articles of clothing worth a total of £31.14.6. This category included coats, britches, waistcoats, drawers, and a cloak. Carroll owned three suits, each with a coat, waistcoat, and britches. The most valuable was a broadcloth suit he had purchased from Londontown merchant Samuel Peele for £8. The second was a rateen suit worth £2.10.0, and the third was a silk suit

worth £1.15.0. It is interesting that Carroll would record the origin of the most expensive suit. Perhaps it was to cite the merchant as a witness to its value in case of theft.²⁴

The other items in this category were evocative of the role of color in the day's male fashion, and they reinforced the notion that clothing was a visible sign of status.²⁵ Carroll owned a broadcloth coat worth £2, a drugget coat, and a vermillion colored coat. Of his six pairs of britches, two were lined with dimity, but the rest were quite colorful. One pair was lime colored, two were striped, and one was checked. He also owned a pair of osnaburg britches worth only about 15% of the £1 value of each of the other pairs. Counting those that were parts of suits, Carroll owned seven waistcoats, three of which were flannel. His single most colorful garment, though, was a blue coat laced with gold, valued at £5. The value of the clothing listed in this category of the inventory emphasizes the wealth of its owner. The variety of the items suggests that Carroll was interested in dressing in a way that presented him to advantage in a variety of situations. He had outfitted himself in a way that made his assertion of elite status readily visible.

The next category of Carroll's list itemized his shirts, neck cloths, and caps. He owned twelve holland shirts, nine muslin neck cloths, and eight stocks. The quantities of these items reinforce the idea that he was able to wear a completely different suit of

24. Carroll's silk suit suggests how fashions involving several layers of coordinated clothing, fashions appropriate for a colder climate, could be accommodated to the stifling Chesapeake summer.

25. Bushman, *The Refinement of America*, 70. "Bright colors instantly marked a person of rank and fortune. Poorer people wore the dull, natural browns, greens, and off-whites of homespun clothing colored with vegetable dyes which blended with the hues of the natural world." Citing Anne Buck, *Dress in Eighteenth Century England*, 189,197.

clothing each day, indicating an interest in signaling his refinement by his cleanliness in an age when few could afford to do so.²⁶

Carroll's list of apparel also included eight caps. The explanation is that James Carroll wore a wig. In one account, he recorded having bought a wig,²⁷ and another mentioned his receiving one from Patrick Sympson to balance a transaction.²⁸ He also bought hair powder at Sympson's store.²⁹ Six of the caps he listed were nightcaps, and two were knit caps. Clearly, the caps were for indoor use, but their number suggests that Carroll wore them often. This highlights his intentional composition of an image for social presentation. There were public occasions when a wig gave the desired impression, and others, probably more private, when he desired to wear a more comfortable cap. Carroll's owning an expensive milled cap suggests that he was attentive to having an audience even when he was not wearing a wig.

Carroll's other itemized lists of purchased goods made in 1715 echo themes mentioned above and introduce new aspects of his use of consumer goods. Carroll's daybook contains itemized lists of goods bought from three Maryland merchants: Prince George's County merchant, Robert Tyler, who was also a member of the Upper House of

26. Bushman, *The Refinement of America*, 71. "The genteel were required to wear clean, fine linen at throat and wrists. Every male and female portrait shows fine white fabric at these points, and usually lace at the sleeve ends. Although Nicholas Ridgley had only two suits when he died, he had nine fine holland shirts. When George Washington visited Belvoir as a young man, he packed nine white shirts and white stockings. The genteel image required fine white fabric where skin met suit or dress, revealing that the immaculate body was covered by a film of white cloth." (Citing Buck, 68, 138, 197).

27. Carroll, 44C.

28. Ibid., 32C.

29. Ibid., 39.

the Assembly, Patrick Sympson of Londontown, and John Ouchterlong, Sympson's agent on the Patapsco River, near the site of today's city of Baltimore. These lists further demonstrate Carroll's interest in equipping himself to make a fashionable appearance, but they also show how receiving consumer goods and having an opportunity to select items in a store were important aspects of a servant or employee's compensation. Third, these transactions give a sense of Carroll's plantation as a household, including entries for food, household items, and tools of various types.

Carroll recorded several separate transactions with Tyler involving his having received tobacco which Carroll then redeemed in store goods. Carroll traded with Tyler on several occasions in 1715. Two charts present the transactions. One is chronological and demonstrates the sequential pattern of exchanges that took place over several months. Transactions that were not consumer purchases are included in the first chart to illustrate the role of the merchant as a source of local credit and as an agent collecting tobacco in exchange for credit. The items are combined in a second chart and arranged by category.

Table 19 A Chronology of James Carroll's 1715 Trade with Robert Tyler

Date	Daybook Page	Item	Values
9/3/15	49 C	List of Merchandise	Value T = in Tobacco
		2 quilts	940 T
9/3/15	6 D	his examiners fees of Tyler's Pasture	30 T
9/3/15	6 D	his assumption for Reuben Ross	400 T
10/3/15	49 C	List of Merchandise	
10/3/15	49 C	2 packs of playing cards 22	
10/3/15	49 C	19 ells of Hollanback Sheeting 855	

10/3/15	49 C	2 lbs. of ginger 20	0.02.0
10/3/15	49 C	Total:	897 T
12/3/15	49 C	List of Merchandise	
12/3/15	49 C	1 gross coat gimp 20	
12/3/15	49 C	1 curb bridle 24	
12/3/15	49 C	6 yds of cheercorns 180	
12/3/15	49 C	1 pair garden shears 2£	
12/3/15	49 C	Totals: 224 T 2 £	
12/21/15	6 D	tobacco by Jonathan Prallor for me	324 T
12/21/15	6 D	2 wine glasses not delivered being left on his counter	8 T
2/13/15	6 D	my order on Thomas Clegget to pay the balance of my account	846 T
2/13/15	6 D	my order on Jno. Powell for an heavy hogshead paid as per rent	548 T
2/13/15	6 D	my order on Eliz. Burke for an heavy hogshead paid as per rent	608 T
12/21/15	6 D	List of Merchandise calculated in tobacco	
12/21/15	6 D	4 pair of shoes for self	100 T
12/21/15	6 D	2 pair of Wm. Douglass	50 T
12/21/15	6 D	12 yards of calaminco at 14 per yard.	160 T
12/21/15	6 D	10 yards of calaminco at 14 per yard.	140 T
12/21/15	6 D	1 stone jug	8 T
12/21/15	6 D	2 pair of sheep shears	18 T
12/21/15	6 D	1 cheese 12 lb.	48 T
12/21/15	6 D	3 pair more roll up hose 84	
12/21/15	6 D	4 pair plains	100 T
12/21/15	6 D	2 ells hammells	8 T
12/21/15	6 D	6 wine glasses	24 T
12/21/15	6 D	1 pair falls for my man Jno Groves	25 T
12/21/15	6 D	1 pair of yarn hose for Jno Groves	10 T
12/21/15	6 D	1 pair of small steel cards	60 T
12/21/15	6 D	2 combs	6 T
3/23/15	6 D	my order on Sam. Howard	2000 T
3/23/15	6 D	my order on Robert Wood	500 T
3/23/15	6 D	my order on Col. William Holland	600 T
5/16/16	49 C	List of Merchandise Values in £	
5/16/16	49	1 Flanders ticking	1.05.0
5/16/16	49	1 double ground	1.00.0
5/16/16	49	1 assorted needles	0.00.7
5/16/16	49	1 (illegible) cost but 6/8/ he charges	0.09.0
5/16/16	49	1 piece of cantaloon 56 1/4 yds.	1.03.6
5/16/16	49	6 yds linen at 180 1/4 at 10d per ell	7.10.2
5/16/16	49	1 child's coat	0.06.0

5/16/16	49	2 pieces yds wide stuff at 8 d per 45 in	2.23.1
5/16/16	49	32 1/2 gallons of Madeira wine at 9 s. per pipe	2.08.8
5/16/16	49	1 piece of half thick at 38 yds at	2.01.4
5/16/16	49	1 gross of black coat buttons	0.05.0
5/16/16	49	1 gross ditto bright	0.02.6
5/16/16	49	8 hanks silk to 8 oz 9/4	0.01.9
5/16/16	49	1 gross gimp buttons	0.01.6
5/16/16	49	1 gross ditto bright	0.01.0
5/16/16	49	2 ells brown ticklenburg (illegible)	0.01.4
5/16/16	49	1 piece duroy	1.16.0
5/16/16	49	1 piece narrow checks	1.08.0
5/16/16	49	3 pieces German Linen	4.13.8
5/16/16	49	2 pieces colored binding	0.02.4
5/16/16	49	27 lb. clayed sugar at 3 lb. tob. per	81 T
5/16/16	49	33 white sugar at 5 lb. tob. per	165 T
5/16/16	49	my order on Col. Holland not paid	600 T
5/16/16	49	1 piece of lace 17 1/2 yds. at 2/6	600 T
5/16/16	49	1 piece ditto of 13 1/4 yds. at 1/6	0.19.10
		Totals	1446 T £ 28.8

Table 20

Carroll's Trade with Robert Tyler Categorized by Use

Food		Dining Equipment		Medicine	Grooming Items
2 lbs. of ginger 20	0.02.0	1 stone jug	8 T		
1 cheese 12 lb.	48 T	6 wine glasses	24 T		
32 1/2 gallons of Madeira wine at 9 s. per pipe	2.08.8				
27 lb. clayed sugar at 3 lb. tob. per	81 T				
33 white sugar at 5 lb. tob. per	165 T				

Clothing		Cloth or Materials		Religious Items	
4 pair of shoes for self	100 T	1 gross coat gimp buttons	20 T		
2 pair of Wm. Douglass	50 T	6 yds. of cheercorns	180 T		
3 pair more roll up hose 84		12 yards of calaminco at 14 per yard.	160 T		
4 pair plains	100 T	10 yards of calaminco at 14 per yard.	140 T		
1 pair falls for my man Jno Groves	25 T	2 ells hammells	8 T		
1 pair of yarn hose for Jno Groves	10 T	1 Flanders ticking	1.05.0		
1 child's coat	0.06.0	1 double ground (lace)	1.00.0		
		1 assorted needles	0.00.7		
		1 piece of cantaloons 56 1/4 yds.	1.03.6		
		6 yds linen at 180 1/4 at 10d per ell	7.10.2		
		2 pieces yds wide stuff at 8 d per 45 in	2.23.1		
		1 piece of half thick at 38 yds at	2.01.4		
		1 gross of black coat buttons	0.05.0		

		1 gross ditto bright	0.02.6		
		8 hanks silk to 8 oz 9/4	0.1.9		
		1 gross gimp buttons	0.01.6		
		1 gross ditto bright	0.01.0		
		2 ells brown hicklinlongs at 8	0.1.4		
		1 piece duroy	1.16.0		
		1 piece narrow checks	1.08.0		
		3 pieces German Linen	4.13.8		
		2 pieces colored binding	0.02.4		
		1 piece of lace 17 1/2 yds at 2/6	600 T		
		1 piece ditto at 11 oz of 13 1/4 yds at 1/6	0.19.10		
Domestic Furnishings	Gaming Equipment	Livestock Related	Crops		
2 quilts	940 T	2 packs of playing cards	22 T	1 curb bridle	24 T
				2 pair of sheep shears	18 T
				1 pair of small steel cards	60 T
				2 combs	6 T

Tools	Cash/Credit	Books and Instruments	
1 pair garden shears	2.00.0		

Carroll's purchases of clothing from Tyler were indicative of how access to consumer goods was part of an employee or servant's compensation. When he bought four pairs of inexpensive shoes for himself in December 1715, for example, he also bought two pairs for William Douglass, an adult related to George Douglass. At the same time, he bought hose for himself and for his newly arrived servant, Jonathan Groves. The intended recipient of the child's coat was not made clear.

Carroll's pattern of purchases in clothing from Robert Tyler indicated that he provided consumer goods to individuals who worked for him. To the extent that one had a choice, the justification for serving a planter such as Carroll would be to obtain store goods that gave a respectable appearance. This trickling down of elements of gentility suggests that status was negotiated visually and that one could improve his standing with his peers by serving people on higher rungs of the social ladder.

Two types of item on this list demonstrated that Carroll was not just buying consumer goods, but also producing items in his household for his own use. The list of material had the same sort of yardage mentioned in the Hyde list, though of different types of cloth. This list was different in containing needles. Someone in Carroll's household was a seamstress. It seems likely it was Anne Douglass. As noted above, Carroll later paid the Douglasses for making clothing, and in 1716 Carroll made extensive gifts of material to Anne Douglass as a gift for service to him. It seems,

most likely, that he was buying material from Tyler for her work. The second item indicating production was a set of wool-working tools listed. Carroll's daybook mentioned sheep in the spring of 1716, and these items suggest that shearing sheep and spinning yarn were activities he was equipping his household to perform.

Carroll also purchased food items from Tyler, buying large quantities of cheese, sugar and wine, along with ginger. It suggests that Carroll used luxury food items frequently, and kept a large store of them on hand. His employees also bought cider, rum and sugar from him. Carroll was well stocked for himself and his guests, having purchased a twelve-pound cheese, thirty-two gallons of wine, and sixty pounds of sugar. To facilitate enjoying these delicacies, he also bought a dozen spoons, six wine glasses, and a stone jug. As a gentry consumer, Carroll not only dressed well, but also ate and drank well and, by owning wine glasses, he did so with specialized equipment that made his use of wine a fashionable dining ritual, a sign of his being above mere drinking.

Other items were quilts and playing cards. While Carroll did not record any detailed information about the quilts, the playing cards were akin to the other gaming equipment Carroll owned and illustrated how he spent his leisure time. The daybook made no mention of his passing items such as these to his employees, suggesting that in addition to dress and food, the gentry were also distinct in having the time and money to gamble in comfort.³⁰

Patrick Sympson was the son-in-law of London merchant Gilbert Higgonson, and he represented that firm in Maryland.³¹ During 1715, Carroll attempted to exchange a

30. For a detailed discussion of the social role of gambling among the Chesapeake gentry see, Breen, "Horses and Gentlemen."

31. Earle, 69-73.

great deal of tobacco and tobacco notes received for rent collections due to the proprietary land office through this firm. He traded with Sympson at his store in Londontown on the South River, a town just a few miles northeast of Fingaul. Sympson also served as an important source of consumer goods for Carroll's servants, local people who traded with him on Carroll's credit, and local tradesmen with whom Carroll had dealings. Transactions between Carroll and these individuals often occurred at Sympson's store and included Carroll's providing access to items such as shoes and cloth through his own cash or through his credit with Sympson. Ouchterlong was a Higgonson and Bird agent operating on the Patapsco River.³² Carroll exchanged a great deal of land office tobacco with him in March of 1715, at which time Carroll purchased a valuable list of items for his plantation in nearby Elk Ridge.

Merchant Samuel Peele's 1733 estate inventory preserved estimate of what a Londontown store contained.³³ The store contained approximately £400 in goods. By value, textiles were the largest single item in the store's inventory. Just under £65 was in fine linens, and about £50 was in coarse cloth. The store also had mohair and buttons worth about £6. The inventory listed just over £100 in other types of clothing. Of this clothing, slightly over £36 was in haberdashery, £18 was in shoes, £6 was in hats, and £12 was in stockings. Non-clothing items were valued at almost £80. This category included spices and groceries, stationery, saddles, upholstery, cutlery, pewter and

32. "Higgonson and Bird Letterbook", letter #1641 In December of 1718, London merchant Gilbert Higgonson instructed Patrick Sympson that, "as Mr. John Ouchterlong thoroughly understands the purchase business and keeps his accounts regular, we intend to keep him employed provided he will come to England." Letter # 1721.

33. Earle, 72.

brassware, tin ware, ironware and earthenware. According to geographer Carville Earle, Peele's store inventory was representative of types of items available in Anne Arundel County stores of the period.³⁴

Carroll's transactions with Sympson were many and varied during 1715 and involved many exchanges related to Carroll's attempts to convert tobacco due from sheriffs and his settlement of credit accounts at Sympson's store. Carroll's transactions with Sympson have been listed in five charts (Tables 21 – 25). The first four charts present the dated transactions in which Carroll received a servant or consumer goods from Sympson. Table 25 organizes the purchases by use.

Carroll listed two sets of items purchased from Sympson on February 21, 1715. These exchanges were listed separately in his daybook to account for each being based on a separate account. The first was for £12.14.8 on the credit of H. Linthicum. The second was to redeem a credit of 8255 pounds of tobacco Carroll had built up through various notes. When considered together, these exchanges reinforce the points about consumer spending made above, but also include more domestic furnishings and one religious item.

Textiles were again an important part of the transactions, but the purchases from Sympson were of less valuable types of cloth. Osnaburgs, plain and canteloons might have been purchased to outfit his servants, employees, and slaves. The Scotch cloth was more costly and might have been for Carroll himself. The blue ribbon purchased was purely decorative, and unfortunately, no mention is made of its purpose.

As in his transactions with Tyler, Carroll bought thread from Sympson. In this instance, he spent almost £1 on thread. While the exact quantity cannot be discerned, the amount spent is slightly less than Carroll spent in his purchases with John Hyde. Carroll

also bought thread from John Ouchterlong in March of 1715. The thread in the Sympson and Ouchterlong transactions was plain brown thread, unlike the silk thread bought from Hyde. Viewed in context with Carroll's earlier purchase of needles, the thread purchases suggest that the employees and slaves not mentioned in store accounts were clothed in garments made at Fingaul. If so, their dress would signify a division in status with more favored employees wearing store-bought items such as stockings and hats.

Table 21 A Chronology of Carroll's 1715 Transactions with Patrick Sympson

Date	Daybook Page	Item	Value (in lbs. of tobacco)
9/23/15	10 C	a servant boy 856 T	856 T
9/23/15	10 C	my note to credit in goods Neale Clark	450T
9/23/15	10 C	goods he omitted to charge me 3848 T	3848 T
9/23/15	10 C	30 gal. of rum delivered at 27 T per gal.	
11/29/15	10 C	goods (illegible) 29 Nov. 1715 1891 T	1891 T
1/14/15	10 C	30 gal. of wine delivered at 20 T per gal.	
1/21/15	39	(list of items printed in the next table)	
2/10/15	32 C	one cask containing 30 gals. rum total	810 T
2/10/15	32 C	one side saddle	500 T
2/10/15	32 C	one small keg of rum at 5 gals.	135 T
2/28/15	32 D	12 hundred pounds of shot charged and not delivered	0
2/28/15	32 C	goods this day sold me to the value of	5148 T
2/28/15	32 C	one wig delivered to me in the hall	624 T
2/28/15	32 D	12 hundred pounds of shot charged and not delivered	0
5/19/16	32 C	hillings hoes delivered Nicholas St. Lawrence	217 T
5/19/16	32 C	two pair of shoes for Andrew	121 T

Table 22 Items Bought from Patrick Sympson on the Credit of H. Linthicum,
February 21, 1715

Date	Daybook Page	Item	Value
2/21/15	39	1 powder box	1.04.4
2/21/15	39	6 wash balls	0.02.0
2/21/15	39	1 warming pan	1.01.0
2/21/15	39	3 lbs. of hair powder	0.06.0
2/21/15	39	1 brass skimmer	0.07.0
2/21/15	39	2 lb. wafers and box	0.03.0
2/21/15	39	6 pr. men's worsted roll up	1.06.0
2/21/15	39	1 piece narrow blue ribbon	0.07.0
2/21/15	39	2 curb bridles at 7	0.14.0
2/21/15	39	2 halters	5.04.0
2/21/15	39	1 brass snuffer	0.02.0
2/21/15	39	1 tin tea pot	1.06.0
2/21/15	39	11 lb. soap	0.11.0
2/21/15	39	3 inch auger	0.04.4
2/21/15	39	1 1/4 auger	0.03.6
2/21/15	39	1 1 1/4" auger	0.04.6
2/21/15	39	1 doz. pewter spoons	0.05.0
2/21/15	39	2 hats gold orrie	2.10.0
2/21/15	39	1 hat silver orrie	1.02.0
2/21/15	39	1 steel spade	(no value listed)
2/21/15	39	2 packs of playing cards	0.03.0
2/21/15	39	2 brass cocks	0.08.0
2/21/15	39	3 lb. of brown thread	0.12.0
2/21/15	39	3 stone butter pots	0.08.0
2/21/15	39	4 Jacolet crops	0.02.0
2/21/15	39	2 small punch bowls	0.02.8
2/21/15	39	1 sugar box double pen tin	0.07.0
2/21/15	39	6 double wine flint glasses	0.04.6
2/21/15	39	2 cruets	0.01.4
2/21/15	39	1 funnel	0.02.0
2/21/15	39	1 lesser funnel	0.01.0
2/21/15	39	3 1/2 pint mugs	0.01.6
2/21/15	39	1 gilt trunk (small)	0.04.6
2/21/15	39	1 pot wrought weighted about 32 lb.	(no value listed)
			<i>Total:</i> £12.14.8

Table 23 Items bought from Patrick Sympson, Merchant, Londontown to Settle Carroll's Credit of 8255 Pounds of Tobacco, February 21, 1715

Date	Daybook Page	Item	Value
2/21/15	39	1 bed cord	0.03.0
2/21/15	39	2 pieces Osnaburgs (illegible)	(illegible)
2/21/15	39	2 pieces Canteloons of 5 yds	(illegible)
2/21/15	39	3 pieces plain	0.13.8
2/21/15	39	1 ten inch glass	0.12.0
2/21/15	39	1 15 inch glass	0.06.0
2/21/15	39	3 t of thread	0.12.0
2/21/15	39	4 quarts	0.04.0
2/21/15	39	2 pieces of scotch cloth at 2/2 per yard.	2.02.0
2/21/15	39	2 pieces garlits at 3/6	0.12.0
2/21/15	39	2 lb. hair powder	0.04.0
2/21/15	39	1 remnant damask	1.06.0
2/21/15	39	2 pairs of worsted roll up hose	0.04.8
2/21/15	39	4 pr. woman's hose	0.13.4
2/21/15	39	1 lb. cotton week	0.07.0
2/21/15	39	1 (illegible item)	0.01.4
2/21/15	39	3 pr. brass spoons at	0.06.0
2/21/15	39	2 pr. steel spurs	0.02.4
2/21/15	39	3 sauce pans tin	0.03.0
2/21/15	39	1 piece half thick blue	4.01.4
2/21/15	39	2 gimlets	0.01.0
2/21/15	39	1 earthen jug	0.01.6
2/21/15	39	6 lbs. gunpowder	0.09.0
2/21/15	39	5 felt hats	1.05.0
2/21/15	39	1 pr. woman's shoes	0.05.4
2/21/15	39	1 men's pair for Robert Barry	0.08.0
2/21/15	39	1 quilt	2.00.0
2/21/15	39	1 pr. gartering	0.07.0
2/21/15	39	1 piece tape broad holland	0.01.4
2/21/15	39	1 pair spit boots (Douglass)	0.11.0
2/21/15	39	2 sifters	0.03.4
2/21/15	39	1 chest and one basket	
		<i>Total of legible items</i>	£18.09.10
		<i>Daybook total</i>	£21.09.00

Table 24 Items Bought and not Delivered, March 21, 1715

Date	Daybook Page	Item	Value
2/21/15	39	the above stone butter pot	
2/21/15	39	5 upright sent earthen mugs	
2/21/15	39	2 pint upright earthen mugs	
2/21/15	39	1 steel spade	0.06.0

Table 25 Items Bought From Sympson Categorized by Use

Food	Dining Equipment	Medicine	Grooming Items
	1 brass skimmer	0.07.0	1 powder box 1.04.4
	1 tin tea pot	1.06.0	6 wash balls 0.02.0
	1 doz. pewter spoons	0.05.0	3 lbs. of hair powder 0.06.0
	3 stone butter pots	0.08.0	11 lb. soap 0.11.0
	2 small punch bowls	0.02.8	2 lb. hair powder 0.04.0
	1 sugar box double pen tin	0.07.0	
	6 double wine flint glasses	0.04.6	
	2 cruets	0.01.4	
	1 funnel	0.02.0	
	1 lesser funnel	0.01.0	

		3 1/2 pint mugs	0.01.6		
		4 quarts	0.04.0		
		3 pr. brass spoons at	0.06.0		
		3 sauce pans tin	0.03.0		
		2 gimlets	0.01.0		
		1 earthen jug	0.01.6		
		2 sifters	0.03.4		
Clothing		Cloth or Materials		Religious Items	
6 pr. men's worsted roll up	1.06.0	1 piece narrow blue ribbon	0.07.0	2 lb. wafers 0.3.0 and box	
2 hats gold orrie	2.10.0	3 lb. of brown thread	0.12.0		
1 hat silver orrie	1.02.0	2 pieces Osnaburgs	(il- legible)		
4 pr. woman's hose	0.13.4	2 pieces Cantaloons of 5 yds.	(il- legible)		
5 felt hats	1.05.0	3 pieces plain	0.13.8		
1 pr. woman's shoes	0.05.4	3 lb. of thread	0.12.0		
1 men's pair for Robert Barry	0.08.0	2 pieces of scotch cloth at 2/2 per yard.	2.02.0		
2 pairs of worsted roll up hose	0.4.8	2 pieces garlits at 3/6	0.12.0		
1 pair spit boots (Douglass)	0.11.0	1 remnant damask	1.6.0		

		1 lb. cotton wick	0.7.0		
		1 piece half thick blue	4.1.4		
		1 pr. gartering	0.07.0		
		1 piece tape broad holland	0.01.4		
Domestic Furnishings		Gaming Equipment		Livestock	Crops
1 warming pan	1.1.0	2 packs of playing cards	0.3.0	2 curb bridles at 7	0.14.0
1 pot wrought weighted about 32 lb.				2 halters	5.4.0
1 brass snuffer	0.2.0			4 Jacolet crops	0.2.0
2 brass cocks	0.8.0			2 pr. steel spurs	0.2.4
1 gilt trunk (small)	0.4.6				
1 bed cord	0.3.0				
1 ten inch glass	0.12.0				
1 15 inch glass	0.6.0				
1 quilt	2.0.0				
1 chest and one basket					

Tools		Cash/Credit	Books and Instruments	Other	
3 inch auger	0.04.4			1 (illegible item)	0.1.4
1 1/4 auger	0.03.6				
1 1 1/4 auger	0.04.6				
1 steel spade (written in later no value listed)					
6 lbs. gunpowder	0.9.0				

The clothing purchased from Patrick Sympson gives a clear picture of a planter buying consumer goods for his servants and employees. Carroll listed the names of several individuals next to items intended for them. Other items were not for named people, however, and their type and quantity suggests that they were not necessarily bought for Carroll himself.

Once again, stockings were prominent on the list. In all, Carroll bought fourteen pair on this visit to Sympson's store. Six pairs were men's worsted roll up hose, and four pairs were women's hose. One pair of the men's hose was given to George Douglass. The others could have been for Carroll's own use, as he already owned five pairs of this type of stocking. Carroll also bought footwear for two employees on this date, a pair of spit boots for George Douglass, and a pair of shoes for Robert Barry, a plowman who worked for Douglass. These stockings were more expensive than others purchased earlier, costing about four shillings per pair. They were, for example, twice as expensive as the stockings Carroll had bought from John Hyde and three times as expensive as the

dozen pair Carroll would buy a month later from John Ouchterlong. There is no indication of the recipient of the four pairs of women's hose. At three shillings per pair, they were of the same quality as Carroll's stockings. It is probable that, as George Douglass received boots on the same day, the women's stockings were purchased for Anna Douglass.

Easily the most eye-catching items of clothing bought from Sympson were three hats that cost a total of £3.12.0. These hats were approximately equal in price to the beaverets Carroll had bought from John Hyde. One of the gold lace hats was later given to George Douglass as compensation, suggesting that the other two remained in Carroll's possession. If so, the planter and his top employee would own matching headwear although Carroll would have both a gold and a silver trimmed hat. Having similar headwear would cloak Douglass in a share of Carroll's authority in the eyes of the other employees and servants; however, this visible sign of rank would be enhanced by Douglass' wearing the spit boots also bought during this visit. These items indicate that Douglass was clearly in charge when Carroll was away on his frequent travels around Anne Arundel and Prince Georges Counties.

Just a week earlier, Carroll had purchased a sidesaddle from Sympson, and on this visit, he bought two bridles, two halters, four crops and two pairs of steel spurs. It is evident that he was outfitting two riders, one of whom was a woman, but no names are associated with these items. The only mention of transactions involving horses in the daybook, as opposed to services and equipment for horses, was Carroll's purchase of an expensive white horse from George Douglass two years later.³⁵ If the sidesaddle were for

35. Carroll, 23C.

Anna Douglass, it would appear in her account, but it does not. Two white women lived in Carroll's household, Douglass and Betty Williams, an indentured servant married to plowman Jonathan Williams, and this saddle could have been intended for either woman to use.

The association of cleanliness with gentility was supported by Carroll's buying a wig, hair powder, six wash balls, and eleven pounds of soap from Sympson. Carroll previously owned wigs, and this new one added to his wardrobe, enabling him to present himself with more variety in wigs, in the same manner afforded by his multiple suits and shirts. Not only did he own a variety of wigs, but also his purchases showed his willingness to spend money on wig care. He bought a powder box and five pounds of hair powder, items costing a total of four pounds. His interest in cleanliness was also underscored by his purchase of a large quantity of soap. The six wash balls and eleven pounds of soap were sufficient to equip him to sustain personal cleanliness and laundering for a long period. The purchase of cleaning supplies begs the question of who maintained Carroll's wigs and clothing. Anna Douglass is a likely guess. A second possibility is that Betty Williams' service to Carroll involved her working at household chores at Fingaul.

Buying two mirrors from Sympson equipped Carroll to take the time to arrange and maintain his appearance at home. In his inventory of his house, done in the fall of 1715, he listed owning two mirrors, one in a small room off his sleeping chamber, along with his wig powder, and the other in a second bedroom.³⁶ The placement of these

36. Ibid., 18.

looking glasses suggests that they were not to assist in decorating a room, but in grooming. The serious attention to details of dress and wig condition implied by the mirrors at Fingaul is a strong statement that having consumer goods was not enough: how one looked using them was also important. This visual assessment could be rehearsed with looking glasses. Carroll's purchase of two more from Sympson gave him a total of four at Fingaul.

The household and food items bought from Sympson reflected the extent to which Carroll was equipped to stage elegant meals at his home. Tea, butter, and alcohol related items were all on this list of purchases. A few months earlier, Carroll had bought two different types of sugar from Robert Tyler, and in this list, he included a double pen, tin sugar box. Carroll bought thirty gallons each of rum and wine from Sympson in 1715, and the February purchases reflected his stylish enjoyment of these items. The six wine glasses he bought, added to the six he bought from Tyler, gave him a supply of at least a dozen. This suggests occasions when Carroll could entertain at least twelve people in a style that demonstrated his gentility. Carroll had also purchased two dozen spoons in recent months, a dozen iron spoons from Tyler and a dozen pewter spoons from Sympson, again supplying himself to serve guests. The two brass cocks would be useful in drawing from his kegs of wine and rum, and the cruets and jugs for carrying drink to the guests. The purchase of sifters indicates that meals at Fingaul also included pastry. Carroll's owning sifters raises questions about the skill and identity of his cook. Again, there is no clear evidence on either topic, but they point again to the presence and possible duties of Betty Williams and Anna Douglass in Carroll's household. While these purchases are considered separate from a household collection, they demonstrate a

continued pattern of Carroll's acquiring consumer goods that equipped him to perform social rituals in a graceful way that people of lesser wealth could not emulate.

At the same time, Carroll purchased a box of communion wafers from Sympson that facilitated his participation in a religious ritual. Carroll did not have a separate building or room that served as a chapel at Fingaul, but his buying these imported hosts indicated that mass was said in his home. These hosts would make the celebration of the Eucharist more in the style of its celebration in an official church. Equipping himself to celebrate a religious ritual in a respected manner was a reflection of Carroll's genteel defiance of the political imperatives of the day. His merely saying the words of a governmentally sanctioned loyalty oath in a political ceremony would have spared Carroll the disqualifications imposed on Catholics and relieved the political restraints on his career. Instead, he flaunted his loyalty to Catholicism, a pattern he continued in later ordering an incense burner from London merchant, Thomas Colmore.³⁷ Carroll's participation in the consumer economy allowed him to live in a divided world. In the end, no matter how his neighbors felt about him as a Catholic, they had to respect his gentility.

James Carroll visited John Ouchterlong's store in the Patapsco region of Baltimore County in March of 1715. The purchases from Ouchterlong were in two separate but sequential lists. Carroll spent £75.15.7 in tobacco notes originating as quitrent collections he received in Baltimore County. The first section of the list was exclusively of fabrics and clothing. The second section of the list details the £10.10.0 Carroll spent on items for the new plantation located at nearby Elk Ridge.

37. Ibid., 72D.

As in his earlier transactions with merchants, buying cloth was an important element of the sale. This transaction was distinct, however, in that it was an occasion when Carroll bought items for two trusted slaves, Dick and his wife, Maria. The couple had been sent to this region of the colony, located about twenty miles north of Fingaul, the previous fall to help build a new plantation for Carroll. Their comparative autonomy bears out the assertion made by historian Russell Menard in his study of Maryland's slave population that enslaved families were known to exercise autonomy and enjoy trust in running outlying quarters.³⁸ Carroll's dispatching Dick and Maria to grow a crop twenty miles from his direct supervision under the eye of a single white overseer was an indication of his trust for them. His purchases from merchant John Ouchterlong demonstrate how he rewarded their loyalty.

Table 26 Items bought from John Ouchterlong. A Merchant at Patapsco

Date	Daybook Page	Item	Value
3/14/15	39	1 piece wide stuff	4.16.0
3/14/15	39	1 piece canteloone	2.16.0
3/14/15	39	2 pieces osnaburg	3.09.0
3/14/15	39	1 piece checks at	6.15.0
3/14/15	39	1 piece fine checks at	4.11.0
3/14/15	39	1 piece ticklenburg	6.19.6
3/14/15	39	1 piece shirts Italian poplin	6.00.0
3/14/15	39	1 piece (illegible)	6.00.0
3/14/15	39	1 remnant fine flannel	1.11.2
3/14/15	39	1 piece duroy no 30	3.10.0
3/14/15	39	4 pair outside wash gloves	0.09.4
3/14/15	39	3 pr. men topped gloves	0.10.0

38. Menard, Russell. "The Maryland Slave Population, 1658-1730: A Demographic Profile of Blacks in four Counties." *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser., vol. 32, no. 1, (1975): 36.

3/14/15	39	1 piece 1/2 whited brown thread	0.14.7
3/14/15	39	3 pains of shoes for Andrew; 6 more pair	2.10.0
3/14/15	39	1 piece shirt holland	2.08.0
3/14/15	39	90 (illegible) at 20 yards at 7/6	7.10.0
3/14/15	39	3 yds best gartering (illegible)	(no value listed)
3/14/15	39	3 bed cords at 3	0.09.0
3/14/15	39	1 gross best coat mohair buttons	0.15.0
3/14/15	39	14 doz. bright buttons	0.09.0
3/14/15	39	1 remnant muslin at 10 yds at 9 per	4.10.0
3/14/15	39	7 dozen ticking buttons a 4 p	0.2.4
3/14/15	39	1 piece good sheeting at 45 1/2 yds at 3/6	7.19.3
3/14/15	39	1 doz. men's yarn hose 2/6	1.10.0
3/14/15	39	<i>Sub-total</i>	£75.15.7
3/14/15	39	Elk Ridge 1 iron pig weighing (illegible) for (Jno Williams)	0.15.0
3/14/15	39	2 square files at 4/4	0.04.0
3/14/15	39	2 iron pots wt 50 lb.	1.08.0
3/14/15	39	3 pieces narrow holland capes 1/4	0.04.0
3/14/15	39	1/4 lb. nun thread @ 10 per no. 6	0.02.6
3/14/15	39	1 lb. ditto no 9 @ per	0.09.0
3/14/15	39	Elk Ridge 1 steel spade	0.06.0
3/14/15	39	Elk Ridge 15 ells osnaburg for Maria	1.00.0
3/14/15	39	Elk Ridge 15 yards canteloon for Maria	0.12.0
3/14/15	39	Elk Ridge 1/2 (illegible) of needles	0.01.0
3/14/15	39	Elk Ridge 1 tobacco box for Dick	0.00.8
3/14/15	39	Elk Ridge 1 pair of tongs for Dick	0.00.4
3/14/15	39	Elk Ridge 1/2 lb. colored thread for Dick	0.02.2
3/14/15	39	3 m 8 d. nails 7/2 per m	1.02.0
3/14/15	39	5 m 10 d nails @ 9 s per m	2.05.0
3/14/15	39	1 m 20 d nails @ 13/4	0.13.4
		<i>Sub-total:</i>	10.10.0
		<i>Total:</i>	£85.05.
			7

Table 27 Items bought from Ouchterlong Categorized by Use

Food		Dining Equipment		Medicine	Grooming Items
Clothing		Cloth or Materials		Religious Items	
1 doz. men's yarn hose 2/6	1.10.0	1 piece wide stuff	4.16.0		
		1 piece canteloone	2.16.0		
		2 pieces osnaburgs	3.9.0		
		1 piece checks at	6.15.0		
		1 piece fine checks at	4.11.0		
		1 piece ticklenburg	6.19.6		
		1 piece shirts Italian Poplin	6.0.0		
		1 piece (illegible)	6.0.0		
		1 remnant fine flannel	1.11.2		
		1 piece duroy no 30	3.10.0		
		1 piece shirt holland	2.8.0		
		90 (illegible) at 20 yards at 7/6	7.10.0		
		3 yds best gartering (illegible)			
		1 remnant muslin at 10 yds at 9 per	4.10.0		
		7 dozen ticking	0.2.4		

	buttons at 4 p			
	1 piece good sheeting at 45 1/2 yds at 3/6	7.19.3		
	1 gross best coat mohair buttons	0.15.0		
	14 doz. bright buttons	0.9.0		
	3 pieces holland capes 1/4	0.04.0		
	1/4 lb. nun thread at 10 per no. 6	0.02.6		
	1 lb. ditto no 9 at per	0.09.0		
	Elk Ridge 15 ells osnaburg for Maria	1.00.0		
	Elk Ridge 15 yards cantloon for Maria	0.12.0		
	Elk Ridge 1/2 (illegible) of needles	0.01.0		
	Elk Ridge 1/2 lb. colored thread for Dick	0.02.2		
	1 lb. 1/2 whited brown thread	0.14.7		

Domestic Furnishings		Gaming Equipment	Livestock	Crops
Elk Ridge 1 tobacco box for Dick	0.00.8			
Elk Ridge 1 pair of tongs for Dick	0.00.4			
3 bed cords at 3	0.09.0			
2 iron pots wt 50 lb.	1.08.0			
Tools		Cash/Credit	Books and Instruments	
Elk Ridge 1 iron pig for (Jno Williams)	0.15.0			
2 square files at 4/4	0.04.0			
Elk Ridge 1 steel spade	0.06.0			
3 m 8 d. nails 7/2 per m	1.02.0			
5 m 10 d nails at 9 s per m	2.05.0			
1 m 20 d nails at 13/4	0.13.4			

The fabrics Carroll purchased from John Ouchterlong could have served a variety of uses, but the ticking buttons suggested that some of the material was intended for bedding. Carroll had bought bed cord from Patrick Sympson a month earlier, and bought more on this visit. The two bedding items suggest a division between store-bought and homemade items with bedding appearing to be homemade. This is not

exclusively true, however. In the fall of 1715, Carroll supplied his Elk Ridge overseer, John Bruss, with a seabed.³⁹ The other material was probably for clothing.

The Andrew Hillman's presence with Carroll on this visit to Ouchterlong's store was clear from Carroll's designating three of the nine pair of shoes bought on that day as being for him. As noted above, other entries in the daybook implied that he was with Carroll during this visit and beginning his work as a clerk. Carroll might have been dressing him for his position by buying him material for shirts and gloves, as well. This would be consistent with other store visits when Carroll bought items from Tyler and Sympson for employees.

Many of the items bought were related to plantation life. The files for Elk Ridge would serve to sharpen the six-foot saw Carroll had purchased for the plantation on February 11.⁴⁰ The nails would supply the fifteen-foot square house Carroll had recently hired carpenter William Stephens to build.⁴¹ The iron mentioned was charged to Williams in his account with Carroll, but there was no mention of what he meant to do with the iron; however, as there was no other similar mention in the daybook, it is plausible that Williams had some metalworking skills. The mention of his name suggests that he was on hand at the store, perhaps to cart the purchases to Elk Ridge and Fingaul, and his being given credit to buy the iron was a form of compensation for his work.

39. Carroll, 24D.

40. Ibid.

41. Ibid.

It is not clear whether Dick and Maria were at the store, but it would be consistent with the reading of the earlier entries to assert that they were. The items bought for them gave a sense of Carroll's esteem, but also a small glimpse into how consumer goods might even trickle down to the community of enslaved people on Carroll's plantation.

Dick was thirty-four years old in 1715, and his wife Maria was thirty-five. Carroll had bought Dick from Thomas Linthicum, and he could well be the same man named Dick described as an enslaved man owned by Carroll who was married to a white woman named Elizabeth Clouds by Reverent Joseph Colebatch in 1706, a Londontown marriage that triggered public outrage and a disingenuous denial by Carroll and Colebatch of any knowledge of Elizabeth Clouds' race.⁴² Dick was the father of a two-year-old son born to another of Carroll's slaves, a woman named Mary. His wife, Maria also had a nine-year-old daughter. It is not clear from Carroll's accounts whether their children were living with them at Elk Ridge. Two other slaves were, however. At some time in the winter months, thirty-five-year-old Mary, the mother of Dick's son and eighteen-year-old Daniel were sent to work with them at Elk Ridge.

The items bought for the slaves were specifically attributed to them on the list, while neither Daniel and Mary nor the enslaved children were mentioned. Their omission highlighted the special favor being shown to the trusted enslaved couple. The items allow them some small increment of domestic comfort. Maria received thirty

42. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 27, Page 318,
<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000027/html/am27--318.html> (Accessed 2005/04/01).

yards of cloth and supplies of needles and thread. This grant implied that she was being supplied to outfit her family with clothing. That she would be given her own material to make clothing as she saw fit seemed an improved condition to having it made for her by one of Carroll's white servants, suggesting she had the ability to exercise a measure of autonomy and craftsmanship. The gifts to Dick point to a limited, but real sense of comfortable leisure, a tiny echo of Carroll's own comfortable home life and his showy use of tobacco. Having his own tobacco box and tongs would allow Dick the comfort of smoking tobacco by his fire. Again, the sense that they were items for his own use would be an extremely small but visible increment in his establishing a life set apart by owning consumer goods. Dick would be unlikely to acquire many possessions, but these gifts indicated that he and Carroll shared a belief in the value of store-bought items. The final gift to Dick was of colored thread. This entry was provocative, raising the prospect that giving the thread to Dick and not Maria was to signify that it was not utilitarian, but decorative. In effect, it suggested that Dick was being equipped to make his clothing fancier than that of the other slaves. The purchases for Dick and Maria were small but significant. There were no records of Carroll's having favored slaves in this way at another time. In addition, they implied that the concept of using clothing and possessions to negotiate a status hierarchy was at work among Carroll's slaves.⁴³

Categorizing the clothing purchased shows the types of things that were desired and the value of each. The table below illustrates the extent to which clothing was valued as a means of visual display of gentility. The primary consumer of this set of items was James Carroll, but he shared items of every category with employees and

43. This pattern of action is shown among slaves of a later era in: White, "Slave Clothing," 149-186.

servants, showing that the objects were desired across a wide range of society, in this case from an elite member of the gentry to slaves. Hats, handkerchiefs, gloves, stockings, and shoes were bought ready made. Each was an imported clothing accessory that, when worn in a clean state and graceful manner, would serve as a sign of elevated status. The largest category in number and value was cloth bought to make clothing. Carroll bought several types of cloth, linings, and enough buttons for several coats, shirts, and pairs of breeches. The cloth and buttons suggest that Carroll and his associates desired varied and visually striking outfits featuring many buttons. The materials on the lists ranged in value, and considering who received them, they reinforce the conclusion that the colorfulness of clothing and its quality proclaimed its owner's status.

Table 28 Clothing and Material Purchased by James Carroll or Received from him
Arranged by Type

Hats			Handkerchiefs			Gloves		
No	Type	Value	No	Type	Value	No	Type	Value
2	beaverets	2.08.0	3	largest soft silk handkerchiefs at 6 s.	0.18.0	3	pair men's best rolled wash at 1/8	0.07.9
2	hats gold orrie	2.10.0				3	pair ditto wash at 2/6	0.07.6
1	hat silver orrie	1.02.0	3	richest double salince handkerchiefs at 7/4	1.02.0	4	pair out side wash	0.09.4
5	felt hats	1.05.0				3	pair men topped gloves	0.10.0
11	<i>Total</i>	£7.05.0	8	hanks silk to 8 oz 9/4	0.01.9	13	<i>Total</i>	1.14.7
			14	<i>Total</i>	2.19.0			

Stockings			Shoes			Shirts or Material for Shirts		
No	Type	Value	No	Type	Value	No	Type	Value
3	pair roll up hose	84 T	4	pair of shoes for self	100 T	1	piece of shirt holland	2.8.0
1	pair of yarn hose for Jno Groves	10 T	2	pair to Wm Douglass	50 T	1	1 piece shirts Italian Poplin	6.0.0
6	pair men's worsted Roll up	1.06.0	1	pair of woman's shoes	0.05.4	2	Total	£8.8.0
4	pair woman's hose	0.13.4	1	pair of men's pair for Robert Barry	0.08.0			
12	pair men's yarn hose 2/6	1.10.0	1	pair of spit boots (Doug-las)	0.11.0			
26 pr.	Total	94 T £3.09.4	9	3 pairs of shoes for Andrew 6 more pair	2.10.0			
			18	Total	150 T £4.14.4			
Material for Outerwear			Buttons			Thread		
No.	Type	Value	No.	Type	Value	No.	Type	Value
4 ½	yards of Super fine black cloth at 2.15 per yard.	7.17.6	9	dozen coat buttons	0.18.0		felt mohair thread	1.03.0
			15	dozen ditto bright	0.10.0	3 lbs.	of brown thread	0.12.0
			1	gross of black coat buttons	0.05.0	3 lbs.	of thread	0.12.0
4 ⅓	yards of fine cloth at 32 s per yard	7.04.0				1 lb.	cotton wick	0.7.0
			1	gross ditto bright	0.02.6	¼ lb.	nun thread at 10 per no. 6	0.02.6
4 ¾	yards of ditto at 9 s per yard	6.17.9	1	gross coat gimp buttons	20 T	1 lb.	ditto no 9 at per	0.09.0

3	yards of vermillion at 2/2	0.07.0		1	gross best coat mohair buttons	0.15.0	$\frac{1}{2}$ lb.	Elk Ridge 1/2 lb. colored thread for Dick	0.02.2
1	child's coat	0.06.0		14	dozen bright buttons	0.9.0			
12	yards of calaminco at 14 per yard.	160 T		7	dozen ticking buttons a 4 p	0.2.4	1 lb.	1 piece 1/2 white brown thread	0.14.7
				93	Total doz.	20 T £2.19.10	9 3/4 lbs.	Total	£3.02.0
10	yards of calaminco at 14 per yard.	140 T							
1	double ground (lace)	1.00.0							
1	piece of lace 17 1/2 yards at 2/6	600 T							
1	piece of ditto at 11 oz of 13 1/4 yards at 1/6	0.19.10							
1	piece of narrow blue ribbon	0.07.0							
2	pieces of Osnaburgs	(il-legible)							
2	pieces of cantaloon of 5 yards	(il-legible)							
3	pieces of plain	0.13.8							
2	pieces of scotch cloth at 2/2 per yard.	2.02.0							
2	pieces of garlits at 3/6	0.12.0							
1	1 remnant of damask	1.6.0							

1	piece of duroy	1.16.0		
1	piece of narrow checks	1.08.0		
1	piece of wide stuff	4.16.0		
1	piece of cantaloon	2.16.0		
2	piece of osnaburgs	3.9.0		
1	piece of checks at	6.15.0		
1	piece of fine checks at	4.11.0		
1	piece of ticklenburg	6.19.6		
1	piece of (illegible)	6.0.0		
1	1 remnant of fine flannel	1.11.2		
1	piece of duroy no 30	3.10.0		
1	1 remnant of muslin at 10 yards at 9 per	4.10.0		
15	Elk Ridge: 15 ells of osnaburg for Maria	1.00.0		
15	Elk Ridge: 15 yards of cantaloon for Maria	0.12.0		
	<i>Total</i>	<i>900 T</i> <i>£65.12.0</i>		

Material for Bedding			Material for Linings			Undetermined Use		
No.	Type	Value	No.	Type	Value	No.	Type	Value
2	quilts	940 T	18	yards of shaloons at 3/4 per yard	3.0.0		canvas	0.02.0
1	Flanders ticking	1.05.0				6	yards of cheercorns	180 T
1	piece of good sheeting at 45 1/2 yards at 3/6	7.19.3	15	yards of dimity at 2 s	1.10.0	2	ells hammells	8 T
			6	yards of buckram at 1/9	0.11.0	1	piece of half thick at 38 yards	2.01.4
3	3 bed cords at 3	0.09.0	6	yards of wadding	0.05.0	2	ells of brown hicklinlong at 8	0.1.4
7	Total	940 T £9.13.3	45	Total	£5.06.0			
						1	piece gartering	0.07.0
						3	yards of best gartering (illegible)	
						1	piece of tape broad holland	0.01.4
							90 (illegible) at 20 yards at 7/6	7.10.0
							Total	188 T £10.05.0

This table illustrates the extent to which the purchases from merchants were aimed at gaining material for garments. The number and variety of items listed in that section dramatically illustrate the extent to which having a number of rich garments to wear required a high level of income. Few in the colony could possibly have afforded to spend £65.12.05 on just this category of clothing. While many pieces were purchased for employees, servants and even slaves, the most expensive items were always for Carroll himself. This chart also makes clear that in addition to buying a

number of fine textiles for making colorful garments, buying accessories such as lace, large handkerchiefs, and bright buttons was an important goal in Carroll's purchases. The resulting picture is of clothing having a powerful role in society, serving as a medium to proclaim the man. That admirable clothing was passed from Carroll to his employees suggests that handkerchiefs, buttons, or shoes might help them gain advantage in society as well. Again, each of these had a distinct visual impact.

Consumer buying of clothing was clearly a strategy to negotiate status within a social hierarchy, allowing some room for mobility. In short, this chart, too, suggests that the individuals described in Carroll's daybook would buy better clothing to be perceived as more respectable people and that the strategy worked.

The four underlying social rules mentioned at the start of this section were evident in Carroll's transactions. Through his purchases from John Hyde, Tyler, Sympson, and Ouchterlong, Carroll not only secured access to consumer goods for himself, but he made goods available to employees such as George Douglass, servants, such as Andrew Hillman, and slaves, such as Dick. While he, and to some extent the Douglasses, had enough goods to display gentility in a convincing way, Andrew, for one, was a servant who had good shoes and a clean shirt to wear. While slavery denied most fundamental human rights, the example of Dick indicated that access to consumer goods fostered a differentiated hierarchy of slaves depending on what one could receive for service.

At a base level, merely possessing consumer goods granted some measure of status. The examples in this section of the chapter indicate that above that base level of minimal consumption, rising on the scale of gentility was predicated on having a variety of costumes and being able to wear clean clothing. In other words, as one

looked toward the elite ranks, the ability to maintain an appearance and perform social rituals, such as refined dining, was increasingly important. Carroll's purchases of wig care products, soap, and dining equipment show him to have been eager to present himself in this way. Carroll and his employees shared the notion that owning consumer goods was a first step toward gentility. As these transactions showed, trips to local stores were important opportunities for servants and employees to be paid in store goods. Payments in kind such as these diffused consumer goods from Carroll to his household members and made them all participants in the consumer revolution.

III. Compensating Employees

The transactions with Maryland merchants reflected both James Carroll's interest in displaying his gentility by using consumer goods and that his employees, servants, and slaves shared his interest. These twin conclusions invite a question of the extent to which Carroll's accounts with his employees bear out the pattern of their gaining consumer goods through their service. In a limited way, these accounts would enable a complementary view of how consumption was at work on Carroll's plantation on social levels beneath the gentry class, by suggesting that what people wanted in return for service was access to whatever consumer goods they could afford.

Considering the transactions over several months gives a picture of how these payments fit into the larger pattern of activity described in this chapter. The employees and servants discussed in this section of the chapter were individuals whose names were mentioned in the store purchase records listed above, and they have been discussed to enable comparison of the same transactions viewed in three perspectives,

the chronology of the transactions, the items the individuals received, and the types of items they received.

The people included were employees and servants Carroll had in these months; he later employed overseers not discussed here. In the later period, Carroll was acting as a merchant himself, though, and compensating his employees from his own store of goods. The later daybook entries continue the patterns shown here, but there are fewer lists of items to consider. The people discussed in the current chapter are George, Anne and William Douglass, Jonathan Williams, Robert Barry, and Robert Brooks.

George Douglass was a manager for James Carroll who received money for him, produced tobacco, and ran Carroll's plantations while Carroll was in England in 1716. His wife, Anna Douglass, inventoried Carroll's clothing in 1716 and received a great deal of material from Carroll after his return as a gift for her service. It seems plausible that she ran his house while her husband managed the plantation. It is probable that the couple served in this capacity in 1715 as well. William Douglass was an adult relative of theirs whose exact service to Carroll is unclear. His name was entered as William Douglass, Jr. of Cecil County. He and his wife, Mary, owned land on the Bohemia River in Cecil County. Mary also inherited two less valuable farms in Baltimore County, Morning's Choice and the Addition to it.⁴⁴ William Douglass is noted as owing quitrent payments for seven years on these properties in Carroll's daybook. In these entries, William Douglass is recorded as supplying crops to Anyo, Carroll's third Anne Arundel County plantation, located about five miles north of

44. *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 39, Page 308,
[http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000039
/html/am39--308.html](http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000039/html/am39--308.html) (Accessed 2005/04/01).

Fingaul and just across the Patuxent River from Carroll's Bright Seat plantation. Robert Barry is listed as a plowman, and the entries suggest that he worked for George Douglass. From the entries in the daybook, it seems that the Douglasses were not servants, but people employed by Carroll. It is not clear if Barry was an indentured servant. In one entry, Carroll paid Douglass for his use of Barry. Jonathan Williams was a Quaker living on Carroll's Fingaul plantation⁴⁵ who earned a share of the tobacco crop. His wife Betty was a servant indentured to Carroll. The fourth employee discussed is a joiner named Robert Brooks, whom Carroll indentured during his time in London in 1716. The transactions are itemized according to the chart used to categorize purchases from merchants to demonstrate what employees received for their service to Carroll.

45. Evidence of Williams' being a Quaker is that Carroll loaned him money to spend at West River Meeting, a Quaker congregation that met about two miles east of Fingaul. Carroll, 43C. See also Earle, 56 for evidence of the existence of the meeting at this place.

Table 29 A Chronology of Carroll's transactions with the Douglass family, Robert Barry, Jonathan Williams and Robert Brooks
1715-17

1715	April	May	June	July	August	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec	Jan.	Feb.	March
		(= means received)				Andrew Hillman & Groves purchased	List of slaves made	G. & W. Douglass = shoes			G. & W. Douglass = hats & shoes G = hose & hank	Andrew H. Dick, Maria & Williams = goods G. Douglass = shoes
						List of clothing made	Elk Ridge Plantation account started	Rent Rolls researched	Carroll visits Darnall: quitrents	Carroll warned by Hart		Carroll collects rents in Balt. Co.
						Purchases From Tyler	Williams= clothing & cider		Purchase from Hyde Purchases From Tyler	Williams = pork	Purchases from Sympson	Purchases from Ouchterlong
1716	April	May	June	July	August	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec	Jan.	Feb.	March
	Anne Douglass starts 14 months of service	Anne Douglass = cloth, shoes, stays, gloves Barry=items	Anne Douglass = cloth	George Douglass = cloth, shoes at Charles Carroll's, gloves, hank	Anne Douglass = cloth							
	Williams exchange on Perry	George Douglass = cloth; = £20 loan at Charles Carroll's house	Purchase from Tyler								George Douglass shoes, gloves, hank	Robert Brooks Indenture

		Williams = Rum, etc. cash for West River	6/10/16 cannons fired	Carroll & Hart battle in Assembly	Carroll & Hart battle in Assembly	Carroll sails to London						Carroll returns
<i>1717</i>	<i>April</i>	<i>May</i>	<i>June</i>	<i>July</i>	<i>August</i>	<i>Sept.</i>	<i>Oct.</i>	<i>Nov.</i>	<i>Dec</i>	<i>Jan.</i>	<i>Feb.</i>	<i>March</i>
		Anne Douglass ends 14 months of service	George Douglass and Carroll settle for money collected while JC was in London		Barry = clothing, shirt, cloth, shoes, hose					George Douglass = paid for making Andrew's clothes Barry = clothing	George Douglass = cloth shoes, gloves, hank, spurs, axe. £ 20 for white horse	

The chronology suggests a pattern in George Douglass' compensation that underscores the role of consumer goods in the display of gentility. In a lesser way, he can be seen to be dressing as a less well-supplied version of James Carroll. At times Douglass received shoes or cloth, but every very few months, he received a new outfit consisting of shoes, gloves and a handkerchief. His doing so highlights the role of clothing and appearance as visual tools for earning respect. Receiving the most admirable clothing and wearing it gracefully would boost his status. Through his association with James Carroll, Douglass would gain both the costume and coaching on how to wear it to advantage. If this coaching were tacit, close associating with Carroll would provide him with a role model.

That Douglass received so many pairs of shoes and so many other accessories suggested that he was working to build up a wardrobe. Over time, his collection grew, and, on occasions, he received several of the same item. On February 7, 1717, for example, he received two pairs of gloves and four handkerchiefs. The Douglasses were also adding to their wardrobes through their own efforts. They received a great deal of cloth that was clearly for clothing of various types. George Douglass also received buttons for coats and waistcoats. Either clothing was being produced in the Douglass household, or the material was taken to a tailor. By whichever route, the Douglasses were active consumers of market goods in the form of textiles and ready-made items. Their success at building their wardrobes enabled them to display themselves in clean and varied costumes, and Carroll's credit at stores, along with his gifts of clothing, was an important element of their achievement.

Table 30 Transactions between Members of the Douglass Family and Carroll

Date	Daybook Page	Employee	Item	Value
11/5/15	26 D	Wm. Douglass	cash paid him	2.07.08
11/5/15	26 D	Wm. Douglass	my order on Mr. J.S. Showater	
11/8/15	23 D	George Douglass	cash then paid him	0.04.06
11/8/15	23 D	George Douglass	1 pair shoes bought of Chapman cost	0.06.06
11/8/15	23 D	George Douglass	cash then paid him	0.04.06
11/15/15	26 D 5	Wm. Douglass	1 pair of shoes bought of Chapman cost	0.06.06
2/1/15	26 D	Wm. Douglass	one fine beaveret hat at my house	5.05.00
2/15/15	23 D	George Douglass	one gold laced hat	0.12.00
2/15/15	23 D	George Douglass	one pr. worsted roll up hose cost	0.02.02
2/15/15	23 D	George Douglass	one pair spit boots	0.11.00
2/15/15	23 D	George Douglass	1 India muslin handkerchief	0.09.00
2/15/15	23 D	George Douglass	one gold laced hat	0.12.00
2/15/15	23 D	George Douglass	one pr. worsted roll up hose cost	0.02.02
2/17/15	26 C	Wm. Douglass	W. Fitz Redmund's order on Mr. Macnemara by Macnemara to me paid	2.10.00
2/17/15	26 C	Wm. Douglass	borrowed at Docwra's of me	0.01.00
2/17/15	26 C	Wm. Douglass	article of shoes ought to be to George Douglass	0.06.06
2/17/15	26 C	Wm. Douglass	cash paid me	0.04.00
3/1/15	23 D	George Douglass	one pair of shoes	0.06.06
4/5/16	26 D	Wm. Douglass	cash one pistole at my house	1.03.10
4/9/16	26 D	Wm. Douglass	cash one guinea at my house	1.09.10
4/19/16	23 D	George Douglass	one guinea delivered and lent at Swan Creek	1.08.00
5/2/16	23 D	George Douglass	1 piece garlits no 8	3.06.00
5/2/16	23 D	George Douglass	money received for my use of Robert Barry	4.10.00
5/12/16	47 D	Anne Douglass	1 piece garlits	3.06.00
5/12/16	47 D	Anne Douglass	29 yards poplin @ 2/6 per yard.	3.12.16
5/12/16	47 D	Anne Douglass	10 yards of stripped camolet at 3 s per yard.	1.10.00
5/12/16	47 D	Anne Douglass	10 yards of India Silk at 5 s per yard.	2.10.00
5/12/16	47 D	Anne Douglass	2 pair of shoes at 5/6	0.11.00
5/12/16	47 D	Anne Douglass	1 pair of wash gloves	0.02.00
5/12/16	47 D	Anne Douglass	1 India muslin handkerchief	0.02.06
5/12/16	47 D	Anne Douglass	one pair stays	1.01.00
5/12/16	47 D	Anne Douglass	5 yds. of white osnaburg	0.06.00

5/18/16	47 C	Anne Douglass	my gift for her service for 14 months	14.00.00
5/31/16	23 D	George Douglass	cash lent him at Mr. Charles Carroll' s	24.00.00
5/31/16	23 D	George Douglass	one yard of muslin at 9 S	0.11.03
6/1/16	47 D	Anne Douglass	10 more yards of India stripped silk	2.10.00
7/9/16	23 D	George Douglass	7 yards of stripped holland at 4	1.08.00
7/9/16	23 D	George Douglass	8 14 yards duroy @ 3/6	1.08.10
7/12/16	23 D	George Douglass	1/2 yard osnaburg	0.00.10
7/14/16	23 D	George Douglass	1 dozen coat buttons	0.01.00
7/14/16	23 D	George Douglass	1 hank silk	0.01.06
7/14/16	23 D	George Douglass	1 yard and 1/4 coarse cotton	0.00.09
7/14/16	23 D	George Douglass	3 dozen waist coat buttons	0.01.06
7/14/16	23 D	George Douglass	1/4 yard stripped holland as above	0.01.00
7/14/16	23 D	George Douglass	Dick the Smith' s charge for shoeing your horse cash	0.03.00
7/16/16	23 D	George Douglass	1 3/4 yards shaloon	0.05.03
7/16/16	23 D	George Douglass	one pair of shoes bought at Mr. Charles Carroll's	0.07.00
7/16/16	23 D	George Douglass	1/2 a (illegible) of pins	0.01.00
7/16/16	23 D	George Douglass	2 1/2 yards of (illegible) thick @ 2/4	0.05.00
7/16/16	23 D	George Douglass	8 yards of Counter tape	0.00.06
7/16/16	23 D	George Douglass	1 pair of wash gloves	0.03.06
7/16/16	23 D	George Douglass	6 1/4 yards of duroy @ 3/6	1.03.07
7/16/16	23 D	George Douglass	3 1/2 yards of formices linen @ 2S	0.06.06
8/4/16	47 D	Anne Douglass	5 yards of stuff	0.13.09
8/31/16	47 D	Anne Douglass	1 yard muslin	0.06.00
8/31/16	47 D	Anne Douglass	total of items in cash	16.19.09
8/31/16	47 C	Anne Douglass	balance due to me	2.10.09
8/31/16	47 C	Anne Douglass	total of items in cash	16.10.09
6/23/17	57 D	George Douglass	money received of Hall Dibler whilst I was in England viz of Henry King of Baltimore County	13.02.10
6/23/17	57 D	George Douglass	money received of Hall Dibler whilst I was in England viz of Robert Greenwich	3.15.00
6/23/17	57 D	George Douglass	money received of Hall Dibler whilst I was in England viz of (illegible)	9.05.06
6/23/17	57 D	George Douglass	2 hogsheads of my planter' s tobacco you paid away to Sympson	
6/23/17	57 D	George Douglass	Tobacco received of Jno. Gill	
6/23/17	57 D	George Douglass	one pair new Stirrup leather	
6/23/17	57 D	George Douglass	money received of Hall Dibler whilst I was in England William Cromwell	4.09.06
6/23/17	57 D	George Douglass	total to date	75.00.07
6/23/17	57 C	George Douglass	the foot of credit fo. 23	21.17.11
7/6/17	57 C	George Douglass	cash received	1.14.03

7/6/17	57 C	George Douglass	30 bushels of wheat when delivered @ 2/8	4.00.00
7/6/17	57 C	George Douglass	balance due and carried for to Lib d fo. 11	22.09.09
7/6/17	57 C	George Douglass	balance due and carried for to Lib d fo. 11	
11/5/17	26 D	Wm. Douglass	cash lent him his own house	0.06.06
11/5/17	26 D	Wm. Douglass	land rent of 1/2 year Morning' s Choice 400 acres 7 1/2 years Land rent of 7 1/2 years due Addition on all 7/29/14	
11/5/17	26 C	Wm. Douglass	2 bushels of corn and 2 bushels of beans per Anno	0.12.00
11/5/17	26 C	Wm. Douglass	goods from Edward Norwood value L per shop note at 12 pieces of plains at 3/6 2.2.00 with rated in tobacco at 10 per C amounts as 638 T	1.10.04
11/5/17	26 C	Wm. Douglass	his bond for	
11/5/17	26 C	Wm. Douglass	total in tobacco 1350 T	
11/5/17	26 C	Wm. Douglass	total in cash	13.13.00
11/5/17	26 D	Wm. Douglass	total in cash	7.09.00
1/29/17	57 C	George Douglass	money of Mr. Douglass	0.04.00
1/29/17	57 C	George Douglass	money of Mr. Douglass	0.04.4
1/29/17	57 C	George Douglass	money of Mr. Douglass in silver	8.09.00
1/29/17	57 C	George Douglass	money of Mr. Douglass in silver	9.14.00
1/29/17	57 C	George Douglass	money paid Dr. Davis for wigs	4.06.00
1/29/17	57 C	George Douglass	money paid for making Andrew' s clothes	0.12.00
1/29/17	57 C	George Douglass	money for cheese	0.12.00
1/29/17	57 C	George Douglass	2 bushels (illegible)	0.06.00
1/29/17	57 C	George Douglass	money on diverse occasions	0.10.03
2/17/17	23 C	George Douglass	one pair of Pennsylvania gloves	0.04.06
2/17/17	23 C	George Douglass	by cash received	1.06.00
2/17/17	23 C	George Douglass	one white horse	20.08.00
2/17/17	23 C	George Douglass	short of weight in 3 pistoles	0.01.02
2/17/17	23 C	George Douglass	my moiety of expenses for horses	0.01.02
2/17/17	23 C	George Douglass	expenses when went for @ JC order	0.10.00
2/17/17	57 D	George Douglass	the foot of acc. brought from fo. 23	42.04.11
2/17/17	57 D	George Douglass	1/2 yard osnaburgs	0.00.10
2/17/17	57 D	George Douglass	9 yards Cantaloon @ 12 S	0.09.06
2/17/17	57 D	George Douglass	4 dozen coat buttons	0.03.00
2/17/17	57 D	George Douglass	1 hank of silk	0.01.06
2/17/17	57 D	George Douglass	3 hanks of mohair	0.01.06
2/17/17	57 D	George Douglass	1 broad ax	0.08.00
2/17/17	57 D	George Douglass	2 pair of men' s shoes	0.14.00
2/17/17	57 D	George Douglass	2 pair of men' s wash gloves	0.03.06
2/17/17	57 D	George Douglass	1 pair of brass spurs	0.02.00

5/14/18	64 D	William Douglass	the foot of the credit in money fol: 26	7.09.00
5/14/18	64 D	William Douglass	his bond in tobacco 712 T	712 T
5/14/18	64 D	William Douglass	the protest of his order on Thomas Macnemara	3.15.02

Table 31 Goods received by the Douglass Family Categorized

Food				Dining Equipment			
Clothing				Cloth or Materials for Clothing			
Date	Employee	Item	Value	Date	Employee	Item	Value
11/8/15	George Douglass	1 pair shoes bought of Chapman cost	0.06.06	5/2/16	George Douglass	1 piece garlits no 8	3.06.00
				5/12/16	Anne Douglass	1 piece garlits	3.06.00
				5/12/16	Anne Douglass	29 yards poplin @ 2/6 per yard.	3.12.00
11/15/15	Wm. Douglass	1 pair of shoes bought of Chapman cost	0.06.06	5/12/16	Anne Douglass	10 yards of stripped camolet at 3 s per yard.	1.10.00
				5/12/16	Anne Douglass	10 yards of India Silk at 5 s per yard.	2.10.00
2/1/15	Wm. Douglass	one fine beaveret hat at my house	5.05.00	5/12/16	Anne Douglass	5 yds of white osnaburg	0.06.00
2/15/15	George Douglass	one gold laced hat	0.12.00	5/31/16	George Douglass	one yard of muslin at 9 s	0.11.03
2/15/15	George Douglass	one pr. worsted roll up hose cost	0.02.02		Anne Douglass	10 more yards of India stripped silk	2.10.00
			6/1/16	George Douglass	7 yards of stripped holland at	1.08.00	
2/15/15	George Douglass	one pair spit boots	0.11.00	7/9/16	Anne Douglass		
2/15/15	George Douglass	1 India muslin handkerchi ef	0.09.00				
2/17/15	Wm. Douglass	article of shoes ought to be to George Douglass	0.06.06				

3/1/15	George Douglass	1 pair of shoes	0.06.06			4	
5/12/16	Anne Douglass	2 pair of shoes at 5/6	0.11.00	7/9/16	George Douglass	8 14 yards duroy @ 3/6	1.08.10
5/12/16	Anne Douglass	one pair stays	1.01.00	7/12/16	George Douglass	1/2 yard osnaburg	0.00.10
5/12/16	Anne Douglass	1 pair of wash gloves	0.02.00	7/14/16	George Douglass	1 dozen coat buttons	0.01.00
7/14/16	George Douglass	1 hank silk	0.01.06	7/14/16	George Douglass	1 yard and 1/4 coarse cotton	0.00.09
7/16/16	George Douglass	1 pair of wash gloves	0.03.06	7/14/16	George Douglass	3 dozen waist coat buttons	0.01.06
7/16/16	George Douglass	1 pair of shoes bought at Mr. Charles Carroll' s	0.07.00	7/14/16	George Douglass	1/4 yard stripped holland as above	0.01.00
				7/16/16	George Douglass	1 3/4 yards shaloon	0.05.03
2/17/17	George Douglass	1 pair of Pennsylvania gloves	0.04.06	7/16/16	George Douglass	1/2 a (illegible) of pins	0.01.00
2/17/17	George Douglass	2 pair of men' s shoes	0.14.00	7/16/16	George Douglass	2 1/2 yards of blenchalf thick @ 2/4	0.05.00
2/17/17	George Douglass	2 pair of men' s wash gloves	0.03.06				
2/17/17	George Douglass	1 hank of silk	0.01.06	7/16/16	George Douglass	8 yards of Counter tape	0.00.06
2/17/17	George Douglass	3 hanks of mohair	0.01.06				
				7/16/16	George Douglass	3 1/2 yards of formices linen @ 2S	0.06.06
				8/4/16	Anne Douglass	5 yards of stuff	0.13.09
				8/31/16	Anne Douglass	1 yard muslin	0.06.00
				2/17/17	George Douglass	1/2 yard osnaburgs	0.00.10
				2/17/17	George	9 yards	0.09.06

					Douglass	Cantaloons @ 12 S	
				2/17/17	George Douglass	4 dozen coat buttons	0.03.00
Tools				Cash/Credit			
Date	Employee	Item	Value	Date	Employee	Item	Value
2/17/17	George Douglass	1 broad ax	0.08.00	11/5/15	Wm. Douglass	cash paid him	2.07.08
				11/5/15	Wm. Douglass	my order on Mr. J.S. Showater	
				11/8/15	George Douglass	cash then paid him	0.04.06
				11/8/15	George Douglass	cash then paid him	0.04.06
				2/17/15	Wm. Douglass	W. Fitz Redmund's order on Mr. Macnemara by Macnemara to me paid	2.10.00
				4/5/16	Wm. Douglass	cash one pistole at my house	1.03.10
				4/9/16	Wm. Douglass	cash one guinea at my house	1.09.10
				4/19/16	George Douglass	one guinea delivered and lent at Swan Creek	1.08.00
				5/2/16	George Douglass	money received for my use of Robert Barry	4.10.00
				5/31/16	George Douglass	cash lent him at Mr.	24.00.00

		Charles Carroll's			
7/14/16	George Douglass	Dick the Smith's charge for shoeing your horse cash	0.03.00		
11/5/17	Wm. Douglass	cash lent him his own house	0.06.06		
1/29/17	George Douglass	money paid for making Andrew's clothes	0.12.00		
2/17/17	George Douglass	expenses when went for @ JC order	0.10.00		
1/29/17	George Douglass	money for cheese	0.12.00		
1/29/17	George Douglass	money on diverse occasions	0.10.03		
Medicine		Grooming Items			
Religious Items		Books and Instruments			
Livestock Related Items					
Date	Employee	Item	Value		
2/17/17	George Douglass	1 pair of brass spurs	0.02.00		

The chart clusters the items gained by the Douglasses into a few categories. They received some tools, but they did not seem to desire dining equipment, grooming items, religious items, or books. The Douglasses might not have been as intellectually oriented as their employer, and they seem not to have been involved in stylish entertaining. Their acquisitions indicated that they were interested in being seen in a more admirable way. The Douglasses worked for Carroll for cash, clothing, and cloth.

The relationship appeared to have begun with Carroll's giving hats to George and William Douglass. George Douglass's management of Carroll's plantations can be seen in many instances in the daybook. He made tobacco with several sharers in 1715 and collected money for Carroll in 1716. Anna Douglass's management of his household was clear during the fourteen-month period ending in May, 1717. Seen in this perspective, Carroll progressively vested the Douglasses with status in return for their work. Considering the Douglasses' clothing in terms of its type shows their compensation more precisely.

Table 32 Goods received by the Douglass Family According to Type

Hats		Handkerchiefs		Gloves	
Wm. Douglass	one fine beaveret hat at my house	George Douglass	1 hank silk	Anne Douglass	1 pair of wash gloves
George Douglass	one gold laced hat	George Douglass	1 India muslin handkerchief	George Douglass	2 pair of men's shoes
		George Douglass	1 hank of silk	George Douglass	2 pair of men's wash gloves
		George Douglass	3 hanks of mohair	George Douglass	1 pair of Pennsylvania gloves
		Anne Douglass	1 India muslin handkerchief	George Douglass	1 pair of wash gloves

Stockings		Shoes		Shirts or Material for Shirts	
George Douglass	one pr. worsted roll up hose cost	George Douglass	1 pair shoes bought of Chapman cost	Anne Douglass	29 yards poplin @ 2/6 per yard.
		Wm. Douglass	1 pair of shoes bought of Chapman cost	George Douglass	7 yards of stripped holland at 4
		Wm. Douglass	article of shoes ought to be to George Douglass	George Douglass	1/4 yard stripped holland as above
		George Douglass	1 pair of shoes		
		Anne Douglass	2 pair of shoes at 5/6		
		George Douglass	1 pair of shoes bought at Mr. Charles Carroll's		
		George Douglass	one pair spit boots		
Material for Outerwear		Buttons		Stays	
Employee	Item	George Douglass	1 dozen coat buttons	Anne Douglass	one pair stays
George Douglass	1 piece garlits no 8	George Douglass	3 dozen waist coat buttons		
Anne Douglass	1 piece garlits	George Douglass	4 dozen coat buttons		
Anne Douglass	10 yards of stripped camolet at 8 s per yard.				
Anne Douglass	10 yards of India Silk at 5 s per yard.				
Anne Douglass	5 yds of white osnaburg				

George Douglass	one yard of muslin at 9 S	
Anne Douglass	10 more yards of India stripped silk	
George Douglass	8 14 yards duroy @ 3/6	
George Douglass	1/2 yard osnaburg	
George Douglass	1 yard and 1/4 coarse cotton	
George Douglass	1 3/4 yards shaloon	
George Douglass	1/2 a (illegible) of pins	
George Douglass	2 1/2 yards of blenchalf thick @ 2/4	
George Douglass	8 yards of Counter tape	
George Douglass	6 1/4 yards of duroy @ 3/6	
George Douglass	3 1/2 yards of formices linen @ 2S	
Anne Douglass	5 yards of stuff	
Anne Douglass	1 yard muslin	
George Douglass	1/2 yard osnaburgs	
George Douglass	9 yards Cantaloon @ 12 S	
Material for Bedding	Material for Linings	Undetermined Use

The Douglasses received mostly gloves, shoes, and material for clothing. They used their employment with Carroll to gain the material to make several fine garments. Gloves, hats, and shoes were not items they could readily make on their own, and they seemed anxious to build up a supply of these items from Carroll.

The Douglasses were Carroll's best-compensated employees. Their lists of goods received were more complex than those of other servants were, and show them to be eager to dress fashionably. Carroll's other employees could not command the same level of compensation. Their lists of items received show more sparsely furnished lives; they had as keen an interest in acquiring consumer goods, but less opportunity to receive them. Robert Barry, for example, received a second hand coat and waistcoat, a shirt, shoes, five yards of osnaburg, thread, and credit with Betty Williams. Barry might have had everyday clothing made of osnaburg and saved his second hand coat for special occasions. In addition, Barry received shoes, but no stockings. In effect, he was reasonably well dressed from the waist up, owning one suit of passable clothing, although no handkerchief or hat. His lesser status would be immediately visible if he were seen with the Douglasses. He had no accessories and his clothing was worn and plain. Despite the low level of his material life, Robert Barry had paid a lot for his second hand coat and waistcoat. When he dressed in his best, he wore all the valuable items of his wardrobe at once.

Table 33 Carroll's Transactions with Employee, Robert Barry

Date	Daybook Page	Employee	Item	Value
1/16/15	31 D	Robert Barry	one shirt	0.050.0
2/28/15	31 D	Robert Barry	one 2nd hand rateen coat and waistcoat	4.00.00
2/28/15	31 D	Robert Barry	1 pair of shoes bought of Patrick Sympson	0.060.8
5/12/16	31 D	Robert Barry	6 ells osnaburg	0.10.00
5/12/16	31 D	Robert Barry	5 yds brown osnaburg	0.05.04
5/12/16	31 D	Robert Barry	7 skeins of thread	0.00.07
5/12/16	31 D	Robert Barry	credit with Betty Williams	0.01.00
5/12/16	31 C	Robert Barry	Geo. Douglass's account	4.10.00
5/12/16	31 C	Robert Barry	Lib D fo. 30 this balance	0.18.07

Carroll's transactions with his plowman, Jonathan Williams, echo the ownership of a suit just for display purposes seen in the Barry chart. Williams, too, was a poor farm worker, yet he was willing to spend over £3.00.0 on a suit. As the chart shows, an

allowance for clothing was part of his compensation, but this suit was far more costly than the ten shillings Carroll provided. Williams purchased a great deal of alcohol and a wine glass from Carroll just after he completed paying off his wife's indenture. The purchased items seem to be for a celebration. The purchase of a wine glass suggests that the celebration was a diminished version of the grand social events Carroll was equipped to present. During these same spring days, Carroll accepted Williams's expenses from the Quaker Meeting held in nearby West River, Maryland, about five miles east of Fingaul. In the same spirit of completing the indenture and starting a new life, the purchase of eight-penny nails could have been used in sheathing a small house. The number of nails seems small for a house, but Carroll was not an exclusive supplier.

Table 34 Carroll's Transactions with Employee, Jonathan Williams

Date	Daybook Page	Employee	Item	Value
10/25/15	16 D	Jno. Williams	bal from Lib AB fo164 (See p 48 - his obligation for his wife L 20)	20.00.00
10/25/15	16 D	Jno. Williams	1 cask of cider 20 gal. (also appears on p. 48)	0.04.08
11/7/15	16 D	Jno. Williams	his part what I pay Cutter for topping (also appears on p. 48)	0.01.06
11/7/15	16 D	Jno. Williams	His note is past for the sum of L 20. 6.2 (also appears on p. 48)	20.06.02
11/7/15	16 D	Jno. Williams	corn 3 barrels 1715 (no amount legible) (also appears on p. 48)	
10/30/15	16 D	Jno. Williams	one suit of cloth (also appears on p. 48)	4.00.00
1/1/15	48 D	Jno. Williams	One suit of cloth (Appears to be the same suit entered twice.)	3.10.00
1/30/15	16 D	Jno. Williams	140 lb. of pork (no amount written)	
1/30/15	16 C	Jno. Williams	Abatement on clothing	0.10.00
2/5/15	16 D	Jno. Williams	one bottle of rum (also appears on p. 48)	0.08.06
2/5/15	16 C	Jno. Williams	the ball per contra	23.17.08
2/5/15	16 D	Jno. Williams	one seventh of the charge of trashing to Jno Smith as per his acc beside diet (also appears on p. 48)	0.07.00
4/2/16	16 D	Jno. Williams	so much Docwra charges to my acc for 2 pair of shoes one for your self and another	0.11.06

			for Betty your wife date 12/8/14 (also appears on p. 48)	
4/2/16	48 C	Jno. Williams	his bills of exchange on Mrs. Perry note 6 % to be charged if protested (only a protest)	22.11.02
4/2/16	48 C	Jno. Williams	5 barrels of Indian corn at 9 s	2.05.00
5/12/16	48 D	Jno. Williams	4 bushels of wheat the tobacco carried out in money as we agreed	
5/12/16	48 C	Jno. Williams	the 8th part of four hogsheads of tobacco at 10 s per C as agreed weighing gross 2546 net all 102 for cask being my own	1.06.09
5/21/16	48 D	Jno. Williams	1 gal. and 1 quart of wine @ 5/6 per gal.	0.06.10
5/21/16	48 D	Jno. Williams	2 quarts of rum	0.03.00
5/21/16	48 D	Jno. Williams	1/2 gallon bottle	0.01.08
5/21/16	48 D	Jno. Williams	4 quart bottles	0.01.00
5/21/16	48 D	Jno. Williams	1 glass goblet flint	0.01.01
5/21/16	48 D	Jno. Williams	2 lb. of sugar fine muscadine	0.01.06
5/25/16	48 C	Jno. Williams	My acceptance. of expense at West River meeting	0.06.06
5/25/16	48 C	Jno. Williams	cash paid by Betty	0.05.04
5/25/16	48 C	Jno. Williams	more cash	0.01.00
6/30/16	51 D		The foot of debt from fo. 48	0.15.02
6/30/16	51 D	Jno. Williams	By the foot or credit from fo. 48	1.19.01
6/30/16	51 D	Jno. Williams	2 bushels of wheat	0.09.00
8/21/16	51 D	Jno. Williams	My note of credit to Mr. Chapman	0.18.00
6/08/17	51 D	Jno. Williams	Cash paid Thomas Woodfield	0.04.02
10/1/16	51 D	Jno. Williams	2 ½ bushels of wheat at 4/6	0.11.03
3/26/17	51 D	Jno. Williams	3 bushels of barley	(no amount)
3/26/17	51 D	Jno. Williams	1 bottle per Mr. Douglass	0.01.00
9/2/17	51 D	Jno. Williams	300 eight penny nails	0.02.04
12/13/17	51 D	Jno. Williams	My order on Edmund Burgess for 2 bushels of wheat at 9/2	0.09.00
6/8/17 (after this date)	51 C	Jno. Williams	The note to Chapman not paid. Misplaced by Chapman and could not be found	0.18.00
6/30/16	51 C	Jno. Williams	Wheat to balance due to him in wheat, two bushels	0.01.00
12/13/17	51 C	Jno. Williams	Balance due to James Carroll	0.03.10

Barry and Williams were farm workers who raised tobacco for a share of the crop, but Robert Brooks was a more highly skilled worker, a London-trained joiner whom James Carroll indentured during his visit to London in 1716. While Barry and Williams

spent their work lives in the field, Brooks worked in Carroll's and other gentry homes, using his skill and Carroll's tools to redecorate or construct houses in the latest fashion. Working with local resources, Brooks shaped wood to give a wealthy patron's home a distinctive look. His accounts were different, because Carroll paid Brooks mostly in money. He also gave him clothing, shirts, stocks, stockings, a suit, and a great deal of fabric. While Barry and Williams seemed plainly dressed, Brooks owned a speckled shirt and some clothing made of striped and checked cloth.

Working for James Carroll brought Robert Brooks to Maryland and set him on the path to prosperity. His skills earned him the advantageous indenture terms that saw him work for Carroll for just two years and be well dressed throughout. He was a man with better economic prospects than his fellow Quaker,¹ Jonathan Williams was, and his clothing made this distinction clear. Again, gaining access to consumer goods made an immigrant into a man of substance in the community in a way that paralleled James Carroll's own story as a consumer if on a much lesser scale of wealth.

Table 35 Carroll's Transactions with Robert Brooks

Date	Daybook Page	Employee	Item	Value
3/1/16	58 D	Robert Brooks	cash as had in London when settled indenture 16 S July, 1717 (recorded with following entry apparently he gets L 4.4 when he signs the indenture)	0.16.00
1/14/17	58 D	Robert Brooks	2 pair holland stocks and holland shirts	
1/14/17	58 D	Robert Brooks	one pair finest worsted milled hose	
1/14/17	58 D	Robert Brooks	pair of shoes best sort	

48. Carroll, 58D.

1/14/17	58 D	Robert Brooks	the tailor's bill about his suit of clothes as per Coyle acc fo. 37 pd as 1717	
1/14/17	69 D	Robert Brooks	A list of tools taken the 14 th of January, the morning he set out for Mr. Rozer's 1 spring plane 2 small bullockcons 6 pair hollows rounds from one quarter to an inch and half 2 3/4 hollows1 pair whole deal growing planes 3 2/1 inch 3/4 bead planes 2 pair of sash planes 2 as he calls 2 skew planes 2 smoothing planes 1 pilaster 1 plough 1 Jack and fore flam 1 jointer long plane	
5/13/17	58 D	Robert Brooks	10 yds such fine German linen @ 4/6	2.05.00
5/13/17	58 D	Robert Brooks	seven yds stripped checks at 2/6	0.17.06
8/5/17	58 D	Robert Brooks	one pair best shoes	0.07.00
8/5/17	58 D	Robert Brooks	one pair best worsted milled hose	0.11.00
8/19/17	58 D	Robert Brooks	cash then paid you	4.07.05
10/27/17	58 D	Robert Brooks	8 1/2 yds furnished to Coyle to make you a saddle that you paid yourself	2.16.09
5/9/18	58 D	Robert Brooks	cash paid you at Annapolis	1.00.11
6/2/18	58 D	Robert Brooks	1 pair best shoes	0.07.00
6/2/18	58 D	Robert Brooks	1 pair fine milled worsted stockings	0.11.00
6/3/18	58 D	Robert Brooks	cash to spend as you say at West River Meeting	0.01.08
7/27/18	58 D	Robert Brooks	cash in London (see previous record) and more cash this 27th of July	5.01.04
7/27/18	58 D	Robert Brooks	1 pair of yarn hose	0.06.00
7/27/18	58 D	Robert Brooks	2 speckled shirts	0.12.00
7/27/18	58 D	Robert Brooks	2 pair muskets drawers	0.06.00
7/27/18	58 D	Robert Brooks	one fine holland britches one fine holland waistcoat	1.00.00
8/15/18	58 C	Robert Brooks	In year's wages carriage money I am to pay yearly as per indenture commenced the 19th of May 1717 and the year ending 15the day of May 1718	3.1500

IV. Conclusion

The purchases Carroll made from merchants and those made for and with his various employees and servants illustrate how people on several levels of colonial society in Maryland used the market economy. They show that access to consumer goods was the key element in achieving gentility, that the variety and cleanliness of clothing were important signs of elite status, that consumer goods were important elements in an employee's or servant's compensation, and that local stores and gentry homes were significant places for the diffusion of gentility. Carroll and the others were eager to obtain articles of clothing that enabled them to present themselves as well dressed. This suggests that appearances mattered, and that a person dressed with an eye to an audience. At the same time, these transactions indicate that Carroll and the others had different levels of access to the market. While Carroll was free to use his money and credit to buy as he pleased, the others were dependant upon their connections to him to better themselves. Rather than consuming in a free, cash-based world of labor for wages and autonomous buying, Carroll's servants and employees were very much in a patron-client relationship in which Carroll controlled their ability to demonstrate some level of gentility. He exercised the crucial power of determining which articles of clothing they would receive and directly regulated their ability to appear well dressed. Ironically, while he pursued the independence to present himself in a genteel manner in defiance of the increasing religious and political disabilities he faced, he did not provide the same measure of independence to the others mentioned in these accounts. Employees and servants were allowed to enjoy a small measure of consumer activity to the extent that

they helped him exercise a much greater measure of the same freedom. The effectiveness of his doling out items of clothing, however, was clear proof that he and those beneath him in his plantation hierarchy were all anxious to take advantage of the market economy and to acquire consumer goods to renegotiate their status in the eyes of their neighbors. All of the examples given above, but especially the case of the Douglass family, revealed that the desire for consumer goods was based in the faith that having admired consumer goods was an essential element in enjoying some measure of social mobility, and that earning money in the market economy through either skilled trading or valued service was the pathway to buying power.

Chapter 7 Compiling Wealth at Career's End: A Legacy of Property, Education, and Faith

I. Wealth Independent of Politics

By the time of his death in 1729, James Carroll had built one of the largest estates in Maryland.¹ His accomplishment fulfilled his goal of acquiring the sweets of independence and demonstrated how commerce and consumer goods served as a substitute for landed wealth in a market economy. A generation earlier, changes in the Irish political hierarchy had stripped his family of land, power, and fortune. In Maryland, he had build a new type of wealth, a market-generated fortune and status secure from political change. Although Carroll had benefited from his association with powerful men in the colony, the wealth he gained through his business skill was separate from his service to the government. True, service to the Calverts had brought him wealth, but his usefulness to them and most of what he had in 1729 were both products of his intellectual ability to manage commerce.

This chapter discusses the last decade of James Carroll's life in terms of the wealth he acquired and his instructions to his heirs. It takes stock of Carroll's commerce in the last few years recorded in the daybook, his possessions at the time of his death, his work on behalf of his family, and his plans for his nephew's education. Carroll's

1. For the comparative value of Carroll's estate, see, Lois G. Carr, and Lorena S Walsh, "The Standard of Living in the Colonial Chesapeake," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Series. vol. 45, no. 1 (1988): 135-159. Table II, p. 144, lists estates by year according to value. The top category is for estates over £491. Carroll's £2800 estate is almost seven times greater than this threshold level for this category.

surviving daybook ended in 1721, and there are few detailed records of his business dealings in the years after, but a number of insights can be gained from reading information about his possessions from his probate accounts and will. Carroll's actions in this decade are illustrative of the emerging market economy. His buying and selling of consumer goods is demonstrated by his local trade, his use of material possessions, his administration of estates, and the division of wealth he made in his will.

Overall, James Carroll's success in separating his wealth from political power enabled him to maintain and even build his wealth long after his association with Maryland's proprietary family ended. By the time of his death, he had achieved the liberty to do what he wanted with his wealth. By spending, giving, or investing his money he could shape the future for his family in ways that were not dependant on favorable governmental policy. Carroll had no children of his own, but he used what he had earned to educate chosen nephews.² He was active in a time of political hostility to Catholics, but he used his wealth to insure that the beneficiaries of his will could live religious lives. This was his purpose in giving land to the Jesuits, and in providing the money for a Jesuit university education for his nephews. In the end, separating wealth from political power provided an opportunity for James Carroll to advance Catholic intellectualism in a Protestant empire.

James Carroll's accounts for the last decade of his life also bring the overall accomplishments of his career into an instructive focus. After the death of Charles Carroll, he was a patron to his family rather than a client to his uncle. He had worked in

2. Hoffman, *Princes of Ireland*, 56.

a family hierarchy all of his life, and he had now achieved the pinnacle. The principles underlying his success in this context point out an important transition in society. The path to power followed by his ancestors, best exemplified by Richard Grace,³ was based on birth and military service. This path was closed to James Carroll, and he rose through service of a different sort. For his immediate patron, Charles Carroll and himself, education, commerce, and intellectual service were the key ingredients of success. James Carroll served as a patron for younger relatives in his last decade, and he actively groomed chosen young men for leadership roles. For his nephew, Charles Carroll of Annapolis, this amounted to a decade of mentoring in commerce. For his Irish nephew, Anthony Carroll, he acted by financing a Jesuit education that led to a career as a priest and philosopher.⁴ Fostering his younger relatives preserved the Carroll family's allegiance to family-based wealth and Catholicism. In sum, James Carroll ascended from a promising nephew to head of the Carroll family, and he worked to pass on a legacy of land, wealth, and faith to the next generation.

The last decade of his life saw Carroll continue his work as a merchant, but on a smaller scale than he had in earlier years. His transactions in this period were of separate types, and each sort of transaction is studied in this chapter to learn about one aspect of his social and economic life. Together, they suggest something of James Carroll's interests at the end of this career and the steps he took to achieve his goals.

3. Hoffman, *Princes of Ireland*, 48-49.

4. Hoffman, *Dear Papa*, 7 n. 2.

II. Local Trade, 1719-29

The first level to be considered is the local trade Carroll undertook with his rural Anne Arundel County neighbors. James Carroll's transactions with tradesmen, agriculture workers, and local planters from 1719 to 1722 show how he acted as a rural merchant in the years after his political battles and his two ventures as a large-scale importer. Despite the diminished volume of his buying and selling, his local commerce shows how consumer goods made their way into the hands of rural buyers. Commerce on this scale demonstrates that while Carroll did not keep a retail store in the sense of his keeping a permanent establishment open to all with cash to spend, his supply of imported goods was an essential element of his trade. A close look at transactions in this period shows that he kept what buyers wanted in his home and sold goods for a combination of barter and cash. In general, Carroll was a source of textiles, clothing, tools, iron goods, and credit. Most commonly, his trade partners supplied work and farm products in the exchanges. This was not always the case, however. In several instances, Carroll received cloth and other items for himself. The transactions are discussed according to Carroll's relationship to his partners. They involved employees, tradesman, merchants, and individuals who made various sorts of deals.

Table 36 James Carroll's Transactions with Tradesmen, Local Merchants and Overseers, 1719-21

Date	Page	Partner	Item	Value (in £ or tobacco)
Undated	118 D	Jacob Henderson	Cash expended for you by order at the Woodyard	3.6.3
Undated	118 C	Jacob Henderson	Ulrick Burk's bond delivered in to me 4.00.00 Cash paid (illegible) per my order 0.09.00 2 yds green cloth 0.17.00 2 pieces gambados cloth 0.15.00 1 saddle 1.07.00 1 pair double thread hose 0.03.06 1 hat 0.10.00 Foot good poplar plank Foot poplar plank bad stuff	No amount
Undated	122 D	Richard Taylor	2 pair of men's shoes per your son	0.14.8
Undated	122 C	Richard Taylor	(illegible)	(illegible)
Undated	118 D	Thomas Cockshett Calvert County	Cash paid him by Mr. Charles Carroll per my order	5.0.0
Undated	118 C	Thomas Cockshett Calvert County	1 horse	5.0.0
1/19/19	110 D	John Cook the Blacksmith of Londontown	35 lbs. of iron as this day settled Cash then paid him at my house Cash paid you at Londontown	0.4.6 0.3.0 1.3.0
1/19/19	110 C	John Cook the Blacksmith of Londontown	Jno. Carroll's order on me 0.19.06 Lib D fo. 29 1.08.02	2.1.0
7/17/19	109 D	Edward Walters of P.G. County Ditcher	1 best ax 2 grubbing hoes 2 yds osnaburg 1 hillling hoe 2 dozen gimp best buttons 1 pair plain shoes	1.10.0
7/17/19	109 C	Edward Walters of P.G. County Ditcher	Jno. Carroll's order in your favor	1.10.0

8/21/19	109 D	Mrs. Sara Brice A.A. Co.	My bills on Thomas Colmore	12.10.0
8/21/19	109 C	Mrs. Sara Brice A.A. Co.	5 cows and calves delivered by the widow Owings	12.10.0
11/12/19	110 D	Richard Croxall of P.G. County	Cash paid him at Mr. Charles Carroll's 2 bushels of summer wheat @ 4/6	1.0.0 0.9.0
11/12/19	112 D	Thomas Hampton	1 pair of boots Cash paid him Goods heretofore on account whereof delivered to Jno. Carroll 2.01.03 Goods this day by way of note of credit to Michael Taylor	0.10.0 0.3.8 4.10.0
11/12/19	112 C	Thomas Hampton	53 ½ rods ditching 3.00.04 105 rods hassocking ⁵ 0.13.04 Cash to drink my health 0.04.05 Jno. Carroll for a horse	3.18.0 4.10.0
11/30/19	112 D	Jno. Courts of Charles County	His note past to me for Robert Brooks' work	19.0.0
12/23/19	113 D	Edward Edelon of P.G. County	My bills of exchange on Thomas Colmore	12.6.0
12/23/19	113 C	Edward Edelon of P.G. County	12 hogs received	12.6.0
12/23/19	113 D	John Hawkins of P.G. County	Cash at my house 0.06.00 My order on Mr. Clegget to pay you 600 (lbs. tobacco) Lib. D fo. 29 22 ½ (lbs. tobacco)	0.6.0 622 ½ T
12/23/19	113 C	John Hawkins of P.G. County	1 shoat weighing 68 lbs. 315 lbs. of port ½ A hog run away (illegible) 100 lb. in case he has not gone home to your house	
5/23/20	113 D	William Foster, the Irish Merchant	My obligation passed to him dated the 15 th of January, 1719 for 2000 (lbs. tobacco) Cash paid to Hugh Kennedy this day in satisfaction of the obligation per contra to whom the	4000 T

5. A hassock is a firm clump of matted vegetation. Hassocking would mean removing them from a field. *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 1: 110.

			same way ordered as per my receipt book fo. 28 at 3 per hundred being L 10.00.00 for 2000 T	
5/23/20	113 D	William Foster, the Irish Merchant	A servant called Harry Goadby 2000 (lbs. tobacco) The obligation per contra 2000 (lbs. tobacco)	4000 T
8/25/20	118 D	Jacob Henderson	1 grass scythe 1 (illegible) 2 wedges 2 handles 1 ring	0.3.0
9/10/20	112 C	Jno. Courts of Charles County	The same passed to Peter Attwood	19.0.0
2/5/20	118 D	Jacob Henderson	Note passed to Mr. Garrett for purchase of Woodcock's Rest	16.4.0
3/7/20	118 D	Jacob Henderson	3 gimlets	0.0.4
8/8/21	121 D	Patrick Sympson	Drawing Capt. Canseys bill of sale to Capt. Hyde 1.00.00	
8/24/21	121 D	Patrick Sympson	6000 eight penny nails delivered per your order to store 3.04.00 Cash lent at Kennedy's heretofore 0.05.00	3.9.0
8/26/21	121 D	Michael Reagan, my Overseer	1 pair of men's best shoes as per daybook 1 pair of women's best shoes	0.12.0
9/19/21	122 D	Thomas Sparkle	A gray cloth coat faced with velvet and jacket of Capt. Brown's estate	2.10.0
9/19/21	122 C	Thomas Sparkle	Vid lib D fo. 32	2.10.00
9/25/21	121 D	Michael Reagan, my Overseer	1 pair of men's best shoes His levy	0.07.04
9/27/21	121 D	Patrick Sympson	6000 eight-penny nails delivered to Jno. Gath 3.04.00	
10/5/21	118 D	Jacob Henderson	1 pair roasted sole shoes 3 pieces of fear nothing @ 34 yds each 9.09.09 1 piece cotton @ 79 yds 121 yds more of cotton 3 loaves of sugar 10 best Monmouth caps	16.05.00
11/5/21	118 D	Jacob Henderson	12 large plains (illegible) 1 plasterer's trowel and bricklayers trowel Money, sterling, paid you by Mr.	2.08.00 0.02.00

			Richard Snowden as he says per my order being in fact Jno. Carroll's bond with Snowden assumed as per bond, vid. Mr. Carroll's acc	
				15.06.09
11/7/21	121 D	Patrick Sympson	(Various notes)	47.07.03
12/16/21	121 D	Patrick Sympson	1000 eight penny nails delivered to John Cop per your order 0.10.08 6000 ditto 3.04.00	
12/16/21	121 D	Patrick Sympson	(Various exchanges)	63.06.02
12/16/21	121 D	Patrick Sympson	Goods delivered to me by the credit of H. Linthicum Jan. 21, 1715 (illegible) 100 bushels of salt when delivered at 18 d current per bushel 7.10.00 My order on you to pay Nicholas St. Lawrence 1300 (lbs. tobacco)	(illegible)
2/14/21	121 D	Michael Reagan, my Overseer	Cash paid you	2.07.02
2/14/21	121 D	Michael Reagan, my Overseer	Money and tobacco I pay on account of being his special bail at the trial of Woddlington in June 1721 275 (lbs. tobacco) @ 16/ per cwt.	7.11.19
2/14/21	121 D	Michael Reagan, my Overseer	5 ½ barrels of corn 1.18.06 Carried to Lib C fo. 56 for the shoes per 1.00.02 Balance when settled is to be carried to Lib D fo. 32 9.02.07	12.01.05
5/22/21	125 D	William Young, the Ditcher	8 yds osnaburg 0.09.08 1 pair of best leather heeled shoes 0.07.04 1 pair of women's wood heeled shoes 0.05.00 3 ½ ells of German linen @ 4 per ell 0.11.06 Cash in March court at Annapolis as you say 0.03.03 Cash heretofore 0.11.00 Cash 0.02.06	2.11.06

			1 pint of rum and a quart bottle 0.01.03	
9/3/21	125 D	William Young, the Ditcher	1 pair plain shoes per Thom Barns 0.08.00	0.08.00
9/3/21	125 D	William Young, the Ditcher	Cash paid you at Herring Brook	0.05.06
12/3/21	125 D	William Young, the Ditcher	1 barrel Indian corn	No amount
4/1/22	125 D	William Young, the Ditcher	1 barrel Indian corn	No amount
5/22/22	125 D	William Young, the Ditcher	8 yds of osnaburg 1 pair of men's shoes 1 pair of women's shoes 1 quart of rum and bottle 3 ½ yds German linen	No amount
7/11/22	125 D	William Young, the Ditcher	1 barrel of Indian corn	No amount
8/15/22	125 D	William Young, the Ditcher	1 barrel corn	No amount
9/3/22	125 D	William Young, the Ditcher	1 pair plain shoes	No amount
Undated	125 C	William Young, the Ditcher	Ditching @ 12 d per perch 40 per for scouring the bottom of the 3 acre field 1 bottle returned 0.00.06	No amount

Michael Reagan,⁶ Thomas Hampton⁷ and William Young⁸ were employees. Reagan was an overseer and Hampton and Young were plowmen and ditchers. Reagan received two pairs of shoes for himself and one for his wife along with cash, tobacco, and corn for his service to Carroll. He also received two pairs of men's shoes and one pair of

6. Carroll, 121.

7. Ibid., 112.

8. Ibid., 125.

women's shoes, cash, and corn. Young also received cloth and rum paid on two dates almost exactly a year apart. Thomas Hampton received a pair of boots and credit at Michael Taylor's store. As noted about earlier transactions with employees, shoes and cloth were central elements in payments to employees. In the case of these men, however, the cloth was coarse linen. These men were agricultural workers whose overseeing, ditching, and plowing earned them only simple foodstuffs and plain cloth. The one hint of luxury in each transaction was that Reagan and Young received "best" quality shoes and Hampton a pair of boots.

A second sort of transaction involved merchants purchasing iron goods from Carroll. Londontown blacksmith John Cook⁹ purchased thirty-five pounds of iron in January of 1719. His neighbor, merchant Patrick Sympson,¹⁰ had Carroll deliver 13,000 eight-penny nails at three dates in the fall of 1721. Carroll and Sympson had a long-running trade relationship involving large exchanges of cash, tobacco, credit, and goods because of each man's serving as a credit source for neighbors and farm workers. The nails were a small element in their overall business of 1721, worth about ten percent of the more than £100 total value in notes the two merchants exchanged. Carroll used Sympson as a source for an imported item as well, ordering one hundred bushels of salt from him in 1721.

9. Ibid., 110.

10. Ibid., 115.

A third category of buyer was one who made barter or cash retail trades with Carroll. Thomas Cockshett¹¹ sold Carroll a horse. William Edelon¹² and John Hawkins¹³ sold him hogs and pork. Sara Brice sold him cows and calves. Each of these livestock deals involved Carroll's paying cash for the animals.

Inanimate objects were also the subject of Carroll's retail transactions between 1719 and 1722. He traded most often with a man named Jacob Henderson¹⁴ in a series of cash and barter deals. Henderson sold Carroll three small lengths of cloth worth about a pound in all, a pair of hose, a hat, a saddle, and an unspecified amount of poplar planking. In return, he received cash, a grass scythe, two trowels, two wedges, two handles, a ring, a pair of shoes, three loaves of sugar, ten Monmouth caps, two hundred yards of cotton cloth, and £2 worth of another sort of cloth. In all, Henderson received just over £19 worth of goods. Although the number of planks he supplied is unlisted, it had to be a substantial quantity of lumber.

Each of these transactions included the exchange of goods as an element in a deal with a person providing Carroll with a good or service. Three other transactions were simply for money. Thomas Sparkle¹⁵ borrowed £2.10.0 from Carroll to purchase a

11. Ibid., 118.

12. Ibid., 113.

13. Ibid..

14. Ibid., 118.

15. Ibid., 122.

velvet-faced, gray cloth coat. Annapolis innkeeper Hugh Kennedy¹⁶ sold Carroll a servant for £20 acting as an intermediary for an Irish merchant. A Charles County resident, Jonathan Courts,¹⁷ paid £19 for work done by Carroll's former servant, joiner Robert Brooks. Carroll passed the payment on to Jesuit Peter Attwood as a gift.

These transactions illustrate the existence of relationships ranging from employment to religious charity, but all except the last conveyed imported items or people into the local economy. It seems clear that although Carroll was not a storekeeper in the early years of the 1720s, he served the same function, fulfilling the desires of local farmers, tradesmen, and merchants to use the market economy to enhance their lives.

III. Consumer Buying 1715-29

A second aspect of Carroll's transactions from this part of his career was his buying of consumer goods. His probate inventory gives some insight into this topic, especially when it is contrasted with an inventory of possessions he made in 1715. The fifteen years between the earliest entries in the surviving volume of James Carroll's daybook and the inventory of his goods taken at his death saw him change the style of daily life he was equipped to enjoy and the range of economic activities that members of his household were equipped to pursue. The trappings of gentility became an important element of his domestic life in these years, as Carroll used material possessions to display

16. Ibid., 113.

17. Ibid., 112.

his prominence as the head of the Carroll family. He had been banished from the political stage, and it appears that he compensated for the loss of political prestige by using ornate domestic items to assert his status in another venue. The primary audience for this display would have been relatives and other visitors to his home at Fingual. In this setting he was a country gentleman whose home demonstrated his worth and that of the family he headed.

Before discussing which items James Carroll bought for himself in these years, it is important to set the stage for his buying by situating his action in the context of what his rural neighbors and more urban people in nearby Annapolis were buying in the same years. A broader regional and scholarly context for a discussion of James Carroll's acquisitions of consumer goods in the era between 1715 and 1729 can be sketched by extracting quantities from Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh's essay entitled, "Changing Lifestyles and Consumer Behavior in the Colonial Chesapeake."¹⁸ Carr and Walsh based their study on 7500 probate inventories from four Chesapeake counties and used statistics derived from these records to trace the changes in what people owned at the time of their deaths in terms of thirteen types of consumer goods recorded at twelve dates spread over 130 years. Contrasting the figures for urban and rural Anne Arundel County inventories taken between 1710 – 22 and 1723 – 32 suggests what Carroll's neighbors owned and what they wished to, or were able to, acquire in these years.

The data gathered by Carr and Walsh show a contrast in the possessions of county residents during the first decades of the eighteenth century and a contrast in levels of

18. Lois G. Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, "Changing Lifestyles and Consumer Behavior in the Colonial Chesapeake"

consumption between rural and urban residents. James Carroll was a wealthy rural resident, but his frequent travel and social prominence made him more like urban residents in his buying of goods. His trade partners, though, were a mix of urban and rural people. His immediate Fingual area neighbors were mostly small-scale consumers and employees who had few consumer goods. In short, the people with whom Carroll interacted most frequently were rural, but he was a leading consumer and far better connected to an Atlantic-wide world of goods than most of the people he met from day to day. In general, rural Anne Arundel County residents were less likely to own consumer goods than urban residents were during the last decade of Carroll's life. Across the levels of wealth identified by Carr and Walsh, individuals were most likely to own bed or table linen, coarse earthenware, and religious books. Urban residents were more likely to own knives and forks, fine earthenware, tea and tea ware, and wigs.

The 1723-32 figures support a composite sketch of Carroll's rural neighbors as consumers. About half of the poorer residents owned coarse earthenware, bed linen, and religious books, most likely a bible. The middling sort owned the same types of items, but the more affluent among them owned them with greater frequency – the totals rise to 67-88 percent in each category of good. The trend continued among the wealthy, although they were more likely to own more dining items and timepieces. For instance, fifty-seven percent owned table knives and forks, and a few owned fine earthenware, clocks or watches, silver plate, and spices. It is also instructive to note what the poor did not own. Except for the very wealthy rural people, few owned tea or tea ware in 1732. Hardly any owned wigs, and virtually none owned secular books, pictures, or fine earthenware. Among the poorer rural residents, homes were less likely to be decorated

with images and meals were eaten with fingers. It is impossible to tell how people socialized over meals, but the poorer people were unlikely to have much experience with the manners used in drinking tea.¹⁹

The overall impression of these statistics is that consumer activity was quite limited in rural Anne Arundel County during James Carroll's lifetime. This context indicates that his rich and varied wardrobe, wigs, and imported possessions set him apart from his neighbors not just in the numbers of things he owned, but also in the fundamental style of his conducting everyday activities such as dining. By 1729, Carroll was equipped to conduct social rituals such as dining with specialized dishes and utensils that virtually none of his neighbors could emulate. No doubt, what he owned and his ability to act gracefully with these items identified him as a man to be admired, respected, or feared, but not as a peer except to the wealthy few among his neighbors.

By acting as a buyer of consumer goods, Carroll was participating in an overall pattern of change that is evident from Carr and Walsh's statistics. Having a great deal of wealth to spend placed him at the fore, but buying the type of items he acquired was becoming increasingly common among the more affluent residents of Annapolis in his time. By the time his probate inventory was made in 1729, most urban Anne Arundel County residents had bought items similar to those he owned, although in varying number and quality. The variation in quality seems inevitable though it is impossible to distinguish from Carr and Walsh's data. Also, the number of particular goods owned is hard to track precisely. Their survey included all who owned one item from each of

19. For a more detailed discussion of this topic see Main, 248.

thirteen categories of goods. In other words, one fork counted the same as a set. Still, the contrast between haves and have-nots is easy to note.

By 1732, most urban residents who died leaving estates worth more than £50 owned bed or table linen, table knives and forks, and religious books. Most people leaving estates worth over £95 also had fine earthenware, tea and tea ware, silver plate, and pictures. Half of the number also owned clocks and watches. One anomaly in the data is that half of those leaving estates worth between £50 and £94 owned wigs, but only about a third of the wealthy had them. In a general trend counter to the diffusion of tea drinking, wig use spread among the middling sort before it became frequent among the wealthy, as though a public show of refinement took precedence over a more private display.

The overall growth in consumer buying across twenty years and the increasing popularity of certain items is clear from noting how Carr and Walsh's data show certain items being more commonly owned by the end of the period. Table knives and forks, for example, rose in frequency from being listed in one third of inventories worth over £ 50 in 1710 to three quarters of estates of that value inventoried between 1723 and 1732. Similarly, tea and tea ware increased in frequency from virtually none in any wealth group in 1710 to inclusion in eighty-three percent of inventories worth over £95 between 1723 and 1732. Fine earthenware also became more frequent in this era. It was not listed in any urban Anne Arundel County inventories in 1700, but by 1710, it was present in sixty percent of estates worth over £226, and its frequency in estates worth £95 increased dramatically, rising from zero to eighty-three percent between 1710 and 1732.

The growth in consumer buying had a great impact on the style of dining among the more affluent Anne Arundel County residents in this era, especially those who lived in Annapolis. The diffusion of tea drinking from wealthy to middling estates points to the growing popularity of a social action involving the use of imported cups to share imported beverages in leisure activity. Similarly, the growing frequency of table knives and forks indicates a change in the style of dining as wealthier people were becoming less likely to eat with their fingers. These changes suggest that gentility was displayed through one's activity at the table. In addition to wearing fashionable clothing, a genteel person had to know the proper way to use knives, forks, and teacups if he or she would be accepted in a polite setting. Overall, these figures show that respect was not simply to be had by virtue of wealth or political position, but increasingly from the graceful performance of a manner of dining in Annapolis between 1700 and 1732.

Contrasting the possessions listed in James Carroll's daybook in 1715 with the inventory taken at his death makes it possible to draw conclusions about the scale of his achievements in terms of wealth gained, possessions acquired, and slaves owned.²⁰ Summing up these changes shows his having adopted a far more ornate style of dining, maintained a diverse plantation economy, and had his slaves trained in a variety of crafts. Earlier he had relied on political position as the source of his wealth. Over the last fifteen years of his life, he shifted to a diverse assortment of agricultural and commercial sources to maintain his gains and lay the foundation for the next generation to build upon them.

20. Carroll, James. Inventory, Anne Arundel County Records, 1729, Lib 21, fo. 218 and Lib 15, fo. 496.

Table 37 James Carroll Possessions 1715 & 1716 Compared to 1729

Tables 1715/1716	Tables 1729	Seating 1715/1716	Seating 1729	Gambling 1715/1716	Gambling 1729
4 oval tables 1 square table 1 deal table	4 oval tables 1 small square table 4 old deal tables 1 small table broke	37 chairs (12 leather 12 cane 10 rush- bottomed 3 wooden) 1 couch 7 wooden chairs	1 dozen cane chairs 10 old Russian leather chairs 1 couch	1 pair of back- gammon tables <u>Purchases:</u> From Tyler 2 packs of playing cards From Sympson 2 packs of playing cards	1 back- gammon table 2 dice boxes 1 pack of cards
Sleeping 1715/1716	Sleeping 1729	Lighting 1715/1716	Lighting 1729	Fire/ Heating 1715/1716	Fire/ Heating 1729
7 beds including - 4 feather beds - 2 flock beds - 1 cattail bed, Jno. and his wife 5 sets of bed curtains 1 squab and pillow 4 pairs of blankets 3 rugs 2 bolsters 1 quilt 1 feather bolster <u>Purchases</u>	1 feather bed 2 ordinary beds 2 flock beds 1 old cotton woven hammock	1 tin candlestick 1 Japanned Standish <u>Purchases:</u> From Sympson 1 brass snuffer	3 brass candlesticks 1 old iron lanthorn	2 iron back 3 sets of tongs and shovels 5 bellows 5 sets of iron dogs one fender 5 iron shovels 2 iron pot racks	4 pair hand irons 1 pair hand irons broken 1 brass shovel 1 pair old iron tongs 1 iron shovel 3 pair of bellows

From Sympson 1 bed cord 1 quilt					
Storage 1715/1716	Storage 1729	Cloth 1715/1716	Cloth 1729	Scientific 1715/1716	Scientific 1729
2 trunks 1 chest 1 chest of drawers 2 port manteau 1 chest 2 smaller chests	1 old chest of drawers 8 tin canisters 1 small gilt trunk 1 cloth basket 3 new chests	148 yards cotton 196 yards osnaburg <u>Purchases:</u> From Tyler 1 gross coat gimp buttons 6 yds of cheercorns 12 yards of calaminco at 14 per yard. 10 yards of calaminco at 14 per yard. 2888 gallons 1 small trunk 2 old chests	1 small remnant of holland 1 parcel of mohair 122 yards of Welsh cotton 149 yards of fear nothing 7 ½ yards of coarse broad cloth 199 yards of half thick 31 yards of cloth druggot 12 yards of frieze 4 yards of coarse shalloon 40 ells of coarse cloth 191 ells of brown osnaburg 40 ells of canvas 166 yards of narrow check linen 5 pieces of 7/8 garlits	surveying instruments globes 1 microscope 1 lodestone 63 books	Surveying instruments 8 balls of brass wire 1 parcel of gold twist 3 pair of small money scales sundry surveying instruments 1 sea quadrant 1 lodestone poled 1 pair of brass scales and weights 1 parcel of medicines
<u>Purchases</u> From Sympson 1 gilt trunk (small) 1 chest and one basket					

	<p>8 hanks silk to 8 oz 9/4</p> <p>1 gross gimp buttons</p> <p>1 gross ditto bright</p> <p>2 ells brown hicklinlongs at 8</p> <p>1 piece duroy</p> <p>1 piece narrow checks</p> <p>3 pieces German Linen</p> <p>2 pieces colored binding</p> <p>1 piece of lace 17 1/2 yds at 2/6</p> <p>1 piece ditto at 11 oz of 13 1/4 yds at 1/6</p> <p>From Hyde 4 1/2 yards superfine black cloth @ 2.15 per yard.</p> <p>4 1/2 yards fine cloth @ 32 s per yard</p> <p>4 3/4 yards ditto at 9 s per yard</p> <p>18 yards shaloons at 3/4 per yard</p> <p>15 yards co dimity at 2 s</p> <p>3 yards vermillion @</p>	<p>5 pieces of narrow garlits</p> <p>5 pieces of Douglas</p> <p>17ells of coarse bag holland</p> <p>34 ells of Irish sheeting</p> <p>3 ells of brown Irish sheeting</p> <p>5 1/2 yards of</p> <p>Huckaback</p> <p>81 pounds of colored and brown thread</p> <p>21 pounds of white and brown thread</p> <p>a parcel of old mohair and coral buttons</p>		
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	<p>2/2 6 yards buckram at 1/9 6 yards wadding 9 dozen coat buttons 15 dozen ditto bright felt mohair thread canvas</p> <p>From Sympson 1 piece narrow blue ribbon 3 lb. of brown thread 2 pieces Osnaburg 2 pieces Cantaloon of 5 yds 3 pieces plain 3 lb. of thread 2 pieces of scotch cloth at 2/2 per yard. 2 pieces garlits at 3/6 1 remnant Damask 1 lb. cotton wick 1 M fans 1 pr. half thick blue 1 pr. gartering 1 piece tape</p>		
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		broad holland		
		From Ouchterlong 1 piece wide stuff 1 piece cantaloon 2 pieces osnaburg 1 piece checks at 1 piece fine checks at 1 piece ticklenburg 1 piece shirts Italian Poplin 1 piece (illegible) 1 remnant fine flannel 1 piece duroy no 30 1 piece shirt holland 90 (illegible) at 20 yards at 7/6 3 yds. best gartering (illegible) 1 remnant muslin at 10 yds. at 9 per 7 dozen ticking buttons a 4 p 1 piece good sheeting at 45 1/2 yds. at 3/6 1 gross best		

		coat mohair buttons 14 doz. bright buttons 3 pieces narrow holland capes 1/4 1/4 lb. nun thread @ 10 per no. 6 1 lb. ditto no 9 @ per			
Grooming 1715/1716	Grooming 1729	Sanitary 1715/1716	Sanitary 1729	Drinking 1715/1716	Drinking 1729
4 powder boxes 2 looking glasses <u>Purchases</u> From Sympson 1 powder box 6 wash balls 3 lbs. of hair powder 11 lb. soap 2 lb. hair powder 1 ten inch glass 1 15 inch glass	2 small looking glasses 5 ordinary razors with strop and hone 1 parcel of hair powder 100 pounds of English soap 2 washing tubs	1 close stool 1 pewter chamber pot	1 old close stool	2 tankards 1 stone mug - bottom broken 2 earthen mugs with handles off 3 small mugs <u>Purchases</u> From Tyler 1 stone jug 6 wine glasses From Sympson 3 1/2 pint mugs 6 double wine flint glasses 2 small punch bowls	4 earthen punch bowls 3 glass cruets 1 doz. wine glasses 6 beer glasses 6 earthen tea cups and saucers 10 earthen coffee cups 20 chocolate cups 2 earthen mugs 4 stone mugs 30 gallons of rum 7 casks of low wines 26 bottles with spirits

					700 gallons of cider
					1 gross and 9 dozen quart bottles 10 dozen and 11 pint bottles 29 empty flasks
Cooking 1715/1716	Cooking 1729	Dishware 1715-16	Dishware 1729	Linen 1715-16	Linen 1729
1 grid iron	1 iron spit	13 pewter	1 dozen	10 table	6 old
1 spit	1 old	dishes	ivory	cloths	huckaback
1 frying	copper	1 cheese	handle case	24 white	table cloths
pan	saucepans	plate	knives	napkins	10 old
1 bell	3 wooden	37 pewter	1 dozen	4 pair of	huckaback
metal	pails	plates	forks	white	napkins
skillet	1 frying	1 saucer	1 earthen	sheets	(bedding
1 handle of	pan	4 wooden	sugar dish	8 towels	was not
a frying	1 copper	bowls	3 glass	2 pair of	detailed)
pan	tea kettle	19 pewter	salts	pillisters	
3 tin pans	1 chocolate	spoons	3 glass	1 callico	
1 large iron	pot	4 knives	decanters	table cover	
kettle	2 coffee	5 forks	1 blue and	1 callico	
2 large iron	pots	2 black	white stone	checked	
pots	2 stone tea	hafts	jug	cupboard	
1 smaller	pots	1 old case	2 stone	cover	
iron pot	1 doz. new	for knives	bottles	1 Scotch	
1 copper	tin pans		1 doz. new	carpet	
pot	1 doz. old		pewter		
1 tea pot	tin pans		plates	Bedding	
2 sugar	19 small		2 small	4 pair	
boxes	tin pans		pewter	holland	
1 salt seller	3 earthen		dishes	sheets	
16 butter	milk pots	Purchases	48 ½ old	2 pair	
pots	broken	From	pewter	coarse	
1 earthen	1 box iron	Sympson	33 ½ old	sheets	
lard pot	and heaters	1 doz. pewter	pewter	2 pillow	
1 lard pot	1 old box	spoons	2 ½ dozen	cases	
1 pair of	iron and	2 cruets	pewter	1 old quilt	
large pot	heaters		spoons	2 new India	

hooks	12 earthen		8 tea	sheet	
1 pair of small pot hooks	butter pots 1 small coffee mill		spoons 17 alchemy spoons	1 new red rug	
1 pair of iron dogs	1 sugar mallet		2 flint mugs	1 new green rug	
1 box iron	40 pounds of clayed		1 plate tankard	1 new blue rug	
2 heaters	sugar		3 large plate	1 tufted rug, diverse	
1 box iron broken	38 ounces of		castors	colors	
1 pair of tongs	cinnamon		1 plate	1 dark colored rug	
3 sifters	12 ounces of mace		soup ladle	1 dark colored	
1 pair of tin snuffers	12 ounces of cloves		1 doz. plate spoons	rug, Jno.	
1 water pot	4 bushels of salt		7 plate tea spoons	and his wife	
<u>Purchases</u>	100 pounds of dried bacon and beef		1 pair of plate tongs	1 old green rug, Jno.	
From Tyler	2 brass cocks		1 plate strainer	Groves'	
2 lbs. of ginger 20	1 old tap borer		1 large silver mug	bed	
1 cheese 12 lb.	3 pair of good hand mill stones and irons			6 pair of blankets,	
32 1/2 gallons of Madeira wine at 9 s. per pipe	4 iron pots 22 licorice root			one of which Jno.	
27 lb. clayed sugar at 3 lb. total per	12 small earthen butter pots			and his wife have	
33 white sugar at 5 lb. tob. per	1 old gallon pewter pot				
From Sympson	1 tin				
1 brass skimmer	colander				
1 tin tea pot	2 coarse hair sieves				
4 quarts	1 steel malt mill				
3 pr. brass spoons at 3 sauce pans					

tin 2 gimlets 1 earthen jug 2 sifters 3 stone butter pots 1 funnel 1 Lesser funnel 1 sugar box double pen tin 1 warming pan 1 pot wrought weighted about 32 lb. 2 brass cocks	1 mettle kettle 50 or 60 gallons 1 very large powdering tub 3 brewing tubs 1 large copper still worm 75 bushels of salt				
Books / Art 1715/1716	Books/ Art 1729	Religious 1715/1716	Religious 1729	Tools/ lumber 1715/16	Tools/ lumber 1729
63 titles	Sundry new books of law Old books 28 ordinary pictures	Purchases From Sympson 2 lb. wafers and box	1 small box of wafers plate church ornaments	Not itemized in 1715 1 cattle bead Purchases: From Tyler From Sympson 3 inch auger 1 1/4 auger 1 1 1/4 auger 1 steel spade (written in later no value listed) 6 lbs. gunpowder	7 pair door hinges 1 parcel of iron latches and other old iron things 1 jack plane 1 old gun and barrel 1 powder flask 32 pounds of gun powder 10 pounds of small shot 1 shot bag and belt 8 pounds

					of shot 1 sword belt
					1 knife and an old silver button
					2 double girths
					2 old bridles
					3 ordinary bridles
					1 old crupper
					2 speaking trumpets
					1 old horse brush
					1 horse whip
					1 new horse bolt strap
					1 pair of silver spurs
					1 par of marking irons
					2 pair of small steelyards
					1 pair of large steelyards
					1 pair of glazier's tools
					1 glazier's diamond
					1 small box of diamond glass
					1 parcel of

					lumber in the study 1 old saddle 1 old bridle 11 pounds of old iron 1 parcel of cask staves 2000 barrel staves 6 large pad locks 4 small pad locks 3 box locks a parcel of carpenter's tools 1 parcel of joiner's tools 13 ship carpenter's augers 4 iron wedges 305 pounds of old iron 7 iron wedges 4 falling axes 1 new handsaw 50 pounds of white lead 1 parcel of lumber at Annapolis 5720 eight penny nails 10,000 nails
--	--	--	--	--	--

					2250 brads 1 whipsaw 1 cut saw
					160 pounds of small cordage 40 blocks
Farming 1715/1716	Farming 1729	Slaves 1715/1716	Slaves 1729	Crops 1715/1716	Crops 1729
<u>Purchases:</u> From Tyler 1 curb bridle 2 pair of sheep shears 1 pair of small steel cards 2 combs 1 pair garden shears	60 pounds of dirty wool 1 pair of wool cards 14 old sickles 2 new scythes 24 scythe stones 8 dozen new broad hoes 8 dozen new narrow hoes 3 new broad hoes 4 old broad hoes 6 narrow hoes 3 narrow axes 4 old spades 2 good plows and old harness 1 pair of garden shears	2 coarse rugs 2 blankets 1 pad (Total 18)	At Fingaul: 1 pair of negro shoes 13 pairs of negro shoes 1 parcel of negro bedding (Total 31) Dick, about 42 yrs old Sambo, about 32yrs old Tomboy, about 23 Jack about 21 Harry bought from Samuel Peele yesterday, about 20 Daniel bought from Samuel Peele same day, about18 Peter, Maria's son, about 5 in Dick, Maria and Dick's	This list was made after the harvest for 1715 39 ½ bushels of buckwheat 46 bushels of oats, 24 bushels of corn 16 bushels of wheat In PG County 52 barrels of corn	The inventory was taken in July and excluded crops in the field.
			Tom a cooper Jack Sambo Peter Billy Tomboy Daniel Sara (with child) Nelly Rachel Dolly Isaac 1 yr old Robin 8 yrs old Grace 7 yrs old Solomon 6 yrs old Sarah 3 yrs	50barrels of corn, 80 bushels of wheat, 80 bushels of barley 27 hogsheads of tobacco	

	1 pitchfork 2 English plowshares 4 mill (illegible) 2 pair of English shod cart wheels with bodies and trucks 1 boar skinner	son, two years old Billy, the same, about 5 months old Maria Dick's wife 35 Bell, Tomboys wife, about 35, Mary, 35 Rachell, bought yesterday of Samuel Peele, 18 Nelly Maria's daughter about 9 Davy, a mulatto having had 31 yrs to serve Jimmy about 9 years old Dolly about 5 years old Toby about 7 years old	old In P.G. County Dick (very old) Tory His wife Their 4 month old child Sampson Glasgow Harry Robert Betty Jenny Mary Maria 12 yrs old Ben 6 yrs old Charles 4 yrs old Ralph 5 yrs old Jacob 4 yrs old Adam 3 months old		
Clothing 1715/1716	Clothing 1729	Sewing	Sewing	Writing	Writing
Clothes (total value £53) 1 rateen suit coat waistcoat and britches 1 silk drugget ditto fuller	The deceased's clothing £64 1 bob wig 4 silk hand-kerchiefs 1 new	Purchases: From Tyler 1 parcel assorted needles	1 parcel of broad needles 7 knitting needles 1 parcel of shoemaker's tools 1 spinning wheel		6 skins of parchment 4 large sheets of parchment paper 1 tin ink stand gilt 1 paper of ink powder

1 fine broad cloth ditto was L 8.8 bought of Peele	beaver hat 1 gold ring with and (illegible) seal				1 pocket book coarse writing paper
1 black broad cloth coat	1 mourning ring				
1 Vermillion ditto	1 silver watch				
1 drugget coat and wash coat (Lock)	1 watch chain				
1 pair serge ditto lime britches (Larken)	1 watch glass				
1 set pairs of britches from trimmed in gold	1 pair tortoise rimmed spectacles				
1 new coat pillows trimmed in black	4 cotton jackets				
2 pair striped ticking britches	1 pair of britches				
1 new ticking waistcoat and two new pair britches lined through with dimity	6 pairs of cotton stockings				
1 pair new checked lined britches ditto	1 pair of boots				
1 pair osnaburg britches	1 pair of child's shoes				
3 flannel waistcoats	4 pair of thread stockings				
1 pair holland	2 pair of wash				
	gloves				
	a parcel of gartering				
	8 pairs of porter				
	nailed				
	shoes				
	2 pairs of white				
	cotton				
	stockings				

<p>drawers 1 blue cloak laced with gold Shirts: 6 holland shirts 6 very fine ditto 9 muslin neck cloths 8 stocks ditto 6 night caps 1 knit cap 1 large milled ditto new</p> <p>Handkerchiefs 3 new fine large silk Stockings: 2 pair milled yarn 5 pair milled worsted 9 pair short black ditto 1 pair stirrup yarn 1 pair boot 5 pair thread: 5 1 pair more ditto Sashes: 1 India old sash 1 ditto worsted</p> <p><u>Purchases</u> From Tyler 4 pair of shoes for self</p>	<p>2 pairs of new shoes</p>				
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From Hyde: 2 beverettes @ 1/4 3 pair men's best rolled wash at 1/8 3 pair ditto for: wash ditto @ 2/6 3 soft silk handkerchief 6 s 3 richest double salince handkerchief at 7/4					
From Ouchterlong 1 doz. men's yarn hose 2/6 6 pair of shoes 4 pair out side wash 3 pr. men topped gloves					
Cattle 1715/1716	Cattle 1729	Articles in PG County 1729	Debts 1715	Debts 1729	
10 cows 23 sheep 6 horses and mares Hogs (£7)	At Fingaul 6 cows and calves 3 cows, yearlings	1 hand mill 4 iron pots 1 parcel of negro bedding	May 1714 £209.09.05	Sperate £1254 Desperate £1919	

	3 Heifers 1 year old steer 3 yearlings 12 small hogs 7 pigs 42 sheep 1 young gray horse 2 mare colts 1 draft horse 2 old ditto 1 old mare	1 bedstead 1 frying pan 2 old pails 2 grass scythes 1 plowshare 1 coulter 1 good spade 10 broad hoes 1 (illegible) 3 iron wedges	Total value of Carroll's debts and possessions in May 1714 £976	Value of goods in estate £1642.13.08 Total of sperate debts and goods £2896	
<u>In P.G.</u> <u>County</u>	5 cows and calves 9 cows 2 four year old bulls 1 five year old bull 2 six year old steers 10 two year old steers and heifers 9 old plow horses 1 old mare 2 young mares 9 breeding sows 2 spayed sows 2 barrows 2 small boars 15 small	200 pounds of old iron 1 old cut saw 1 old handsaw 2 sets of iron traces 4 old narrow hoes 1 old narrow ax 1 dung fork 1 large stone butter pot 1 old cider cask 1 spike gimlet	Debts Dec. 1715 £209.02.11 Bonds accepted by May, 1716 £185.07.04 Cash in hand May 1716 £66.00.00		

	pigs 13 shoats 11 large ditto				
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Contrasting the furnishings of Carroll's house at Fingaul at the start and end of the period reveals that he used the same furniture, bedding, lighting, and heating equipment throughout. He began the period with four tables, thirty-seven chairs, one couch, and five beds. He ended with fewer chairs, but essentially the same chairs, tables, and beds. In 1729, his leather chairs were called old, and a hammock bought in 1715 was listed as old, as well. This lack of change suggests that Carroll had achieved a level of comfort and range of action in his home that satisfied him, and he stuck to it. Throughout the fifteen-year period, his home was equipped for social gambling, comfortable sleeping, fine dining, commerce, and private study.

The greatest amount of change took place in regard to dining. By 1729, Carroll had acquired more cooking equipment, and he owned more specialized dining items that indicated both a refined palate and an interest in presenting ornate meals.

Carroll's acquisitions of beverage equipment point to an enduring interest in the social drinking of alcohol and hot beverages. He bought wine glasses and a teapot in 1715, and added to his store of eating and drinking items throughout the fifteen years. In 1715, he owned two tankards and six mugs. During that year, he bought a dozen wine glasses, a jug, three mugs, and two punch bowls. Fifteen years later, he owned specialized vessels for a much wider range of beverages. He owned a dozen wine glasses and three glass cruets. He also owned four punch bowls and six beer glasses. In addition

to having glasses for alcohol, Carroll owned six teacups, ten coffee cups, and twenty chocolate cups. He also owned six mugs. Carroll was outfitted to share imported drinks with groups of various sizes ranging from half a dozen beer drinkers to almost two dozen chocolate drinkers. His purchases indicate his interest in staging social events featuring refined drinking. It also shows that he had an audience of visitors who were themselves refined. Serving coffee, chocolate, tea, beer, wine, or punch from specialized equipment would enable him to be a gracious host to people who appreciated the proper management of such occasions. That James Carroll built a collection of such items over fifteen years shows his attention to fashion and his awareness that respect was earned through social performance.

The same pattern was evident in Carroll's other dishware. In 1715, he ate from pewter plates with fingers and spoons. In 1729, he owned a great deal of silverplate dishes and utensils. Not only were the dishes themselves more valuable, but the act of eating was different with less reliance on fingers. By 1729, Carroll owned a dozen matching ivory handled forks and knives. He also owned small and large plates, a silverplate soup ladle, and several types of spoons. Carroll had counted spoons as his most numerous eating utensils in 1715, but by the end of his life, he owned spoons that were specifically called teaspoons. The social importance of tea drinking was underscored by the inventory's listing of silverplate teaspoons, a plate tea strainer, and silver sugar tongs. Carroll also had dishes for condiments; his probate inventory included a sugar dish and salt dishes. Acquisitions such as these further demonstrate Carroll's work to stage a more refined style of eating in his home during the last decade and a half of his life.

Carroll's growing investment in refinement was also evident in the 1729 inventory of his kitchen equipment. In general, he was far better supplied to have a large range of hot beverages and baked items prepared. His becoming equipped for fancy baking was particularly apparent. Serving these foods demanded three things not readily available to all Marylanders: a supply of wheat, an array of pans, and a trained cook. When he served an elaborate meal, Carroll demonstrated that he could afford all three.

His kitchen included far more items that are specialized in 1729. Earlier, he had a general supply of frying and boiling pans and pots. At the end of his life, he owned teapots and kettles; chocolate and coffee pots; and forty-three tin pans. He also had a coffee mill, a malt mill, brewing pots, a copper still, butter pots, sieves, and milk pots. Far more elaborate food preparation was occurring in his kitchen, and the supply of spices available demonstrates that Carroll's cook was well trained in preparing savory dishes. His kitchen held sugar, salt, cinnamon, cloves, mace, and licorice root. The quantities of food on hand were also large. He owned forty pounds of sugar, a hundred pounds of dried beef and bacon, and seventy-five bushels of salt. This impressive reserve of food was complemented by a large store of liquor. Carroll owned thirty gallons of rum, seven casks of wine, twenty-six bottles of spirits, and seven hundred gallons of cider.

The difference in the lists of household goods compiled over an interval of fifteen years suggests that Carroll was interested in acquiring goods to improve his conduct of social actions rather than in just owning hard to get items. He might have chosen to acquire fancier furniture or beds, for example. Instead, he greatly improved the quality and type of social action that could be done around his dining table. He had the same

tables, but he bought items that made meals taken on them far more stylish. His food, forks, and silverplate dishes elevated the act of eating with others to an elegant occasion. He used his wealth to present himself as a host of refined social events, asserting his status every time guests gathered in his home.

An important exception to the constancy of Carroll's room furnishings was his acquisition of pictures. He had mentioned none earlier, but the 1729 inventory listed twenty-eight "ordinary pictures" on his walls. That his wealthy estate administrators called them ordinary indicates that graphic art had become a common feature of elite homes by this date. The number of pictures divided among the walls of a seven room house suggests that each principal room had about six images on the walls. His ownership of pictures indicates Carroll's aesthetic interest in decorating his home, but their number also shows his keen interest in displaying his refined sensibility to his visitors.

James Carroll's display of refinement also extended beyond the secular items he owned. Anyone with wealth could purchase dishware, spices, and pictures. Carroll also made a show of his religious convictions. His partisan work for the cause of Catholicism in Maryland was clear in the political actions of his life, and his devout adherence to the sect was evident in the books he owned. Carroll's consumer purchases displayed another aspect of his interest in religion. In 1715, Carroll bought a box of wafers from Londontown merchant, Patrick Sympson,²¹ and in 1716, he complained to the London merchant, Thomas Colmore, that an incense burner he had ordered was missing from an

21. Carroll, 39.

order he had placed.²² Carroll's 1729 inventory listed a box of wafers and silver plate church ornaments. By the end of his life, and probably earlier, Carroll was having mass celebrated at Fingaul. His purchases of expensive plate church ornaments in the last fifteen years of his life showed that his religious devotion was more than habitual or traditional. Using plate ornaments in the years after Catholics had been stripped of their political rights in the first two decades of the century made mass in James Carroll's home a celebration. Carroll's choice in equipping himself in this manner reflects his proud defiance of the spirit of the colony's majority and political leadership.

James Carroll prospered from a wide range of economic activities. Loaning money and raising crops were constant sources of income, but his 1729 inventory also suggests that he was involved in retail sales of consumer goods in the later years of his life. This development can be seen in the number of items he owned in several categories that exceeded his own needs, especially his holdings in cloth related items, farming tools and alcohol. Carroll's home at Fingaul was located about ten miles southwest of Annapolis, and a few miles south of Londontown. It seems most likely that he conveyed these goods to individuals who came to Fingaul to borrow money, pay debts, and perform the work of various trades. They were also likely sold to individuals who lived nearby. As a merchant, he most likely served customers not wealthy enough to buy directly from London merchants and who did not have credit with Annapolis or Londontown merchants.

22. Ibid., 72D.

Cloth was a significant item in the inventory Carroll made in 1715 and that his estate administrators made in 1729. The two lists can be readily distinguished by the quantities of cloth contained in the latter list. In 1715, Carroll owned 344 yards of cotton and osnaburg, and at his death, he owned over 1000 yards of more than twenty types of cloth. In addition, in 1715, he bought four gross of buttons of various types and small amounts of thread. In 1729, he owned a parcel of buttons and over 100 pounds of thread. His earlier stock of cloth and his purchases gave him a supply sufficient to dress himself and compensate his employees. By 1729, though, Carroll owned a diverse assortment of cloth, buttons, and thread that were of a far greater quantity than one man or one small household could ever use. These cloth-related items were appropriate for a wide range of garments. The material, buttons, and thread were enough to make many suits of clothing, suggesting that buying imported cloth was of interest to small-scale purchasers, and, as noted with respect to Carroll's employees, that appearance mattered even to people who were not members of the economic elite.

Imported farming goods seem to have been a second category of desired item. Carroll maintained a diversified plantation economy using a combination of plow and hoe farming to raise a variety of crops. In 1715 and 1729, he was producing crops of tobacco, along with various types of wheat and corn. At the time of his death, he owned two plows and two-hundred and five hoes. He employed plowmen and owned ten adult slaves in 1729, but his store of hoes suggests that he was supplying them to others. Small planters could afford hoes and used them in tobacco culture. This does not mean, however, that they did not also grow wheat. Although plowing equipment might have been beyond their means, they could have hired the services of Carroll's plowmen. It

seems evident from Carroll's 1715 accounts with plowman Jonathan Williams that they did so.²³ Growing wheat would enable small planters to improve their diets by eating wheat bread in addition to a steady diet of corn.²⁴ That they were growing wheat is suggested by two items in the inventory. Carroll owned twenty-four scythe stones and thirty-one new tin pans. Neighbors could rely on him to sell them the imported stones they needed to sharpen their scythes. Carroll owned fourteen old sickles and two new scythes at the time of his death, probably more than he required for his crops. The tin pans suggest that he was supplying local people with the imported pans they needed for baking.

Carroll owned other items in greater supply than the needs of one household. These were thirty-two pounds of gunpowder, seventy-five bushels of salt, one hundred pounds of soap, twelve earthen butter pots, and the thirty-two tin pans mentioned above, which were listed separately from nineteen old tin pans. Carroll drank and served alcohol, but his supply of beverages and empty bottles points to another avenue of retail sales. He owned thirty gallons of rum, twenty-six bottles of spirits, and seven hundred gallons of cider. He also owned seven casks of low wine. There is no indication of the size of the casks, but the inventory value of £5.05.0 suggests that this was not valuable wine. More indicative of resale was Carroll's supply of bottles. His inventory counted 153-quart bottles, 131-pint bottles, and 29 empty flasks. Carroll was also equipped to manufacture beer and spirits. He owned a still and brewing equipment.

23. Ibid., 16.

24. Main, 75-76.

The excess items in Carroll's inventory suggest that there was a market in rural Anne Arundel County for consumer goods reflecting desires among the local planters and tradesmen with whom he did business. Considering what he made available indicates that people wanted to buy cloth, alcohol, kitchen items, soap, and perhaps, gunpowder. In other words, there was some interest in dressing better, drinking alcohol, baking, and cleanliness among his customers. This suggestion reinforces the idea that the pattern of behavior described as refinement or gentility was being diffused by wealthy merchants to less affluent customers, and that, to the extent they could afford items such as these, consumers were trading with merchants to enhance their appearance and manner of eating. As a wealthy buyer, James Carroll could display a lavish lifestyle in an ornately furnished home. As a seller, he was the conduit through which local buyers could take small steps in the same pattern of social change, enjoying the benefits of the market economy.

IV. Plantations and People

Examining Carroll's 1729 inventory also tells a lot about his plantations and the people who worked on them. The work on his plantations was an essential element of his fortune and the thirty-one slaves he owned in 1729 were a community of people who lived every day in close proximity to him. They were his closest neighbors, and he reaped all the benefit of their labor. Discussing their local work lives and their simple material lives provides an important counterpoint to the description of how Carroll used

his education and commercial acumen as the intellectual tools that enabled him to prosper by interacting with far-off political figures and merchants.

The 1729 inventory shows that James Carroll was raising livestock and growing the same diverse assortment of crops he raised in 1715, but he was also producing wool. He had his slaves engaged in a wide range of tasks. It is clear from the tools he owned that he was raising wheat, tobacco, and corn. It is not possible to tell the scale of his planting in 1729, however, because the inventory was made in July and lists only items on hand at that time.

The inventory lists items that point to the work done by Carroll's slaves and shows them to have had a wide range of skills and responsibilities. In addition to the farm activities, Carroll's slaves also sheered sheep and carded wool. In July of 1729, for example, he had sixty pounds of dirty wool and a pair of wool cards. One enslaved man named Tom was a cooper. Carroll had two thousand barrel staves on hand when he died; suggesting that making barrels of various sorts was a significant part of Tom's work. Another important aspect of the enslaved people's work was raising livestock. Carroll kept a variety of farm animals at Fingaul and in Prince George's County in numbers that would have required skilled labor to manage. He had nineteen head of cattle at Fingaul, including three bulls. In addition, he had nineteen hogs and forty-two sheep. He also had seven horses. In Prince George's County, he had twenty-four head of cattle, including three bulls. He also had six horses and fifty-nine hogs.

The families of slaves who lived on Carroll's plantations were his longest tenured associates, and most of the adults he owned in 1729 had been purchased before or during 1715. The oldest and most trusted enslaved person was a man named Dick, who was

noted earlier as an enslaved man entrusted to make a crop of tobacco at Elk Ridge and favored by Carroll with individual consumer goods in 1715. Dick was forty-eight years old in 1729 and listed as “very old”. He and his wife, Tory, were the first enslaved people listed in the account of the Prince George’s County plantation. Four adult men and three adult women lived with them. One of the men, Harry, had been purchased by Carroll as a twenty-year-old in 1715. In addition, there were seven children on the plantation, including two infants. At the same time, eleven adults and five children lived at Fingaul. With one exception, the enslaved adults at Fingaul had all been with Carroll since 1715 or were members of Dick’s family. Of the six men on the property, all but Tom, the cooper, had been purchased prior to 1716. Two of the women had been owned for the same duration. Two men and one woman were children of Dick. In addition, five young children lived at Fingaul. This labor force was a close-knit group of people who had worked together, in most cases, for fifteen years, and fourteen of the thirty-one people had spent their entire lives on Carroll’s plantations. This stable group of workers raised Carroll’s crops and livestock, supervised by a long sequence of white overseers who had each served a short tenure. Carroll owed a great deal of his prosperity to the year-in-year-out work of these long-serving families of enslaved farmers.

A glimpse of the work and material lives of Carroll’s Prince George’s County slaves is provided by the inventory and stands in sharp contrast to his own level of comfort. The plantation had a hand mill, four iron pots, a frying pan, two flour sieves, and a cider cask. There was a bedstead on the property, but also a parcel of bedding. It seems likely that the bedstead was for an overseer. From this equipment, it seems

probable that the slaves ate with no utensils and had a diet centered on corn, meat, some flour, vegetables they raised, and foods they gathered.

The other items in the account suggest the nature of their work. The plantation was equipped with a dung fork, two old pails, and a large stone butter pot. These items suggest that the cows were milked and that the slaves made butter. Other items in the account point to their work in the fields and woods. Two sets of iron traces and a plow suggest that they raised wheat that they harvested with a scythe. Fourteen hoes of various sorts supplied them with the tools for raising tobacco and raising vegetables for their own diet. Other tools were for work with wood. The plantation was equipped with an ax, wedges, a cut saw, and a hand saw. These tools would supply the slaves with the means to fell trees, split boards, and cut wood to length.

Carroll's Prince George's County slaves were led by overseers, but probably most directly by Dick, in a diverse seasonal cycle of chores involving tending horses, cattle, and hogs, growing wheat, tobacco and vegetables, making butter, and preparing lumber. Having mastered these varied operations for over a decade together, they were a highly skilled group of workers. That nine adults could accomplish so much work also suggests that they were very hard working.

Carroll's slaves were skilled, hard working, and faithful – the daybook makes only one mention of a runaway.²⁵ Yet they were bound by their birth to a life without hope of freedom or material comfort. Ironically, they and many hundred other Africans were brought to Maryland during the same years in which James Carroll used the market

25. Carroll, 26D.

economy to build a fortune and others used the economy to prosper in more modest terms. The story of Carroll's slaves is a necessary part of the description of his career. His status and wealth rose, in large measure, through the same market economy that doomed them to perpetual slavery. If James Carroll was proud of the genteel manner in which he presented himself and the defiant manner of his religious observance, he was also blind to the condition of these families with whom he shared his plantations and most of his daily life. Aside from the gifts to Dick in 1715, his accounts never mention his having acted to improve their lives or material conditions.

V. Managing the Affairs of the Carroll Family

James Carroll was far more interested in the lives and fortunes of his relatives. Several members of his extended family had migrated to Maryland during the first two decades of the century. In addition to himself, three of his sisters, several cousins, and a nephew lived near Annapolis, and they formed a tightly knit kinship group. Three brothers-in-law were trade partners of his. Thomas Macnemara was Carroll's political ally despite his well-documented marital and legal problems. John Bradford was a provincial military and political officer. Richard Croxall was of lesser economic stature,²⁶ but Carroll seemed quite close to him; the daybook mentions several gifts from

26. Hoffman, *Dear Papa*, 41.

James Carroll to his sister Joanna, Croxall's wife, and he nominally left the Fingaul property to the couple in his will as a means of passing it to the Jesuit order.²⁷

Carroll also did business over the years with several cousins. Daniel Carroll was a merchant in Prince George's County with whom he did occasional business.²⁸ Land office surveyor, William Fitz Redmond,²⁹ a frequent companion of Carroll and Macnemara and a culprit in the cannon-firing incident of 1716, was also described as a cousin.³⁰ In his will, Carroll also identified storekeeper, Michael Taylor as a cousin.

John Carroll was the brother of Charles Carroll, the Settler. He had come to Annapolis in the early years of the century, but he did not acquire wealth.³¹ He was involved in several transactions with James Carroll between 1719 until his death in 1721.³² John Carroll's modest economic status reinforces the importance of education in James Carroll's own rise to fortune. The move from Ireland to Maryland took the Carrolls from an economy based on traditional ways of farming to a market-dominated tobacco culture. Building a fortune in the new setting demanded a high degree of skill with words, numbers, and accounts. Success also came to those who enjoyed positions in life that opened doors of opportunity. James Carroll had the education and favorable

27. Carroll, Will.

28. Carroll, 68 See, Hoffman, *Princes of Ireland*, 101.

29. Carroll, 11 and 75.

30. Hanley, 8.

31. Hoffman, *Princes of Ireland*, 36.

32. Carroll, 110.

position to become rich, but apparently, this relative did not. Even the circumstance of his brother being among the colony's wealthiest men did not elevate him above a life of manual labor.

Table 38 James Carroll's Transactions in Regard to the Estate of John Carroll

Date	Page	Partner	Item	Value (in £)
9/28/19	110 D	John Carroll	The foot of debt 28.11.00 3 dollars 1.04.00 1 pistole 0.13.06 1 saddle & bridle of Barnaby 1.10.00	34.00.05
10/21/19	110 D	John Carroll	Cash then delivered 1.09.06	See total for 9/28/19
11/12/19	110 D	John Carroll	Cash paid your order to Richard Croxall 1.02.05	See 9/28/19
11/21/19	110 C	John Carroll	Ditching 287 rods at 12 d Thomas Hampton's (illegible) to your account but should be to his 5 acres hassocking Charges on the servant hired had Water's exchange which he has not got by	14.07.00 2.01.07 5.00.00 4.10.00
11/23/19	110 D	John Carroll	10 ½ yards checks @ 2/6 per yard	1.06.03
11/29/19	110 D	John Carroll	Cash 2 pistoles One horse called Jack	2.08.00 6.00.00
1/9/19	110 D	John Carroll	Your order to pay Jno. Cook the smith	0.13.06
2/2/19	110 D	John Carroll	1 pair of plains for yourself which you bought at my house A servant man, Jno. McGuire for which you pay sterling	0.06.04 15.00.00
2/2/19	110 D	John Carroll	2 pistoles per contra short on weight; from Jno. Smith His bond this pay past for the payment of the balance of his account being the sum of L 33.15.08 of which is currency sterling being for the servant	18.15.08 15.00.00

2/2/19	113 D	John Carroll	1 best cotton waistcoat and britches & 4 ½ yards of cotton making 0.17.02 1 Monmouth cap for McGuire 0.04.02 His assumption for Robert Brooks 10.00.00 Balance of the account on the store dealing 17.09.07	28.10.11
Undated	113 C	John Carroll	Mrs. Mary Carroll his administrator her account fo. 122	28.10.11
6/17/21	122 D	Mary Carroll, Executor of Jno Carroll	Balance of Jno Carroll's acc from fo. 113 28.10.11 Jno Carroll's bond dated 2 nd Feb. 1719 with the interest calculated there on to the 17 th of June 1721 ster. 16.05.09 £ 18.15.08 included in the said bond with interest calculated there on to the 17 th of June 1721 current money 20.04.06 Interest on the above bonds 0.18.05	49.13.11
6/17/21	122 C	Mary Carroll,	Mr. Snowden's verbal order payable to Mr. Henderson on account of the debt per contra for having given security for Jno. Carroll's debt 15.06.09	
7/18/21	122 C	Mary Carroll,	Cash paid me by Mr. Snowden at Kennedy's in part of the debt per contra in currency vid. lib D fo. 32 14.03.05	14.03.05
4/20/22	122 C	Mary Carroll,	Cash received of Mr. Snowden being the balance of the sterling debt 16.05.09 More cash current in full received of Mr. Snowden	35.11.06

John Carroll is lasted in the daybook as a ditcher, a tradesman who toiled with a spade. That he first appeared in James Carroll's accounts in the months after Charles Carroll's death suggests that the responsibility to provide for poorer relatives had passed from Charles to James as family head. John Carroll was a poorer relative, but he was not destitute. He worked with Thomas Hampton ditching and plowing land for James

Carroll, and he bought an Irish indentured servant named McGuire to assist in the work.³³

James Carroll paid his cousin for his work of digging 287 rods of ditch and clearing five acres of land in 1719.

James Carroll's payment to his uncle differed from his compensation of Hampton and the other ditchers, William Young and McGuire. Hampton received £14 in cash and a pair of boots. Young received coarse linen and shoes. McGuire received a Monmouth cap. John Carroll received £38 in all from his relative and a credit to buy a horse and a servant. Carroll got a "best cotton" waistcoat, ten and a half yards of checks, a pair of plains for himself, and four and a half yards of cotton. In addition, he received a saddle and a bridle. These payments considered in isolation yield a conclusion that after their work, Hampton and Young were outfitted to wear new but plain linen and walk in new shoes or boots while John Carroll wore a cotton waistcoat and rode a newly purchased horse using a new saddle and bridle.

John Carroll died in 1721, and his widow, Mary Carroll, administered his estate with the assistance of James Carroll.³⁴ He died owing James a debt of £20 on which his relative charged him interest. James Carroll recouped this amount by collecting a debt owed to John Carroll and Thomas Hampton by Anne Arundel County planter Richard Snowden. Carroll and Hampton had probably dug ditches and cleared land for Snowden,³⁵ who owned a plantation near the head of the South River.

33. Ibid.

34. Ibid., 113.

35. See Earle, map on 32 for the wet condition of land in that part of the county, and see 178 for the location of Snowden's residence.

James Carroll's uncle and patron, Charles Carroll, lived at the extreme opposite end of the economic spectrum from his brother. Charles Carroll died in 1719 and left James Carroll as his executor. Carroll's trade with his uncle was not recorded in the daybook at anything approaching the scale represented in these accounts. At the time of his kinsman's death, Charles owed James £67. This was a small difference in large balances carried on the accounts of each of the men. In all, Charles owed James £603, and James owed Charles £536. The aggregate of these numbers is a huge total of trade, which the daybook only hints at. The other sums were probably recorded in other books kept by the men, which no longer exist. The largest venture recorded in the daybook, the 1718 slave importation, was of a size to account for part of the total trade, but only enough to beg the question of whether other slave importations or such ventures were recorded in Charles Carroll's books and involved James as a manager due a future share of the profits. James Carroll was in a position to collect the money owed to him by virtue of his acting as the collector of Charles Carroll's debts, and by April of 1721, he had collected over £338 in cash.

Table 39 James Carroll's Transactions as Executor of Charles Carroll, the Settler's Estate

Date	Page	Item	Value (in Tobacco)	Value (in £)
No date	114 D	The foot of the credit in his ledger lib A fo. 288 as settled in money		468.06.06
No date	114 D	Robert Brooks' work 21 weeks brought from fo. 52, it being not included in the settlement made the 21st of November, 1718		22.01.00

No date	114 D	Cash left by Capt. Garver from fo.: 52 being 5 guineas @ 1.09.00		7.05.00
No date	114 D	Bottom of his credit in tobacco ditto lib., ditto fo.	73,205 T	
3/12/19	114 D	My judgment against you at the suit by Lady Baltimore being in debt and costs as settled before Warman the Sheriff, £79.05.07 sterling, which in currency amounts to £105.14.02		105.14.02
No date	114 D	A patent fee for the Out Quarter double charged by you	500 T	
No date	114 D	Balance in tobacco due to Mr. Carroll	183 T	
		Totals	73,888 T	£603.06.08
No date	114C	The foot of his debt per lib A fo. 288 in money		£536.07.07
No date	114 C	Ditto in tobacco	73,888 T	
No date	114 C	Balance due to me		£ 66.19.01
No date	119 D	Account from fo.: 114		£135.16.11
No date	119 D	Cash you pay for D. Carroll on James Gavane's account as per D.C. account		£5.00.00
No date	119 D	Cash to James Cassells per order being charges (illegible) of a negro		£1.01.07
No date	119 D	5 bushels of wheat left in your store and which ought to be put to your account		£1.02.06
No date	119 D	1 pair of shoes large boys to Jacky		£0.05.08
	119 D	1 pair of large wood heel shoes to Stephen		£ 0.07.04
	119 D	Total		£142.14.00
	123 D	Account of cash received for Charles Carroll		
3/17/20	123 D	Cash received of Albert Goring AACO		£ 0.01.00
3/24/20	123 D	Cash received of Patrick Sympson		£106.05.06
1/31/20	123 D	Cash heretofore received of Stephen West in January 31, 1720 as per liber IC		£ 27.00.00
4/5/21	123 D	Cash received of Daniel Carroll		£186.00.00
4/5/21	123 D	Cash received of Wm. Cullen, lib C, fo. 238		£ 7.03.06
4/11/21	123 D	Cash received of Patrick Creagh		£ 21.01.10
	123 D	Total		£338.11.11
3/3/21	123 D	Cash received of Hugh Kennedy, @ % Ledger B due to C.Carroll		£ 40.10.01
8/28/21	123 D	Cash received of Mr. Docwra as per his acc		£ 22.01.01
8/28/21	123 D	Cash received of Michael Howard as per fo.: 83 your book		£ 2.07.05
8/28/21	123 D	Cash received of Edw. Cockey		£ 8.12.06
8/28/21	123 D	Cash received of John Belt		£ 0.09.11
8/28/21	123 D	Cash received of Mr. Charles Carroll to pay Mr. Boardley a fee for fly		

8/28/21	123 D	Cash borrowed of Mr. Charles Carroll at the Woodyard 6 pistoles at 1.03.10		£7.03.00
12/2/21	123 D	Cash received of Mr. W. Chapman by the hand of Dominick Carroll		£1.00.04
12/2/21	123 D	My assumption for John Jordan via Wm. Young vid. Lib D, fo.: 149		£7.02.08

The largest cash debts James Carroll collected were from two Maryland merchants. These daybook entries are illustrative of the scale of both Charles Carroll's trade with merchants and the amount of cash the merchants had on hand.³⁶ The two largest debts were collected from Londontown storekeeper Patrick Sympson, and Daniel Carroll, a relative who kept a store in Upper Marlboro, Maryland. This scale of debt indicates that Charles Carroll had served as a credit source to the men in the way that James Carroll had furnished credit to others, but that Charles operated on a much larger scale. Sympson paid £106 in cash in March of 1720, and Daniel Carroll paid £86 a month later. A lesser debt of £27 was collected from another Londontown merchant, Stephen West – at whose establishment James Carroll had sold part of his slave cargo in 1718. West paid James Carroll £27 in cash.

Substantial, but far smaller amounts were collected from three other merchants. Annapolis ship owner, Patrick Creagh, paid £21 early in 1721. In August of that year, Annapolis saddler, Thomas Docwra, paid £22. Annapolis innkeeper, Hugh Kennedy, paid £40 at the end of 1721. One common element linking these men is that they were Catholics, and in the case of Kennedy and Docwra, men in almost constant contact with the Carrolls.

36. Carroll, 123.

These accounts suggest an important point about the flow of investment capital in a society without banks. Charles Carroll's proprietary office gave him access to vast stores of land and many lucrative fees. These opportunities yielded the capital he needed to deal in mortgages, land, slaves, and consumer goods.³⁷ They also provided capital he could use to back ventures by local storekeepers and merchants, as he appears to have done in these cases. In this sense, the catalyst of growth in the Maryland market economy of the day was the manner in which the Calverts administered the colony. By hiring agents to sell their land and collect their quitrents and fees, these distant owners put wealth into the hands of men such as Charles and James Carroll who served them and helped themselves to fortunes.

A second point suggested is that personal contact, family relationship, and religious affiliation were important in forging the bonds of trust underlying risks of capital. Again, in an age with few ways to base lending decisions on statistical data or the value of assets, personal relationships of trust were a prerequisite to trade, especially on the scale reflected in these transactions.

VI. Testing the Next Generation

Family and religion were also the bonds most evident in James Carroll's will, but the conveyance of his estate did not happen exactly as he planned. The principal difficulty in this matter was the religious conversion of one of the two executors, Charles

37. See Hoffman, *Princes and Planters*, for a detailed study of Charles Carroll, the Settler's career.

Carroll, the Doctor.³⁸ While James Carroll did successfully transfer his slaves and much of his real estate to the Jesuit order in Maryland, his younger kinsman kept a good deal of the wealth set aside for the education of Carroll's Irish nephews. His second executor, Charles Carroll of Annapolis, however, proved to be far more faithful to his uncle's wishes. He spent the next several decades securing the education of his three cousins, and battling Charles Carroll, the Doctor, for the return of the money due.³⁹ This contest escalated to a political fight over the rights of Catholics in Maryland and galvanized Charles Carroll of Annapolis in his strident advocacy for Catholic rights in the face of a hostile legislature. In the end, James Carroll left a twin legacy, one intended and the other not. The unintended legacy reawakened the Carroll family's leadership in the battle for Catholic rights, passing on a century-long pattern of fierce partisanship from Richard Grace to Charles Carroll, the Settler, to James Carroll and on to Charles Carroll of Annapolis.

The main point of James Carroll's will is that after a career of commerce, he was not motivated to perpetuate land holding or wealth. His goal was to use what he had gained to elevate an heir to intellectualism. In this sense, all that he had gained in Maryland was to be used as a commodity to be invested in education. James Carroll had risen in his life from an ill-fated legacy of Irish land and gained a land-based fortune in Maryland. Land and wealth were not ends in themselves for him, though. Throughout his life his spiritual and intellectual passions had been apparent, and in his will he was

38. Hoffman, *Dear Papa*, 22.

39. Hoffman, *Princes of Ireland*, 271-272.

challenging a suitable heir to follow his path of looking beyond the material aspects of life and setting his sights on a career as a Catholic intellectual. It was important that neither Ireland nor Maryland were mentioned as the setting for his heir's career. Throughout his life, Carroll had acted as a partisan on behalf of an international faith, and his heir was to be free to pursue a career wherever his education led him. Faith and a trained mind were more important in his plans than land or nation.

Carroll was also keenly aware that the path he had devised was not an easy one to follow. His own family was divided between those who had the talent for education and those who did not. His two brothers, for example, were poor Irish farmers. Closer to hand, his relative, John Carroll, had died a poor ditcher. James Carroll was determined that he would not invest his money in an unworthy heir or see his wealth spent on the ordinary things of a Maryland planter or Irish farmer's life.

His exacting standards were expressed in a series of conditions he imposed on his beneficiary. Although he named his nephew, Anthony, as his heir, he took steps to insure that his kinsman was worthy. He stipulated that:

“In case my nephew shall die or prove unreceptive to learning or prove incorrigible or want application in any of the courses before he attains twenty-one years of age, then it is my will and I do require my executors to discontinue the application of money to his education. Or if he proves vicious also to discontinue.”⁴⁰

The last sentence of this set of conditions separated intellectual talent and discipline from moral character. The moral condition was added as a thought considered after a pause. No doubt, Carroll had the memory of his wily relative, Thomas

40. James Carroll, Will

Macnemara, as a ready example of how an education could be a dangerous weapon in the hands of an unscrupulous man.⁴¹ Instead, he aimed to shape an heir who was intelligent, hard working and morally upright. To the extent that he could control the future, he wanted a nephew who would share his own best qualities.

Carroll was a childless bachelor, but his controlling conditions tended toward shaping a young man into his own true son. This desire gives some insight into his views on heredity and the family. Apparently, children made risky heirs. Carroll's family history demonstrated that no son was sure to be exactly like his father in intelligence, diligence, and moral character. Instead, he set the prospect of an education before his distant nephews and insisted that the most fortunately placed of them in respect to years mature along precise lines to receive the full measure of his legacy.

In the abstract, he offered a brand of conditional love predicated upon fulfillment of inflexible terms. That he would do so shows his zeal for Catholic intellectualism, in that he would settle for nothing else from his heir. As cold as it seems, his was not a unique opinion within his family of how to use wealth to shape the next generation. His godson and co-executor, Charles Carroll of Annapolis, imposed a parallel set of strictures on his own son.⁴² He postponed marriage to the mother of his much-loved son, Charles

41. "A Lost Copy Book of Charles Carroll of Carrollton," 204.

42. Hoffman, *Princes of Ireland*, 132-137 A poignant expression of his conditional love are evident in a letter he wrote his young son then studying in France. Carroll wrote:

"All the letters I have or shall write to you or concerning you to any one are carefully entered in a book so that in case you should be so unfortunate as to return not improved in proportion of the money, time and care laid out on you, they will at least be undeniable testimonies of my attention to your welfare and a constant reproach to you for not corresponding on your part to that attention...." Hoffman, *Dear Papa*, 19.

Carroll of Carrollton, until his son had successfully completed his education. Using the same unbending logic of his uncle James, he asserted that should his son prove unworthy, he would enter adult life as an illegitimate man with no property.

James Carroll's plans for his property and his nephews' education were fulfilled. In a codicil to his will, he named Charles Carroll of Annapolis as the executor responsible for seeing that his property in Anne Arundel and Prince Georges Counties was left to the Jesuit order and Provincial George Thorold. Three adjoining properties on the border of the two counties, Anyo, Brightseat, and White Marsh, totaling over a thousand acres of land⁴³ along with Fingaul and all his slaves, became the property of the Jesuits. The order maintained the chapel at White Marsh, which was built earlier in 1722,⁴⁴ and they operated plantations worked by Carroll's slaves and their descendants until 1838 when they sold the property and slaves. The slaves were sold to buyers from Louisiana.⁴⁵

Three of James Carroll's nephews were educated and ultimately ordained as Jesuits through money he left for the purpose. Anthony Carroll studied at the Jesuit college in St. Omer's, Belgium, and two of his cousins, sons of James Carroll's brother Michael, were educated and became priests.⁴⁶ Anthony achieved the full measure of the intellectual ideal stipulated in Carroll's will. He became a teacher at St. Omer's and a

43. Joseph L. Browne, *From Sotweed to Suburbia: A History of the Crofton, Maryland Area, 1660-1960* (Baltimore, MD: Gateway Press, Inc. 1965), 10.

44. Ibid., 35.

45. Murphy, 187–204.

46. Hoffman, *Princes of Ireland*, 56.

philosopher active until the 1790s. He also continued the intergenerational mentoring evident throughout the story of James Carroll's life. When Charles Carroll of Annapolis sent his own son, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, to study at St. Omer's, his cousin Anthony served as a guide and parent figure throughout his formative years.⁴⁷

VII. Conclusion

James Carroll achieved the sweets of independence in a material sense and in terms of an ideal passed on to the next generation. As this chapter has shown, his material independence was that of a comfortable life enjoying the proceeds of well-managed trade. As an ideal, what he achieved was far less ephemeral. Carroll acted as the inheritor of a fierce loyalty to a set of ideas best described as Catholic intellectual aristocracy. This was a utopian set of principles predicated on furnishing the opportunity to live a contemplative life to those worthy of savoring it. Far from simple gentility or material wealth, Carroll's training of Charles Carroll of Annapolis and arranging for the education of his nephews was based in a faith that those few possessing the requisite moral and intellectual qualities should be identified and readied to work for the benefit of the family as a kinship group, as Charles Carroll of Annapolis did,⁴⁸ or the metaphoric Catholic family, as his Jesuit nephews did. His was a stratified view of mankind in line

47. Hoffman, *Dear Papa*, 7,11.

48. Hoffman, *Princes of Ireland*, 102.

with the thinking of Plato via Thomas More,⁴⁹ and the sweets of independence were the legacy of those whose souls were tested and proven to be gold. His view of society was not democratic or one featuring social mobility, but one of testing the quality of the soul, assigning an appropriate place in the social order, and managing accounts to achieve the best life. He worked for the rights of Catholics, not in an egalitarian spirit, but rather because their faith was true in his eyes and Protestantism in error. He worked throughout his career in the fierce, defensive spirit showed by his ancestor Richard Grace during the last stand at Athlone, not as a revolutionary seeking to change society, but a reactionary ready to fight to prevent lesser men from taking the independence he so greatly treasured.

49. See Murphy, 18-19 for a discussion of the importance of More's writing on Maryland Jesuit ideas about slaveholding.

Conclusion

James Carroll was the protagonist in his daybook, but the story it told also spoke about his trade partners, servants, and enslaved people and about the world they shared. The information the daybook preserves has also supported an extended inquiry into the characteristics of social, economic, and material life as it was being lived in a colony during an important period of change. This conclusion will recap the central points made in this dissertation, comment on the cultural impact of the emerging consumer world on family and other forms of relationship, and close by offering a brief reflection on James Carroll as an individual in history.

This study has examined several aspect of James Carroll's life. It has contrasted his public and private life to place him in historical context as a Catholic intellectual active in a time when members of that sect were losing power and important rights in Maryland. It has also examined Carroll's principal ways of earning wealth as a land official, local and trans-Atlantic merchant, and a commercial agent to show what opportunities he had and what skills he used to make the most of them. It has also detailed Carroll's buying, selling, and use of consumer items to show how market goods were used as forms of payment and assertions of social status. James Carroll was active during an important period of transition in Maryland's government, society, and economy and during a generation when people in the British world placed a new emphasis on consumer goods. Studying his accounts as ongoing processes of exchange enabled him to speak as a witness to these changes as they were happening. The strongest feature of his daybook, in fact, is that it preserves entries that enable people of today an unusual opportunity to see life in the distant past in vivid detail.

At the outset of this dissertation, I listed five contributions it would make to the scholarship about colonial Maryland. The first contribution made by this dissertation was the explanation of James Carroll's role as an important advocate for the rights of Maryland's Catholic gentry from 1704-1720. James Carroll helped lead a gentry faction in this struggle for many years. While historians¹ have not fully acknowledged Carroll's significance in this role, this dissertation has demonstrated that Maryland political events were significantly affected by the collaboration of James Carroll, Charles Carroll, and Thomas Macnemara who brought a Jacobite sensibility to Maryland politics and led others in efforts to gain authority in the colony. The group's failure in their quest for authority left them on the margin of power. Wealth and land became the bulwark Carroll and other Catholics used to protect themselves against further losses in rights, prestige and opportunity. The consumer market was important to them as a source of admired goods, and Carroll's home at Fingaul was far more than a storehouse of commercial profit and the hub of a plantation. Carroll equipped his home to serve as a setting for elite social gatherings and furnished it to sustain his intellectual pursuits, making it a small island of Enlightenment thought surrounded by miles of forest and tobacco, a private place of Catholic sensibility in a Protestant environ.

The second contribution made by this dissertation was its detailing of Carroll's local and trans-Atlantic trades to delineate distinct aspects of his career. His work as a planter and local merchant entailed a great deal of local travel and brought him in contact with people ranging from enslaved individuals to other Maryland planters, storekeepers,

1. See particularly, Land, *Colonial Maryland* and Hardy, "Papists in a Protestant Age."

and tradesmen. The deals he made at home at Fingaul and throughout the adjoining counties enabled him to interact with a wide range of people across the lines of social status, politics and religion, weaving all levels of society into a system of negotiated status enacted using consumer goods.

As a trans-Atlantic merchant, on the other hand, Carroll knew London merchants and dealt with them to export tobacco and import the most lucrative items of his time, enslaved people and consumer goods. The similar feature shared by these different venues of commerce was that both were founded on trust and accountability. James Carroll prospered as a money source, merchant, partner, and commercial agent because he successfully managed the trust of others. His daybook was the essential tool that enabled him to prosper on both avenues of his trade. In addition to revealing the nature of trade, this dissertation also showed James Carroll as a trader, a man who used the market to pursue the sweets of independence for himself while openly buying and selling others, denying them the opportunity he aspired to for himself.

The third contribution made by this dissertation was its explanation of the intellectual skill that enabled James Carroll to make the most of the opportunities he encountered. Carroll had skills of literacy and numeracy developed to a degree sufficient for him to manage a complex plantation economy and diverse assortment of other commercial arrangements. Carroll made a fortune in commerce because he had the ability to translate goods into values represented as numbers and the ability to manage numerical accounts of daunting complexity. He was trustworthy as a source of credit and a valued as a trade partner because he could keep accurate and ordered records.

The fourth contribution made by this dissertation was its analysis of how Carroll and others acted as consumers. Carroll's daybook presents a case study of the consumer revolution in action, and this dissertation shows that how people chose to spend their wealth provides important insight into their economic, social and cultural lives. James Carroll's ability to keep records was lucrative because Carroll lived in an era when individuals ranging from elite merchants to small planters, and tradesmen were active as buyers and sellers of imported consumer goods. People from all social ranks were anxious to improve their wardrobes, domestic furnishings, and stocks of tools to improve their appearance, better equip their homes, and enhance their capacity to generate wealth. Carroll and his trade partners were not just seeking more ease in living, however. The centrality of clothing as a trade item indicated that visible possessions were especially valued because they fulfilled a social or cultural purpose of proclaiming the respectability of the man or woman who owned them. Carroll's actions and those of the others mentioned in the daybook reveal that rather than being just the stuff of social mobility, consumer goods were tools through which individuals asserted their power with respect to other people.

The fifth assertion made was that an analytical method derived from works using performance theory provided a tool for reading commercial records. Considering Carroll's daybook entries as evidence of his conduct of his work takes us close to the actual commerce of a colonial merchant and shows his accounts to be a list of moments when he and his trade partners agreed about the value of goods. This dissertation has emphasized the fact that merchants such as Carroll interacted with people from all ranks of society and were among the best-informed witnesses of their time. The dissertation's

focus on a merchant's performance of his work has demonstrated in vivid terms how people of different ranks came together in the cultural activity of acquiring goods, people, and services. The data used in this study consisted of goods traded at particular moments, a body of evidence that enabled me to study the process of trade as the deals were made. This focus revealed many aspects of the buyers' and sellers' strategy and provided insight into goods such as clothing that were often under-emphasized in probate inventories. It also showed types of commerce, such as the actual process of selling enslaved human beings, that are not well known. In sum, what I have done in this dissertation is to group related transactions and study them in the context of published scholarship to articulate the values evident in these moments of agreement. By this means, I have written a study that shows how the material culture of colonial Maryland was related to the day-to-day commerce that merchants such as James Carroll recorded in their daybooks.

The last decade of Carroll's life showed a different aspect of a consumer society. At the end of his life, he used his commercial ability to manage the estates of relatives and to shape the education of his heirs. He set a high standard for his potential heirs by demanding that they acquire a Jesuit education in Europe. In effect, he asserted that if they would have his wealth, they must have the religious and intellectual training that he prescribed. In his life, Carroll's consumer goods and wealth were tools through which he commanded respect. After his death, they were tools to shape the lives of his descendants.

In addition to these topics, Carroll's daybook also spoke about his times in more general terms, showing the singularity of individuals at work in the era of the market

economy. Carroll's accounts showed that family, religion, and friendship were still important, but of secondary importance to a person's ability to provide useful service to others. The proceeds of this service often were money, but always a return measurable on a scale of benefit ranging from freedom, to admirable dress, and culminating in independence. Providing useful service enabled people to advance themselves, but they had limited capacity to help others. The gulf between wealth and poverty separating Charles Carroll the Settler and his brother, John Carroll the Ditcher, for example, and that separating James Carroll from his brothers left behind in Irish poverty juxtaposed the lives of people with lucrative skills and opportunities against those without. This stark contrast suggested that family links could be valuable among those with complementary skills, but of limited worth except as tools for seizing market opportunity.

In the end, despite the information this study has presented, it is impossible to say with certainty whether James Carroll should be praised as an historical figure or not. A heroic reading of his career would praise his having escaped the bleak prospect he faced in Ireland and having earned a fortune in Maryland. A more critical reading would discuss his career in terms of its having been the life of a self-consciously religious man. An evaluation in these terms would temper his accomplishments by placing them in context with the important contributions to his wealth made by the more than one hundred enslaved people who labored all their lives for Carroll or whom he bought or sold. In this sense, he amassed a fortune, but his actions valued wealth over the well-being of others, a pattern seeming to contradict the religious ideals espoused in the books he read. In this light, Carroll would appear as a paradoxical figure: a wealthy slave-trader who read *á Kempis*'s judgment that human life is a miserable exile while enjoying the

comfort of his library. At the same time, hard-working families endured lives of material privation and shared memories of a bitter exile from their African homes just a short distance away from where he read his medieval book in praise of the monastic life. A critic might ask if Carroll's religious sensibility required him to do more to alleviate their hardships. From the distance of almost three centuries, it is impossible to determine this question in objective terms.

Carroll was a comparatively isolated individual, and his ability to sustain abstract thinking was an important contributor to both his success and his solitude. When summing up Carroll's accomplishments, one should consider his facility with data and the aspects of life he used his success to fulfill. This study has attempted to do so. This dissertation prepares a reader to picture Carroll in his study at Fingaul. Around that small room with its money scales, scientific instruments and shelves of books, the working world of a tobacco colony consumed the labor of farmers, woodcutters, livestock tenders, and children learning the work of their lives. While all this activity was going on, Carroll tabulated accounts, contemplated philosophical ideas, and made complex economic plans. As he sat alone with his daybook in his study, religion, philosophy, and commerce were abstracted to beliefs, ideas, and numbers.

In concluding, it is also fair to ask about the aspects of living that Carroll chose not to fulfill. His choice to remain single, his choice not to pursue a religious vocation, and his choice to live several miles from Annapolis during the years covered in this study all reinforce a hypothesis that Carroll chose to hold others at a distance. In contrast to Charles Carroll's family and Thomas Macnemara's ribald license, James Carroll lived a comparatively ascetic life. If he considered life as the span of exile as described by

Thomas á Kempis, he also added an additional degree of isolation to á Kempis's ideal life in a religious community. Carroll's daybook shows that the phrase "the sweets of independence" that his nephew used in describing James Carroll's career goal was not just a reference to the lavish material wealth he achieved, but also an ironic description of his distance from many ties of affection.

Carroll's achievement of this distance helps account for his market success, but also helps penetrate the riddle of his apparent lack of compassion for others, especially those he enslaved. Carroll was not a selfish miser, but even his empathy took an abstract form. Carroll gave charitable gifts to the Jesuits during his life and in his will, for example. He also provided charity for worthy mendicants in his will, and he left money for the education of an heir. These examples show that he fulfilled his obligations to his religion and relatives in a distant way by giving wealth to institutions, providing for impoverished strangers, and leaving money for the education of an unnamed heir. He did not, on the other hand, consider setting individual enslaved people free or improving the lives of specific people. Carroll pursued an ideal that left him seemingly detached from the ultimate destiny of other individuals. Simply put, if others could and did choose to follow his path, then he would serve as a role model for them to imitate. He provided educational funding for qualified heirs, gave invaluable economic mentoring to his godson, Charles Carroll of Annapolis, but washed his hands of others and enjoyed the contemplative sweets of independence.

A Glossary of Terms used in James Carroll's Daybook

Word	Meaning	O.E.D. page ¹
bullockons	In the context of a list of tools it appears to mean a type of plane.	Undefined
beaveret	A hat made of beaver.	1: B, 745
broad cloth	Fine, plain woven double-width black cloth used chiefly for men's garments	1: B, 1117
buckram	Coarse gummed linen used for linings	1: B, 1152
calamanco	Woven stuff of Flanders. Glossy on the surface. Woven with checkered satin twill so the checks were seen on one side only.	1: C, 23
cantaloon	Woolen cloth manufactured in the west of England.	1: C, 79
canvas	Strong, coarse, unbleached cloth made of hemp or flax.	1: C, 84
checks	A fabric woven or printed with pattern.	1: C, 310
cheercorns	Undefined	
damask	A rich silk fabric woven with elaborate designs.	1: D, 15
diaper	A linen fabric woven with a small and simple pattern consisting of lines crossing diamond-wise.	1: D, 318
dimity	A stout cotton fabric woven with raised stripes.	1: D, 372
drugget	Wool or mixed wool and silk fabric used for garments.	1: D, 687
duroy	A kind of coarse woolen fabric	1: D, 725
garlits	A type of German linen	1: G, 59
gimp	Trimming made of silk, worsted or cotton twist with a wire running through it.	1: G, 167
hassock	A firm clump of matted vegetation	1: H, 110
holland	A linen fabric	1: H, 359
huckaback	A stout linen fabric with weft threads thrown alternately up to form a rough surface.	1: H, 433
india	Relating to India when applied to the names of cloth such as cotton, muslin or silk.	1: I, 204
mohair	Cloth or yarn made of goat's hair.	1: M, 580
plain	Plainly woven cloth.	2: P, 935
poplin	A mixed, woven fabric consisting of a silk warp, a worsted weft, and a corded surface.	2: P, 1121
rateen or ratteen	A thick twilled woolen cloth usually friezed or with a curled nap.	2: R, 171
salince	undefined	
scotch cloth	A textile fabric resembling fine linen, but cheaper	2: S, 249

1. *The Oxford English Dictionary.*

serge	A very durable twilled cloth of worsted.	2: S, 494
shaloons	A coarse woven woolen material chiefly used for linings.	2: S, 614
stuff	Woven material of any kind.	2: S, 1185
ticking	Material used for making bedding.	2: T, 6
vermillion	Of a bright red color.	2: V, 135
worsted	A woolen fabric made of well-twisted yarn spun of long-staple wool with the fibers combed to lay parallel.	2: W, 324

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