NPS Form 10-900
(Rev. 8-86)

OMB No. 1024-0018

HA-138

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations of eligibility for individual properties or districts. See instructions in *Guidelines for Completing National Register Forms* (National Register Bulletin 16). Complete each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or by entering the requested information. If an item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, styles, materials, and areas of significance, enter only the categories and subcategories listed in the instructions. For additional space use continuation sheets (Form 10-900a). Type all entries.

1. Name of Property

historic name: Paradice Farm, Priest Neale's Mass House
other names/site number: Priest Neale's Mass House and Mill Site (preferred)

2. Location

street & number: 2618 Cool Spring Road — [N/A] not for publication
city, town: Bel Air — [X] vicinity
state: Maryland code: MD county: Harford code: 025 zip code: 21014

3. Classification

Ownership of Property	Category of Property	Number of Resources within Property	
		Contributing	Noncontributing
[X] private	[X] building(s)	1	1 buildings
[ ] public-local	[ ] district	1	sites
[ ] public-State	[ ] site		structures
[ ] public-Federal	[ ] structure		objects
	[ ] object	2	1 Total

ame of related multiple property listing:
N/A

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register 0

4. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this [X] nomination [ ] request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property [X] meets [ ] does not meet the National Register criteria. [ ] See continuation sheet.

Signature of certifying official — Date: 1/26/90

STATE HISTORIC PRESERVATION OFFICER
State or Federal agency and bureau

In my opinion, the property [ ] meets [ ] does not meet the National Register criteria. [ ] See continuation sheet.

Signature of commenting or other official — Date

State or Federal agency and bureau

5. National Park Service Certification

I, hereby, certify that this property is:

[ ] entered in the National Register.
[ ] See continuation sheet.
[ ] determined eligible for the National Register. [ ] See continuation sheet.
[ ] determined not eligible for the National Register.
[ ] removed from the National Register.
[ ] other, (explain:) _____

Signature of the Keeper — Date of Action

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions (enter categories from instructions)	Current Functions (enter categories from instructions)
DOMESTIC/single dwelling	DOMESTIC/single dwelling
RELIGIOUS/religious structure	

7. Description

Architectural Classification (enter categories from instructions)	Materials (enter categories from instructions)
COLONIAL	foundation stone
	walls stone
	roof slate
	other

Describe present and historic physical appearance.

DESCRIPTION SUMMARY:

Priest Neale's Mass House -- the phrase has been used to describe the structure since 1756[1] -- is a stuccoed stone dwelling constructed c.1743 on a knoll overlooking the rural Deer Creek Valley in Harford County, Maryland. The house, used by Jesuits as a mission in the mid and late 18th century before Roman Catholics obtained freedom of worship under the United States Constitution, stands five bays wide by two bays deep and one and one half stories tall beneath a slate-covered gable roof. The original house had a hipped roof, which was destroyed by fire around 1940.[2] The interior floor plan is unique in Maryland -- and seemingly American -- architecture and reflects the building's combined function as Jesuit priests' residence and house of worship: an unusually wide center hall provided meeting space and was flanked by two chambers on the west and a large reception room on the east. Some interior details (such as mantels) date to the second quarter of the 19th century (after the house was sold by the Church) but they do not lessen the integrity of the structure, nor does the one-story ell added to the northeast at about the same time. These details and additions are sympathetic in design and scale to the original material of the house, as is a 20th-century kitchen, located to the rear of the ell. Original, 18th-century material includes walls, doors, window framing, walnut ceiling beams (plastered over), and much hardware. In fact, according to one recent history, "the main structure is not much altered from its original form, and only the roofline has been remodeled."[3] Northeast of the house, on the banks of Deer Creek, is the site of an 18th-century mill which the priests used to generate money to support their endeavors. Maryland Mill expert John McGrain calls it "the first mill in the region."[4] The millrace, ruins, and millstones were all in evidence as recently as the 1930s[5] and, while only traces of the millrace remain visible today, the site is potentially of great archeological significance.

See Continuation Sheet 7.1A for footnotes

[X] See continuation sheet for GENERAL DESCRIPTION

[1]Charles V. Joerndt, St. Ignatius, Hickory, and Its Mission, (Baltimore: Baltimore Publication Press, Inc., 1972), p. 38.

[2]The most thorough and reliable history of the Paradice tract and of Priest Neale's Mass House is undoubtedly John W. McGrain, Jr.'s, "Priest Neale, His Mass House and His Successors;" in Maryland Historical Magazine, September 1967 (pp 254-284) and June 1968 (pp. 137-157).

[3]Joerndt, St. Ignatius, p. 31.

[4]McGrain, I, p. 266.

[5]Samuel Mason, Jr., Historical Sketches of Harford County, Maryland, (Darlington: privately printed, 2nd edition 1955), p. 64.

NOTE: The footnotes for this document are numbered beginning with Section 7 and running consecutively through Section 8.

8. Statement of Significance

Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties:
[X] nationally [ ] statewide [ ] locally

Applicable National Register Criteria [X] A [ ] B [X] C [ ] D

Criteria Considerations (Exceptions) [X] A [ ] B [ ] C [ ] D [ ] E [ ] F [ ] G

Areas of Significance (enter categories from instructions)	Period of Significance	Significant Dates
Architecture	c. 1745-1789	N/A
Religion		

Cultural Affiliation: N/A

Significant Person: N/A

Architect/Builder: unknown

State significance of property, and justify criteria, criteria considerations, and areas and periods of significance noted above.

SIGNIFICANCE SUMMARY:

Priest Neale's Mass House (interchangeably called Paradice) is important as a seemingly unique building whose idiosyncratic form is the direct result of the troubled early history of the Roman Catholic church in Colonial America. Its peculiar floorplan, still largely intact, is the physical manifestation of colonial Maryland laws promulgated after England's Glorious Revolution of 1688-'89 swept away the colony's original Toleration Act. These laws culminated in the act "to prevent the growth of popery" passed by the Maryland General Assembly in 1704. Queen Anne modified that law in 1705 and 1707[12] and the result allowed Catholic priests to conduct masses but only in private homes. Chapels, in order to exist at all, had to be part of a larger residence. This allowed Maryland's Catholic clergy to perform their spiritual duties using their residences and to "circuit ride" thence to celebrate the mass in the far-flung houses of the faithful. In addition, the entire nominated acreage may be read as a single unit. The priests lived and worshipped in the house while they and their slaves tended the farm and ran the mill on Deer Creek to generate income, thus creating a largely self-sufficient economy. Moreover, no building similar to the "Mass House" exists elsewhere in America because no other colony had a similar history. And of the few colonial era Catholic-associated buildings in Maryland, none is architecturally comparable to Paradice: each case is discussed below but basically Paradice is a dual-use structure which reads as an organic whole; other dual-use buildings exist but they read as dual-use, in each case the religious area of the building is clearly discernible from the living quarters. The Mass House gains further importance for being one of the oldest extant buildings associated with the Catholic Church in America. Only Maryland and Pennsylvania, among the English American colonies, had any substantial and active Catholic populations at the time or any colonial era Catholic-associated architecture. Of the handful of Catholic structures standing in the former

[X] See continuation sheet 8.1A

13 colonies, only the chapel at Doughoregan Manor in Howard County, the timber framing of St. Francis Xavier in St. Mary's County, and altered sections of St. Thomas Manor in Charles County, antedate the "Mass House;" all are in Maryland. The rest are all younger and were the products of legal and social conditions very different from the hardships and persecution faced by the first priests in Maryland. Nor can there be any doubt that the house is Priest Neale's. The chain of title is complete and as long ago as 1816 Leonard Neale, Archbishop of Baltimore, wrote that this house "was the very one purchased by Bennett Neale, an uncle of mine, who was missionary at Deer Creek Church and lived on the plantation."[13]

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[12] McGrain, I., pp.254-255.
[13] MS #2229, Maryland Historical Society.

For HISTORIC CONTEXT and MARYLAND COMPREHENSIVE HISTORIC PRESERVATION PLAN data, see continuation sheets.

9. Major Bibliographical References

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See footnotes for sections 7 and 8.

☐ See continuation sheet

Previous documentation on file (NPS):

- ☐ preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested
- ☐ previously listed in the National Register
- ☐ previously determined eligible by the National Register
- ☐ designated a National Historic Landmark
- ☐ recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # _____
- ☐ recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # _____

Primary location of additional data:

- ☒ State historic preservation office
- ☐ Other State agency
- ☐ Federal agency
- ☒ Local government
- ☐ University
- ☐ Other

Specify repository:

Harford County Office of Planning and Zoning

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of property 43.3697 acres

USGS quad Bel Air, MD

UTM References

	Zone	Easting	Northing		Zone	Easting	Northing
A	18	391400	4384100	B	18	392400	4383900
C	18	392440	4383510	D	18	391480	4383450

☐ See continuation sheet

Verbal Boundary Description

The property includes only parcels 40 and 81. See map on continuation sheet 10.1

☒ See continuation sheet

Boundary Justification

The nominated property, 43.2697 acres, comprises the resource within its rural hilltop setting and includes its historic approach lane and the mill site to the east. The surrounding areas have been significantly altered over time and do not contain any of the resources discussed here.

☐ See continuation sheet

11. Form Prepared By

name/title Mr. Christopher Weeks

organization Planning Office, Harford County date 1989

street & number 220 Main Street telephone 301-879-2000

city or town Bel Air state Maryland zip code 21014

GENERAL DESCRIPTION:

Priest Neale's Mass House is a sturdy one-and-one-half-story stuccoed stone structure 46 feet wide and 26 feet deep with 23-inch thick walls constructed c. 1743 in rural Harford County, Maryland, on a knoll overlooking the Deer Creek Valley. The oldest section stands five bays wide by two bays deep; an early 19th-century ell extends to the rear with a mid 20th-century kitchen and garage opening off of it. The main entrance is located in the central bay of the south (main) facade and consists of paneled double doors that seem to be original; flanking bays hold nine-over-nine sash windows with their original beaded frames; most windows and doors appear to have their original hardware as well. Three gabled dormers are arrayed across the south slope of the slate-covered gable roof; this roof replaced the original hipped roof which was destroyed by fire in 1940. The two bays of the west end are nine-over-nine sash, again with their original beaded framing; the corresponding openings in the east end are French doors which the current owners feel are original; the doors appear in 19th century photographs of the house and their framing and trim is similar to that found elsewhere in the old section of

See Continuation Sheet No. 7.2

GENERAL DESCRIPTION:

the house. The masonry walls of the old house were not plumb and are still markedly thicker at heir bases; this is evident on the interior, where the window and door frames give the appearance of being set in crookedly. Brick interior chimneys rise from each gable end and a mid-19th-century ell, one bay wide and two deep, abuts the eastern third of the north elevation; in the 1960s a kitchen and frame garage, the latter designed to resemble a wagon shed, were added perpendicular to the north end of the ell.

The plan of the house remains largely unaltered and is the result of the building's highly unusual use as a house of worship disguised as a private residence. The large, originally unheated, center hall measured 18 feet by 23 feet and is believed to have functioned as a place for church services before a fixed or temporary altar; the heated side room (to the east) measures 12 feet by 23 feet and served as a reception or living room while the twin 11-foot- square heated rooms to the west were the priests' sleeping quarters; the unheated attic, reached by a winder stair (still in place and original) sheltered guests. The original plan was noted as

See Continuation Sheet No. 7.3

GENERAL DESCRIPTION:

early as c. 1900 in a voluminous exchange of letters between Father J. Alphonse Frederick (priest at St. Margaret's Church in Bel Air) and Father Deritt, noted Catholic historian at Loyola College in Baltimore and Georgetown University.[6] In the 19th century a small section of the center space was partitioned off for a hallway (and now bath) and a fireplace was installed (see plan) and the wall dividing the twin chambers was removed. Mantels throughout the house date from this remodeling although the hearths in the chambers and the reception room remain in place.

This plan is unique in Maryland's extant architecture. Moreover, it is seemingly unique in this country because of the peculiar position Catholics occupied in Lord Baltimore's colony and of the different manner in which Catholics were treated in each of the 12 other English colonies in America. Although this will be gone into in more detail in Section 8, it is important to note here that Priest Neale's Mass House

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6 Paper and notes pertaining to the history of St. Ignatius Church, Ms No. 2229, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore.

See Continuation Sheet No. 7.4

GENERAL DESCRIPTION:

stands as an unparalleled survivor in the nation's architecture, the direct result of its unique place in America's religious history. The role of Roman Catholics in each of England's American colonies varied widely, ranging from near-complete toleration in Pennsylvania to rancorous persecution in New England and New York and Virginia. Maryland, founded under Catholic auspices, initially served as a Catholic haven and attracted sizeable numbers of that faith. But conditions here changed after the Glorious Revolution of 1688-'89 and throughout the 18th century already-settled Catholics in Maryland suffered from the constantly shifting whims of the English penal laws as reflected in various punitive acts promulgated by the Maryland Assembly. During much of that century, Maryland's law held that priests could hold mass only in private houses and chapels were permitted only if part of a larger residence.[7] (Again, conditions in the colonies varied widely: in Pennsylvania there were no such restrictions while Connecticut's laws held that "no Mass House or Popish

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[7] McGrain, I., p.255.

See Continuation Sheet No. 7.5

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

chapels" could be built at all.) Thus the floor plan of Priest Neale's Mass House reflects the state of the law in Maryland by incorporating residence and chapel in one building in a manner unlike that seen in any of the state's extant structures.

Northeast of the house, by the shores of Deer Creek, the priests built a stone gristmill in the 18th century and this, too, was the result of the politics of the times. The legal uncertainties of the age made the Church's financial situation precarious (at best) and the mill was intended to create an agricultural/industrial economy that was perforce largely self sufficient. The mill is known to have been standing by the 1750s because Bennett Neale's scrupulously-kept account book--recently found and now in the manuscript collection of the Maryland Historical Society--contains dozens of entries regarding his milling activities, the number of bushels "made" each year of corn, rye, and wheat, and his sales of the flour

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8 Maggie Bunson, Founding of Faith: The Church in America, (Boston: The Daughters of St. Paul, 1977), p.99.

See Continuation Sheet No. 7.6

GENERAL DESCRIPTION:

and seed to his Deer Creek neighbors.[9] The mill was abandoned around 1800[10] and gradually crumbled into ruin. As recently as the 1930s one writer noted "the race may easily be seen today and two, three-foot millstones lie partly buried in the earth near it,"[11] but only vestiges of the millrace remain today. The site's archaeological potential is great.

Priest Neale's Mass House retains considerable integrity despite the reconstruction of its roof. The original floorplan, essential to its significance, remains substantially intact and is clearly reflected in the building's present configuration.

The period of significance chosen represents that span of years from the first priest's arrival here to begin his

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9 Account Book for the Mission of Saint Joseph, 1742-1774, MS #1133, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore.

10 John McGrain, "The Molinography of Harford County," unpublished typescript in the Harford County Department of Planning and Zoning.

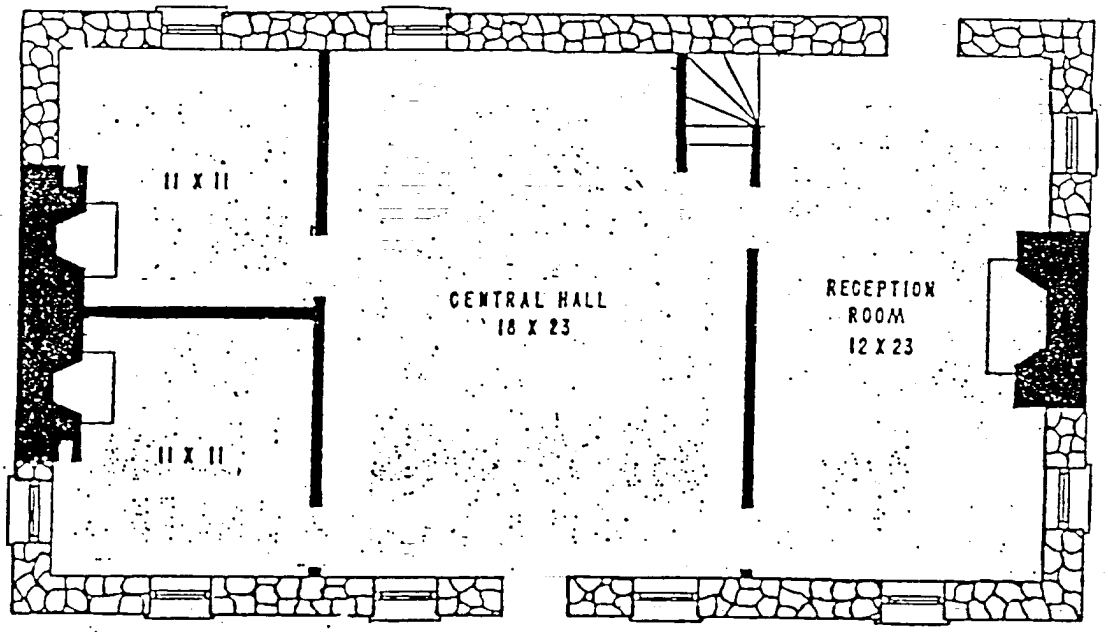
11 Mason, Sketches, p.80.

See Continuation Sheet No. 7.7

GENERAL DESCRIPTION:

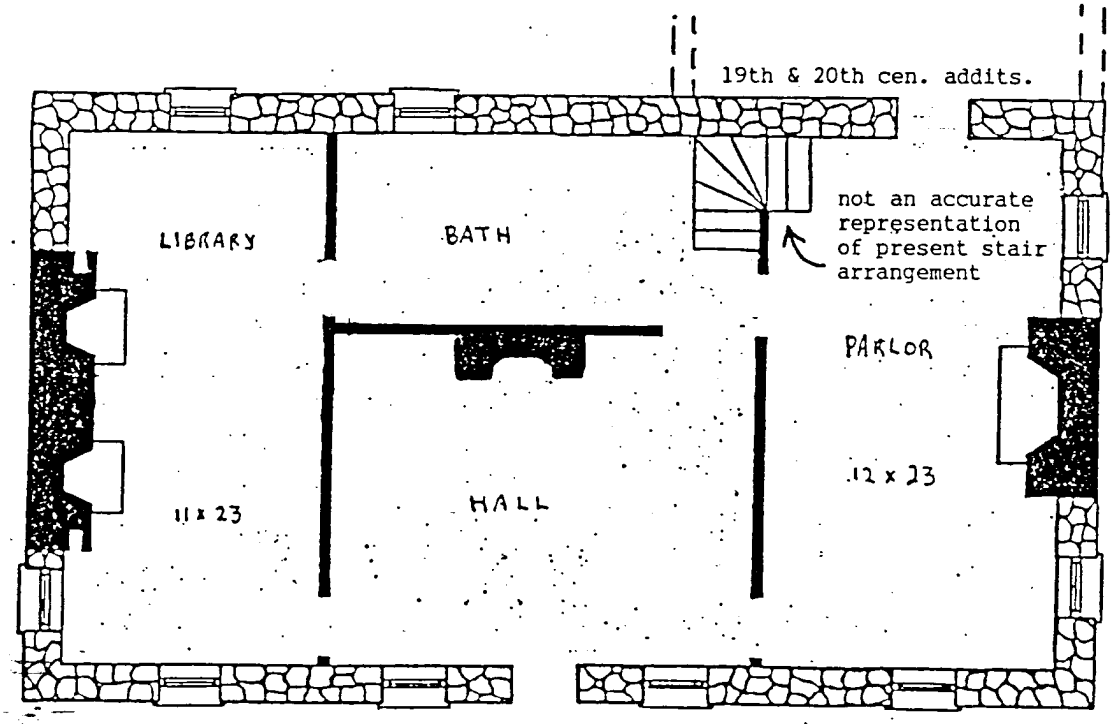
missionary work until the area's Catholic population was finally able to erect a real church for themselves, secure in the religious liberty guaranteed them in the United States Constitution.

See Continuation Sheet No. 7.8



early floor plan

source: Maryland Historical Society, Ms. #2229

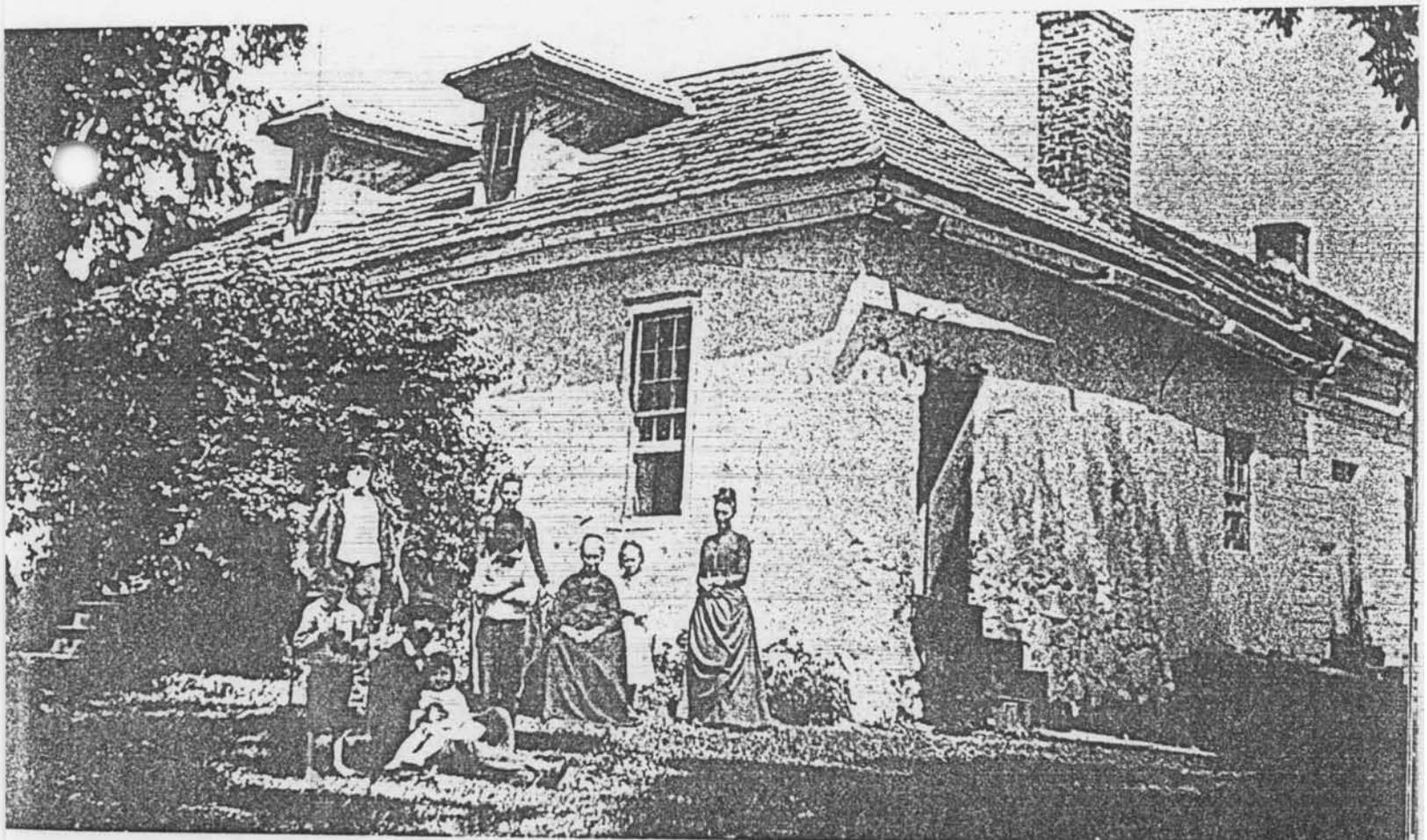


present floor plan, 1989

See Continuation Sheet No. 7.9

1888 photograph

source: Warren, Mame and Marion E. Warren. Maryland Time Exposures 1840-1940. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984, p.83.



Priest Neale's Mass House, above, was built c. 1750 as the home of the first Jesuit priests in Harford County. It was July 4, 1888, when this family group posed in front of the landmark, which still stands on Cool Spring Road between Churchville and Dublin.

See Continuation Sheet No. 7.10

PARADICE

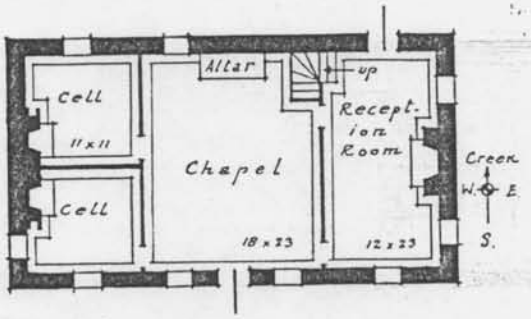
(Or "Priest Neale's Mass House")

Before 1740

As strange as an event in Kubla Khan that "Paradice" should have been a Colonial monastery on the banks of Deer Creek in America! In the Jesuit chapel, now the Living Room, monks used to chant. Two cells, large enough for cots, opened upon the chapel. Piles of stone found in the neighborhood indicate the former existence of a refectory and other outbuildings. A letter dated 1740 shown recently to the owner by a priest tells of the delightful fishing to be had at "Paradice".

The property was 300 acres surveyed in 1673 for Giles Stevens, and later possessed by James Heath. The Rev. Bennett Neale lived at "Paradice" in 1747. He was a grandson of Capt. James Neale.

View: From South.
Dimension:
Overall, 46-0 by 26-2.
Grade to floor, 43.
Grade to cornice, 12-2.
Ceiling, 9-0.
Sill, 23.



source: Forman, Henry Chandlee. Early Manor and Plantation Houses of Maryland. Easton, MD.: Printed for the author, 1934.

HISTORIC CONTEXT:

MARYLAND COMPREHENSIVE HISTORIC PRESERVATION PLAN DATA

Geographic Organization: Piedmont

Chronological/Developmental Period(s): Rural Agricultural Intensification
1680 - 1815 A.D.

Prehistoric/Historic Period Theme(s): Religion
Architecture/Landscape Architecture/
Community Planning
Agriculture
Economic (Commercial and Industrial)

Resource Type:

Category: Building; Site

Historic Environment: Rural

Historic Function(s) and Use(s): Domestic/single dwelling
Religion/religious structure; church-related residence
Industry/Processing/Extraction/
Manufacturing facility

Known Design Source: None

See Continuation Sheet No. 8.2

HISTORIC CONTEXT:

HISTORY AND SUPPORT

The Roman Catholic church in 20th century America is rich and powerful--indeed, with more than 52,000,000[14] communicants, it is easily the largest sect in the country. (Southern Baptists, the nation's second largest sect, number roughly 14, 000,000.) This makes it difficult to realize how tenuous and perilous were its 17th and 18th century beginnings in the 13 colonies from New Hampshire to Georgia. That era was not a tolerant age; in fact, one scholar has written that "toleration was regarded as a weakness, a betrayal of truth, closely akin to apostasy."[15] The British colonists were overwhelmingly Protestant and each colony dealt with Catholics in its own generally harsh way. For a better understanding of the significance of Priest Neale's Mass House--of just how rare the resource

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14 Statistical Abstract of the United States (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Census, 1987)

15 Charles H. Metzger, S.J., Catholics and the American Revolution, (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1962), p.4.

See Continuation Sheet No. 8.3

HISTORIC CONTEXT:

is--it will be necessary to discuss the situation Catholics found themselves in the colonies.

New England is well-known today for its colonial role as land of the Puritans, where an extremely illiberal Protestantism held sway, driving out all dissenters. Moreover, "while...staunch Protestants might be opposed to the very presence of other Protestants of different belief, the full force of Puritan vigor was directed against those who professed 'popery'. They were especially abhorred....Not only were Catholics vigorously excluded from their communities, but war against them was transformed into a battle for Christ and His cause."[16] Throughout colonial New England the "annual 'Pope's Day' parade was another indication of the sort of hatred that faced the [Catholic] Church in pre-Revolutionary days." It seems that England's Guy Fawlke's Day celebrations became "Pope's Day" celebrations in New England as "a figure representing the Holy Father was carried in mockery through

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16 Metzger, Revolution, p.5.

See Continuation Sheet No. 8.4

HISTORIC CONTEXT:

the streets of Boston and other New England communities and finally burned in a gigantic bonfire." Moreover, "everyone gathered for the burning in a holiday mood. Some years there were two or three figures of the Pope carried through the streets. When they met on the corners or at the crossroads, the 'Popes' battled it out, with the men carrying the figures beating one against the other. Howling mobs yelled and jeered the Pope and the Church in these parades."[17]

How many Catholics were there in colonial New England? How many would brave an atmosphere like this--and it is important to note that that strong anti-Catholic sentiment had come to New England with the first settlers. The answer came when John Adams boasted, in extolling the literate, "highly educated" citizens of the region, that "'a native who cannot read or write is as rare an appearance as a Jacobite or a Roman Catholic, that is, as rare as...an earthquake.'" Adams later noted that if "a few rascally Jacobites or Roman Catholics" did

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17 Bunson, Founding, p.185.

See Continuation Sheet No. 8.5

HISTORIC CONTEXT:

exist in New England, "they dare not show themselves."[18] One should not look to colonial New England for buildings associated with the Catholic church.

Nor should one look to New York, where the situation may be summarized by Governor Bellamont's 1701 law regarding Catholic priests, which declared that any priest found in New York would be "deemed and accounted an incendiary and...an enemy of the true Christian religion and shall be adjudged to suffer perpetual imprisonment. If he escapes and be recaptured, he is liable to the death penalty. All who harbor priests are subject to a fine of 250 and three days in the pillory."[19] From that point "for 75 years Catholics had no place to worship"[20] in New York and those few who chose to live in the colony "lived in constant fear of perpetual punishment."[21] In 1753

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18 Quoted in Metzger, Revolution, p.146.

19 Thomas P. Phelan, Catholics in Colonial Days, (Ann Arbor: Gryphon Books, 1971), p.77.

20 Metzger, Revolution, p.144.

21 Metzger, Revolution, p.144.

See Continuation Sheet No. 8.6

HISTORIC CONTEXT:

as distinguished a person as William Livingston spoke of the "antichristian Church of Rome" and "advocated exclusion of papists from the common benefits of society" while urging "extension of full liberty to all Protestants without distinction."[22] Even at the outbreak of the Revolution, New Yorkers such as Alexander Hamilton and John Jay were vehemently outspoken against Catholics, Jay going so far as to suggest a flag for "his colony, New York...with the simple legend: 'No Popery!'"[23] The English bishop John Challoner wrote in 1763 that although there may have been a few Catholics "here and there" in New York "as they are without priests and have little prospect of obtaining any...their status and future are not encouraging.'"[24]

Little documentation exists regarding Catholics in early New Jersey until a 1698 ruling that religious freedom "shall not

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22 Metzger, Revolution, p.21.
23 Bunson, Founding, p.98.
24 Metzger, Revolution, p.144.

See Continuation Sheet No. 8.7

HISTORIC CONTEXT:

extend to any of the Romish religion" in the colony; attitudes are believed "to have remained thus until the end of British rule."[25] One of the most outspoken anti-Catholics in all the colonies was Samuel Davis, 4th president of the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University); in 1755 he delivered an address "On Religion and Patriotism" in which he pitied those settlers in the western wilderness, near French-controlled lands, who constantly fell victim to "all the horrid acts of Indian and Popish torture." Davis warned his audience (later, his readers for he had his text published) to beware the "Heathen savages and French Papists" for "in such an Alliance the Powers of Hell make a Third Party." He tried to rally support for his fellow Protestants in their righteous battle against "Ignorance, Superstition, Idolatry, Tyranny over Conscience, Massacre, Fire and Sword, and all the Mischief beyond Expression with which Popery is pregnant" and to save themselves and "your Wives, your Children, your Parents, your

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25 Phelan, Colonial Days, p.112.

See Continuation Sheet No. 8.8

HISTORIC CONTEXT:

Friends from the cruel Hands of Barbarians and Papists."[26] So one should not look for colonial Catholic-associated buildings in New Jersey, either.

Incredibly, as bad as conditions for Catholics were in the northern colonies, things reached their nadir in the South, particularly in the "most tragic"[27] case of Virginia. And they reached it nearly from the beginning of that colony's history: about 1640, shortly after Father Andrew White had settled at St. Mary's City in Maryland, Virginia "authorities" had brigands kidnap "3 Jesuit priests...from Maryland", haul them across the Potomac to Virginia where "they died at the hands of their enemies."[28] Then in 1641 "a decree demanded that Catholics (or adherents of the Pope) be fined 1,000 pounds of tobacco if they attempted to hold any public office. The following year all priests were given five days to leave the

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26 Metzger, Revolution, p.23.
27 Bunson, Founding, p.114.
28 Phelan, Colonial Days, p.148.

See Continuation Sheet No. 8.9

HISTORIC CONTEXT:

Colony. In 1661, all Catholics had to attend services in the Church of England, the Established Church, or leave the Colony.[29] In 1687 "two priests, Fathers Edmond and Raymond" made the mistake of passing through Virginia and "were arrested."[30]

This must not have been enough, for in 1700 the House of Burgesses enacted a new "Anti Popery Act" calling for what has simply been described as "outrageous penalties"[31] and "in 1705...Catholics were considered and declared incompetent as legal witnesses." According to one 19th-century scholar, "Not even England herself sought to crush, humble, and degrade the Catholic as Virginia did; he was degraded below the Negro slave, for though the Negro...could not be a witness against a white person, a Catholic could not be put on the stand as a witness against a white man or black; the most atrocious crime could with impunity be committed in the presence of a Catholic

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29 Phelan, Colonial Days, p.148.
30 Phelan, Colonial Days, p.148.
31 Bunson, Founding, p.148.

See Continuation Sheet No. 8.10

HISTORIC CONTEXT:

on his wife or child, whom he was made powerless to defend, and his testimony could not be taken against the murderer."[32]

No wonder, then, that the Catholic population remained small in Virginia: Lord Culpeper, Governor of the colony, reported that in the mid-18th century Virginia's population was "70 or 80,000 souls" and "there was only 1 papist;" and when the "Acadian exiles reached Virginia, the Governor refused to admit them, calling them 'bigoted papists' and sending them to England where were kept prisoners of war for 7 years then transferred to France."[33] Conditions must have remained the same even after the Revolution for in 1790 Archbishop John Carroll, in a report on the number of Catholics in America, noted that "in Virginia and the other states to the south" the total "approached zero."[34]

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32 John Shea, The Catholic Church in Colonial Days, (New York; Privately printed, 1886), p.18.

33 Phelan, Colonial Days, pp.150-151.

34 Phelan, Colonial Days, p.152.

See Continuation Sheet No. 8.11

HISTORIC CONTEXT:

In fact, of all the by-then states, Carroll said that only two, Maryland and Pennsylvania, had any appreciable number of Catholic residents--or, one may reasonably deduce, any Catholic-associated buildings. One scholar has recently written that "the truth is than in New England, New Jersey, New York, Virginia and the Carolinas, Catholics were so few and so lacking in cohesion and organization"[35] as to be virtually invisible.

In the Quaker State "the benign laws of Penn brought Catholics to the colony even in the earliest days."[36] In fact, there can be no doubt that of all the English colonies--Maryland included--Pennsylvania was the most consistently tolerant of Roman Catholics. In 1700 one traveler from another colony wrote with surprise that "mass is set up and read publicly in Philadelphia and several people turned to it" and throughout the colonial period Pennsylvania's Catholics "were not

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35 Metzger, Revolution, p.151.

36 Phelan, Colonial Days, p.95.

See Continuation Sheet No. 8.12

HISTORIC CONTEXT:

molested in the practice of their religion."[37] While it seems ironic, the colony of the Quaker Penns was, it seems, a better place to be a Catholic than the colony of the Catholic Calverts: "while Catholics were less numerous than in Maryland, their lot was much happier."[38] This was particularly true in the 18th century, after Benedict Leonard Calvert "conformed to the Church of England in 1714 "[39] and was thenceforth more responsive to the opinions of the English crown and politicians than the Penns seem to have been, for "Pennsylvania ignored the edict of William III prohibiting the public celebration of the Mass, as it was inclined to ignore most royal proclamations."[40] As a result, in 1734 Father Greator, a Catholic priest, "purchased a site [on Walnut Street in Philadelphia] for a new church and built St.

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37 Metzger, Revolution, p.144.

38 Metzger, Revolution, p.97.

39 Thomas O'Brien Hanley, The American Revolution and Religion: Maryland, 1770-1800, (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University Press, 1971), p.171.

40 Joseph J. Kelley, Jr., Life and Times in Colonial Philadelphia, (Harrisburg, Pa.: Stackpole Books, 1973), p.146.

See Continuation Sheet No. 8.13

HISTORIC CONTEXT:

Joseph's." (Recall that at the time the law in Maryland was that chapels had to be a part of a larger dwelling.) In 1757 the first St. Joseph's "was razed and a somewhat larger building was put up."[41]

Delaware was an on-again, off-again part of colonial Pennsylvania and, thanks to the Penns, "religious intolerance was almost unknown in Delaware."[42] But, curiously, Catholics were "almost unknown in Delaware" too. A 1751 survey listed "five or six families of Papists" in the colony and no priest or chapel for those families "are attended once a month by a Jesuit from Maryland."[43]

That Jesuit came from Bohemia, one of four such missions in 18th century Maryland, a colony that gave Catholics a sort of middle ground, half way between the outright persecution they

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41 Kelley, Philadelphia, p.147.
42 Phelan, Colonial Days, p.101.
43 Bunson, Founding, p.98.

See Continuation Sheet No. 8.14

HISTORIC CONTEXT:

suffered in Virginia and the near-complete freedom they enjoyed in Pennsylvania. Initially, of course, Maryland was a Catholic refuge and thousands of Catholics settled along the shores of the Chesapeake (north of the Potomac) in the 17th century. But in 1688-'89 the "Glorious Revolution" brought William and Mary to the English throne; in America "Charles Calvert, Third Lord Baltimore, was removed as a result of the Revolution"[44] which also "swept away the Maryland Toleration Act, however fair it might have been and established the Church of England in the Maryland colony."[45] Moreover, "the penal laws of England following that revolution forbade Roman Catholics to hold office, serve in the army, or to educate their children in their beliefs and it placed penalties of banishment or life imprisonment upon Popish Priests who performed their duties."[46]

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44 Hanley, Revolution and Religion, p.173.
45 McGrain, I, p.254.
46 Hanley, Revolution and Religion, p.175.

See Continuation Sheet No. 8.15

HISTORIC CONTEXT:

Dancing to those London-piped tunes, "the Maryland General Assembly in October 1704, passed a local act to 'prevent the growth of popery within the province', imposing a L 50 fine on any popish priests, bishops, or Jesuits exercising their function or making converts."[47] But then Queen Anne (and subsequently the Maryland Assembly) modified her stance and settled on a compromise allowing Catholic priests to celebrate mass--but only in private homes; chapels, if they existed at all, had to be built as part of a larger residence. "This exemption permitted the few priests in Maryland to carry on their duties using their residences as churches and riding the circuit through the settlements to offer Mass in the homes of Catholic colonists. They traveled in plain clothes and carried vestments, chalices, wine and books in their saddle bags,"[48] ministering to descendants of those who had settled in Maryland under more lenient conditions.

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47 McGrain, I, p.255.

48 McGrain, I, p.255.

See Continuation Sheet No. 8.16

HISTORIC CONTEXT:

Maryland's Catholics must have felt a sense of betrayal and one scholar has observed that "the threat of revocation of the exempting act hung over the heads of Maryland Catholics for the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century, and there were several waves of anti-popery that threatened, and indeed impaired, the civil liberties of both priests and parishioners. Maryland that once had offered a refuge to the British Catholic was becoming in the 1750's a trap for his descendants."[49] Conditions deteriorated to such an extent that Charles Carroll, head of one of the colony's most illustrious Catholic families and father of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, began negotiations with the French court with a view of securing a grant of land on the Arkansas River in what was then French-held Louisiana. He went so far as to write his son, who was studying in Europe, "From what I have said, I leave you to judge whether Maryland be a tolerable residence for a Roman Catholic. Were I younger, I would certainly quit it." Carroll "went on to describe how he was turning his real property into

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49 McGrain, I, p.255.

See Continuation Sheet No. 8.17

HISTORIC CONTEXT:

cash so that young Charles could leave the colony for French or Spanish territory where he might be allowed to participate in normal public life."[50]

Only a tiny fraction of Maryland Catholics were rich enough--like the Carrolls--to build a chapel as a part of their house. The rest of the people had to depend, as noted, on circuit riders who were based in four missions in Maryland run by Jesuits who "were the only organized Catholic clergy in the colony;" the "plantation residences" were "Newtown on Bretton Neck and Saint Inigoes in Saint Mary's County; Saint Thomas Manor at Port Tobacco in Charles County; and in 1704, they began to cover the head of the bay from Bohemia Manor, Warwick"[51] in Cecil County. This was true even for Catholics in Baltimore City, by the eve of the Revolution the largest city in the colony: "as no Catholic priest resided nearer than Carroll's manor of Doughoregan, some fifteen miles distant,

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50 McGrain, I, p.256; see also Metzger, Revolution, pp.77-77.

51 McGrain, I, p.256.

See Continuation Sheet No. 8.18

HISTORIC CONTEXT:

the Baltimore congregation, if such it may be called, could assist at Mass only when Carroll's chaplain came to town;"[52] perhaps that last statement should have modified for, as will be seen, even the Carrolls didn't always have a resident chaplain, and even they sometimes had to depend on circuit riders from remote missions.

As noted, Jesuits from Bohemia ministered to the needs of Catholics in Delaware; they also, beginning in the 1730s, began serving newly arriving German settlers in the Little Conewago Valley, near Hanover, Pennsylvania. Trekking from Maryland's Eastern Shore to south-central Pennsylvania would have been arduous enough in the mid-18th century to wear down even the most devout priest. Further, part of the Conewago tract was owned by the Carroll family who wished to "have an English-speaking priest within range of their tenants."[53]

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52 Metzger, Revolution, p.89.

53 McGrain, I, p.257.

See Continuation Sheet No. 8.19

HISTORIC CONTEXT:

The logical solution was found on March 14, 1743, when John Digges, a Maryland-born, European-trained Jesuit, bought a tract of land[54] from one Thomas Shea near Deer Creek in what is now Harford County and established the Mission of Saint Joseph on Paradice Plantation. Shea had patented the land in 1715 and "Thomas Shea's plats, certificates, and sealed original potent--are preserved in the Jesuit archives."[55] The chain of title is complete from Shea in 1715 to the present (1989) owners. From here Digges set forth to attend to the needs of a Catholic flock that stretched across thousands of acres from the Chesapeake Bay to the mountains of Pennsylvania; he even had charge of the Carrolls' family chapel 45 miles away when the family couldn't keep a regular chaplain and often "it was his assignment to visit Doughoregan Manor."[56] The deed to Digges includes "the land where my Dwelling place now is" which has led some historians to believe

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54 Baltimore County Deed Book TB No. C Page 465.

55 Joerndt, St. Ignatius, p.33.

56 McGrain, I, p.260.

See Continuation Sheet No. 8.20

HISTORIC CONTEXT:

that "this document confirms the existence of the house to at least 1743."[57] While there is nothing in the construction of the house, in the scale of the building, manner of construction or details to contradict such an early date, it does not account for the highly undomestic floorplan described above. What seems a safer theory is that either Digges bought Shea's house and altered its plan to suit its new liturgical needs or he simply removed whatever was standing and built the present structure anew. In either event, the existing structure was clearly intended for other than strictly domestic use. (It was also not flawless: Neale's Account Book notes "May 1760. For reshingling the dwelling house roof 14-0-0")

Digges's tenure was brief for he died "'in Baltimore' in 1746 at the age of 34, the cause or exact place being unrecorded."[58] (Although one Jesuit scholar believes that "in

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57 McGrain, I, p.260.

58 McGrain, I, p.260.

See Continuation Sheet No. 8.21

HISTORIC CONTEXT:

Baltimore" meant Baltimore County which, as Baltimore County then took in Harford County, meant here at his mission.[59] Digges "remains a vague shadow of history" although, as one writer has observed, "the chapel house might deserve to be called Priest Digges' Mass House."[60]

In his will, Digges left all his real and personal estate "to my well-beloved friend, Mr. Bennet Neale, son of Mr. Anthony Neale, deceased."[61] Neale was born in 1709 into one of the most influential families in Maryland; it was also "a family conspicuous for the number of members that it gave to the Church and to the Society of Jesus."[62] His grandfather, Captain James Neale, had come to the colony in 1636 and in 1642 was granted the title of Lord of Wolleston Manor, a

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59 Letter from J.A. Frederick to E.I. Devitt, S.J., in the Jesuit files, Georgetown University Library.

60 McGrain, I, p.260.

61 McGrain, I, p.260.

62 Devitt to Frederick, Jan. 30, 1906; MS #2229, Maryland Historical Society.

See Continuation Sheet No. 8.22

HISTORIC CONTEXT:

2000-acre estate in Charles County, on Neale Sound off the Potomac River. Captain Neale and his wife lived in Europe for long stretches of time, particularly in Spain and Portugal, where they represented Charles I and the Duke of York "in different capacities."[63] Several well-known family traditions suggest a closeness between Mrs. Neale and Charles I's wife, Queen Henrietta Maria; the Queen is often said to have been godmother and namesake to one of the Neales' daughters. The Queen is also said to have given Mrs. Neale, as a memento, an elaborate ring, which later descended in the family's female line and is now in the Maryland Historical Society. "Another family treasure, believed to have been a royal gift, was a monstrance for use in church service."[64]

The Neales retired to Maryland in 1660, upon the restoration of the Stuarts, and Captain Neale was immediately made deputy governor of the colony. Their royally-named daughter,

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63 McGrain, I, p.260.

64 McGrain, I, p.262.

See Continuation Sheet No. 8.23

HISTORIC CONTEXT:

Henrietta Maria Neale, then married Richard Bennett (son of the then-governor of Virginia and whose surname was given as "the first name of his nephew, the Jesuit")[65] ; Bennett died and his widow then married Philemon Lloyd, son and heir of Edward Lloyd,I, of Wye House in Talbot County, Maryland. Henrietta Maria's strong sense of religion doubtless at least partly explains why the Lloyds' planned community of Doncaster (begun in 1683 on the Wye River and long-since abandoned, although the plat still hands on the wall at Wye House) had the honor of having the first Catholic chapel on the Eastern Shore; town and chapel have disappeared. It is clear, then, as one scholar has written, "a highly educated elite, Maryland Catholics were important members of the leadership which improved the economic life of the colony, while maintaining their own family fortunes and quality education abroad."[66]

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65 McGrain, I, p.262.

66 Hanley, Revolution and Religion, p.174.

See Continuation Sheet No. 8.24

HISTORIC CONTEXT:

The Neales were clearly Stuart supporters and intensely Catholic. Anthony Neale's will mentions a "silver chalice and suit of church stuff;" these were, according to the will, to "remain in said dwelling house for use of my family" suggesting that "the Neale house provided facilities for the visits of itinerant priests and may have served the entire neighborhood."[67]

Young Bennett Neale was sent abroad to school "as was the custom with well-to-do Catholic families. Catholic schools were forbidden by statute...and the only way [Catholic children] could have prepared for college or seminary work was by going to territory not controlled by England."[68] On September 7, 1728, when he was 19, Bennett Neale entered a Jesuit school in Flanders and "then went on to study philosophy at Louvain, and theology at Liege." (Neale's and Digges's years in France have led some to see in the Mass House more than a passing

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67 McGrain, I, pp.262-263.

68 McGrain, I, pp.263-264.

See Continuation Sheet No. 8.25

HISTORIC CONTEXT:

resemblance to a French farm cottage.)[69] He must have been a good scholar for " Bennett Neale was given the privilege of being promoted to the priesthood at the end of his second year of theology, that is 1741. In that year [church officials] requested the Jesuit general in Rome to dispense Neale and John Digges from the fourth year of theology and from their probationary year at Ghent, to free them for immediate work in Maryland."[70]

Frs. Digges and Neale returned to Maryland in 1742, the former, as discussed, to the shores of Deer Creek, the latter to the mission at Bohemia.[71] Men such as Digges and Neale played a crucial role in the history of the Catholic Church for "during the period between 1634 and 1773, the Jesuit priests who worked in the colonies as missionaries were almost

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69 Joerndt, St. ignatius, p.36.
70 McGrain, I, p.262.
71 McGrain, I, p.265.

See Continuation Sheet No. 8.26

HISTORIC CONTEXT:

entirely responsible for the conduct of Catholic affairs in the English-speaking New World."[72]

After Digges's death, Neale moved into his friend and schoolmate's house and began his own missionary work. Then, in 1750, he bought, in his own name, a long, narrow 18-acre strip of land adjacent to the Paradice tract and on the south shore of Deer Creek.[73] Its configuration (roughly 1/2 mile long and 320 feet wide) suggests its function: the site of a mill and millrace. During Neale's brief stay at Bohemia he certainly would have became aware of how that mission generated its own income: the 1000-acre plantation contained not only the priests' living quarters but also brick kilns and saw and grist mills. Neale apparently decided to reproduce--on a modified scale--those money-making operations. His mill, as the recently-discovered account book shows, quickly became a booming operation, grinding grain for farmers throughout the

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72 Hanley, Revolution and Religion, p.177.

73 Baltimore County Deed Book TR No. D, Page 39.

See Continuation Sheet No. 8.27

HISTORIC CONTEXT:

neighborhood and producing income to fund his missionary activities. A native of Southern Maryland's tobacco country, Neale began his agricultural career here by planting tobacco; in 1750, for instance, Neale wrote in his Account Book that he had paid L5 for a "Tobacco House, frame." But within a few years references to tobacco cease, replaced by corn, rye, and wheat. Some typical Account Book entries follow: "1764: Made this year 203 bu. of wheat;" "Oct. 1764 L5.3.6 to Mr. _____ for a quarter cask of wine;" "May 1765. Sent Hicks 20 bu sprouted wheat and 10 bu rye for which he paid me my share of whiskey, about 27 gallons. I sold 1/2 gal. whiskey to Betty Dixon..0-1-6;" "1769. I made this year 15 barrels corn, 104 1/2 bu. wheat, 700 gallons cider."[74]

Neale's mill, according to Maryland mill expert John McGrain, "may have been the first mill in the region, since the nearby Noble's Mill dates to 1854 and Wilson's Mill, of about the same era (1740-1760) was a long haul away." McGrain

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74 MS #1133, Maryland Historical Society.

See Continuation Sheet No. 8.28

HISTORIC CONTEXT:

conjectures that "the priests mill was presumably built by Thomas Shea, an Irish immigrant."[75] Harford County historian George Archer, writing in 1889, estimated that the mill had by then been abandoned for nearly 100 years (for reasons which will be discussed below) but traces existed into the 1930s and even today it is possible to discern a bit of the millrace on the Paradice property; the "millstones have migrated to Medical Hall,"[76] a house nearby.

Despite clues provided by the Account Book, it is difficult to follow, in any detail, Neale's activities while at the Paradice property. As more than one historian has pointed out, "Jesuit records of those days are sketchy, confusing, erratic, and often written in roundabout codes to avoid any mention of their Catholic nature, With the use of codes and circumlocutions, such as writing 'factory' for 'mission'"[77]

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75 McGrain, I, p.266.
76 McGrain, I, p.266.
77 McGrain, I, p.255.

See Continuation Sheet No. 8.29

HISTORIC CONTEXT:

the priests hoped to avoid the worst of the penal laws. Nevertheless, it is known that Neale's missionary work took him into the Conewago Valley of Pennsylvania and to what is now Emmittsburg in Frederick County, Maryland, several times between 1748 and 1753 and that he made at least one trip to Philadelphia "when he gave power of attorney to John O'Neill in connection with the estate of John Callahan."[78] In 1756, when the British needed money for their war with France, they imposed taxes on "wines, liquors, billiard tables and bachelors of Maryland;" these levies were allocated by the Anglican parish church and St. George's Church in Perryman records the residence of the bachelor Bennett Neale. "(Catholics, by the way, were to pay twice the tax of other bachelors, since their co-religionists, the French, were the enemy.)"[79] In sum, "those Jesuit missionaries were the focus of religious life. Here Mass was celebrated, instruction carried on. Catholic aristocrats felt a responsibility for the less educated or

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78 McGrain, I, p.267.

79 McGrain, I, p.267.

See Continuation Sheet No. 8.30

HISTORIC CONTEXT:

those with no education at all. Much like the Methodist circuit rider, missionaries paid regular visits to such centers in the course of a month."[80]

During the 1750s and '60s the Account Book includes births in Neale's mission as well as baptism, and "this is the earliest record of baptisms by Catholic priests in Harford County."[81]

It was at this time--as long ago as 1756--that the phrase Priest Neale's Mass House was first used to describe the house on Deer Creek. After the English defeat at Fort Duquesne, "panic ensued throughout the English colonies. There were rumors of Indian invasions and fears of spies and traitors."[82] A 23-year-old man named William Johnson was arrested in 1756, near Fort Cumberland in Western Maryland, and charged with being a spy for the French. In his testimony, given before

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80 Hanley, Revolution and Religion, p.177.
81 Joerndt, St. Ignatius, p.47.
82 McGrain, I, p.269.

See Continuation Sheet No. 8.31

HISTORIC CONTEXT:

Thomas Cresap in Frederick, on October 26, 1756, Johnson alleged that "about three years ago" he "came to Deer Creek in Baltimore County" where

> he was several Times to Mass at Priest Neale's Mass House, and whilst in that Society, it was insinuated to them by the said Nealle [sic] that it would be much better for them to live under a French than an English government, as they would thereby get their Lands on Easier Terms and might enjoy the Free Exercise of their Religion. He recommended to them the providing themselves with Arms and Ammunition, to be ready to joyn [sic] any Party of French & Indians that might come down to invade or attack his Brittanick Majesty's Subjects.[83]

Johnson also said that Neale, who "had an inclination to go back to the French and become a subject of the French King," had asked him "to carry a packet of Letters to a French

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83 Quotes in McGrain, I, p.269.

See Continuation Sheet No. 8.32

HISTORIC CONTEXT:

officer...who, as the sd Neale informed him had byt one eye...& Neale gave him a pistole."

This, understandably, caused some excitement in Annapolis and Governor Horatio Sharpe summoned a council meeting in November to investigate matters further. Neale and other alleged conspirators were arrested as "persons ill affected to His Majesty's Person and Government" and brought to testify before Sharpe. The first witness swore that Neale lived at Paradice and that he "has there three or four Negroes working upon it." That was true enough. Then, however, and despite the wonderful verisimilitude of the one-eyed French soldier, Johnson eventually confessed that he had made the whole thing up, thinking the authorities "would be pleased with my making some information against the Catholics, and as I knew some of that profession, and had heard the names of others, while I lived in Baltimore, I framed such a story as I thought would be believed." He added "I was never at Mr. Neale's or any other Mass House in my life." Johnson apologized to Sharpe--"I am sorry I have acted so foolishly and imposed on your Excellency"-- who, in turn, apologized to Neale and the others

See Continuation Sheet No. 8.33

HISTORIC CONTEXT:

accused, and ordered the sheriff to "defray their expenses and conduct them to their respective homes."[84]

Neale continued his missionary work. In 1764 he executed a confirmatory deed to the Paradice property;[85] that same year he visited the recently-established mission run by Father Mosely in Talbot County (see below); he also "visited Piscataway in December, 1767, spending L 6, according to Father Hunter's homemade account book." By "the late 1760s and 1770s the antipopery had subsided and four separate chapel buildings were constructed in Maryland without any great pretense of being residences....They were Boone Chapel at Cheltenham, and the Carroll Chapel at Forest Glen, Saint Francis Xavier at Newtown [in St. Mary's County] and Saint Peter's Church, Baltimore." In 1773, Neale sold his "Mass House" and the entire Paradice property and moved to one of those new churches, to Saint Francis Xavier. One document

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84 McGrain, I, pp.271-274.

85 Baltimore County Deed Book B No. N Page 370.

See Continuation Sheet No. 8.34

HISTORIC CONTEXT:

shows him as "one of 21 witnesses to the erection of a boundry stone at St. Thomas Manor."[86] Perhaps he thought that the age of missionary work had ended. in any event, he stayed on at St. Francis Xavier until his death in 1787.[87]

The mission established by Digges and brought to maturity by Neale continued. Neale's successor at Paradice was Ignatius Matthews. He, too, was a Marylander who had studied abroad. Matthews entered the Jesuit Society in 1763 and began work in Maryland in 1766. He was listed as a taxpayer in Harford County's Spesutia Hundred in 1778 and "he took the oath of loyalty there, too."[88]

Matthews was followed in 1779 by Father Charles Sewall, another European-educated Marylander. "It was during his tenure that Lafayette's army passed the Priest Ford Road ...on their

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86 Joerndt, St. Ignatius, p.46.
87 McGrain, I, pp.278-279.
88 McGrain, I, p.279.

See Continuation Sheet No. 8.35

HISTORIC CONTEXT:

way to Yorktown, April 13, 1781...One local writer conjectured a meeting between priest and French Catholics, for Father Sewall was trained overseas like those before him. Some French officers, Captains Greme and de Gimat, did climb the nearby slopes, and Greme actually settled there after the war."[89] Sewall also executed a confirmatory deed, and had the property resurveyed, which confirmed the original lines; the incised stone Sewall used as a beginning point is still on the property.

Sewall's resurvey was "on an old form first printed for the Propritary Government of Henry Harford with 'State of Maryland' corrected in by pen."[90] That change in government brought with it the end of the "Mass House" for the new United States Constitution ensured freedom of religion. ("Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof....") This eliminated

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89 McGrain, I, p.280.

90 McGrain, I, p.281.

See Continuation Sheet No. 8.36

HISTORIC CONTEXT:

the need for Catholics to worship clandestinely in chapels disguised as (or built onto) houses.

In 1786 Catholic officials bought a 344-acre site closer to the county seat and population center, Bel Air, than remote Paradice was and work began on St. Ignatius Church, completed in 1792 (National Register and recognized as the oldest Roman Catholic church in the Diocese of Baltimore). But they also decided to keep Paradice going: in 1798 an Irishman, "the Rev. Dr. Cornelius Mahoney, spent a year there before being assigned to Albany by Bishop John Carroll. The Rev. Guillaume Pasquet de Leyde...arrived in 1800 and remained six years. He had left San Domingo after the slave rebellion."[91]

After the Revolution, the Catholic Church in America was reorganized and in 1793 "the nominal ex-Jesuit proprietors vested their title in the new Board, which they called the

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91 McGrain, II, p.138.

See Continuation Sheet No. 8.37

HISTORIC CONTEXT:

Corporation of Roman Catholic Clergy and which they had caused to be legalized."[92] This includes the Paradice tract.

The once-efficient and prosperous farm and mill of Father Neale evidentally no longer paid after the reorganization for letters from Father de Leyde are full of complaints of debts. The minutes of the Corporation wryly note on May 24, 1803, "the debts of the Deer Creek estate have not diminished."[93] Finally in 1804 the archbishop authorized de Leyde to sell "the supernumerary slaves...to humane and Christian masters."[94]

Financial conditions continued to worsen and on March 31, 1806, the diocese ran an ad in the Baltimore Federal Gazette which read, in part, "FOR SALE. A parcel of LAND...situated on both sides of Deer Creek in Harford County....Its situation is

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92 MS # 2229, Maryland Historical Society.
93 MS # 2229, Maryland Historical Society.
94 McGrain, II, p.139.

See Continuation Sheet No. 8.38

HISTORIC CONTEXT:

well known in Harford County, as it was on this land that...a grist mill, etc., were formerly erected. The improvements, at present, are a Dwelling House, good kitchen, smoke house...and an old Barn." The place stayed on the market until 1814 when Archbishop John Carroll sold Paradice to Dr. James Glasgow of Baltimore for $4200,[95] thus marking the end of the property's period of significance. Interestingly, Carroll's successor, the second archbishop of Baltimore, was Leonard Neale, Bennett Neale's nephew. There must have been some question as to title, understandable with all the church reorganizations, for on July 14, 1816, Archbishop Neale wrote a Father Peter Kenney concerning Paradice and stating that "the plantation sold was the very one purchased by a bargain made by Bennett Neale, an uncle of mine, who was a missionary at Deer Creek Church and lived on the plantation named. The sum of money [paid by Glasgow] was the property of the Corporation under my guardianship."[96]

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95 Harford County Deed Book, HD Book Z, Page 255.

96 MS # 2229, Maryland Historical Society.

See Continuation Sheet No. 8.39

HISTORIC CONTEXT:

Paradice passed through numerous hands until the present owners took title in 1960.

To determine the importance of the Paradice property, it will be necessary to see how extremely rare colonial Catholic structures are in the United States. As has been discussed, the only English colonies with a measurable Catholic population were Maryland and Pennsylvania so one would logically look there to see what remains of what was built before the Revolution.

In the 17th and 18th centuries St. Mary's County was the center of Maryland's Roman Catholic population. Of the four main early Jesuit "plantations" in the colony (listed above), two were in St. Mary's County: Newtown on Bretton Neck (SM-58,59) and St. Inigoe's (SM-14, 15, 212). While several church-associated structures exist at these sites, they can all, for various reasons, be distinguished from Paradice.[97]

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97 William Duke in Observations on the Present State of
(Footnote Continued)

See Continuation Sheet No. 8.40

HISTORIC CONTEXT:

The Newtown Manor property (National Register) has been a vitally important site since the colony's earliest days; Jesuit missionaries are known to have been based here since the 1630s. But the existing manor house, a five-bay, two-story Georgian residence, is the result of a complete 1816 overhaul and little, if anything, remains from earlier days, according to Mark R. Edwards and Pamela James, editors of Inventory of Historic Sites in Calvert County, Charles County, and St. Mary's County.[98] A dendrochronology study of the church at Newton Manor, St. Francis Xavier, has established a 1730-'31 date for the building's timber framing.[99] Documentary

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(Footnote Continued)
Religion in Maryland, 1795, notes "The Roman Catholic church...have several very valuable estates, and as their clergy are not numerous, they perhaps come nearer to a competency [in financial status] than any other. They conduct their affairs to advantage, and by a well-contrived economy, have maintained themselves, not only without the favour of government, but under the discouragements of public odium."

98 Mark R. Edwards and Pamela James, Inventory of Historic Sites in Calvert County, Charles County, and St. Mary's County, (Annapolis: Maryland Historical Trust, 1980), p.127.

99 Herman J. Heikkenen and Mark R. Edwards, "The Years of Construction and Alteration of Timber Buildiggs, as Derived by the Key-Year Dendrochronology Technique" in Conservation of Wooden Monuments (Ottowa, ICOMOS, 1983), pp. 173-184.

See Continuation Sheet No. 8.41

HISTORIC CONTEXT:

evidence, however, suggests that the interior wasn't completed until the 1760s; some brick additions date to 1767; more work was carried out in 1772 and a confessional was added in 1816. In any event, in contrast to Paradice, the house and chapel are and always have been visually and functionally distinct structures.

Nearby, the manor of St. Inigoe's was established by the Jesuits in 1637.[100] The Priest's house, which dated to the 18th century, has long since disappeared; a large brick manor house, built in 1705, was destroyed by fire in 1872, then rebuilt in a Victorian era manner, and finally dismantled in 1978. The acreage around the house would be unrecognizable to the colonial Jesuit fathers for it is now part of the Patuxent Air Text Center.[101] The church (National Register) was built

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100 Edwards and James, Inventory, p.117.

101 Edward C. Papenfuse et al., Maryland: A New Guide to the Old Line State, (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press), p.283.

See Continuation Sheet No. 8.42

HISTORIC CONTEXT:

in 1785 "after the American Revolution had restored freedom of religion to Maryland."[102]

St. Thomas Manor (CH-6; National Register) in Charles County was another mixed-use structure. The 4,000-acre manor was established in 1649[103] and the buildings evolved over time into a multi-part composition based around an elaborate 1741 mansion. There was a smaller brick chapel attached to it to the west. The 1741 main house was twice ravaged by fire, first in 1781[104] and then in 1866; the chapel (now part of St. Ignatius Church) was vastly enlarged in 1798 (datestone) after the Constitution made such a move practicable (although the hyphen connecting the present church and house is believed to be the shell of the 17th-century chapel which, according to Edwards and James, was "considerably altered after the [1866]

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102 Edwards and James, Inventory, p.118.

103 Papenfuse, New Guide, p.254.

104 Papenfuse, New Guide, p.255.

See Continuation Sheet No. 8.43

HISTORIC CONTEXT:

fire").[105] Here again, form and function make what colonial fabric remains here distinguishable from Paradice.

The fourth major Jesuit mission in Maryland was Old Bohemia (CE-60), established in 1704 by Father Thomas Mansell. Bohemia's history is fascinating: here in 1745 was established the first Catholic school in the English American colonies (an alumnus was John Carroll, first American Archbishop). But little remains of the colonial buildings. The present church dates to 1790 and the school was dismantled, its bricks reused to erect the present rectory.[106]

Those were the main centers of Catholicism in colonial Maryland, none of which is even remotely comparable to Paradice. One other "outpost" mission is known to have existed in Maryland before the Revolution. Its earliest history does suggest parallels to Paradice. It is St. Joseph's Mission in Talbot

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105 Edwards and James, Inventory, p.59; see also Rivoire, "St. Thomas."

106 Papenfuse, New Guide, p.217.

See Continuation Sheet No. 8.44

HISTORIC CONTEXT:

County (T-73), established by Father Joseph Mosley, S.J., in 1765. As mentioned above, Bennett Neale is known to have visited here--perhaps to offer advice from an experienced missionary to one just starting out? Like Paradice, it was a "child" of Bohemia; whereas Paradice was intended to serve Catholics north and west of Bohemia, St. Joseph's would minister to the needs of Catholics on the Lower Eastern Shore. Mosely's quarters were a good deal more primitive than those Digges and Neale enjoyed, for he wrote that the Talbot County house was built of boards "riven from oak trees, not sawed planks, and these nailed together to keep out the coldest air. Not one brick or stone about it, no plastering and no chimney, but a little hole in the roof to let out the smoke."[107] Nothing is left of that building, for it was replaced in 1782 by a brick chapel; by then anti-Catholic sentiment had subsided and Mosely was able to build his chapel as a chapel, not as a chapel disguised as a house, so despite their somewhat

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107 Quoted in Norman Harrington, The Shaping of Religion in America, (Easton: The Historical Society of Talbot County, 1980), p.32.

See Continuation Sheet No. 8.45

HISTORIC CONTEXT:

similar early histories, St. Joseph's is not comparable to Paradice, either. (St. Joseph's got a house attached to the chapel in the 1840s.)

Farther down the Eastern Shore, the frame chapel known as Saint Mary's Star-of-the-Sea (D-18) has been dated by H.C. Forman to 1769.[108] Forman's pioneering work in Maryland's architectural history is justifiably well known, but he is not too reliable as a church historian; as John McGrain pointed out in his two-part story on Paradice for the Maryland Historical Magazine, Forman, and others, in writing about the "Mass House" fell victim to "a number of fantastic errors." Forman, for instance, described Paradice thusly in 1934: "As strange as an event in Kubla Khan that 'Paradice' should have been a colonial monastery on the banks of Deer Creek in America! In the Jesuit Chapel, now the living room, monks used to chant." McGrain points out that "the Mass of Father Bennett Neale's time was read quietly, and no organ was present, let alone

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[108] Henry C. Forman, Early Manor and Plantation Houses of Maryland, (Easton: Privately printed, 1934), p.125.

See Continuation Sheet No. 8.46

HISTORIC CONTEXT:

monks to chant."[109] That early date is additionally troubling because McGrain, in his carefully researched work on early Catholic history, does not include the Dorchester building in his list of "four separate chapels" built in the 1760s and '70s and cited above. Nor is it included in the definitive booklet on "The Colonial Churches of Maryland" (which dates Paradice to 1742, calling it "St. Joseph's Church, Deer Creek"[110]). But, even accepting 1769 as correct, the small building would post-date Paradice by a generation.

The magnificent Doughoregan Manor (H-22 ; c. 1735-c.1745; National Historic Landmark) certainly exists, and its chapel (called St. Mary's) is functioning as a chapel. Built and still owned by the Carroll family, the 300-foot-long mansion is one of the undisputed great houses of America. The chapel forms "the north ell" and has been described as "richly

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109 McGrain, II, p.156.

110 Frederick Lewis Weis, The Colonial Churches of Maryland, Delaware, and Georgia, (Baltimore: The Geneological Publishing Company, Inc., 1978), Appendix II.

See Continuation Sheet No. 8.47

HISTORIC CONTEXT:

furnished...a reminder of the days when Roman Catholic services were conducted privately."[111] Doughoregan obviously is built on a totally different scale from Paradice, and because it was (and is) primarily a private house, differs in function for Paradice was primarily a religious mission. It is to be recalled, too, that at times Paradice functioned as a missionary church for Doughoregan for Father Digges had as "his assignment to visit Doughoregan Manor."

In addition to the 1757 St. Joseph's in Philadelphia, three other 18th-century Catholic churches remain in Pennsylvania, all of which post-date the "Mass House." The present Conewago Chapel was built after the Revolution (National Register; 1785-'87) as a replacement for a c. 1745 structure used by Digges and Neale in their missionary circuit riding. North of Philadelphia, in Berks County, is the Church of the Blessed Sacrament (date unsure but "almost certainly

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111 Papenfuse et al., New Guide, p.43.

See Continuation Sheet No. 8.48

HISTORIC CONTEXT:

post-Revolutionary"[112]); St. Peter's Roman Catholic Church (1799) in is Lancaster.

As the National Register form for Conewago notes, "relics of the faith and works of early Roman Catholic missionaries in northeast America are difficult to find." Difficult but not impossible. There are St. Joseph's and the three post-Revolutionary churches in Pennsylvania, and, in Maryland, a few much-altered complexes of buildings in Southern Maryland and the Eastern Shore, the chapel at Doughoregan Manor, and, among the earliest and most fascinating of all, Priest Neale's Mass House. Llewellyn A. Digges, a collateral descendant of Father Digges, wrote in 1967 that "about 45 years ago a friend and I went to Priest Neale's Mass House and traced the mill race and saw the mill stones. Later, when the Cathedral of Mary our Queen was being planned, I proposed to...Rev. Father

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[112] Conversations with Jay Clouse, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, January 23 and 24, 1989.

See Continuation Sheet No. 8.49

HISTORIC CONTEXT

Hyde (now Bishop Hyde) that...those stones...be incorporated into the Cathedral wall...as a poetic reminder of the grist that once fed the infant, growing Catholic Church in America."[113]

[113] MS # 2229, Maryland Historical Society.

NPS Form 10-900-a
(8-86)

OMB Approval No. 1024-0018

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

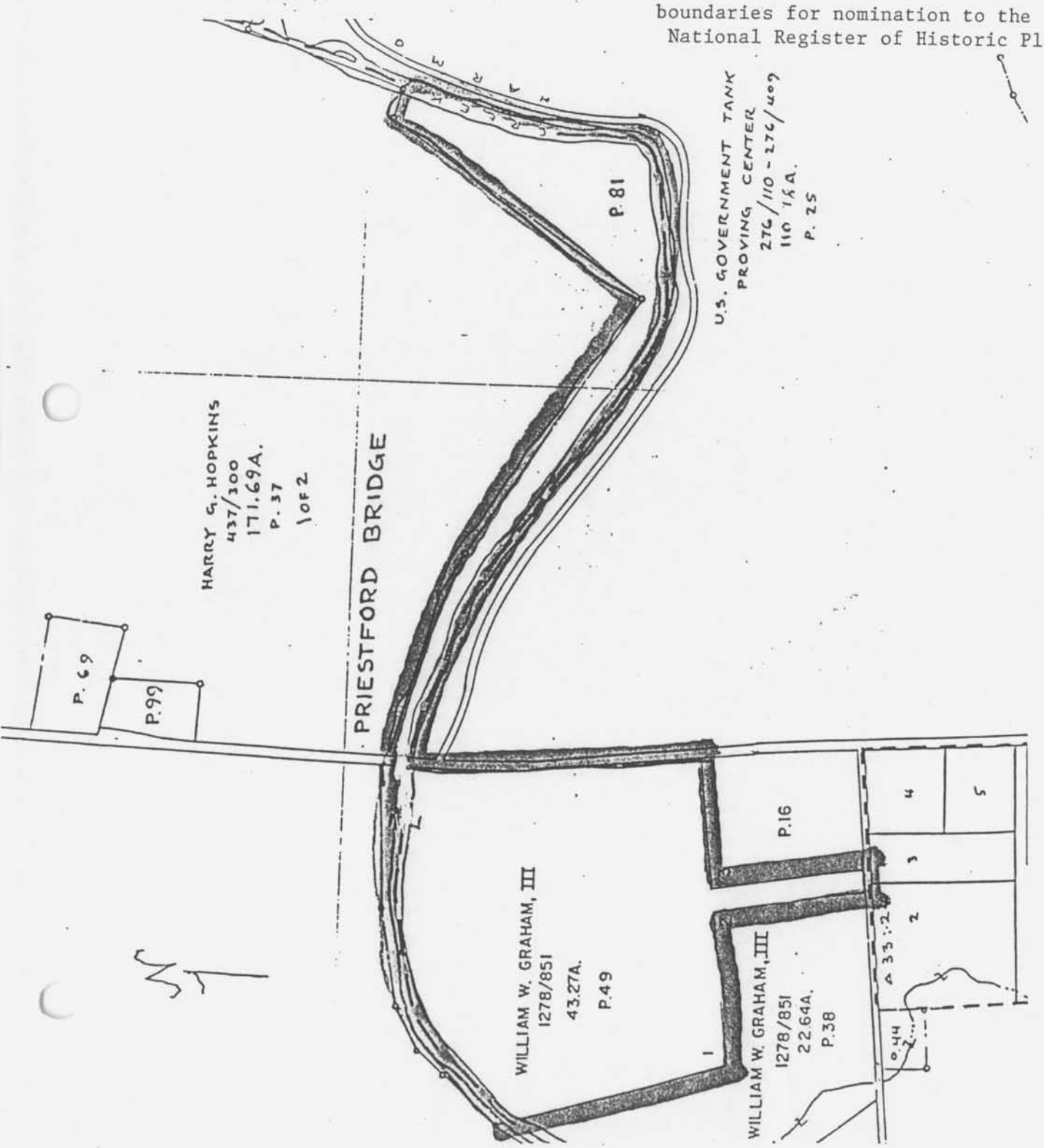
National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

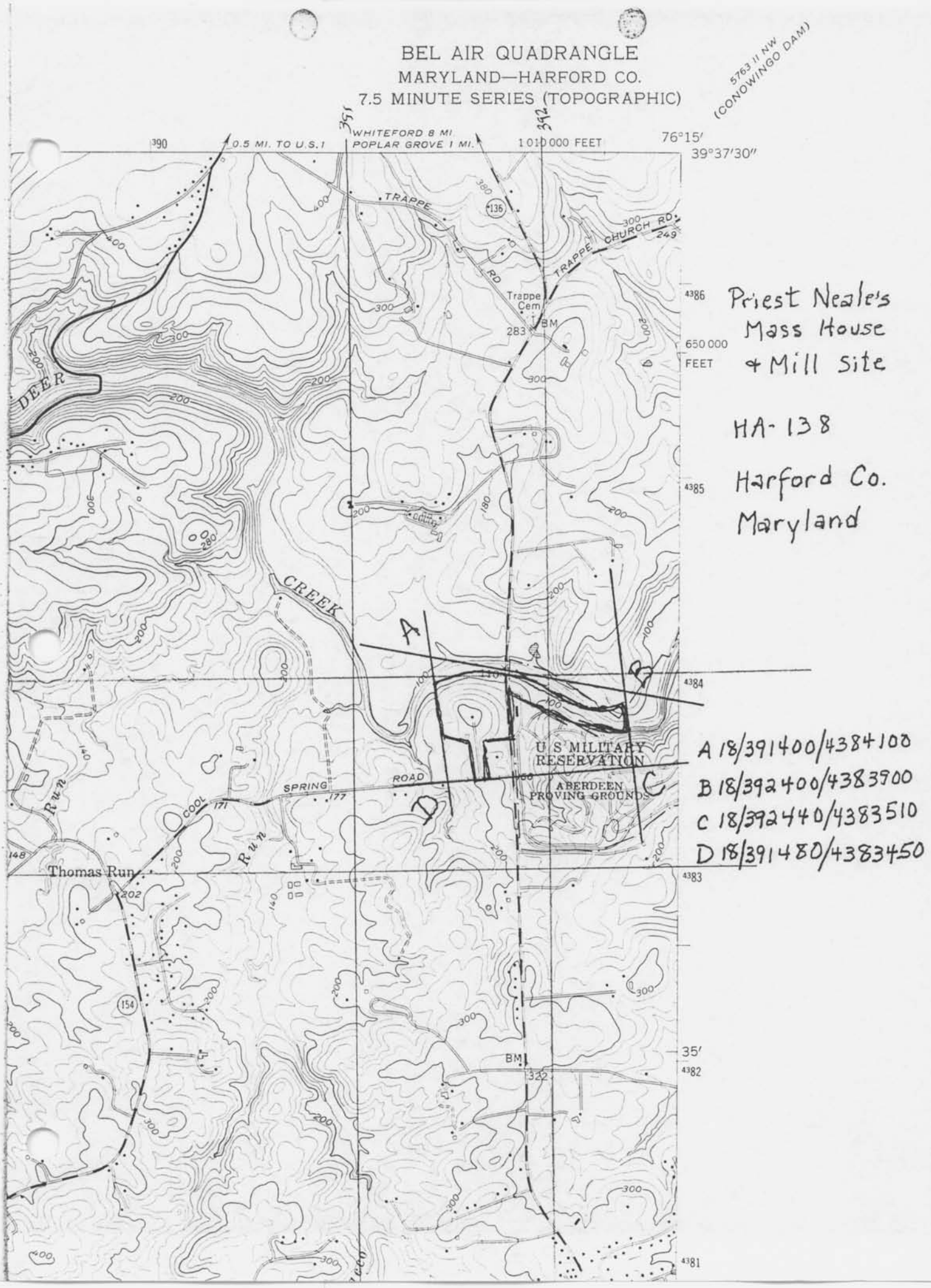
Section number 10 Page 1

Priest Neale's Mass House and Mill Site

Harford County HA-138

boundaries for nomination to the
National Register of Historic Places





Priest Neale's
Mass House
& Mill Site

HA-138

Harford Co.
Maryland

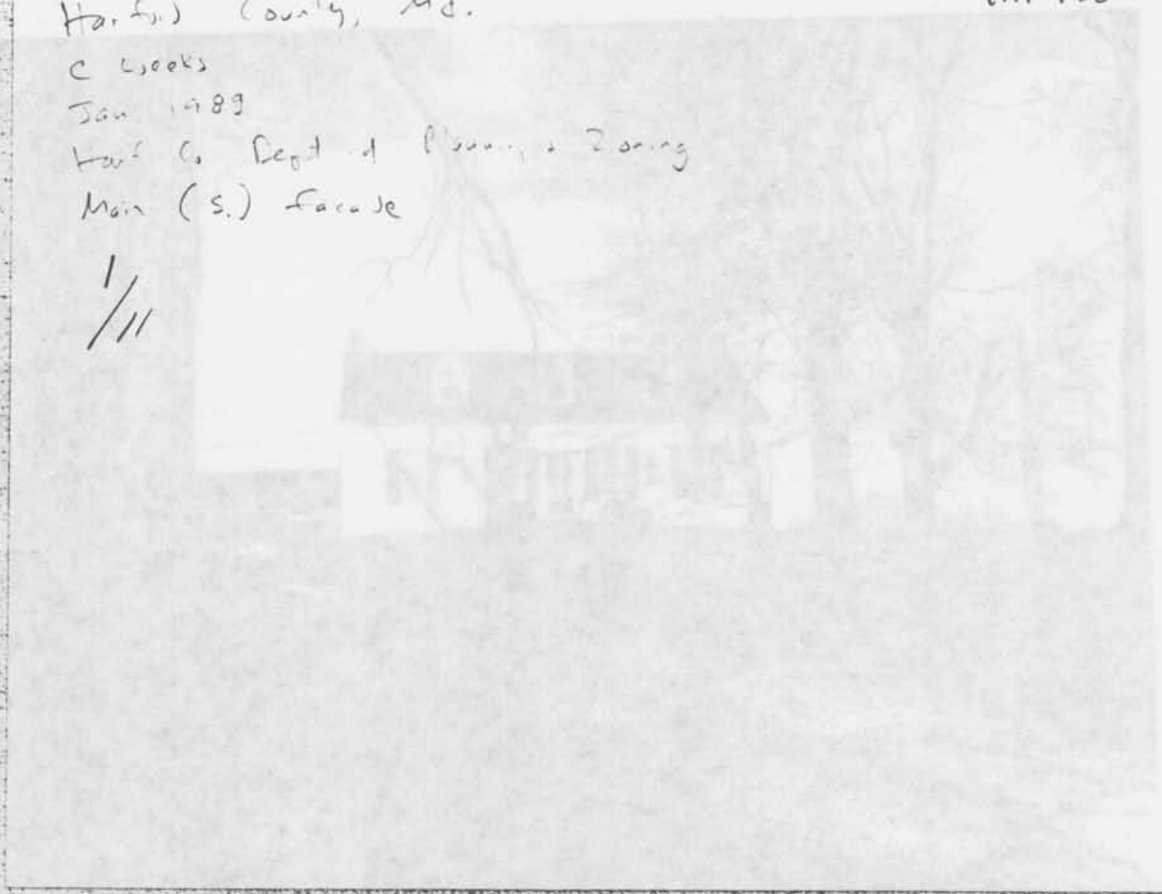
A 18/391400/4384100
B 18/392400/4383900
C 18/392440/4383510
D 18/391480/4383450

HA-138

Priest Neale's Mass House
Harford County, Md.
C Crooks
Jan 1989
Harf Co Dept of Planning + Zoning
Main (S.) facade

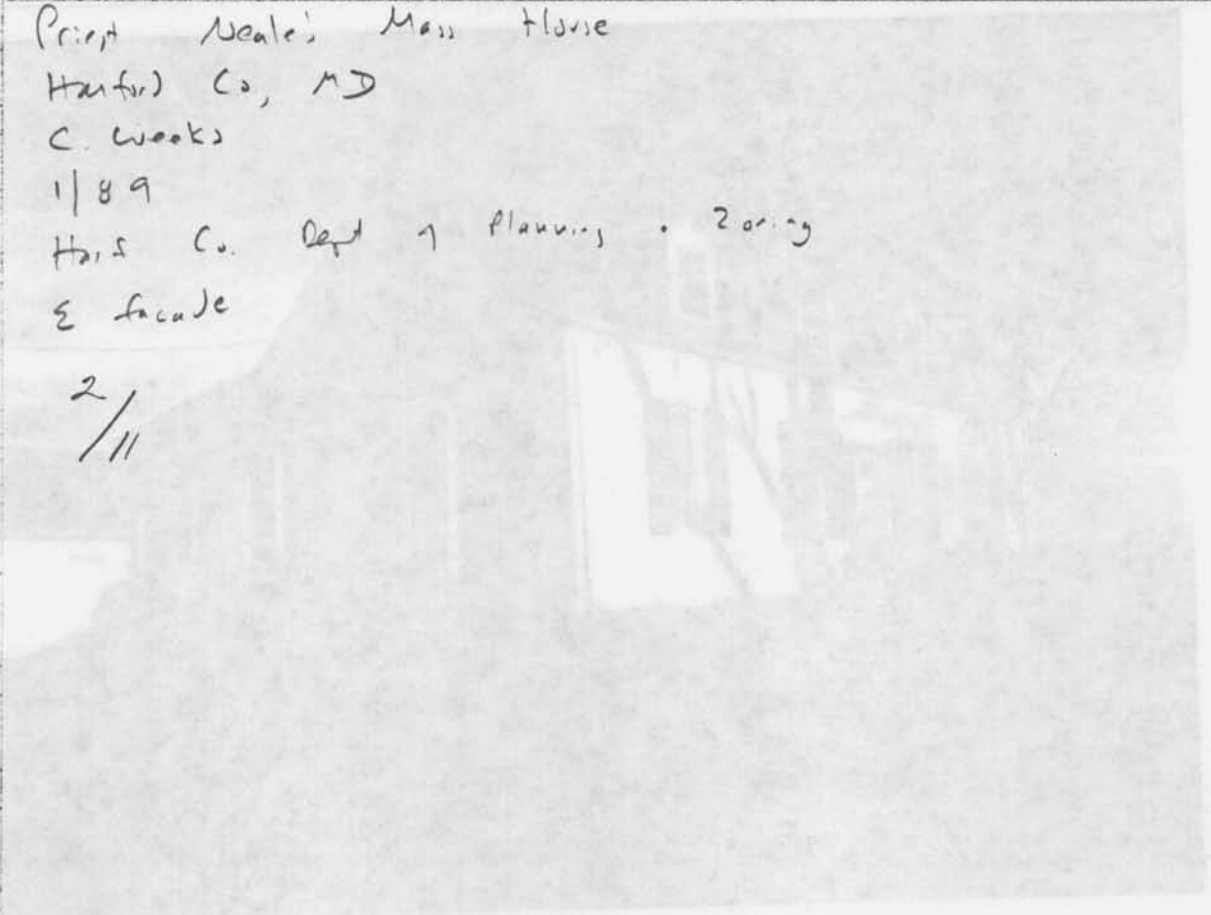
1/11

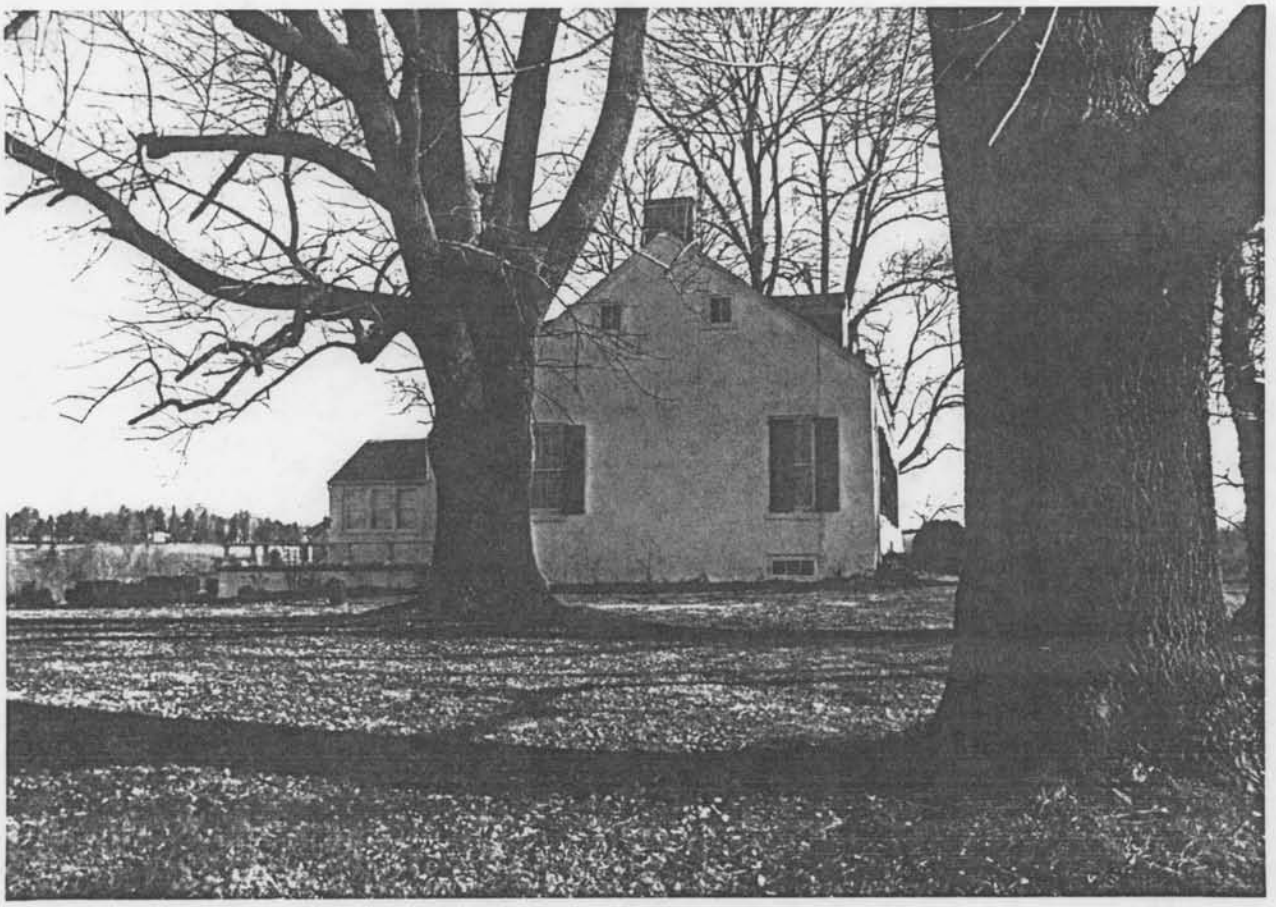
HA-138

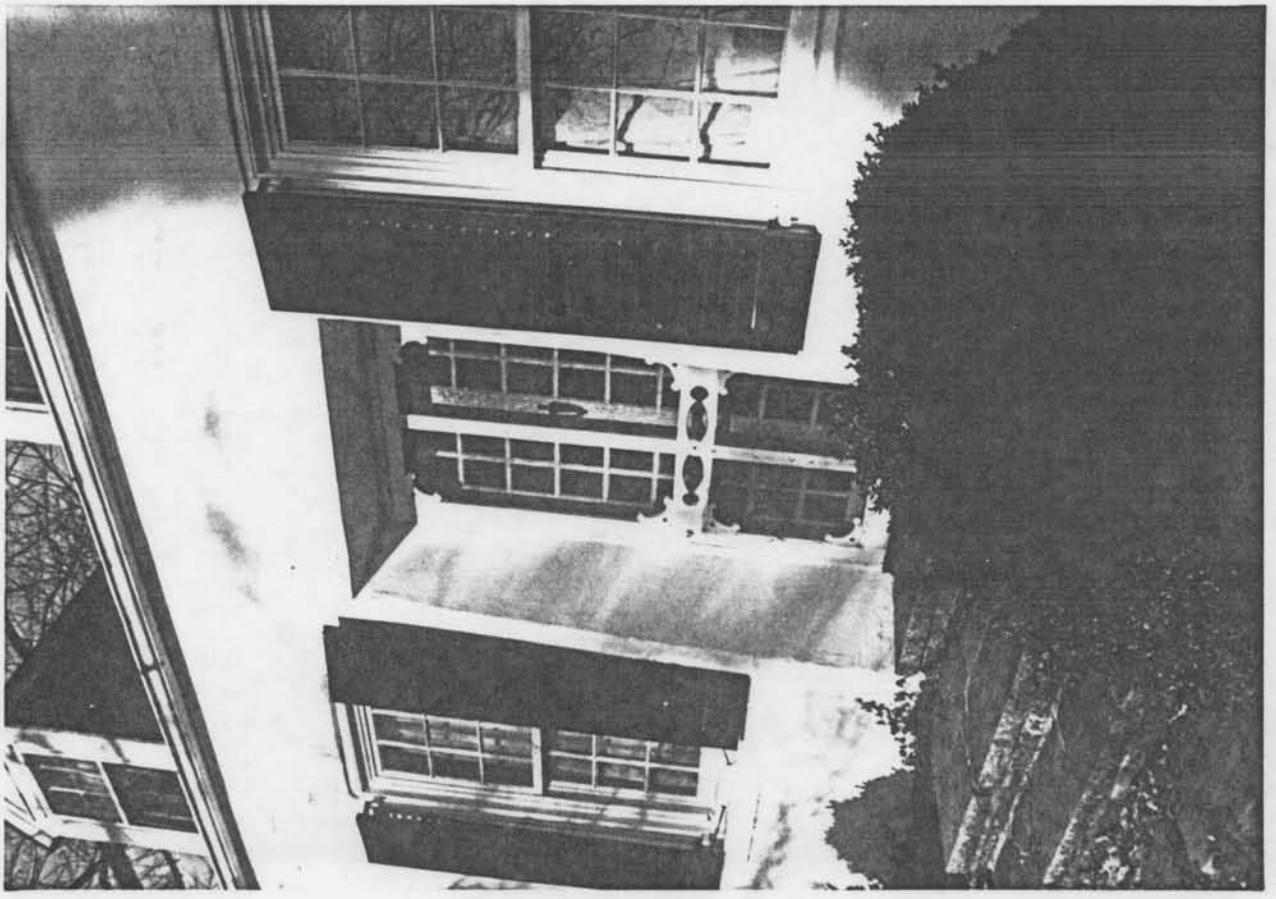


Priest Neale's Mass House
Harford Co, MD
C Crooks
1/89
Hars Co. Dept of Planning + Zoning
E facade

2/11



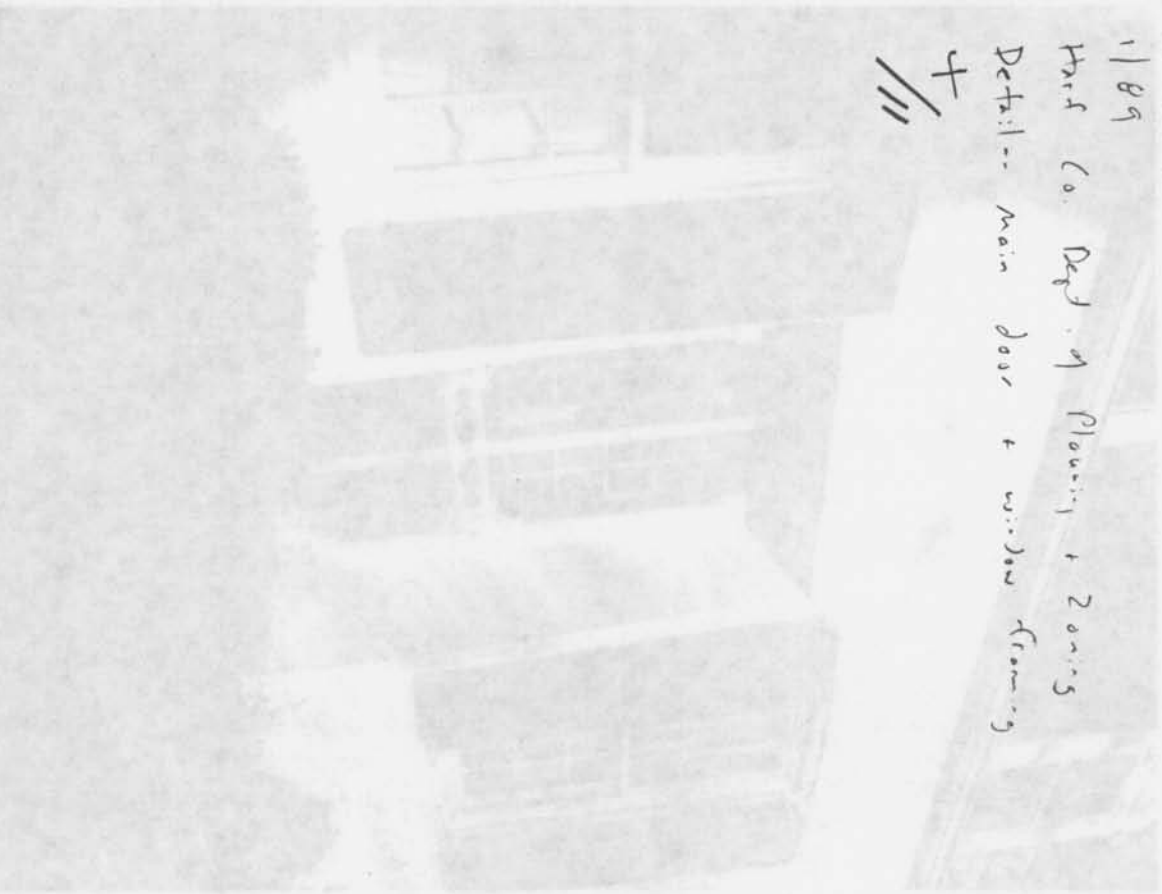




HA-138

Priest Neale's Mass House
Harford Co, MD
C. Weeks
1/89
Harf Co. Dept of Planning + Zoning
W facade (w/ modern kitchen to rear)

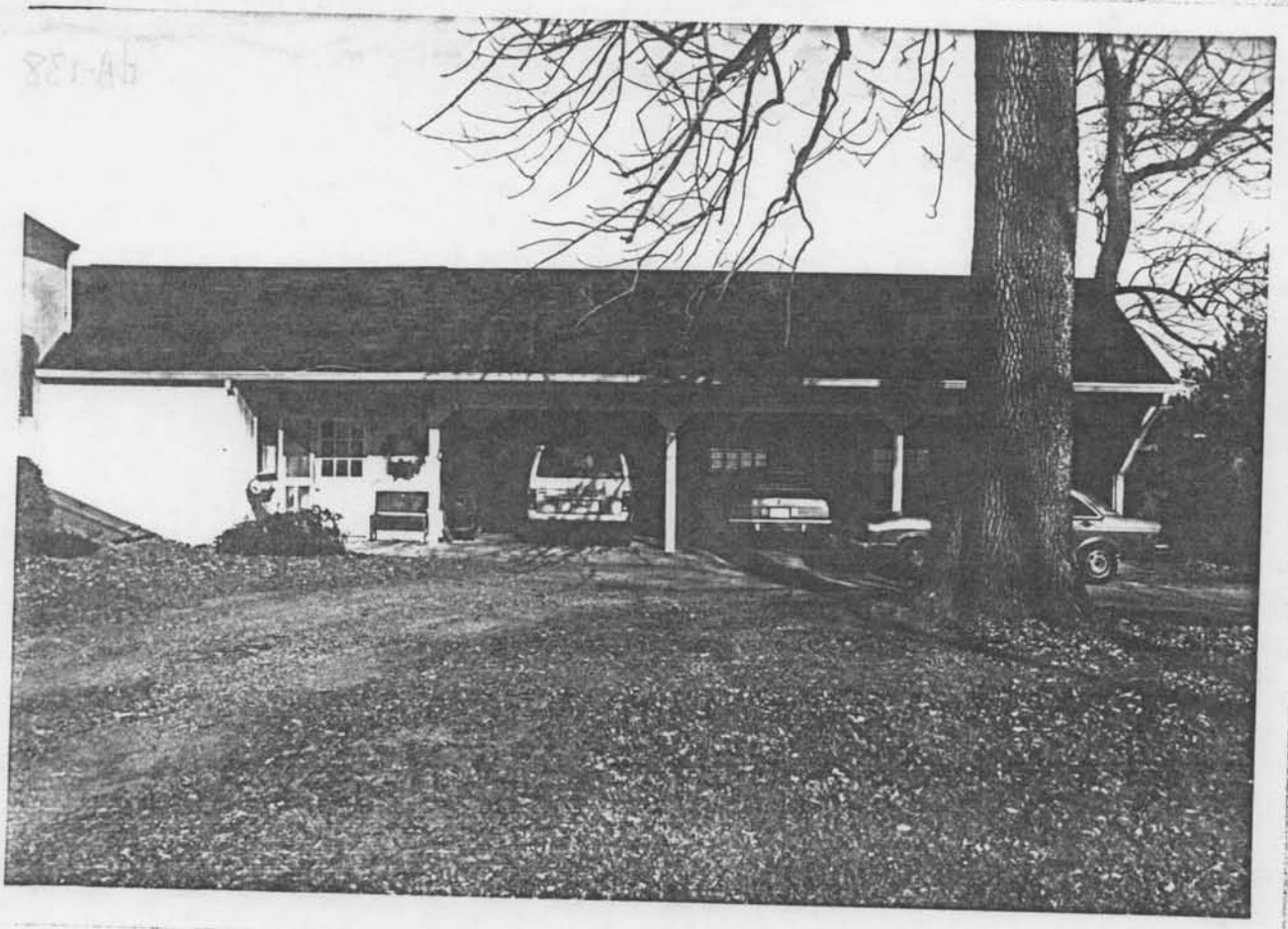
3/11

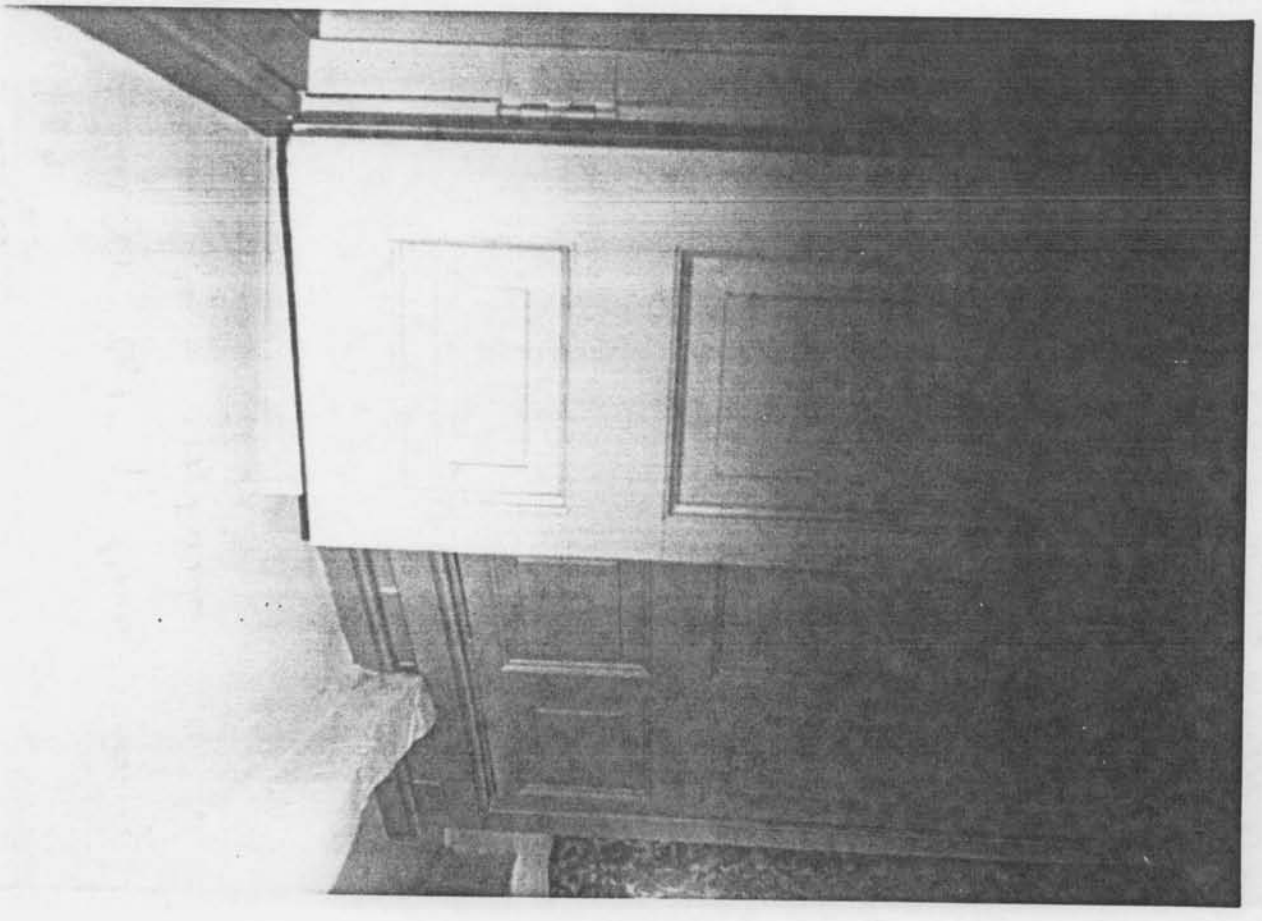


Priest Neale's Mass House
Harford Co, MD
C Weeks
1/89
Harf Co Dept of Planning + Zoning
Detail - main door + window framing

4/11

HA-138

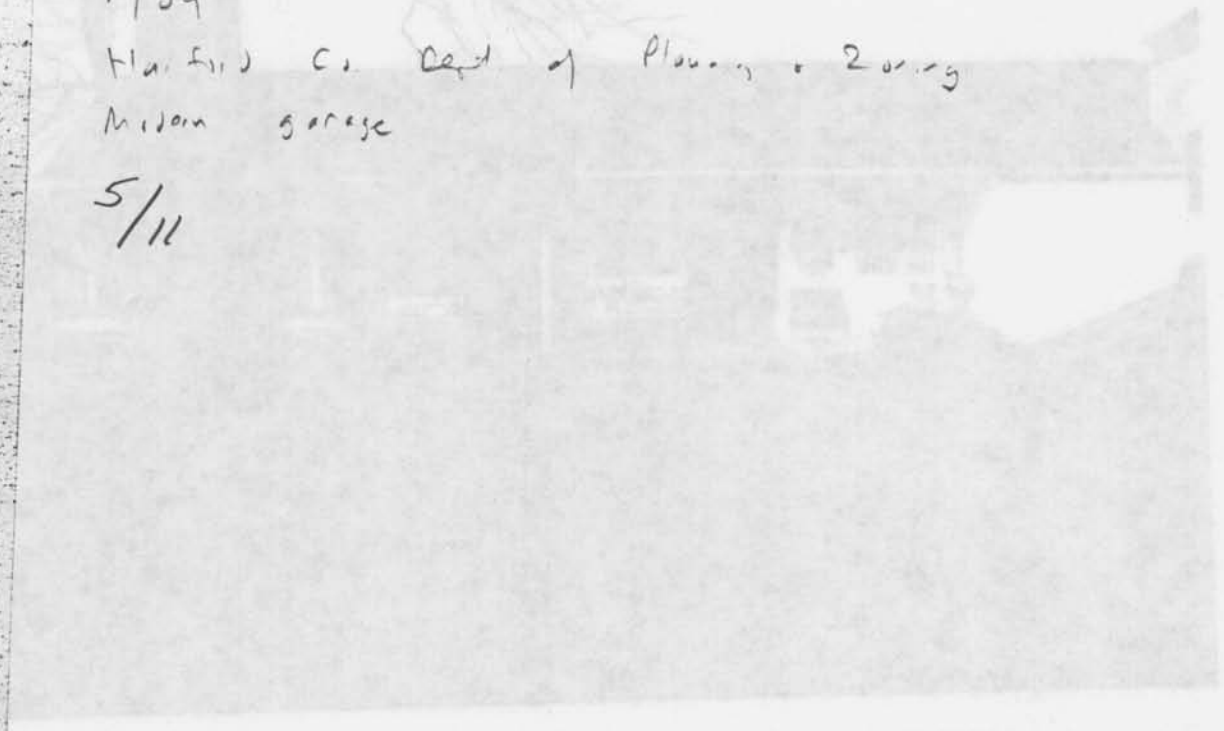




HA-138

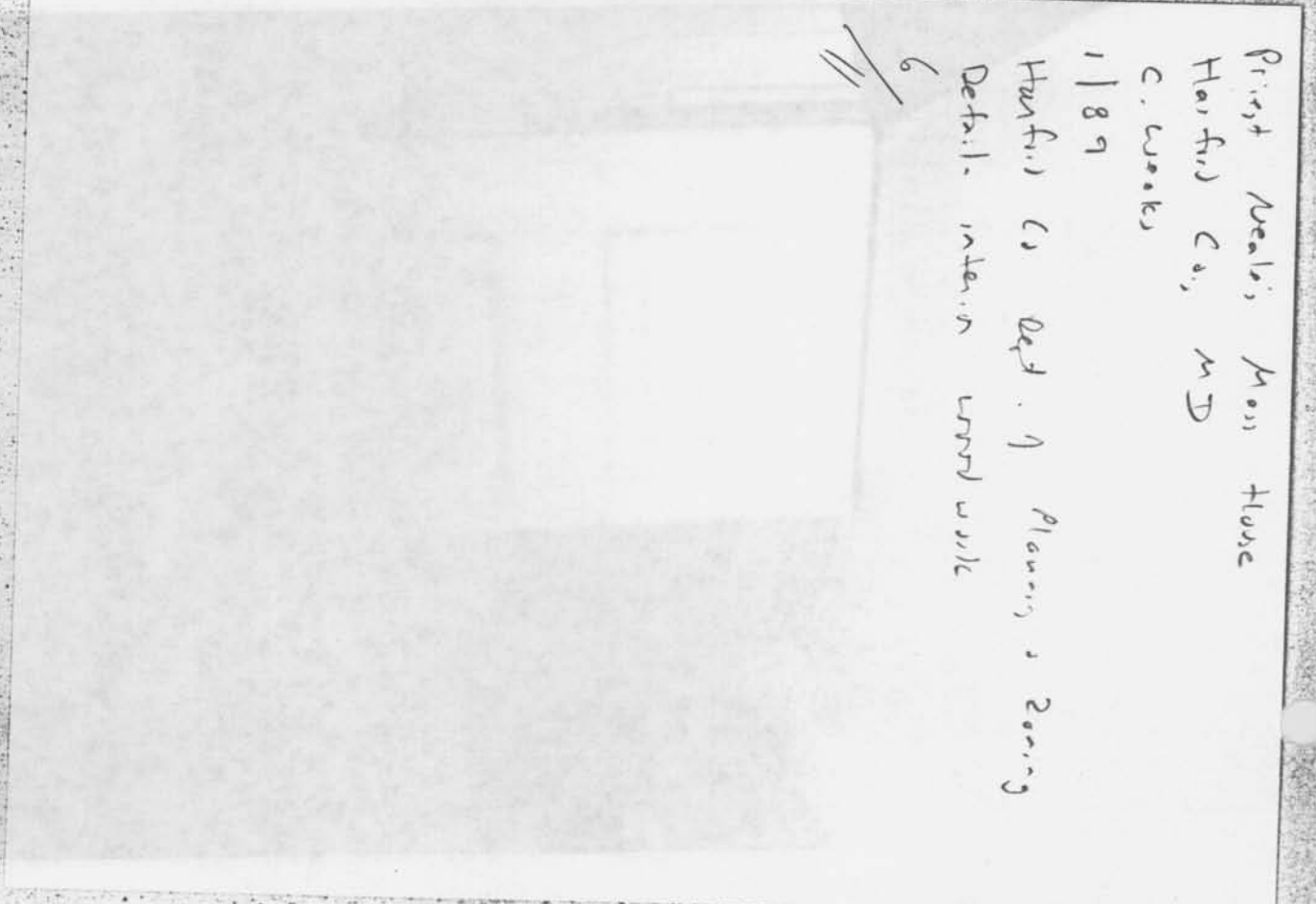
Priest Neale Moss House
Harford Co., MD
C. Crooks
1/89
Harford Co. Dept. of Planning & Zoning
Mildew garage

5/11

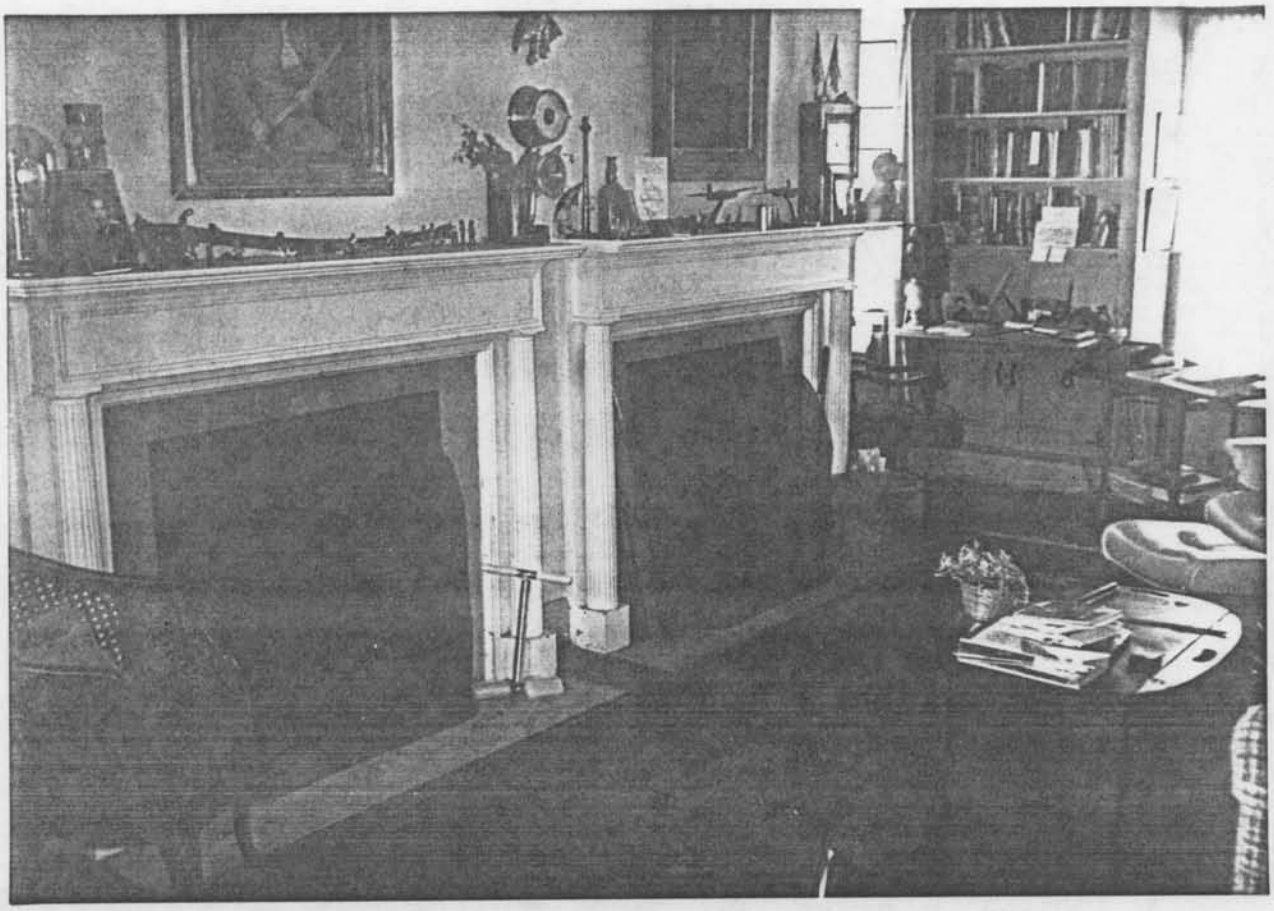


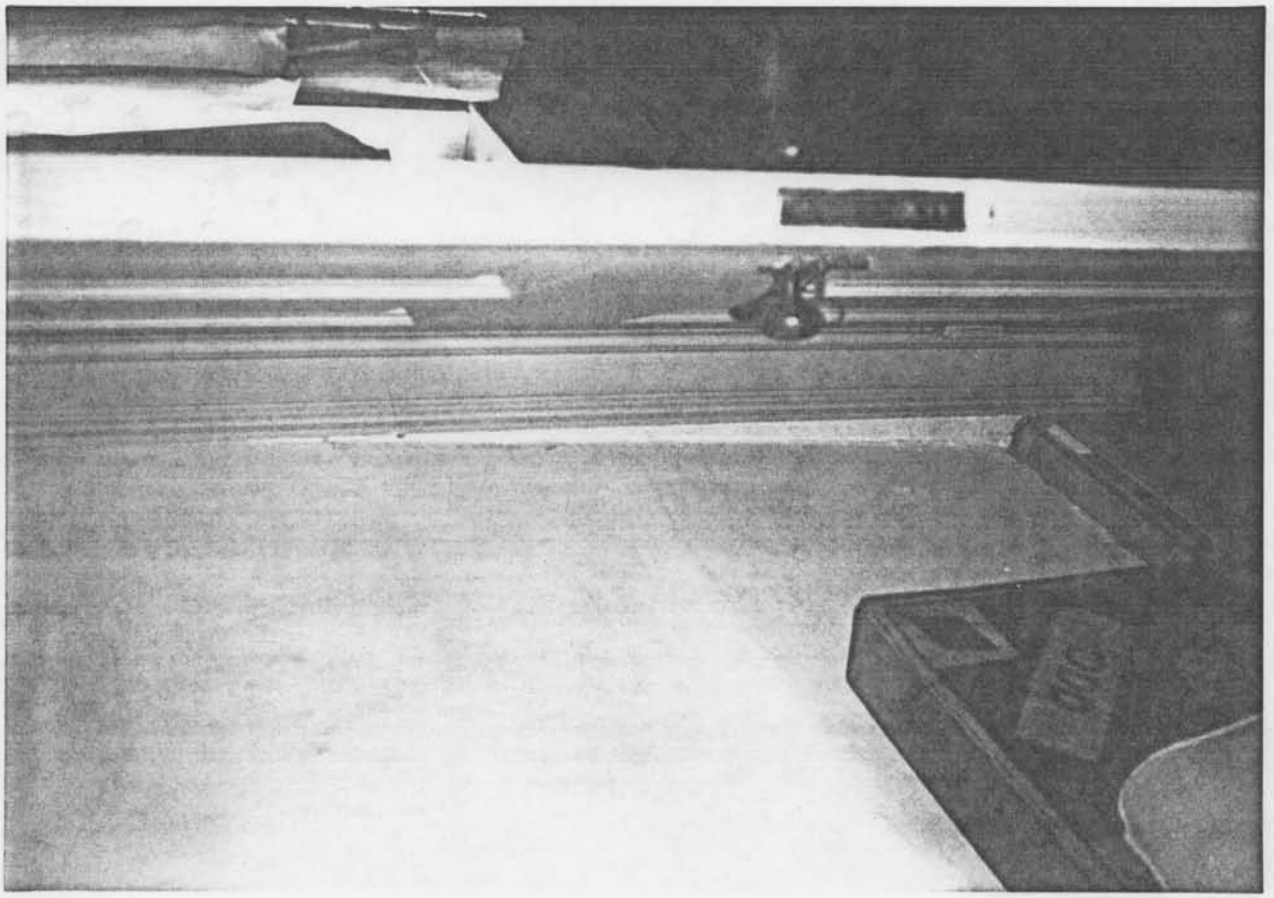
Priest Neale Moss House
Harford Co., MD
C. Crooks
1/89
Harford Co. Dept. of Planning & Zoning
Detail: interior wood work

6



HA-138





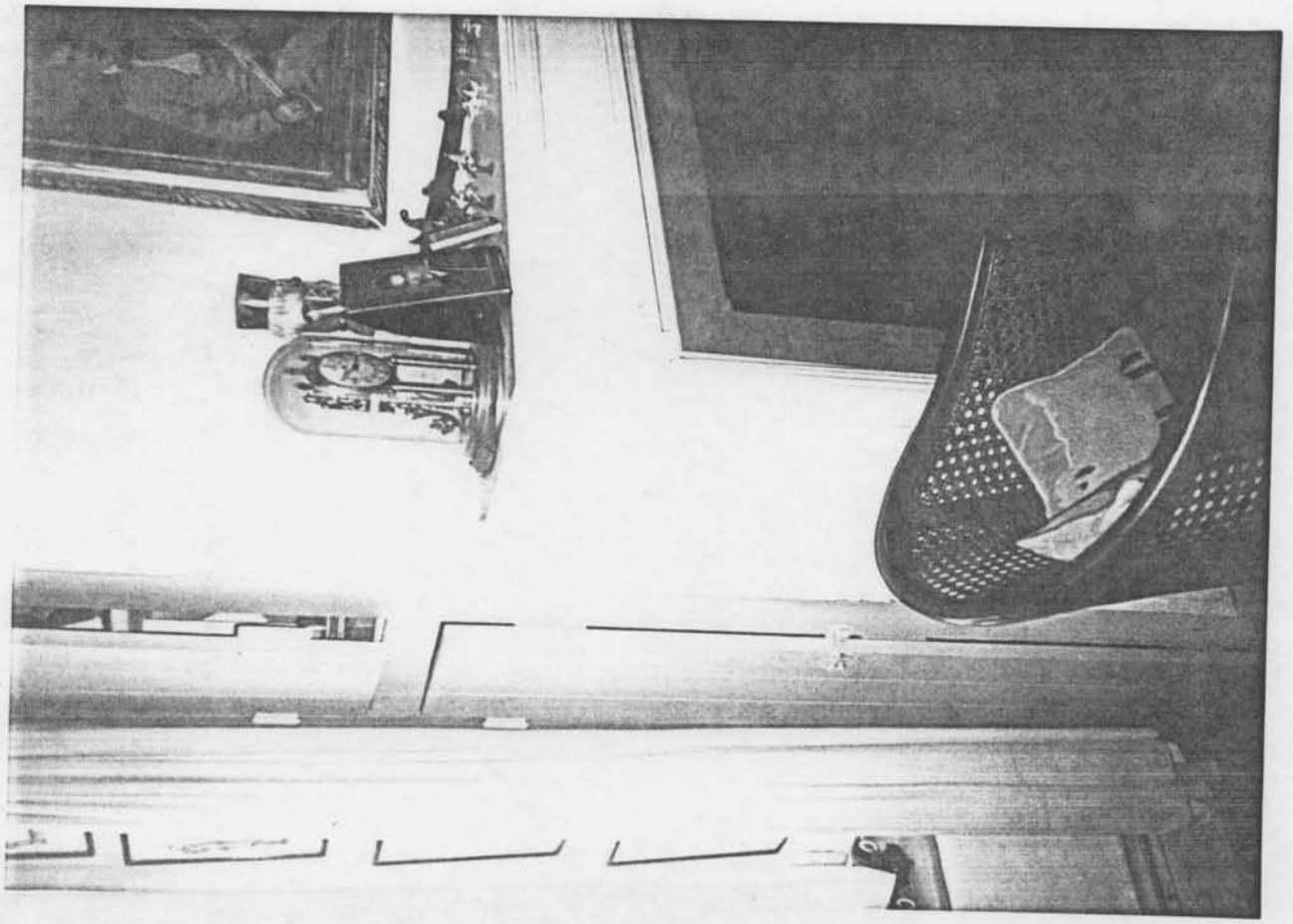
Priest Neale's Mill House HA-138
Harford Co. MD
C. Weeks
1/89
Harford Co. Dept of Planning & Zoning
West room (original wall between rooms removed c 1815)

7/11

Priest Neale's Mill House
Harford County, MD
C Weeks
1/89
Harford Co Dept of Planning + Zoning
Door surround shows wall's bowing out - o.f. plumb

8/11

HA-138



Priest Neale's Mill House
Harford Co., MD
C Weeks
1/89
Harford Co. Dept. of Planning & Zoning
West room mantel & cupboard
9/11

Priest Neale's Mill House
Harford Co., MD
C Weeks
1/89
Harford Co. Dept. of Planning & Zoning
view to NE
10/11

HA-138

HA-138

Priest Neale's Mass House HA-138

Harford Co., MD

C. Weeks

1/89

Harford Co. Dept. of Planning & Zoning

View to SW

11/11