

ROLL CALL

HOW MARYLAND'S 188 LEGISLATORS VOTED
ON BILLS IMPORTANT TO BUSINESS AND JOBS



The Storm Arrives:

Maryland Institutes Massive Tax Increases,
Driving Taxpayers Away

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“We are actively working on reincorporating in Wyoming. We simply can’t stay in Maryland.”

CEO, industry-leading technology company in Baltimore, 200 employees

“We’ll officially be residents of Florida on January 1. It’s a done deal.”

Maryland Free Board member, serial entrepreneur, CEO of multiple companies

“We know the numbers....All I can say is that within a year, we’d file for bankruptcy.”

Maryland State Legislator, on moving the legislator’s personal Maryland-based defense subcontractor business to Virginia

“All of the states that surround us have these exemptions in place, so the legislature, I think, imagines that they are going to raise revenue by doing this, but really what they effectively have done is driven business out of the state of Maryland.”

Alex Lynn, owner, Harford Coin Company.

Here we go again. And by “go”, we mean literally, as Maryland’s job creators are already starting to move to lower-taxed states where their presence—and wealth—is welcome.

Last year’s Roll Call was titled “The Calm Before the Storm” as we warned about the massive unfunded mandates enacted in recent years that placed us directly in the path of near-inevitable tax increases enacted in Annapolis. Indeed, that prediction came to pass when legislators increased taxes and fees by a whopping \$1.6B+ in 2025’s legislative session, the largest such increase in Maryland state history.

It was a shocking move when 1) the better alternative would be to cut spending; and 2) we’ve already seen the devastating fiscal effects of huge tax increases in Maryland.

The Millionaire’s Tax Redux

We’ve seen this movie before—and it didn’t end well the first time.

In 2008, Maryland enacted the so-called “millionaire’s tax,” raising the top marginal state income tax rate from 4.75% to 6.25% on high earners. [As reported by the Wall Street Journal in a 2010 piece](#), after local income tax surcharges were factored in, that rate reached a staggering 9.3% in places like Baltimore and Bethesda, making Maryland one of the top five highest-taxed states in the nation at the time.

Annapolis politicians claimed the move would generate \$106 million in new revenue. What happened instead? The number of millionaire tax returns dropped by 30% in just one year, from 7,898 in 2007 to 5,529 in 2008. Revenues from high earners didn’t go up. They plummeted by \$257 million.

Sure, as the WSJ reported, some of that decline was due to the recession. But let’s not kid ourselves. According to the Maryland Comptroller, one in eight millionaires who filed a tax return in 2007 didn’t file one in 2008. Did they all die? No. They packed up, changed their tax residency, and took their income elsewhere, often to states like Florida and Texas, where the personal income tax is zero.

In 2008 alone, Maryland lost \$1 billion in net taxable income to outmigration. Montgomery County, the state’s wealthiest, was hit particularly hard, bleeding \$4 billion in taxable income, with 80% of that loss tied directly to high-income filers. The punchline? Even after imposing one of the most aggressive tax hikes in state history, Maryland still faced a \$2 billion budget deficit, while Montgomery County ended up \$760 million in the red.

(Continued on Page 24)

Maryland Free Enterprise Foundation

Senate Vote Key

1	SB 11	Organized Retail Theft Act of 2025
2	SB 219	Uninsured Employers' Fund – Assessments and Special Monitor
3	SB 432	Criminal Records – Expungement and Maryland Judiciary Case Search (Expungement Reform Act of 2025)
4	SB 488	Manufacturing Business Personal Property Tax – Optional Exemption
5	SB 901	Environment – Packaging and Paper Products – Producer Responsibility Plans
6	HB 49	Environment – Building Energy Performance Standards – Alterations and Analysis
7	HB 352	Budget Reconciliation and Financing Act of 2025 (BRFA)
8	HB 352(A1)	Senate Floor Amendment 993726/1 – Budget Reconciliation and Financing Act of 2025

House Vote Key

1	HB 23	Property Taxes – Authority of Counties to Establish a Subclass and Set a Special Rate for Commercial and Industrial Property
2	HB 49	Environment – Building Energy Performance Standards – Alterations and Analysis
3	HB 179	Organized Retail Theft Act of 2025
4	HB 193	Uninsured Employers' Fund – Assessments and Special Monitor
5	HB 352	Budget Reconciliation and Financing Act of 2025 (BRFA)
6	HB 352(A2)	House Floor Amendment 883629/1 – Budget Reconciliation and Financing Act of 2025
7	HB 1210	Workers' Compensation – Evaluation of Permanent Impairments– Licensed Certified Social Worker – Clinical
8	SB 432	Criminal Records – Expungement and Maryland Judiciary Case Search (Expungement Reform Act of 2025)
9	SB 901	Environment – Packaging and Paper Products – Producer Responsibility Plans

MARYLAND FREE RATING SYSTEM

* Legislators with stars next to their names served at least four years in the House or Senate and achieved a Maryland Free Cumulative Percentage of 70% or greater.

+ A vote supporting a pro-growth, pro-job economy.

- A vote inhibiting a pro-growth, pro-job economy.

o Legislator excused from voting, resulting in no effect on a legislator's rating.

nvc As committee chairperson, legislator chose not to vote, resulting in no effect on a legislator's rating.

nv Legislator did not vote on a bill on which Maryland Free has taken a position of opposition, resulting in no change in the legislator's rating.

nv- Legislator did not vote on a bill on which Maryland Free has taken a position of support, resulting in the lowering of a legislator's rating. Therefore, a legislator is penalized when his or her vote could have helped to achieve a constitutional majority (24 of 47 votes in the Senate and 71 of 141 votes in the House) for the passage of a bill.

■ Legislator did not serve on the committee that voted the bill, resulting in no effect on the legislator's rating.

2024 SCORE A legislator's score for 2024, provided for comparative purposes.

CUMULATIVE Cumulative percentage is based on a legislator's votes throughout his or her entire tenure in the General Assembly post 1982. The percentage is derived by dividing the total number of "+" votes by the number of bills on which the legislator voted plus the number of "nv-" marks. A short red dash (-) in this column means a legislator is a freshman and therefore has no cumulative record.

MARYLAND SENATE VOTES

	SB 11	SB 219	SB 432	SB 488	SB 901	HB 49	HB 352	HB 352 (A1)			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	2025 SCORE	2024 SCORE	CUMULATIVE
Allegany, Garrett, & Washington Counties											
1 Michael W. McKay (R) *	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	nv-	63%	64%	91%
Frederick & Washington Counties											
2 Paul D. Corderman (R) *	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100%	92%	89%
Frederick County											
3 Karen Lewis Young (D)	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	o	29%	27%	22%
Frederick County											
4 William G. Folden (R) *	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	88%	78%	93%
Carroll & Frederick Counties											
5 Justin D. Ready (R) *	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	88%	85%	91%
Baltimore County											
6 Johnny Ray Salling (R) *	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100%	80%	89%
Baltimore & Harford Counties											
7 J.B. Jennings (R) *	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	88%	82%	89%
Baltimore County											
8 Carl W. Jackson (D)	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	50%	23%	30%
Howard & Montgomery Counties											
9 Katie Fry Hester (D)	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	50%	27%	32%
Baltimore County											
10 Benjamin T. Brooks, Sr. (D)	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	25%	11%	22%
11 Shelly L. Hettleman (D)	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	25%	25%	23%
Anne Arundel & Howard Counties											
12 Clarence K. Lam (D)	+	-	-	+	-	o	-	-	29%	31%	25%
Howard County											
13 Guy J. Guzzone (D)	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	25%	25%	28%
Montgomery County											
14 Craig Zucker (D)	o	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	14%	0%	20%
15 Brian J. Feldman (D)	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	25%	27%	27%
16 Sarah N. Love (D)	+	-	-	+	-	o	-	-	29%	23%	19%
17 Cheryl C. Kagan (D)	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	25%	27%	34%
18 Jeff Waldstreicher (D)	+	-	-	o	-	-	-	-	14%	27%	22%
19 Benjamin F. Kramer (D)	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	25%	23%	26%
20 William C. Smith, Jr. (D)	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	25%	30%	23%
Anne Arundel & Prince George's Counties											
21 James C. Rosapepe (D)	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	25%	17%	29%
Prince George's County											
22 Alonzo T. Washington (D)	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	25%	27%	21%
23 Ronald L. Watson (D)	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	25%	40%	22%
24 Joanne C. Benson (D)	+	-	-	o	nv	-	-	-	17%	18%	31%
25 Nick Charles (D)	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	nv-	25%	27%	19%
26 C. Anthony Muse (D)	+	-	-	o	-	o	-	-	17%	27%	39%

MARYLAND SENATE VOTES

	SB 11	SB 219	SB 432	SB 488	SB 901	HB 49	HB 352	HB 352 (A1)	2025 SCORE	2024 SCORE	CUMULATIVE
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8			
Calvert, Charles, & Prince George's Counties 27 Michael A. Jackson (D)	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	25%	25%	23%
Charles County 28 Arthur Ellis (D)	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	25%	38%	23%
Calvert & St. Mary's Counties 29 John D. Bailey (R) *	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100%	90%	88%
Anne Arundel County 30 Shaneka T. Henson (D)	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	50%	27%	23%
31 Bryan W. Simonaire (R) *	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	75%	73%	85%
32 Pamela G. Beidle (D)	+	-	-	+	nv	-	-	-	29%	31%	38%
33 Dawn D. Gile (D)	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	50%	38%	38%
Harford County 34 Mary-Dulany James (D)	o	-	-	o	-	-	+	+	33%	45%	56%
Cecil & Harford Counties 35 Jason C. Gallion (R) *	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	88%	91%	88%
Caroline, Cecil, Kent, & Queen Anne's Counties 36 Stephen S. Hershey, Jr. (R) *	+	+	+	+	nv	-	+	+	86%	85%	89%
Caroline, Dorchester, Talbot & Wicomico Counties 37 John F. Mautz (R) *	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100%	91%	95%
Somerset, Wicomico & Worcester Counties 38 Mary Beth Carozza (R)*	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	75%	82%	87%
Montgomery County 39 Nancy J. King (D)	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	nv-	25%	25%	27%
Baltimore City 40 Antonio L. Hayes (D)	+	-	-	o	-	-	-	-	14%	31%	24%
41 Dalya Attar (D)	+	-	-	+	-	o	-	-	29%	23%	20%
Baltimore & Carroll Counties 42 Christopher R. West (R)*	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	75%	91%	84%
Baltimore City & Baltimore County 43 Mary L. Washington (D)	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	25%	36%	30%
Baltimore County 44 Charles E. Sydnor III (D)	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	25%	27%	24%
Baltimore City 45 Cory V. McCray (D)	+	-	-	+	-	o	-	-	29%	25%	25%
46 William C. Ferguson, IV (D)	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	25%	27%	24%
Prince George's County 47 Malcolm L. Augustine (D)	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	25%	27%	22%

MARYLAND HOUSE OF DELEGATES VOTES

	HB 23	HB 49	HB 179	HB 193	HB 352	HB 352 (A2)	HB 1210	SB 432	SB 901		2025 SCORE	2024 SCORE	CUMU- LATIVE
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9				
Allegany & Garrett Counties													
1A James C. Hinebaugh, Jr. (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+		89%	100%	94%
Allegany County													
1B Jason C. Buckel (R) *	+	+	+	nv	+	+	-	+	+		88%	92%	90%
Allegany & Washington Counties													
1C Terry L. Baker (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		100%	92%	97%
Frederick & Washington Counties													
2A William Valentine (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		100%	92%	98%
2A William J. Wivell (R) *	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		100%	100%	99%
Washington County													
2B Matthew J. Schindler (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		11%	-	-
Frederick County													
3 Kristopher G. Fair (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		11%	23%	18%
3 Kenneth P. Kerr (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		11%	23%	18%
3 Karen Simpson (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		11%	23%	18%
4 Barrie S. Ciliberti (R) *	+	+	+	+	o	+	-	+	o		86%	92%	92%
4 April Fleming Miller (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+		89%	100%	94%
4 Jesse T. Pippy (R) *	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+		89%	100%	96%
Carroll & Frederick Counties													
5 Christopher E. Bouchat (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+		89%	92%	85%
5 April R. Rose (R) *	+	+	o	+	+	+	-	+	+		88%	100%	98%
5 Christopher L. Tomlinson (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+		89%	92%	91%
Baltimore County													
6 Robin L. Grammer, Jr. (R) *	+	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+		100%	92%	93%
6 Robert B. Long (R) *	o	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+		88%	100%	94%
6 Richard W. Metzgar (R) *	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	nv		88%	100%	91%
7A Ryan M. Nawrocki (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	o	+		100%	100%	100%
7A Kathy Szeliga (R) *	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		100%	100%	97%
Harford County													
7B Lauren C. Arikan (R) *	+	+	+	+	+	nv-	+	+	+		89%	92%	94%
Baltimore County													
8 Nick Allen (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		11%	23%	18%
8 Harry (H.B.) Bhandari (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		11%	23%	31%
8 Kim Ross (D)	-	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-		0%	-	-
Howard and Montgomery Counties													
9A Chao Wu (D)	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-		22%	23%	21%
9A Natalie C. Ziegler (D)	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-		22%	23%	21%
Howard County													
9B M. Courtney Watson (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		11%	23%	19%

MARYLAND HOUSE OF DELEGATES VOTES

	HB 23	HB 49	HB 179	HB 193	HB 352	HB 352 (A2)	HB 1210	SB 432	SB 901			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	2025 SCORE	2024 SCORE	CUMU- LATIVE
Baltimore County												
10 Adrienne A. Jones (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	23%	18%
10 N. Scott Phillips (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	23%	25%
10 Jennifer A. White Holland (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	23%	18%
11A Cheryl E. Pasteur (D)	-	-	+	-	-	o	-	-	-	13%	23%	19%
11B Jon S. Cardin (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	25%	22%
11B Dana M. Stein (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	23%	23%
Howard County												
12A Jessica M. Feldmark (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	23%	17%
12A Terri L. Hill (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	23%	22%
Anne Arundel County												
12B Gary Simmons (D)	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	22%	23%	18%
Howard County												
13 Vanessa E. Atterbeary (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	23%	21%
13 Pamela Lanman Guzzone (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	23%	18%
13 Jennifer R. Terrasa (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	23%	17%
Montgomery County												
14 Anne R. Kaiser (D)	-	-	+	-	-	nv-	-	-	-	11%	23%	22%
14 Bernice D. Mireku-North (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	23%	18%
14 Pamela Queen (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	30%	18%
15 Linda K. Foley (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	23%	17%
15 David V. Fraser-Hidalgo (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	23%	19%
15 Lily Qi (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	30%	19%
16 Marc A. Korman (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	23%	22%
16 Sarah S. Wolek (D)	-	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%	23%	11%
16 Teresa S. Woorman (D)	-	-	+	-	-	o	-	-	-	13%	-	-
17 Julie Palakovich Carr (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	15%	14%
17 Ryan Spiegel (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	23%	18%
17 Joseph Vogel (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	23%	18%
18 Aaron M. Kaufman (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	23%	18%
18 Emily K. Shetty (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	15%	15%
18 Jared Solomon (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	23%	17%
19 Charlotte Crutchfield (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	23%	18%
19 Bonnie L. Cullison (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	23%	21%
19 Vaughn M. Stewart III (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	23%	15%
20 Lorig Charkoudian (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	23%	15%
20 David Moon (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	23%	17%
20 Jheanelle Wilkins (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	23%	16%

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	HB 23	HB 49	HB 179	HB 193	HB 352	HB 352 (A2)	HB 1210	SB 432	SB 901			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	2025 SCORE	2024 SCORE	CUMU-LATIVE
Anne Arundel & Prince George's Counties												
21 Benjamin S. Barnes (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	23%	19%
21 Mary A. Lehman (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	23%	17%
21 Joseline A. Peña-Melnyk (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	23%	21%
Prince George's County												
22 Anne Healey (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	23%	27%
22 Ashanti F. Martinez (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	23%	18%
22 Nicole A. Williams (D)	-	nv	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	13%	23%	18%
23 Adrian A. Boafo (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	23%	17%
23 Marvin E. Holmes, Jr. (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	23%	23%
23 Kym Taylor (D)	-	-	+	-	-	nv-	-	-	-	11%	38%	21%
24 Tiffany T. Alston (D)	nv	-	o	-	-	+	-	-	-	14%	31%	23%
24 Andrea Fletcher Harrison (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	25%	18%
24 Jazz M. Lewis (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	23%	19%
25 Kent Roberson (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	23%	18%
25 Denise Roberts (D)	-	-	+	-	-	nv-	-	-	-	11%	23%	18%
25 Karen R. Toles (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	23%	17%
26 Veronica L. Turner (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	23%	22%
26 Kriselda Valderrama (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	23%	20%
26 Jamila J. Woods (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	30%	20%
Charles & Prince George's Counties												
27A Kevin M. Harris (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	23%	18%
27B Jeffrie E. Long, Jr. (D)	-	-	+	o	-	o	nv	o	-	20%	25%	21%
Calvert County												
27C Mark N. Fisher (R) *	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100%	100%	98%
Charles County												
28 Debra M. Davis (D)	-	o	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%	23%	18%
28 Edith J. Patterson (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	23%	21%
28 C.T. Wilson (D)	-	-	+	-	-	o	nv	-	-	14%	25%	24%
St. Mary's County												
29A Matt Morgan (R) *	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100%	100%	99%
29B Brian M. Crosby (D)	-	-	+	-	+	nv-	-	-	-	22%	27%	30%
Calvert & St. Mary's Counties												
29C Todd B. Morgan (R) *	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	89%	100%	94%
Anne Arundel County												
30A Dylan A. Behler (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	-	-
30A Dana Jones (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	23%	20%
30B Seth A. Howard (R) *	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	89%	92%	93%

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	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	2025 SCORE	2024 SCORE	CUMU- LATIVE
Anne Arundel County												
31 Brian A. Chisholm (R) *	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	89%	100%	95%
31 Nicholas R. Kipke (R) *	+	+	+	+	+	o	-	+	o	86%	100%	88%
31 LaToya Nkongolo (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	89%	-	-
32 J. Sandy Bartlett (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	23%	17%
32 Mark S. Chang (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	23%	23%
32 Michael J. Rogers (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	23%	18%
33A Andrew C. Pruski (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	23%	17%
33B Stuart M. Schmidt, Jr. (R)	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	56%	62%	67%
33C Heather A. Bagnall (D)	-	-	+	o	+	-	-	-	-	25%	23%	23%
Harford County												
34A Andre V. Johnson, Jr. (D)	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	22%	23%	24%
34A Steven C. Johnson (D)	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	22%	23%	24%
34B Susan K. McComas (R) *	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	89%	100%	92%
Cecil & Harford Counties												
35A Michael Griffith (R) *	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	89%	100%	95%
35A Teresa E. Reilly (R) *	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	89%	100%	95%
Cecil County												
35B Kevin B. Hornberger (R) *	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	78%	85%	85%
Caroline, Cecil, Kent, & Queen Anne's Counties												
36 Steven J. Arentz (R) *	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	89%	100%	96%
36 Jefferson L. Ghrist (R)*	+	+	+	+	+	nv-	-	+	+	78%	100%	97%
36 Jay A. Jacobs (R) *	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	89%	100%	98%
Dorchester & Wicomico Counties												
37A Sheree Sample-Hughes (D)	+	+	+	o	+	+	-	-	+	75%	30%	32%
Caroline, Dorcheester, Talbot & Wicomico Counties												
37B Christopher T. Adams (R) *	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100%	100%	99%
37B Thomas S. Hutchinson (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	89%	100%	97%
Somerset, Wicomico & Worcester Counties												
38A Charles J. Otto (R) *	+	+	+	+	+	+	nv	+	+	100%	100%	98%
Wicomico County												
38B Barry Beauchamp (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	89%	-	-
Wicomico & Worcester Counties												
38C Wayne A. Hartman (R) *	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100%	100%	99%
Montgomery County												
39 Gabriel Acevero (D)	-	-	nv-	-	-	-	-	-	nv	0%	17%	14%
39 Lesley J. Lopez (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	23%	19%
39 W. Gregory Wims (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	15%	14%

MARYLAND HOUSE OF DELEGATES VOTES

	HB 23	HB 49	HB 179	HB 193	HB 352	HB 352 (A2)	HB 1210	SB 432	SB 901			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	2025 SCORE	2024 SCORE	CUMU- LATIVE
Baltimore City												
40 Marlon D. Amprey (D)	-	-	+	-	-	o	-	-	-	13%	23%	17%
40 Frank M. Conaway, Jr. (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	23%	25%
40 Melissa R. Wells (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	27%	17%
41 Samuel I. Rosenberg (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	15%	31%
41 Malcolm Ruff (D)	-	-	nv-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%	23%	14%
41 Sean Stinnett (D)	-	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%	-	-
Baltimore County												
42A Nino Mangione (R) *	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100%	100%	97%
42B Michele J. Guyton (D)	-	-	+	-	-	nv-	-	-	-	11%	23%	25%
Carroll County												
42C Joshua J. Stonko (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	89%	92%	91%
Baltimore City												
43A Regina T. Boyce (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	23%	19%
43A Elizabeth M. Embry (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	23%	18%
Baltimore County												
43B Catherine M. Forbes (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	23%	17%
44A Eric D. Ebersole (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	15%	20%
44B Aletheia R. McCaskill (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	18%	16%
44B Sheila S. Ruth (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	15%	16%
Baltimore City												
45 Jacqueline T. Addison (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	23%	18%
45 Stephanie M. Smith (D)	-	-	o	-	-	-	nv	-	-	0%	23%	17%
45 Caylin A. Young (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	23%	18%
46 Luke H. Clippinger (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	23%	19%
46 Mark Edelson (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	23%	18%
46 Robbyn T. Lewis (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	23%	18%
Prince George's County												
47A Diana M. Fennell (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	27%	20%
47A R. Julian Ivey (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%	27%	18%
47B Deni L. Taveras (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	nv	13%	15%	16%



Sheree L. Sample-Hughes (D)
District 37A

This Dorchester & Wicomico County earned the highest cumulative score (32%) amongst all Democratic veterans in the House of Delegates (minimum 4 years' service).



Wayne A. Hartman (R)
District 38C

This Wicomico & Worcester County Delegate tied the highest cumulative score (99%) amongst all Republican Veterans in the House of Delegates (minimum 4 years' service).



Christopher T. Adams (R)
District 37B

This Caroline, Dorchester, Talbot, & Wicomico County Delegate tied the highest cumulative score (99%) amongst all Republican Veterans in the House of Delegates (minimum 4 years' service).



Matt Morgan (R)
District 29A

This St. Mary's County Delegate tied the highest cumulative score (99%) amongst all Republican veterans in the House of Delegates (minimum 4 years' service).



William J. Wivell (R)
District 2A

This Frederick & Washington County Delegate tied the highest cumulative score (99%) amongst all Republican veterans in the House of Delegates (minimum 4 years' service).

A Message to our Legislators

Before introducing or voting on legislation, we encourage legislators to consider the following questions:

1. Will the legislation increase **or decrease the cost of doing business in Maryland?** If the answer is “increase”, will the added costs of the legislation and subsequent regulations exceed the added benefit to Maryland’s residents?
2. Will the legislation and subsequent regulations be more or less stringent than, or contradictory to, federal law and regulations; or **will it give Maryland a competitive advantage or disadvantage with other states?**
3. Will the legislation **encourage or discourage companies from adding new jobs or keeping current jobs in Maryland?**
4. Will the legislation **encourage or discourage individuals and businesses from investing and growing?**
5. Will the legislation **promote or impede the competitive market** by removing or imposing legal, economic and/or regulatory burdens, taxes, or costs?
6. **Is there another way to solve the problem** or address the issue without legislation; or is there existing legislation addressing the matter?
7. Will introducing the bill **send a positive or negative message about Maryland’s business climate?**

How the Votes are Selected

To determine an accurate picture of the Maryland legislature’s attitudes toward business, jobs, economic growth, and investment in the state, Maryland Free’s State Advisory Council selects recorded votes from the last regular General Assembly session that have practical or philosophical importance to the widest possible range of Maryland businesses, trade associations, and chambers of commerce.

To arrive at the most accurate measure of the legislature’s position on business matters, we include votes from different stages of the legislative process: final (third reader votes), committee votes, votes on amendments and critical motions, and votes on gubernatorial nominations. We may at times omit a particular piece of legislation due to lack of strong consensus in the business community.

Although this evaluation process summarizes a legislative system that involves weeks of debate, amendment, and compromise, voting records remain the best indicators of a legislator’s inclination. Maryland Free neither gives pass/fail scores nor expressly or implicitly endorses or rejects any incumbent on the basis of certain selected votes.

A complete evaluation of a legislator’s support for economic freedom and job growth should be made by examining committee and floor votes and considering unrecorded matters such as performance on subcommittees, communication with business representatives, and service to constituent businesses.

Roll Call is intended to improve the understanding by elected and appointed officials of the effect of public policy on business and the economy, and the willingness and ability of businesses to create jobs, invest, and prosper in Maryland. A positive business climate is critical to all other social progress.

The Meaning of “Business Friendly”

The following are elements of a positive business and employment climate that have been identified by Maryland Free Enterprise Foundation business leaders. Maryland Free urges Maryland’s elected and appointed officials to strive for a balanced public policy approach that includes the consideration of the impact of new laws and regulations on the state’s business climate. The following attributes of “business friendly” public policy would have significant, measurable, and positive impact on all citizens in the state.

Fiscal Responsibility

- A budget process that limits new spending and prohibits unfunded mandates that inevitably result in new taxes, fees, or surcharges.
- A tax structure that is focused on attracting and retaining private jobs and investment in Maryland.
- A stable, consistent investment program to maintain and upgrade critical infrastructure and education needs.

Regulations

- A regulatory process that does not interfere with the free market’s economic forces and upholds existing contracts to give businesses and institutions the confidence to bring jobs and investment to Maryland.
- A regulatory framework that is fair, clear, and updated to take advantage of changes in technology and market forces.
- A regulatory structure that does not exceed federal standards and ensures that the costs of rules and regulations — which are often passed on to the public — are justifiable and consistent with public benefit.

Employer - Employee Relations

- A market-based, meritorious wage and benefit structure that reflects changes in the U.S. economy and ensures that all workers are compensated based on performance and value in the marketplace.
- A workers’ compensation, unemployment, and health insurance system that yields benefits consistent with the reasonable needs of the beneficiary.
- A labor environment that allows every worker free choice concerning union affiliation.

Civil Liability and Business Law

- A predictable, consistent legal system that treats all parties and resolves all disputes in civil actions fairly, efficiently, and within reasonable time periods.
- A system of clearly written statutory and common laws that protects businesses and other defendants from frivolous or unwarranted lawsuits, imposes reasonable limits and standards for the award of damages for liability, and encourages growth in investment, jobs, and the economy.

Social Responsibility

- A business climate that promotes a strong commitment to corporate and social responsibility, including charitable contributions, volunteer initiatives, and other activities to advance development of Maryland and its communities.

A Word About Maryland Free Enterprise Foundation

Maryland Free’s purpose is to inform Maryland’s business community, elected officials, and the general public about the political and economic environment needed to foster economic development and job creation in Maryland.

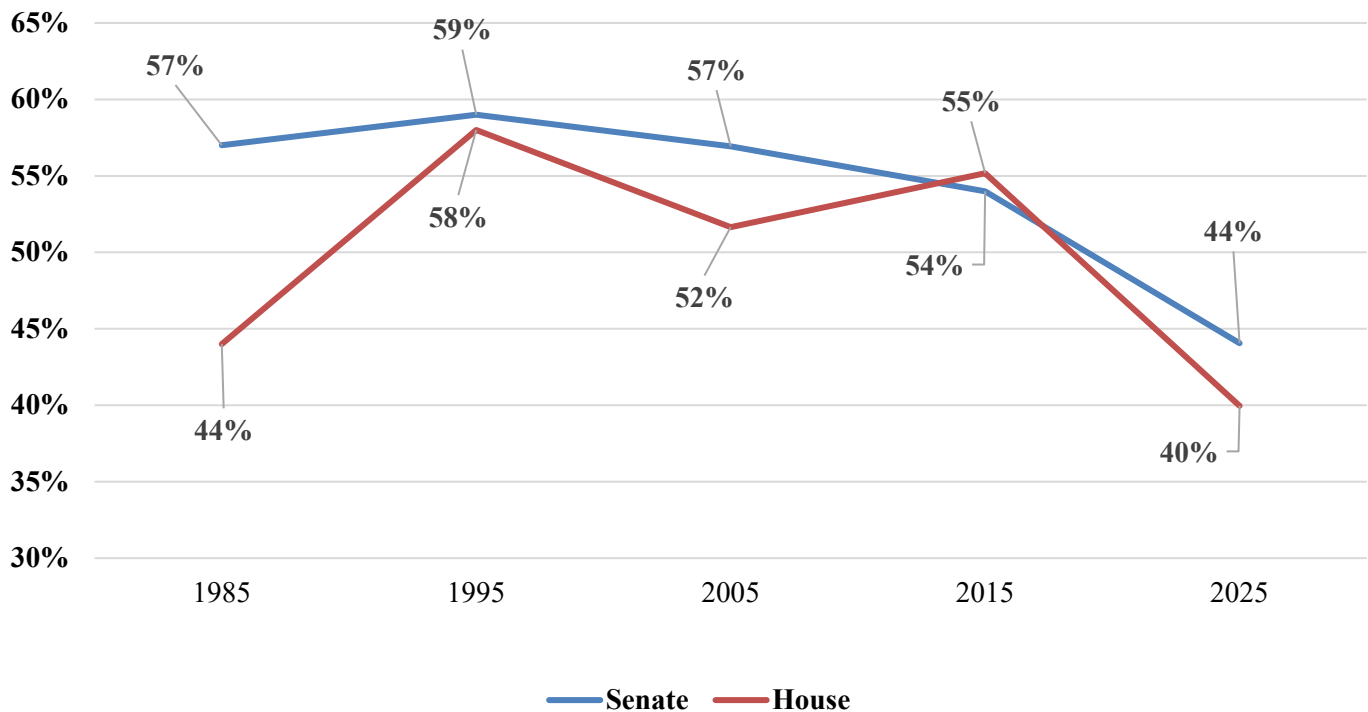
Annual evaluations of the voting records of Maryland’s state legislators enable Maryland Free and its members to hold politicians accountable for the state’s economic well-being like no other organization.

Maryland Free is a statewide, nonpartisan political research and education organization supported by corporations, trade associations, small businesses, chambers of commerce, and individuals.

For 40 years, Roll Call has kept watch on Maryland's 188 legislators.

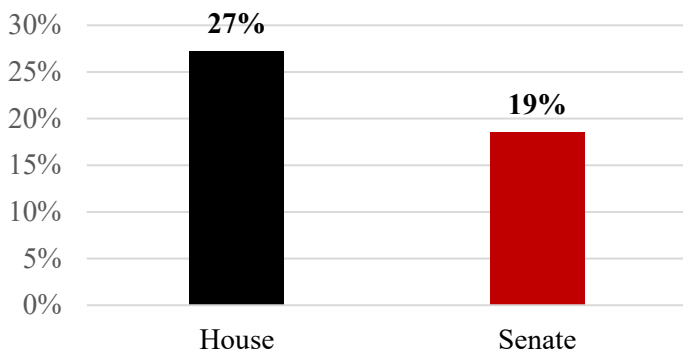
Roll Call scores have declined over time, precipitously so in the last 10 years, as the legislature has increasingly voted against economic growth and a positive business climate.

Roll Call Cumulative Score

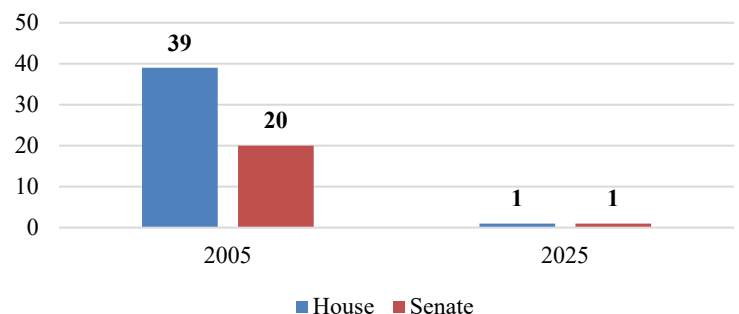


The decline has been more pronounced in the House (left-most graph), and the political middle has all but disappeared in the last 20 years (right-most graph).

Relative Decline in Roll Call Cumulative Score 2015-2025



Legislators with a Roll Call Cumulative Score between 40% and 70%



2025 SENATE VOTE DESCRIPTION

1 SB 11 – Organized Retail Theft Act of 2025 *Senator Watson*

SB 11 combats chronic retail theft by establishing the felony criminal offense of “organized retail theft” for property across jurisdictions with a total aggregate value of \$1,500 or more. Under current Maryland law, repeated theft charges can be aggregated over time when someone steals from the same person or group. If the aggregate value of those repeated thefts reaches \$1,500, then the felony threshold is met. Current law, however, does not allow similar aggregation across local jurisdictions in Maryland, which is a loophole well understood by professional thieves and organized groups; they can move from county to county stealing less than \$1,500 per county and not trigger the felony threshold. SB 11 provides law enforcement and prosecutors with stronger tools to identify and address organized theft rings operating across Maryland.

A “+” indicates a vote for SB 11 and reflects Maryland Free’s support of more effective measures to protect businesses and communities across Maryland from the rising threat of organized retail crime. These crimes result in significant financial losses, strain law enforcement resources, and jeopardize the safety of retail workers and customers. Small businesses are disproportionately impacted and often lack the means to recover from repeated theft. By strengthening legal consequences for organized theft, this legislation supports public safety, economic stability, and the continued vitality of Maryland’s retail sector. Agreeing with Maryland Free’s position, the Senate passed SB 11, 45-0, on February 6, 2025.

2 SB 219 – Uninsured Employers' Fund – Assessments and Special Monitor *Chair, Finance Committee (By Request – Departmental - Uninsured Employers' Fund)*

SB 219 increases the additional percentage, from 1% to 1.5%, that the Uninsured Employers’ Fund (UEF)

may direct the Workers’ Compensation Commission to assess employers or, if insured, the employers’ insurers, on awards and settlements if the WCC determines that the reserves of the Fund are inadequate to meet anticipated losses. The assessment is imposed on all employers in Maryland based on the workers’ compensation benefits paid to covered employees. Part of the reason that the funds reserves are inadequate is that certain employers are non-compliant with workers’ compensation law and have not paid for insurance.

A “+” indicates a vote against SB 219 and reflects Maryland Free’s opposition to measures that: (1) make it harder for job creators to do business in Maryland; (2) penalize compliant employers who purchase unemployment insurance for the actions of non-compliant employers who do not, rather than assessing higher fines on the non-compliant; and (3) establish precedent for simply increasing fee percentages – in this case by a whopping 50% - in lieu of fixing the long-term funding challenges. Disagreeing with Maryland Free, the Senate approved SB 219, 35-12, on March 14, 2025.

3 SB 432 – Criminal Records – Expungement and Maryland Judiciary Case Search (Expungement Reform Act of 2025) *The President (By Request – Administration) and Senator Charles, et al.*

Among other provisions, SB 432 expands the list of misdemeanor convictions eligible for expungement, including 1) driving without a license, 2) committing credit card theft, and 3) writing a bad check of at least \$1,500 and not more than \$25,000.

A “+” indicates a vote against SB 432 and reflects Maryland Free’s continuing opposition to preventing employers from learning about the criminal histories of potential hires. Employers should have freedom of choice regarding hires, and their choice is stripped when the state expunges from its records dishonesty crimes as important as credit card fraud.

2025 SENATE VOTE DESCRIPTIONS

Employers, not the General Assembly, are in the best position to determine whether a person qualifies for or is suitable to the type of employment being offered. Ultimately, an employer may hire an applicant who has committed such dishonesty crimes if it believes the applicant is well-suited to the position being filled. For example, a landscaper might be willing to hire an applicant with these convictions of dishonesty, but a jewelry store selling \$12,000 necklaces might want to think twice. SB 432 removes the employer's ability to think twice. Disagreeing with Maryland Free, the Senate approved SB 432, 36-11, on March 14, 2025.

4 SB 488 – Manufacturing Business Personal Property Tax – Optional Exemption *Senator Jennings*

SB 488 would have authorized the Mayor and City Council of Baltimore City or the governing body of a county or municipal corporation to exempt all personal property, including manufacturing inventory, for manufacturing businesses that employ 50 or fewer employees from the personal property tax. SB 488 would have applied to all taxable years beginning after June 30, 2025.

A “+” indicates a vote for SB 488 and reflects Maryland Free’s support of measures that ease the financial burdens on Maryland’s small manufacturing businesses. Maryland faces many policy-induced headwinds to growing its economy – especially its manufacturing economy, and SB 488 is a common-sense step in the right direction toward incentivizing manufacturers to locate and grow in Maryland. Agreeing with Maryland Free’s position, the Senate approved SB 488, 42-0, on March 17, 2025. SB 488 did not receive a vote in the House.

5 SB 901 – Environment - Packaging and Paper Products – Producer Responsibility Plans

Senator Augustine, et al.

SB 901 proposes an overhaul of the state’s recycling system through an extended producer responsibility (EPR) program for packaging materials. SB 901 requires certain producers of packaging materials, either individually or as part of a producer responsibility organization, to submit a producer responsibility plan to the Maryland Department of the Environment for review and approval by July 1, 2028, and every five years thereafter. A producer may not sell, offer for sale, distribute, or import for sale or distribution covered materials for use in the State unless the producer has an approved plan. The bill also establishes a fee structure for producers and producer responsibility organizations. SB 901 builds upon SB 222 of 2023 which established an advisory council and needs assessment. The needs assessment was completed *during* the 2025 legislative session, just four weeks before SB 901 was voted on.

A “+” indicates a vote against SB 901 and reflects Maryland Free’s opposition to measures that: (1) lack clarity around costs and compliance, as SB 901 lacks specific details about fee structures, reimbursement mechanisms, or compliance costs; (2) cause reporting burdens for businesses without clear guidelines, including the implementation of standards in Maryland that may not be consistent with other states and therefore will be very difficult for national companies to navigate; (3) do not allow time for a thorough review of the needs assessment; and (4) inappropriately include greenhouse gas (GHG) reduction goals – when Maryland already has some of the most ambitious GHG reduction goals in the country – in a recycling bill. Disagreeing with Maryland Free, the Senate approved SB 901, 33-11, on April 7, 2025.

2025 SENATE VOTE DESCRIPTIONS

6 HB 49 – Environment – Building Energy Performance Standards – Alterations and Analysis

By Request – Maryland Department of Environment

Alters the requirements for Building Energy Performance Standards (BEPS) regulations recently adopted by the Maryland Department of the Environment (MDE) in at least three ways exceeding the authority granted by the Climate Solutions Now Act of 2022: (1) solidifies MDE’s authority to set enforceable Energy Use Intensity (EUI) limits on commercial and multifamily buildings of 35,000 square feet or larger; (2) provides new authority for MDE to impose “alternative compliance fees” on buildings that use more energy than allocated through the EUI limits; and (3) imposes escalating new annual reporting requirements and accompanying fees that must be paid by building owners. EUI is a measurement of building energy use per square foot which would be used by MDE to allocate how much energy can be used in buildings regulated under BEPS, with EUI limits to be ratcheted down during 2025-2040. MDE’s own study published in the Maryland Register concluded that during BEPS implementation (2025-2040) overall costs to Maryland building owners will be nearly \$17 billion, with all covered buildings combined spending more on efficiency measures (\$8.8 billion) and electrification measures (\$6.4 billion) than the energy cost savings accrued in this period (\$8.96 billion). Under HB 49 unlimited alternative compliance fees set by MDE in regulation, rather than statute, with automatic escalation to account for inflation, will be imposed upon covered building owners who fail to meet the emissions reduction requirements.

A “+” indicates a vote against HB 49 and reflects Maryland Free’s opposition to conferring enhanced and unlimited regulatory powers upon a state agency to impose cost ineffective and confiscatory energy policies on commercial building owners. HB 49 creates a more uneven playing field for older buildings not designed with modern energy efficiency

standards in mind, which will result in grossly excessive building renovation costs to comply with the BEPS standards, which may not be financially feasible for Marylanders, especially commercial building owners, and could deter investors from renting or purchasing these properties. Requiring MDE to administer an unfunded data collection and reporting program to track the building energy usage of the 8,500 current covered buildings in Maryland creates an unfunded mandate on MDE, which the bill addresses by imposing an escalating fee on building owners for the “right” to file an annual report on its own building energy usage. Although HB 49 reasonably grants certain allowances and limited exemptions from the alternative compliance fees, the costs to be imposed upon covered building owners are demonstrated to far exceed – by a whopping \$8 billion according to MDE’s own analysis -- the energy cost savings to be realized. Facilitating such grossly excessive compliance costs, placing Maryland building owners and businesses at a competitive disadvantage, has no place in any public policy of Maryland especially as we enter a universally anticipated recession in the commercial office building market. Disagreeing with Maryland Free’s position, the Senate approved HB 49, 38-4, on April 5, 2025.

7 SB HB 352 – Budget Reconciliation and Financing Act of 2025 (BRFA) *The Speaker (By Request – Administration)*

Imposes the largest tax and fee increase upon Maryland businesses, employers and employees in State history. HB 352 mandates tax and fee increases in an array of instances too numerous for complete publication in this edition of Roll Call, amounting to an estimated \$1.6 billion in new annual revenues. HB 352 includes new taxes on data/IT services and higher income tax rates on filers with income over \$500,000 and over \$1,000,000. Practically identical measures were previously enacted back in 2007 and 2008, respectively. Both prior tax increases were quickly repealed within 6 – 18 months after enactment, after Maryland lost \$1 billion of its tax

2025 SENATE VOTE DESCRIPTIONS

base from the 2008 higher income tax imposed on earners over \$1million, according to a study conducted by Bank of America Merrill Lynch of federal tax returns filed by persons migrating from one state to another.

The most impactful tax increases on Maryland businesses, employers and employees in HB 352 include, but are not limited to:

- Phase out itemized deductions for federal adjusted gross income (AGI) above \$200,000.
- A new tax bracket of 6.25% for single filers with income of \$500,001-\$1,000,000 and joint filers with income of \$600,001-\$1,200,000.
- A new tax bracket of 6.5% for single filers with income over \$1 million and joint filers with income over \$1.2 million.
- A new 2% surcharge on capital gains for filers with income over \$350,000.
- A new 3% sales tax on data/IT services.
- Repeal sales tax exemption for sales of photographic and artistic material used in advertising.
- Repeal sales tax exemption for sales of precious metal coins or bullion over \$1,000.
- A new 6% sales tax on vending machine snacks.
- Authorize counties to increase their maximum local income tax rate from 3.2% to 3.3%
- Increase in the vehicle excise tax from 6% to 6.5%
- Applies a 3.5% excise tax to short-term rental vehicles.

The most impactful fee increases on Maryland businesses, employers and employees in HB 352 include, but are not limited to:

- Increases the maximum VEIP fees from \$14 to \$30 and increases late fees.

- Establishes a new \$5 per tire fee for each new tire purchased.
- Doubles certificate of title fees on automobiles.
- Accelerates the increases to the annual vehicle registration fees enacted in 2024.
- Increases the tire recycling fee 25% (from 80 cents to \$1) and indexed to the CPI.
- Establishes the unemployment insurance fee.
- Establishes a Rental Property Lead Registration Fee.
- Doubles most surface mining fees.
- Increases fees for certification of nurseries, licensing of plant brokers and dealers, and inspection of nursery stock.
- Increases the wholesale seedsman permit fee by 25%.

A “+” indicates a vote against HB 352 and reflects Maryland Free’s opposition to legislation imposing unprecedented, economically harmful increases in taxes and fees on Maryland businesses and employees. Such increases stifle investment, economic growth, and employment in Maryland. The new 3% sales tax on efficiency producers such as data and IT services will discourage productivity of workers and businesses in Maryland. As proven from the fiscally disastrous 2008 millionaire’s tax, HB 352’s higher income tax brackets will diminish, not enhance, state revenues as some of those taxpayers will relocate their residences to other states, prompting more harmful tax increases for Maryland in future years. The provision in HB 352 allowing counties to increase their local income tax rates is likely to lead to tens of millions of dollars of additional income taxes imposed on Maryland businesses and employees. Such increases in taxes and fees create material adverse impacts on the ability of Maryland businesses to compete with businesses in surrounding states and belie any announced goals for Maryland to be a business-friendly state. Although its proponents positioned the BRFA’s tax and fee increases as necessary and without alternatives, multiple common-sense

2025 SENATE VOTE DESCRIPTIONS

alternatives to this massive tax and fee increase were proposed, such as: 1) a 5% across-the-board spending cut for state agencies; 2) a moratorium on state employee salary increases; 3) pausing spending increases for the Blueprint for Maryland's Future; and 4) rolling back Medicaid eligibility that had been significantly expanded during the COVID-19 pandemic such that a family of four making \$100,000 is now eligible for Medicaid. Unfortunately, these alternatives were soundly rejected. Disagreeing with Maryland Free's position, the Senate approved HB 352, 29-18, on April 7, 2025.

8 HB 352 – Senate Floor Amendment 993726/1 – Budget Reconciliation and Financing Act of 2025

Senator Gallion

As introduced, HB 352 raises taxes and fees by a record-breaking \$1.6 billion. To offset the negative effects of these massive tax increases, Senate Floor Amendment 993726/1 sought to repeal the existing provision in Maryland law that the state motor fuel tax be automatically increased each year in lockstep with inflation as measured by the Consumer Price Index.

A “+” indicates a vote for Amendment 993726/1 and reflects Maryland Free's support of repealing regressive taxes that not only hurt the state's poorest citizens, but also significantly raise taxes – and therefore the price - on every product that is moved along Maryland's roads. These increased costs further increase the financial pressure on Maryland businesses and damage their ability to compete with businesses in surrounding states. Disagreeing with Maryland Free's position, the Senate rejected Floor Amendment 993726/1, 17-26, on March 31, 2025.



Mary-Dulany James (D)
District 34

This Harford County Senator earned the highest cumulative score (56%) amongst all Democratic veterans in the Senate (minimum 4 years' service).



John F. Mautz (R)
District 37

This Caroline, Dorchester, Talbot, and Wicomico County Senator earned the highest cumulative score (95%) amongst all Republican veterans in the Senate (minimum 4 years' service).

2025 HOUSE VOTE DESCRIPTIONS

1 HB 23 – Property Taxes – Authority of Counties to Establish a Subclass and Set a Special Rate for Commercial and Industrial Property *Del. Fair, et al.*

Authorizes counties including Baltimore City to establish, by law, a subclass of real property consisting of certain commercial and industrial property and to set a special property tax rate, up to 12.5% in total, for certain commercial and industrial property for the purpose of financing certain transportation improvements or the approved budget of the county board of education. HB 23 would allow Maryland counties to single out commercial and industrial properties for large property tax increases to pay for basic government transportation and public education services. As reported in the Fiscal Note on HB 23, full utilization of this new authority by counties in Maryland in FY 2025 alone would lead to annual property tax increases on commercial and industrial property of up to \$215 million.

A “+” indicates a vote against HB 23 and reflects Maryland Free’s opposition to excessive, anti-business legislation that targets business properties for a special, higher rate of property taxation. HB 23 is patently discriminatory in its singling out of commercial and industrial properties. By granting local jurisdictions authority to increase property taxes on specific subclasses of real property, HB 23 would create an uneven playing field for commercial and industrial businesses operating in Maryland who compete with businesses in neighboring states. The allowance of up to a 12.5% combined rate at the discretion of local jurisdictions will discourage investment, economic growth, and job creation in Maryland. Disagreeing with Maryland Free’s position, the House approved HB 23, 100-39, on March 13, 2025. HB 23 did not receive a vote in the Senate.

2 HB 49 – Environment - Building Energy Performance Standards – Alterations and Analysis *By Request – Maryland Department of Environment*

See Senate Vote 6 on Page 16 for a description of HB 49

A “+” indicates a vote against HB 49 and reflects Maryland Free’s opposition to conferring enhanced and unlimited regulatory powers upon a state agency to impose cost ineffective and confiscatory energy policies on commercial building owners. HB 49 creates a more uneven playing field for older buildings not designed with modern energy efficiency standards in mind, which will result in grossly excessive building renovation costs to comply with the BEPS standards, which may not be financially feasible for Marylanders, especially commercial building owners, and could deter investors from renting or purchasing these properties. Requiring MDE to administer an unfunded data collection and reporting program to track the building energy usage of the 8,500 current covered buildings in Maryland creates an unfunded mandate on MDE, which the bill addresses by imposing an escalating fee on building owners for the “right” to file an annual report on its own building energy usage. Although HB 49 reasonably grants certain allowances and limited exemptions from the alternative compliance fees, the costs to be imposed upon covered building owners are demonstrated to far exceed – by a whopping \$8 billion according to MDE’s own analysis -- the energy cost savings to be realized. Facilitating such grossly excessive compliance costs, placing Maryland building owners and businesses at a competitive disadvantage, has no place in any public policy of Maryland. Disagreeing with Maryland Free’s position, the House approved HB 49, 101-38, on April 7, 2025.

2025 HOUSE VOTE DESCRIPTIONS

3 **HB 179 – Organized Retail Theft Act of 2025** *Delegate Toles, et al.*

See Senate Vote 1 on Page 15 for a description of HB 49

A “+” indicates a vote for HB 179 and reflects Maryland Free’s support of more effective measures to protect businesses and communities across Maryland from the rising threat of organized retail crime. These crimes result in significant financial losses, strain law enforcement resources, and jeopardize the safety of retail workers and customers. Small businesses are disproportionately impacted and often lack the means to recover from repeated theft. By strengthening legal consequences for organized theft, this legislation supports public safety, economic stability, and the continued vitality of Maryland’s retail sector. Agreeing with Maryland Free’s position, the House approved HB 179, 132-0, on February 27, 2025.

4 **HB 193 – Uninsured Employers' Fund – Assessments and Special Monitor** *Chair, Economic Matters Committee (By Request – Departmental – Uninsured Employers' Fund)*

See Senate Vote 2 on Page 15 for a description of HB 193.

A “+” indicates a vote against SB 219 and reflects Maryland Free’s opposition to measures that: (1) make it harder for job creators to do business in Maryland; (2) penalize compliant employers who purchase unemployment insurance for the actions of non-compliant employers who do not, rather than assessing higher fines on the non-compliant; and (3) establish precedent for simply increasing fee percentages – in this case by a whopping 50% - in lieu of fixing the long-term funding challenges. Disagreeing with Maryland Free, the House approved HB 193, 100-37, on April 3, 2025.

5 **HB 352 – Budget Reconciliation and Financing Act of 2025 (BRFA)** *The Speaker (By Request – Administration)*

See Senate Vote 7 on Page 17 for a description of HB 352.

A “+” indicates a vote against HB 352 and reflects Maryland Free’s opposition to legislation imposing unprecedented, economically harmful increases in taxes and fees on Maryland businesses and employees. Such increases stifle investment, economic growth, and employment in Maryland. The new 3% sales tax on efficiency producers such as data and IT services will discourage productivity of workers and businesses in Maryland. As proven from the fiscally disastrous 2008 millionaire’s tax, HB 352’s higher income tax brackets will diminish, not enhance, state revenues as some of those taxpayers will relocate their residences to other states, prompting more harmful tax increases for Maryland in future years. The provision in HB 352 allowing counties to increase their local income tax rates is likely to lead to tens of millions of dollars of additional income taxes imposed on Maryland businesses and employees. Such increases in taxes and fees create material adverse impacts on the ability of Maryland businesses to compete with businesses in surrounding states and belie any announced goals for Maryland to be a business-friendly state. Although its proponents positioned the BRFA’s tax and fee increases as necessary and without alternatives multiple, common-sense alternatives to this massive tax and fee increase were proposed, such as: 1) a 5% across-the-board spending cut for state agencies; 2) a state employee hiring freeze and pause in planned cost-of-living salary increases; 3) pausing spending increases for the Blueprint for Maryland’s Future; and 4) rolling back Medicaid eligibility that had been significantly expanded during the COVID-19 pandemic such that a family of four making \$100,000 is now eligible for Medicaid. Unfortunately, these alternatives were soundly rejected. Disagreeing with Maryland Free’s position, the House approved HB 352, 94-46, on April 7, 2025.

2025 HOUSE VOTE DESCRIPTIONS

6 **HB 352 – House Floor Amendment 883629/1 – Budget Reconciliation and Financing Act of 2025**

Delegate Morgan

As introduced, HB 352 raises taxes and fees by a record-breaking \$1.6 billion. Included in those tax increases is an additional 2% capital gains tax on individuals with a federal adjusted gross income over \$350,000. The amendment would remove this 2% capital gains tax.

A “+” indicates a vote for Amendment 883629/1 and reflects Maryland Free’s opposition to tax measures that discourage investment. This new capital gains increase: 1) incentivizes our wealthy residents – who disproportionately pay the lion’s share of state income taxes – to leave the state; and 2) exacerbates Maryland’s national reputation as a high-tax state unworthy of investment or in-migration from other states. Disagreeing with Maryland Free’s position, the House rejected Floor Amendment 883629/1, 46-87, on March 25, 2025.

7 **HB 1210 – Workers’ Compensation – Evaluation of Permanent Impairments – Licensed Certified Social Worker – Clinical**

Del. McComas, et al.

Authorizes a licensed certified clinical social worker, instead of only a licensed psychologist or qualified physician, to perform the evaluation and report that is required for a workers’ compensation claim for a permanent impairment involving a behavioral or mental disorder. In Maryland, this evaluation has long been performed exclusively by physicians, psychologists, or psychiatrists. The main reason for this is that these evaluations must adhere to the medically based standards set forth by the American Medical Association’s “Guide to the Evaluations of Permanent Impairment,” and therefore these evaluations are properly conducted only by persons with medical training. Consistent with current law in Maryland and other states, it is widely accepted that

this type of evaluation should be conducted only by licensed psychologists or qualified physicians.

A “+” indicates a vote against HB 1210 and reflects Maryland Free’s opposition to allowing persons other than qualified physicians, licensed psychologists, or psychiatrists to conduct these medical evaluations. Allowing others who lack the necessary qualification and training to provide permanent impairment ratings establishes a precedent that could potentially compromise the quality and consistency of these critical evaluations, and importantly, could lead to an expansion of approvals of workers compensation claims. The fact that HB 1210 could significantly expand permanent impairment claims and approvals is confirmed by its documented support by plaintiffs’ lawyers in Maryland. Maryland Free is opposed to expanded payouts of workers’ compensation claims based on non-medical determinations of permanent impairment arising from behavioral or mental disorder, which will increase claims, lawyers fees, and workers’ compensation costs. Disagreeing with Maryland Free’s position, the House approved HB 1210, 125-12, on March 12, 2025. HB 1210 did not receive a vote in the Senate.

8 **SB 432 – Criminal Records – Expungement and Maryland Judiciary Case Search (Expungement Reform Act of 2025)**

The President (By Request – Administration) and Senator Charles, et al.

See Senate Vote 3 on Page 15 for a description of SB 432.

A “+” indicates a vote against SB 432 and reflects Maryland Free’s opposition to preventing employers from learning about the criminal histories of potential hires. Employers should have freedom of choice regarding hires, and their choice is stripped when the state expunges from its records dishonesty crimes as important as credit card fraud. Employers,

2025 HOUSE VOTE DESCRIPTIONS

not the General Assembly, are in the best position to determine whether a person qualifies for or is suitable to the type of employment being offered. Ultimately, an employer may hire an applicant who has committed such dishonesty crimes if it believes the applicant is well-suited to the position being filled. For example, a landscaper might be willing to hire an applicant with these convictions of dishonesty, but a jewelry store selling \$12,000 necklaces might want to think twice. SB 432 removes the employer's ability to think twice. Disagreeing with Maryland Free, the House approved SB 432, 101-38 on April 2, 2025.

9 SB 901 – Environment – Packaging and Paper Products – Producer Responsibility Plans

Senator Augustine, et al.

See Senate Vote 5 on Page 16 for a description of SB 901.

A “+” indicates a vote against SB 901 and reflects Maryland Free’s opposition to measures that: (1) lack clarity around costs and compliance, as SB 901 lacks specific details about fee structures, reimbursement mechanisms, or compliance costs; (2) cause reporting burdens for businesses without clear guidelines, including the implementation of standards in Maryland that may not be consistent with other states and therefore will be very difficult for national companies to navigate; (3) do not allow for time for a thorough review of the needs assessment; and (4) inappropriately include greenhouse gas (GHG) reduction goals – when Maryland already has some of the most ambitious GHG reduction goals in the country – in a recycling bill. Disagreeing with Maryland Free, the House approved SB 901, 100-36, on April 7, 2025.

MARYLAND FREE SCORES BY COUNTY

County	2025 SCORE	2024 SCORE	CUMULATIVE
CUMULATIVE SCORES GREATER THAN 70%			
Talbot	96%	97%	97%
Caroline	90%	97%	96%
Washington	79%	88%	95%
Kent	85%	96%	95%
Queen Anne's	85%	96%	95%
Worcester	92%	94%	95%
Allegany	85%	87%	93%
Somerset	88%	91%	92%
Cecil	84%	93%	92%
Carroll	86%	92%	90%
Wicomico	91%	86%	87%
Dorchester	91%	80%	81%
St. Mary's	78%	79%	78%
Calvert	78%	79%	76%
Harford	68%	73%	73%
CUMULATIVE SCORES BETWEEN 40% AND 70%			
Frederick	52%	58%	56%
Baltimore County	40%	46%	46%
CUMULATIVE SCORES LESS THAN 40%			
Anne Arundel	37%	42%	39%
Howard	20%	24%	22%
Charles	15%	26%	21%
Prince George's	15%	25%	21%
Baltimore City	13%	24%	21%
Montgomery	13%	23%	20%

(Continued from page 2)

You'd think Annapolis would have learned from this fiasco, which developed into a fiscal nightmare just 16 years ago. Nope. This time, they're going one step further. The 2025 tax increases don't just hit millionaires; they've cooked up what amounts to a half-a-millionaire's tax. More earners, lower thresholds, bigger impact.

The lesson from 2008 is painfully clear: when you punish success, success leaves. And once again, Maryland taxpayers are left to clean up the mess.

Big BRFA

HB 352, described on Page 17, is the Budget Reconciliation and Financing Act of 2025, otherwise known as the BRFA. It's an omnibus bill that aggregates the multitude of tax and fee increases that will now weigh so heavily on Maryland's economy. As an omnibus bill, the legislature's super majority passed all the tax increases *en masse*, so we can't hold them accountable for each of the increases; instead, just their one vote on HB 352, plus one amendment, is included in Roll Call. So, pay close attention to who voted for and against this gargantuan bill.

"The Wealthy Don't Pay Their Fair Share" ... is a Flat Out Lie

Not only is this trope a bald-faced lie, but reality also portends an ominous future for Maryland. Why? Because the people who pay most of the income taxes in Maryland are the very ones being driven out of town by the bad policy in the BRFA.

Information culled by none other than the Maryland Comptroller and the IRS clearly shows that Maryland's and the nation's highest earners shoulder the lion's share of our taxes, with the top 31% of taxpayers paying 76% of all Maryland state income taxes. Even worse, the top 1.7% of Maryland earners pay 24% of our taxes. What happens when they flee Maryland? Will our politicians reduce spending to accommodate the reduced tax revenue? Of course not; they will raise taxes on those who remain.

The Top 31% of Taxpayers Pay 76% of Maryland Income Taxes

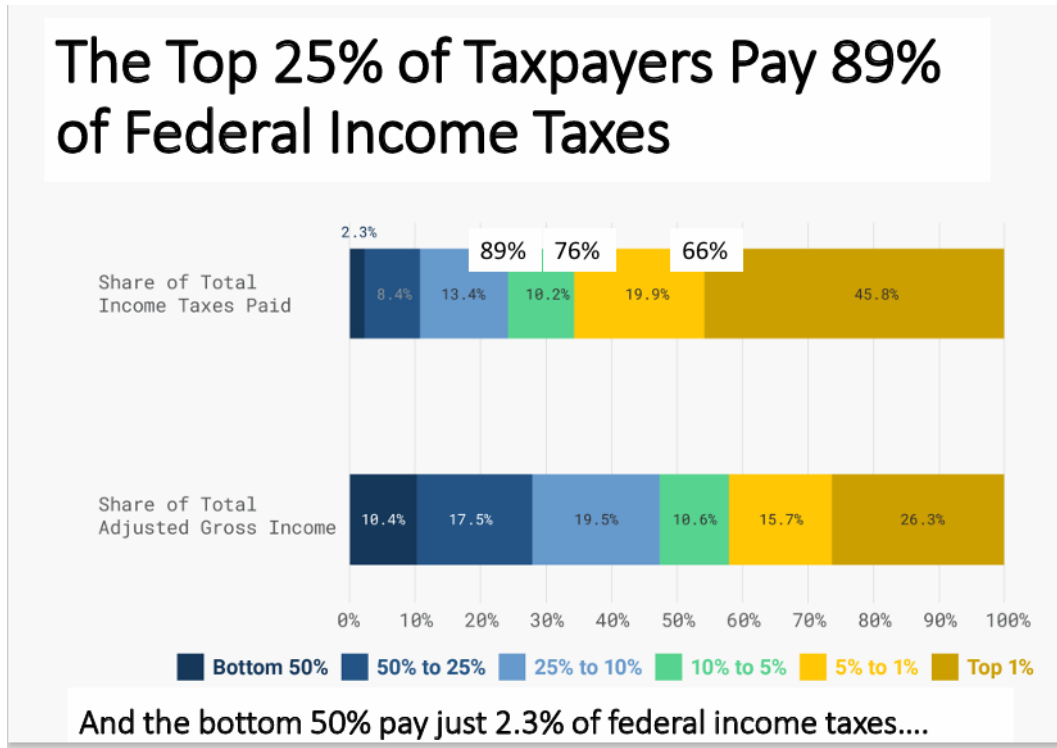
2022				
Income Level	Number of Filers	Percentage of Total	Income Tax Liability	Percentage of Total
\$500,000 and higher	43,307	31% {	1.70% \$ 2,798,311	76% { 24.15%
\$100,000-\$499,999	744,735		29.18 5,980,154	
\$70,000-\$99,999	352,607	13.82	1,146,397	9.89
\$50,000-\$69,999	353,891	13.87	781,016	6.74
\$25,000-\$49,999	631,585	24.75	706,046	6.09
\$10,000-\$24,999	329,227	12.90	157,084	1.36
Under \$10,000	96,753	3.79	16,659	0.14
Total	2,552,105	100.00%	\$ 11,585,667	100.00%



Source: pg 158, 2023 Maryland Annual Comprehensive Financial Report, Maryland Comptroller

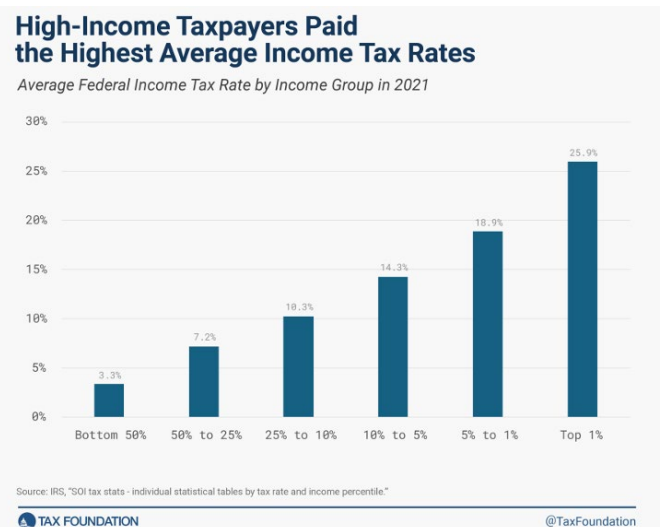
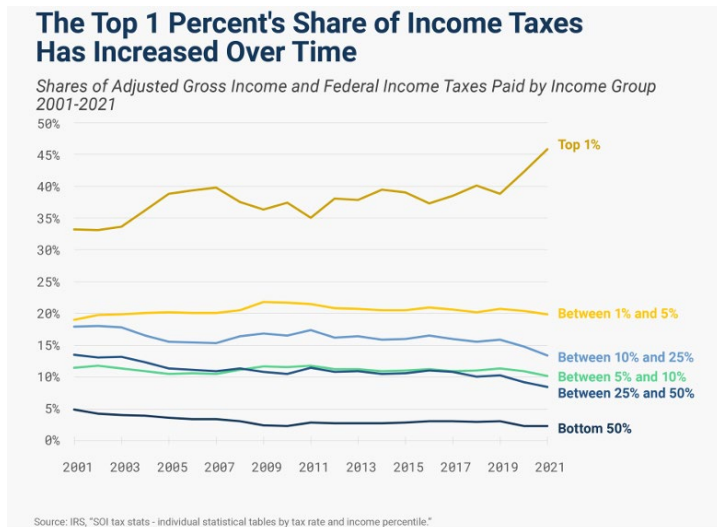
17

Federally, the picture is even clearer: the top 25% cover 89% of federal income taxes, while the bottom half pays just 2.3%



Source: The Tax Foundation. Cumulative percentages in white boxes added by Maryland Free.

Over time, the top one percent's share of Federal income taxes has steadily increased. They also pay the highest average tax rates—25.9% federally, when charted in 2021. So, even the contention that they pay a lower percentage than the middle class is a lie.



The takeaway? The old "the rich don't pay their fair share" line is complete and utter nonsense – and any politician who continues to spout this line should be vehemently challenged. Maryland's wealthiest residents

Maryland Free Enterprise Foundation

cover most of the state's tax burden. We're not here to defend the rich; instead, we're here to defend Maryland against its own myopic policies that will cause the rich to flee Maryland in droves and leave the rest of us holding the bag.

Moody's Gets Moodier

Wall Street paid attention to the concerning fiscal policies in Maryland in recent years. The bond rating agency, Moody's, released guidance in May of 2024 suggesting that Maryland's profligate spending, with no identified funding source to cover it, would result in a downgrade of our credit rating. Sure enough, this May, with Moody's advice unheeded *for an entire year*, we lost our coveted Aaa rating that we had held for 52 years and were downgraded to Aa1.

A 52-year ride is quite a ride. And now it's over. It will take the State years, if not decades, to earn back the top rating. Why does this rating matter? It determines the State's financing costs, and the cost of carrying State debt will only increase with the lower rating, with the extra costs paid by the taxpayers of Maryland.

In just 20 years, Maryland's budget has ballooned from \$25.8 billion to \$67 billion, with the per-capita tax burden soaring from \$4,583 to \$10,646. Marylanders cannot continue to shoulder such unchecked spending. And Wall Street knows it.

At the beginning of the legislative session, Maryland faced a \$3 billion budget deficit. This worsened in March when the Board of Revenue estimates lowered its revenue projections by \$280 million, increasing the shortfall. In the long term, without meaningful spending restraints, Maryland is projected to have a **\$6 billion budget deficit** by FY 2030. This projection was made in December 2024, and these long-term structural deficits are caused almost exclusively by the Blueprint for Maryland's Future, which mandated unsustainable education spending.

The solution is not easy, but it is simple. Annapolis politicians simply must address their spending addiction. The state is doomed if they don't.



Maryland's Competitive Ranking

PUBLICATION	RANKING
Rich States Poor States ALEC	42 nd – Economic Outlook
Site Selections Magazine	45 th – Business Tax Climate Rate
U.S. News	35 th – Best States for Economy (down from 31 st)
Forbes.com	34 th – Best States for Business
ChiefExecutive.net	35 th – Best States for Business
CNBC	31 st – Top States for Business
WalletHub	78 th – Best City to Start a Business (Baltimore)
SeekCapital.com	45 th – Best and Worst States to Start a Business
WalletHub	46 th – Best and Worst States to Start a Business
Tax Foundation	46 th – State Competitiveness Index
Stacker	40 th – Best States to Start a Business
National Business Capital	38 th – Best and Worst States for Business

Primary Drivers of Economic Outlook

	Maryland	California	North Carolina	Florida	Virginia
Population* 2013-2022	Lost 266,038	Lost 2,133,547	+727,133	+1,915,694	Lost 146,378
Top personal income tax rate	8.95% (moving to 10.75%!!!)	14.4%	4.25% (down from 4.5)	0.00%	5.75%
Corporate Income Tax	8.25%	8.84%	2.25% (down from 2.5)	5.50%	7.54%
Death Tax?	Yes	No	No	No	No
State Minimum Wage	\$15/hr	\$16.50/hr	\$7.25/hr	\$13/hr	\$12.41/hr
Right to Work?	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes

*Net domestic migration, i.e., population gained from or lost to other states.

Maryland Free Enterprise Foundation

Maryland Free Enterprise Foundation Membership Application



YES! I want to help Maryland Free and *Roll Call* improve Maryland's business climate.

Name _____

Title _____

Organization _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip Code _____

Phone _____

Please provide the e-mail addresses for those who are interested in receiving important information from Maryland Free:

E-Mail _____

E-Mail _____

E-Mail _____

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- ★ Notification of *Roll Call* publication
- ★ Copies of *Roll Call*
- ★ Access to top business leaders
- ★ Opportunity to change Maryland's business climate!

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Please make all checks payable to Maryland Free and mail to:
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Maryland Free is not a lobbying organization.*

We recognize that among businesses there are many variables in choosing a membership level. Please consider your company's annual gross revenues for guidance on an appropriate membership level. The recommended levels are:

Over \$50 million	Trustee
\$10 to \$50 million	Chairman
\$5 to \$10 million	President
\$1 to \$5 million	Leadership

I am interested in joining at the following annual level:

☐ **Trustee Level (\$15,000 per year)**

★ Invitation to join Board of Directors

☐ **Chairman (\$10,000 per year)**

★ Consideration for Board of Directors

☐ **President (\$5,000 per year)**

☐ **Leadership (\$1,000 per year)**

If you could change one thing about Maryland, what would it be?

Index of Elected Officials – Senate

Senator	District	Senator	District
<u>Attar, Dalya</u>	41	<u>Jennings, J. B.</u>	7
<u>Augustine, Malcolm</u>	47	<u>Kagan, Cheryl C.</u>	17
<u>Bailey, Jack</u>	29	<u>King, Nancy J</u>	39
<u>Beidle, Pamela</u>	32	<u>Kramer, Benjamin F.</u>	19
<u>Benson, Joanne C.</u>	24	<u>Lam, Clarence K.</u>	12
<u>Brooks, Benjamin T., Sr.</u>	10	<u>Love, Sara N.</u>	16
<u>Carozza, Mary Beth</u>	38	<u>Mautz, John F.</u>	37
<u>Charles, Nick</u>	25	<u>McCray, Cory V.</u>	45
<u>Corderman, Paul D.</u>	2	<u>McKay, Michael W.</u>	1
<u>Ellis, Arthur</u>	28	<u>Muse, C. Anthony</u>	26
<u>Feldman, Brian J.</u>	15	<u>Ready, Justin</u>	5
<u>Ferguson, Bill</u>	46	<u>Rosapepe, Jim</u>	21
<u>Folden, William G.</u>	4	<u>Salling, Johnny Ray</u>	6
<u>Gallion, Jason C.</u>	35	<u>Simonaire, Bryan W.</u>	31
<u>Gile, Dawn D.</u>	33	<u>Smith, William C., Jr.</u>	20
<u>Guzzone, Guy</u>	13	<u>Sydnor, Charles E., III</u>	44
<u>Hayes, Antonio</u>	40	<u>Waldstreicher, Jeff</u>	18
<u>Henson, Shaneka T.</u>	30	<u>Washington, Alonzo T.</u>	22
<u>Hershey, Stephen S., Jr.</u>	36	<u>Washington, Mary L.</u>	43
<u>Hester, Katie Fry</u>	9	<u>Watson, Ronald L.</u>	23
<u>Hettleman, Shelly</u>	11	<u>West, Chris</u>	42
<u>Jackson, Carl W.</u>	8	<u>Young, Karen Lewis</u>	3
<u>Jackson, Michael A.</u>	27	<u>Zucker, Craig J.</u>	14
<u>James, Mary-Dulany</u>	34		

Index of Elected Officials – House of Delegates

Delegate	District	Delegate	District
Acevero, Gabriel	39	Fair, Kristopher G.	3
Adams, Christopher T.	37B	Feldmark, Jessica	12A
Addison, Jacqueline T.	45	Fennell, Diana M.	47A
Allen, Nick	8	Fisher, Mark N.	27C
Alston, Tiffany T.	24	Foley, Linda K	15
Amprey, Marlon D.	40	Forbes, Catherine M.	43B
Arentz, Steven J.	36	Fraser-Hidalgo, David	15
Arikan, Lauren	7B	Ghrist, Jefferson L.	36
Atterbeary, Vanessa E.	13	Grammer, Robin L., Jr.	6
Bagnall, Heather	33C	Griffith, Mike	35A
Baker, Terry L.	1C	Guyton, Michele	42B
Barnes, Ben	21	Guzzone, Pamela Lanman	13
Bartlett, J. Sandy	32	Harris, Kevin M.	27A
Beauchamp, Barry S.	38B	Harrison, Andrea Fletcher	24
Behler, Dylan	30A	Hartman, Wayne A.	38C
Bhandari, Harry	8	Healey, Anne	22
Boafo, Adrian A.	23	Hill, Terri L.	12A
Bouchat, Christopher Eric	5	Hinebaugh, James C.	1A
Boyce, Regina T.	43A	Holland, Jennifer White	10
Buckel, Jason C.	1B	Holmes, Marvin E., Jr.	23
Cardin, Jon S.	11B	Hornberger, Kevin B.	35B
Chang, Mark S.	32	Howard, Seth A.	30B
Charkoudian, Lorig	20	Hutchinson, Thomas S.	37B
Chisholm, Brian	31	Ivey, Julian	47A
Ciliberti, Barrie S.	4	Jacobs, Jay A.	36
Clippinger, Luke	46	Johnson, Andre V., Jr.	34A
Conaway, Frank M., Jr.	40	Johnson, Steve	34A
Crosby, Brian M.	29B	Jones, Adrienne A.	10
Crutchfield, Charlotte	19	Jones, Dana	30A
Cullison, Bonnie	19	Kaiser, Anne R.	14
Davis, Debra	28	Kaufman, Aaron M.	18
Ebersole, Eric	12	Kerr, Ken	3
Edelson, Mark	46	Kipke, Nicholas R.	31
Embry, Elizabeth M.	43A	Korman, Marc	16

Index of Elected Officials – House of Delegates

Delegate	District	Delegate	District
Lehman, Mary A.	21	Sample-Hughes, Sheree	37A
Lewis, Jazz	24	Schindler, Matthew J.	2B
Lewis, Robbyn	46	Schmidt, Stuart M., Jr.	33B
Long, Jeffrie E., Jr.	27B	Shetty, Emily	18
Long, Robert B.	6	Simmons, Gary	12B
Lopez, Lesley J.	39	Simpson, Karen	3
Mangione, Nino	42A	Smith, Stephanie	45
Martinez, Ashanti F.	22	Solomon, Jared	18
McCaskill, Aletheia	44B	Spiegel, Ryan S.	17
McComas, Susan K.	34B	Stein, Dana	11B
Metzgar, Ric	6	Stewart, Vaughn	19
Miller, April Fleming	4	Stinnett, Sean A.	41
Mireku-North, Bernice D.	14	Stonko, Joshua J.	42C
Moon, David	20	Szeliga, Kathy	7A
Morgan, Matthew	29A	Taveras, Deni L.	47B
Morgan, Todd B.	29C	Taylor, Kym	23
Nawrocki, Ryan M.	7A	Terrasa, Jen	13
Nkongolo, LaToya	31	Toles, Karen R.	25
Otto, Charles J.	38A	Tomlinson, Christopher L.	5
Palakovich Carr, Julie	17	Turner, Veronica	26
Pasteur, Cheryl E.	11A	Valderrama, Kriselda	26
Patterson, Edith J.	28	Valentine, William	2A
Pena-Melnyk, Joseline A.	21	Vogel, Joseph	17
Phillips, N. Scott	10	Watson, Courtney	9B
Pippy, Jesse T.	4	Wells, Melissa	40
Pruski, Andrew C	33A	Wilkins, Jheanelle K.	20
Qi, Lily	15	Williams, Nicole A.	22
Queen, Pam	14	Wilson, C. T.	28
Reilly, Teresa E.	35B	Wims, W. Gregory	39
Roberson, Kent	25	Wivell, William J.	2A
Roberts, Denise	25	Wolek, Sarah S.	16
Rogers, Mike	32	Woods, Jamila J.	26
Rose, April	5	Woorman, Teresa S.	16
Rosenberg, Samuel I.	41	Wu, Chao	9A
Ross, Kim L.	8	Young, Caylin A.	45
Ruff, Malcolm P.	41	Ziegler, Natalie C.	9A
Ruth, Sheila	44B		



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In Memoriam

Maryland Free lost two stalwarts of economic advocacy this year. Rocky Worchester and Chris Costello were here from the beginning, 40 years ago, when we were known as Maryland Business for Responsive Government (MBRG). Employing differing styles, they shared a fierce advocacy for Maryland's employers, business climate, and economic growth, and will be impossible to replace. We extend our deepest sympathies – and gratitude – to their families.

Robert "Rocky" Worchester



Robert "Rocky" Worchester was recruited by top Maryland CEOs to lead MBRG, where he served as president for 26 years until his retirement in 2009. His much-anticipated and highly regarded Roll Call ranked state legislators by their pro-business voting records, helping to promote leaders committed to making Maryland more business-friendly. Congressman Andy Harris said of Rocky, "He was quite a leader, and one of the main reasons I was able to achieve what I have achieved." Under Rocky's leadership, MBRG played a pivotal role in the success of many prominent Maryland politicians.

Rocky will be remembered for his integrity, leadership, and unwavering love for his family.

Christopher Costello



Chris joined Public Sector Consulting Group (PSCG) in 1995, providing strategic marketing, lobbying, and grassroots development services. He was also the proprietor of C.B. Costello, LLC, supporting several nonprofit associations, including Maryland Business for Responsive Government, the Maryland Distribution Council, and the Maryland Workers' Compensation Educational Association.

Prior to PSCG, Chris served as Vice President for Marketing and Human Resources at the Maryland Chamber of Commerce, where he led communications, government affairs, and membership initiatives. From 1982 to 1988, he directed the Chamber's human resources policy work, playing a key role in legislative reforms to Maryland's Unemployment Insurance and Workers' Compensation systems.

Chris will be remembered for his deep expertise, thoughtful leadership, and decades of service to the business community.

Both will be greatly missed.