

THE LETTERS OF SAINT JOHN N. NEUMANN TO ARCHBISHOP FRANCIS P. KENRICK, 1852-1859

Edited by ALFRED C. RUSH

INTRODUCTION

On March 30, 1852, two days after his episcopal ordination on Passion Sunday in St. Alphonsus' Church, the Most Reverend John Nepomucene Neumann¹, C.S.S.R., took the early morning train from Baltimore for Philadelphia². At three o'clock that afternoon he was installed in St. John's, the Pro-cathedral, as Philadelphia's fourth bishop, an office that he fulfilled until his sudden and unexpected death at the age of 48 on January 5, 1860. Philadelphia was then one of the suffragan sees in the Metropolitan Province of Baltimore, the archbishop being the Most Reverend Francis Patrick Kenrick, Neumann's predecessor in Philadelphia³. The other suffragan sees were Pittsburgh and Erie in Pennsylvania, Richmond in Virginia, Wheeling in West Virginia, Charleston in South Carolina, Savannah in Georgia. It also came to include the Vicariate Apostolic of Florida that was established in 1857. The letters edited here are those that Neumann wrote to

¹ JOHN BERGER, CSSR, *Life of Right Rev. John N. Neumann, CSSR*, tr. by Eugene Grimm, CSSR, New York 1884; Michael J. Curley, CSSR, *Venerable John Neumann, CSSR*, Washington, D.C. 1952. These works will be referred to as Berger-Grimm, *Neumann*; Curley, *Neumann*.

² JAMES F. CONNELLY, ed., *The History of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia*, Philadelphia 1976. After giving the author and the title of a chapter, this work will be referred to as *History of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia*.

³ HUGH J. NOLAN, *The Most Reverend Francis Patrick Kenrick, Third Bishop of Philadelphia, 1830-1851*, Philadelphia 1948; John Peter Marshall, CSV, *Francis Patrick Kenrick, 1851-1863: the Baltimore Years*. This is a typed Ph.D. Dissertation, The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. 1965. These works will be referred to as Nolan, *Kenrick*; Marshall, *Kenrick*.

Kenrick as they are preserved in the archdiocesan archives of Baltimore.

For the most part, Neumann's handwriting, when he uses the cursive script for English and Latin, is clear and legible. However, being human, he did on occasion dash or scribble off a hurried note. There were times when it was difficult to figure out certain words. With the aid of a magnifying glass and the help of others the editor believes that he has succeeded in arriving at the right readings.

Neumann can compose a very precise and proper English letter. At the same time it will not take the reader long to realize that English is not his native language. His native language, the language spoken at home and school, was German. He did not begin to study English until 1833 when he was 22 years old. That was the time when he began his last two years of theology at the University of Prague. One of his reasons for going there was his desire to study English to get ready for his work in America. Because there were no classes in English there at the time, he had to study it on his own. Some English factory workers in Prague helped him along.

There are certain obvious signs indicating that English was not Neumann's native language. Here one thinks of idiomatic collocation, of the use of prepositions, of the definite and indefinite articles, of the adverb 'yet'. There is at times a certain clumsiness in his choice of words. He speaks of returns instead of conversions to the Church. He uses the plural form of a noun that is only used in the singular, e.g., advices. Under the influence of his native German he uses the infinitive construction where English usually uses the gerundive. Instead of speaking of the honor of welcoming Kenrick he speaks of the honor to welcome him. It was these and similar features of Neumann's style that made the transcribing of the letters difficult. There was a tendency to write out phrases in the way they would be written by one whose native language is English.

The letters show that Neumann had a good command of English spelling. The mistakes are few, especially when one looks not to the number but to the categories of the mistakes. He had difficulty with words having double consonants, e.g., marriage, Cincinnati. Under the influence of his training in German he regularly omits the English genitive apostrophe. He speaks of harms way, St. Johns. Curiously, one time when he used the apostrophe was a time when he should not have used it, because he added the preposition «of», Sisters of St. Joseph's. Instead of constantly inserting the sign [*sic*], certain recurring nineteenth-century spellings (diocess, recommand) are transcribed in the current usage.

Neumann has a tendency to overcapitalize. Besides using capital letters to refer to God, he also uses them when speaking of persons, places and things associated with the spiritual order, e.g., Priest, Convent, Vow. In the temporal order he uses capitals for words associated with the municipal or judicial sphere, e. g., City (Philadelphia), Judge. Although these observations are true, one will also notice that he is not always consistent in this matter. Influenced by his German background he uses the capital letter for the word, Protestant, in its noun form; the adjective form is

spelled with a small letter. Occasionally a new sentence starts off with a small letter.

The reader is not long into the reading of these letters before he becomes acquainted with, and accustomed to, Neumann's system of punctuation that involves the use of the period, the dash, the comma and the hyphen. There are times when he ends a sentence with both a period and a dash. At times a dash is used in place of a period; often many sentences are strung together with dashes. Similarly a comma is used where one would expect a period; commas are often used, like the dash, to string independent sentences together. This can cause difficulty in understanding and the consequent need to reread the material. Neumann uses the hyphen in words like hand-book, day-school. He uses it regularly for the Pennsylvania towns of Mauch Chunk and Summit Hill.

In the sphere of punctuation, two general tendencies are noted. The first is over-punctuation. One can describe this as punctuation by phrases; it seems that every phrase is enclosed in commas. At other times there is a lack of punctuation, e.g., a comma, where one would be expecting one. Here, again, the reader may have to pause and reread a phrase or sentence.

The Neumann letters, as noted, are housed in the archives of the archdiocese of Baltimore where they are catalogued as 30-U-1-28. The work of editing demanded that the numbering of the letters here be different from that in the archives. There are two reasons for this. The first is that five of the letters (30-U-1-5) are undated. The editor has succeeded in assigning a date to four of these (1, 3, 4, 5) and a probable date to one of them (2). It was found that they were assigned to 1853, 1855(?), 1858 and 1859. The second reason involves a misnumbering of three letters in the archives. The first three letters of 1857 are numbered 20, 21, 22. Chronologically, the order should be 22, 20, 21, the letters written in January, March and April. The original cataloguer misread the abbreviation for January as June and put that letter after the March and April letters. The comparison between the two numberings will be seen at a glance by giving first the present numbering and then that of the Baltimore archives:

| | | | |
|--------|---------|---------|---------|
| 1 = 6 | 8 = 12 | 15 = 2 | 22 = 25 |
| 2 = 7 | 9 = 13 | 16 = 19 | 23 = 1 |
| 3 = 8 | 10 = 14 | 17 = 22 | 24 = 5 |
| 4 = 9 | 11 = 15 | 18 = 20 | 25 = 26 |
| 5 = 3 | 12 = 16 | 19 = 21 | 26 = 27 |
| 6 = 10 | 13 = 17 | 20 = 23 | 27 = 4 |
| 7 = 11 | 14 = 18 | 21 = 24 | 28 = 28 |

All these letters, except one, are personal letters. The one exception is letter 20. This is a printed form letter, the *exeat* empowering Father Waldron to leave the diocese of Philadelphia for the arch-

diocese of Baltimore. Because it is part of the Neumann-Kenrick history, it was decided to include it in this first edition of the correspondence.

The Neumann letters abound in abbreviations. This is true especially when, discussing liturgy and ceremonies, he uses technical Latin phrases. These abbreviations are kept, as they are, completed within brackets and translated and explained in the notes. There are other abbreviations that are written out in full. The reasons for this decision are the convenience of the English reader and the strangeness and awkwardness of the abbreviations. This applies to titles, e.g., Reverend, humble and obedient Servant in Christ. It also applies to cities, e.g., Philadelphia, Baltimore. The abbreviations *inst.* and *ult.* are rendered as this month and last month. The dates of the letters are written out in full. In editing the letters, technical Latin phrases are italicized, e.g., *otium cum dignitate*.

The letters throw light on various phases of Neumann's career. Here one thinks first of Neumann and the diocese of Philadelphia. The correspondence reveals his zeal in making the visitations of that far-flung diocese (4, 6, 8, 13, 15, 22), a zeal that won the admiration of all, and that is constantly mentioned in the documents dealing with his canonization. Added burden though it was in his work of establishing new parishes and building churches and schools, he worked diligently at the ongoing construction of the cathedral and saw the exterior completed before his death (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 16). His unsuccessful attempts to help the Visitation Sisters and keep them in Philadelphia show his appreciation of the Order and its apostolate of conducting academies for girls (2, 3, 4, 6). He risked a certain amount of unpopularity in guaranteeing the canonical and civil incorporation of church property and in specifying in detail what constituted parish property and what constituted personal property (13, 14, 15, 16, 18). It is interesting to note that his concern for the charitable institutions of the diocese, for which he was known all during his years as bishop, makes its appearance in his very first letter. In his autobiography Neumann tells us that he was an omnivorous reader, so much so that his mother called him her little bookworm; this is the same Neumann who as bishop opened a circulating library for his people (4). Other interesting traits are his interest in his Minor Seminarians (19) and his concern for a repentant priest (3) and for his sick priests (27). The moves to divide the diocese in 1855 (10, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19) and in 1858 (22, 23) play a large role in the history of these years. The correspondence shows that the plan goes back not only to 1854 (9), but to 1852, Neumann's very first year in the diocese (4). It

also shows that the basic reason was spiritual, the desire to live up to his ideals of doing full justice to his commitments and duties as bishop. Here one also finds something on the painful problem of his last years, a problem that was settled only with his death, namely, the Bishop Wood affair (19, 22, 25).

On a larger scale, these letters show us something of Neumann's interest in the Metropolitan Province of Baltimore. There is the concern about an orphanage for boys in Washington, D.C. (11, 12). Besides seeing his willingness to accept invitations to perform episcopal functions in Pittsburgh, we also notice his general concern for the diocese and its bishop, Michael O'Connor (7, 10, 22, 23, 25). He was mindful of his fellow-bishops and celebrated pontifical requiems for them on receiving the news of their death (9). Most of all, these letters show how thorough and conscientious he was in suggesting topics and agenda for the Provincial Councils (8, 9, 21). His interest was not confined to his own Province, but extended to others. Here one notes a general desire to keep up with the doings in other Provinces (21). One also notes his outlook on the new diocese of Newark that formed part of the New York Province (1, 4).

At the request of Rome, Neumann's episcopal ordination was arranged in such a way that he was able to take part in the First Plenary Council of Baltimore in May 1852. These letters are also a source of information about various items and projects that transcend diocesan affairs and that are part of the larger canvass of the general history of the Catholic Church in the United States of America. Here one thinks of his work at the Council and his German catechism that had such a long and successful history (1, 6). The letters show us how prompt Neumann was in appointing Diocesan Consultors in keeping with the recommendation of the First Plenary Council, a recommendation that became law at the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1884, precisely because not all bishops were that prompt (3). Mention is made of two items of American Church history of those days, namely, the visit of Archbishop Bedini (7) and the plan to come to the help of American Protestant ministers who were becoming Catholics (6). Worthy of special mention is Neumann's proposal to have a house of rehabilitation where fallen-away priests could be helped and possibly be restored to active ministry (8, 9). The correspondence shows us something of Neumann's part in three important drives for funds. The first looked to the good of this country, namely, the American College in Rome (14, 25). The other two were collections for the proposed Catholic University of Ireland (8) and for the « Newman

Fund » to help Cardinal Newman pay the exorbitant fine imposed by the judge in the Achilli-Newman trial (4, 5).

The ecclesiastical horizon of these letters opens even wider to show us Neumann's concern with the liturgy and ceremony of the Church's sacramental discipline. With regard to the sacrament of marriage, one notes his sensible outlook on mixed marriages and his sensitivity for the Protestant conscience (13). This sacramental concern is seen most of all when he takes up problems connected with the reception of converts. To him the whole rite was too long and an inconvenience to the converts and to the priests who had to administer it on a Sunday morning when they were travelling from one outmission to the other. To him the extra ceremonies contained in the reception of converts cut in on the baptismal rite itself. It was his desire to be allowed to drop these extra ceremonies and to highlight and concentrate on the liturgical rite of the baptism itself, as already containing in a better form the contents of the extra ceremonies, e.g., profession of faith. In lieu of that, he hoped for shorter formulas (13, 26, 28).

These letters are more than letters from a suffragan bishop to the archbishop. They are letters between two bishops, between whom there existed a mutual bond of respect, friendship and reverence. Kenrick admired Neumann's holiness, learning, administrative ability and priestly zeal. He chose him as his confessor. Personally, Neumann was Kenrick's first choice for Philadelphia. Neumann became his appointee, his protégé. To Neumann, Kenrick was the archbishop whom he revered, the friend in whom he could confide and to whom he could go for help and advice. It is only a relationship like this that explains many facets of these letters.

Here one thinks of Neumann's reports on his early days in Philadelphia, the homesickness he felt, the gradual process of feeling somewhat at ease, of getting accustomed to his laborious and troublesome station, all of which was facilitated by the uniform kindness of the clergy and laity (1, 2). One also thinks of the regrets that Neumann sent to Kenrick about not being on hand to welcome him in Philadelphia because of his absence on visitations (8, 9). With regards to a parish court case, the roots of which go back to Kenrick's days in Philadelphia, Neumann tells him not to worry because the diocese would pay in the event of an adverse judgment (14). The beginning of the Philadelphia Cathedral goes back to Kenrick, and one can hear the joy of Neumann as he sends him progress reports on the ongoing

construction. Kenrick is reminded that the beauty of the completed facade would repay a trip from Baltimore (16). Certainly, in Neumann's plans, any ceremony connected with the blessing, dedication or consecration of the cathedral would be done by Kenrick (5).

The mention of confidential reports regarding persons or projects also shows the relationship between the two (3, 10, 11, 12). In the long painful months while he awaited an answer from Rome regarding his move to go to a poorer and smaller See, Neumann asks Kenrick to plead his cause in Rome where his recommendation would certainly be almighty (10) and he asks him to recommend his future to the mercy of God (16). Certainly, only an intimate confidant would be the recipient of that precious letter where he apologized to Kenrick for his awkwardness in his meeting with the Roman visitor, Archbishop Gaetano Bedini. In a disarmingly frank and refreshingly humorous self-evaluation he likened himself to Sancho Panza, the squire in Cervantes' *Don Quixote* (7). Visits to Baltimore gave these two friends opportunities for personal meetings (1, 11, 17, 19). There Neumann could talk over problems, unburden his soul, seek direction and get advice. What transpired *cor ad cor* did not have to appear in black and white. This is a case where personal enrichment in the nineteenth century more than makes up for some disappointment in historians in the twentieth.

There now remains the pleasant task of saying a heartfelt Thank You to the many who have been a source of help. For archival material I am indebted to the following archivists: Rev. John J. Tierney of the archdiocese of Baltimore, Rev. John B. De Mayo of the archdiocese of Philadelphia, Rev. Francis B. Seymour of the archdiocese of Newark, Rev. Msgr. Robert J. Maher, of the diocese of Harrisburg, Rev. Vincent M. Eaton, S. S., of the Sulpician archives, Baltimore, and to Ms. M. J. Giltinan, of the American Catholic Historical Society. A special debt of gratitude is due to my Redemptorist confrere, Brother Barnabas Hipkins, the archivist of our Baltimore Province. For help in manuscript problems I am indebted to Mr. William E. Lind and Ms. Brenda Beasley of the National Archives, Washington, D. C., and especially to Mr. Paul G. Sifton, Specialist, Early American History, Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. Brochures and information regarding Pennsylvania parishes and institutions were supplied by Rev. Msgr. Joseph P. Dooley of Jim Thorpe, Rev. William Jones of Summit Hill, Mr. R. Gerald Schoelkopf, Rare Books and Archives of West Chester State College, Sr. Benigna Consolata, C.S.J., Secretary General of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Philadelphia, and by Ms. Katherine L. Coyle, Research Department of Delaware County Historical Society. The work was greatly helped by the cooperation of the librarians of the Theology-Philosophy-Canon Law Library of the Catholic University of America: Ms. Carolyn Lee, Mr. David Gilson and Mrs. Shirley Pototsky.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AAB = Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore
 AANY = Archives of the Archdiocese of New York
 ABPR = Archives of the Baltimore Province of the Redemptorists, Brooklyn, New York
 ACUA = Archives of the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.
 APF = Archivio della S. Congregazione de Propaganda Fide, Rome
 — Acta = Acta Sacrae Congregationis
 — LDB = Lettere e Decreti della Sacra Congregazione e Biglietti di Monsignor Segretario
 — SOCG = Scritture originali referite nelle Congregazioni Generali
 — SRC AC = Scritture referite nei Congressi. America Centrale, dal Canada all'Istmo di Panama
 — Udienze = Udienze di Nostro Signore
 AUND = Archives of the University of Notre Dame, South Bend, Indiana
 NCE = New Catholic Encyclopedia

DOCUMENTS

Letter 1

Philadelphia, April 29, 1852

Most Reverend Sir¹

The notice of the National Council², & the list of questions to be discussed at it have been handed to me yesterday, but the faculties from Rome have not yet arrived³. I shall write today yet to ask for them if they should not have been sent off.

I was yesterday at Manayunk⁴ to see Reverend Mulholland⁵.

¹ «Most Reverend Sir» was then an acceptable salutation in writing to a diocesan bishop or archbishop.

² The First Plenary Council of Baltimore was held from May 9 to May 20, 1852. See Peter Guilday, *A History of the Councils of Baltimore*, New York 1932, 81-99. This will be referred to as Guilday, *Baltimore Councils*. Interesting contemporary accounts are found in *The Catholic Mirror*, May 1, 8, 15, 22, 29, 1852. The Roman and American documents of the time often used the term, «National». The Acts can be found in *Concilium Plenarium totius Americae Septentrionalis Foederatae Baltimore habitum anno 1852*, Baltimore 1853. This will be referred to as *Concilium Plen. Balt.* I. See also Mansi-Martin-Petit, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, XLIV, 657-658. This will be referred to as Mansi, *Concilia*. For Neumann and the Council, see Curley, *Neumann*, 177, 200-206.

³ Neumann's episcopal faculties were granted in the audience of February 22, 1852. See APF, Udienze, Vol. 115 (1852), fol. 349r. They were sent on March 4, 1852. See APF, LDB, Vol. 341 (1852 I), fols. 288v-289r. These documents can be found in André Sampers, *Bischof Johann Nep. Neumanns Briefwechsel aufbewahrt in römischen kirchlichen Archiven 1852-1859*, in *Spic. Hist.* 24 (1976) 241-315. This will be referred to as, Sampers, *Neumanns Briefwechsel*. The story of Neumann's episcopal faculties is long and involved. Further material is found in letters 2 and 4.

⁴ The church of St. John the Baptist in Manayunk, Philadelphia County, was dedicated by Bishop Kenrick on April 4, 1831. See Eugene Murphy, *The First One Hundred Years of the Parish of St. John the Baptist, Manayunk, Philadelphia*, Philadelphia 1931. See D. Mahony, *Historical Sketches of the Catholic Churches and Institutions of Philadelphia*, Philadelphia 1895, 50-51. This will be referred to as Mahony, *Historical Sketches*. For the episcopal visitations to Manayunk, see *Note Book of the Venerable Bishop John Nepomucene Neumann*, in *American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, Records* 41 (1930) 165. Curley (*Neumann*, 447, n. 118) notes that this is better called the *Visitation Record*. It will be designated *Neumann, Visitation Record*. *The American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia Records* will be simply *Records*.

⁵ Father David Mulholland, born in Ireland, was ordained by Bishop Kenrick at St. Mary's on August 15, 1832. He died September 17, 1879. See Giuseppe Orlandi,

He said that he will get a surveyor from the City to measure the lot, the other two deeds are being prepared, & I will bring them with me to Baltimore. Most of the priests from N.[ew] Jersey, as far at least as it belongs to this Diocese⁶ expressed the wish, not to have a new bishop for themselves⁷, their reasons however appear to me rather weak. Most Reverend Hughes⁸ has made no mention of this affairs [*sic*] in the letter he sent to me the other day.

I commence now to feel somewhat more easy, at the beginning however I had some kind of homesickness⁹. The uniform kindness, which I experience every day from the Clergy as well as the laity gives me courage & confidence, so that I have no doubt, that we shall succeed ultimately in the building of the Cathedral¹⁰ as well, as in supporting the charitable institutions¹¹. I will leave here probably

La diocesi di Filadelfia nella relazione di Giovanni Nep. Neumann del 16 dic. 1854, in Spic. hist. 24 (1976), 54, n. 98. This will be referred to as Orlandi, Neumann Relazione; G. O'Donnell, St. Charles Seminary, Overbrook, Philadelphia 1964, 387. This will be referred to as O'Donnell, St. Charles.

⁶ When Neumann became bishop, the southern half of New Jersey from Trenton to Cape May — then called West Jersey — belonged to the diocese of Philadelphia. See *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory for 1853*, 180.

⁷ Here we have an early rumor about the setting up of the diocese of Newark. The First Plenary Council of Baltimore recommended to Rome the erection of the Diocese of Newark that would include all of New Jersey. The Philadelphia priests in Jersey wanted to remain priests of the diocese of Philadelphia. See Curley, *Neumann*, 205, 237; Guilday, *Baltimore Councils*, 171. For later developments, see Letter 4.

⁸ John Hughes (June 24, 1797-January 3, 1864), a Philadelphia priest, was made titular bishop of Basileopolis and coadjutor to the bishop of New York with the right of succession on January 7, 1838, bishop of New York on December 20, 1842 and archbishop on July 19, 1850. See F.D. Cohalon, *Hughes, John*, in NCE 7 (1967) 196-198. The latest biography is by Richard Shaw, *Dagger John, The Unquiet Life and Times of Archbishop John Hughes of New York*, New York 1977.

⁹ Neumann felt homesick for community life and for his Redemptorist confreres. He sought and received the assurance of Pope Pius IX that he did not cease to be a Redemptorist and a « member of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer » when he was made bishop. See Neumann to Pius IX, September 9, 1852, Philadelphia; Pius IX to Neumann, October 30, 1852, Rome. For the letters, see Sampers, *Neumanns Briefwechsel*, 261-263, 267-268. For Neumann's constant contact with his confreres at St. Peter's, Philadelphia, see the eight page pamphlet, published by the Neumann Center in Philadelphia, entitled *Blessed John Neumann Often Came to St. Peter's*.

¹⁰ Bishop Kenrick laid the cornerstone of the Philadelphia Cathedral of Sts. Peter and Paul on September 6, 1846. For the pastoral letter of June 29 that inaugurated the cathedral, see Nolan, *Kenrick*, 460-462. The cathedral was not dedicated until November 20, 1864. See Joseph Jackson, *Building Philadelphia's Cathedral*, in *Records* 56 (1945) 163-176; Mahony, *Historical Sketches*, 21-28. For Neumann and the cathedral, see Letters 2, 3, 4, 5, 16.

¹¹ These included in Philadelphia the House of Good Shepherd, St. Ann's Widow Asylum, St. Joseph's Female Orphan Asylum, and St. John's Male Orphan Asylum. St. Peter's Orphan Asylum was in Wilmington, Delaware. See *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory for 1853*, 184-185.

on Tuesday next, & spend a day or two in Lancaster & York; on Friday I probably will arrive in Baltimore¹².

I have the honour to remain with unfeigned esteem & devotion
Most Reverend Archbishop

Your most humble and obedient Servant
† John N. Neumann C.S.S.R.
Bishop of Philadelphia¹³

¹² In 1852, April 29 was a Thursday. The following Tuesday was May 4 and Friday was May 7. See *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory for 1852*, 21-23. This would get Neumann into Baltimore in time for the preparatory meeting of the Council held in the archbishop's house on Saturday, May 8. It was Rome's desire that Neumann's episcopal ordination be arranged in such a way that he would be able to participate in the Council as a bishop. See Frasoni to Kenrick, February 21, 1852, Rome; AAB, C-I-13. For Neumann and the Council, see Curley, *Neumann*, 200-206. The visits to Lancaster and York mentioned here were only visits in passing; they were not formal episcopal visitations. For these, see *Visitation Record*, 162-163, 190-191.

¹³ It is interesting to note the various ways in which Neumann signs his name.

Letter 2

J.M.J.¹

Philadelphia, August 25, 1852

Most Reverend Sir

I wrote to Rome about the time of the National Council² that I had not received yet the necessary faculties, & I asked to let me have them at the earliest convenience³, — but I have no answer yet, nor any faculties⁴. I directed the letter to Cardinal Franzoni [*sic*],

¹ Abbreviations for Jesus, Mary, Joseph. Many Redemptorists, following St. Alphonsus, often put this abbreviation at the top of their letters. Some also add A = Alphonsus.

² See Letter 1, note 2.

³ The letter was written on June 7, 1852. See Neumann to Cardinal Frasoni, APF, SRC AC vol. 16 (1852-1854), fols. 114r-115r; Sampers, *Neumanns Briefwechsel*, 255-258.

⁴ Propaganda sent another copy of the faculties in a letter of July 27, 1852. This was entrusted to Sylvester Horton Rosecrans, a graduate of the Propaganda College, who was returning to the United States. See Frasoni to Neumann, APF, LDB, vol. 342 (1852 II), fol. 748r; Sampers, *Neumanns Briefwechsel*, 258. Neumann

Prefect of the Propaganda⁵ — which may perhaps account for my want of success, as he is no more Prefect, but another Cardinal, whose name is if I am not mistaken, Brunelli. Being a good deal embarrassed by the frequent applications for dispensations etc. I take the liberty to ask Your Grace, to let me know the address to [*sic*] the actual Prefect. The above account I have from an Italian Priest, who passed through here a few days ago⁶.

As to the good Sisters of the Visitation⁷ I cannot express my grief at their leaving Philadelphia — It is however beyond my power to prevent them⁸. They have suffered much & with exemplary resignation — & will feel much relieved, to whatever of their houses they may have to return⁹. They might have succeeded by keeping a day-school or high-school in a part of the City more thickly settled by Catholics, but they objected to it on account of health etc. We shall afford them every facility, when they will leave. As to Germantown¹⁰, I did not like to advise them to go there though some (e.g. Mr. Lo-

never received this copy. Letters of September 3 and 9 show that he had not yet received the faculties. See Neumann to Frasoni, September 3, 1852, Philadelphia; Neumann to P. Brixius Queloz, C.S.S.R., September 9, 1852, Philadelphia. See Sampers, *Neumanns Briefwechsel*, 259-260, 264-266. Sylvester Rosecrans went on to become auxiliary bishop of Cincinnati in 1861 and first bishop of Columbus, Ohio, in 1868. See R.A. Bonnell, *Columbus, Diocese of*, in NCE 3 (1967) 1040-1041; Joseph B. Code, *Dictionary of the American Hierarchy, 1789-1964*, New York 1964, 254. This will be referred to as Code, *American Hierarchy*. For the arrival of the faculties, see Letter 4.

⁵ Neumann regularly spells the name with a z instead of an s = Frasoni. Cardinal Giacomo Filippo Frasoni (1775-1856) was named Prefect of Propaganda on November 21, 1834. In those days, and until 1908, the Church in the United States, as a missionary church, was subject to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith that was established on January 6, 1622. See R. Song, *The Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith*, Washington, D.C., 1961.

⁶ Obviously, this is nothing but a rumor. Cardinal Brunelli (1795-1861) became Prefect of the Congregation of Studies in 1854. See *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 14 (1972) 556.

⁷ The Philadelphia Visitation Convent was founded from the Georgetown Convent under Bishop Kenrick on February 15, 1848. They originally settled at Eleventh and Spruce Streets. The convent and Young Ladies Academy of the Visitation later moved to Broad and Poplar Streets. See Nolan, *Kenrick*, 388.

⁸ The Visitation Sisters returned to Georgetown in the fall of 1852. They were plagued with debts. The trouble was the location of the Academy. It was too close to the city for boarders and too far out and inconvenient for the day students. Furthermore, as Neumann says later, they were not in a neighborhood thickly settled by Catholics. See Curley, *Neumann*, 212; *Catholic Herald*, September 2, 1852; *Catholic Instructor*, September 4, 1852. See also Letters 3 and 4.

⁹ There were five houses in the archdiocese of Baltimore, one in Baltimore, Catonsville, Frederick, and two in Washington (Georgetown and Tenth and G Streets). See *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory for 1853*, 66-67.

¹⁰ The cornerstone for the first church in Germantown, St. Vincent de Paul, conducted by the Vincentians, was blessed by Bishop Kenrick on September 2, 1849. See Neumann, *Visitation Record*, 20; Mahony, *Historical Sketches*, 90-91.

pez¹¹) thought much of it. The general feeling of the people in Pennsylvania is not yet so favorable to religious institutions as in Maryland¹², and the Ladies of the Sacred Heart¹³ even will have to overcome some difficulties, before they will prosper.

I get now more and more accustomed to my station — it is laborious & troublesome indeed — Passion Sunday was an ominous beginning¹⁴.

With the Cathedral we go on slowly, though steadily, according to Your own plan, — I am convinced now that to get through with it, it is necessary not to increase the debt, untill [*sic*] the building is nearly finished¹⁵.

Wishing Your Grace good health and every Blessing from heaven « *ad multos annos* »¹⁶ I have the honour to call myself

Most Reverend Sir

Your devoted Servant and Son
John N. Neumann C.S.S.R.
Bishop of Philadelphia

¹¹ In the words of Archbishop Kenrick, Mr. Lopez, a prominent Catholic of Philadelphia, was « Spanish-born, laudable for his piety, but somewhat obstinate ». See Kenrick to Barnabò, October 4, 1858, Baltimore, in APF, SRC, AC, vol. 18 (1858-1860), fols. 339-340. See G. Orlandi, *G.N. Neumann e i vescovi degli U.S.A. nelle lettere dell'Archivio di Propaganda Fide 1852-1860*, in *Spic. hist.* 24 (1976) 403-406. This will be referred to as Orlandi, *Neumann e i vescovi*. See Letters 4 and 23-24.

¹² At that time the diocese of Philadelphia had four colleges for men and one academy for girls. On the other hand, Baltimore had five colleges for men and six academies for girls. See *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory for 1853*, 63-69, 181-182.

¹³ The Ladies of the Sacred Heart = The Madams of the Sacred Heart = The Society of the Sacred Heart. They came to the diocese in 1842 and opened an academy for girls at McSherrystown, near the Maryland border. In 1846 they went to Philadelphia for a year and then on to Torresdale where they opened « Eden Hall ». See *The Centenary of Eden Hall: 1847-1947*, in *Records* 57 (1946) 145-159; Louise Callan, *The Society of the Sacred Heart in North America*, New York 1937, 360-379. For Neumann and Eden Hall, see Curley, *Neumann*, 213, 339, 383; Callan, *op. cit.* 379-380.

¹⁴ Passion Sunday, March 28, 1852, was the day of Neumann's episcopal ordination. He chose as his motto the words *Passio Christi conforta me* - Passion of Christ strengthen me, words from the celebrated prayer, *Anima Christi*. See Curley, *Neumann*, 177-179.

¹⁵ With the vast increase in immigrants, the founding of new parishes, the building of schools and churches, the on-going construction of the cathedral was a great strain on Neumann and the diocese. When he arrived, the cathedral treasury was bare. Neumann highlighted the importance of the cathedral in his first Pastoral Letter issued the week after his arrival. The Circular to the clergy, issued a month later on May 4, urged the priests to make this cause their own. He called a meeting of the committee and reappointed Father Edmund Waldron as the supervisor of the work of construction. From the beginning he laid down the fast rule that the work would go on only as the money came in. See Curley, *Neumann*, 199, 228; Mahony, *Historical Sketches*, 26-27; *The Catholic Herald*, June 17, July 15, 1852; Berger-Grimm, *Neumann*, 381-385.

¹⁶ The Latin for the English toast: « For many years ».

Letter 3

Philadelphia, September 13, 1852

Most Reverend Sir

Though Your notification of the past conduct of the Reverend Mr. D.¹ has surprised me very painfully, I feel very grateful for this sign of Confidence, as many serious & evil consequences must inevitably have followed. I noticed in him [a] want of ecclesiastical modesty, but I ascribed [it] to natural frankness and a certain joviality, which would not stain a character otherwise steady & well regulated. His knowledge of the clergy and Missions through the whole Dio-

¹ Because Neumann regularly chose his consultors from the pastors of the city of Philadelphia, this could be Father Daniel Francis Devitt, the only one then whose name began with a D. His life was divided into two periods, from his birth 1812/1816 until 1858, and from 1858 until his death in 1874. After studying at the Propaganda in Rome from 1832 to 1834, he entered St. Charles Seminary as its first native vocation. After his ordination on September 21, 1839, he was assigned to found St. Patrick's parish. In 1855 and 1856 there was tension between Devitt and Neumann. There were rumors about his morals and the bishop did his best to admonish him. Furthermore, Devitt opposed Neumann's regulations regarding parochial and personal finances. He stirred up trouble among the clergy and laity, going as far as to publish anonymous letters in the newspapers. In the summer of 1856 he left St. Patrick's and lived for a year with a widow in the neighboring diocese of Newark. Neumann was overjoyed when Devitt returned repentant in 1857. With letters of recommendation, Devitt went to Rome, made a retreat with the Jesuits and wrote Neumann that his confessor advised him to offer himself to some bishop for work. Although Neumann thought that Devitt should not work in the United States, he was ready to grant dismissorial letters as soon as he heard from the bishop ready to accept him. For this phase of his life, see Kenrick to Bedini, July 23, 1856, Baltimore; Kenrick to Barnabò, August 25, 1856, Baltimore, in APF, Acta, vol. 220 (1856) fols. 674-675, 679; Neumann to Barnabò, April 11, 1858, Philadelphia, in APF, Udienze, vol. 129 (1858 II), fol. 966, a-d. The letters can be found in Orlandi, *Neumann e i vescovi*, 366-369; Sampers, *Neumanns Briefwechsel*, 283-290. See also *A Century of Faith. Church of St. Patrick, Philadelphia*, Philadelphia 1939, 15-20; O'Donnell, *St. Charles*, 14, 310, 375, 387; Curley, *Neumann*, 286-288, 350.

In 1858 Devitt returned to America and contacted Bishop Thaddeus Amat of Monterey-Los Angeles whom he knew when he was rector of the Philadelphia Seminary. He began working at Santa Barbara, California, in 1859. In 1861 he became pastor at Visalia that took in the entire San Joaquin Valley. His many zealous years there won for him the title, «Apostle of the Valley». He carried on his apostolate there under the name of Daniel Francis Dade. For reasons of health he had to give up this apostolate in 1872 and associated himself with a group of Precious Blood Fathers who were attempting to establish their Congregation in California. After first working at their parish in Eureka, he joined the staff of their St. Joseph's College at Rohnerville and became its president. It was here that he died, still a diocesan priest, on April 2, 1874. In a letter to Barnabò, probably written in 1872, Archbishop Wood of Philadelphia gives a summary of the case and says that Father Devitt — the name he used — desires to join the Precious Blood Fathers. The obstacle to his desire was the title of his ordination, namely, of serving on the missions perpetually. Wood goes on to second Devitt's request. For the California phase

cese, & his willingness to do me any service that I asked of him², made me take him into the Episcopal Council, which I attempted to form according to what was recommended at [the] National Council³. I noticed however soon enough, that he was not at all free from party spirit, & that by following blindly his advices [*sic*] I might be used as a tool to carry out purposes, diametrically opposite to my own. The Very R.[everend] Mr. S.[ourin]⁴ otherwise very good & zealous tries to keep out of harms [*sic*] way, & so the « Episcopal Council » proves this time a failure⁵, & I will have to help myself the best I can. I will try to remove Mr. D. from his present situation as soon as I shall get an opportunity⁶.

of his life, see Sister M. Thomas Hampton, O.P., *Visalia: The Mother Parish of the San Joaquin Valley and Its First Pastor: The Reverend Francis Dade*. This is a typed Master's dissertation, The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. 1946; Wood to Barnabò, in APF, SRC, AC, vol. 24 (1872-1873) fol. 574; Orlandi, *Neumann e i vescovi*, 367, n. 4; William E. Campbell, *One Hundred Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of St. Patrick's*, Philadelphia 1965, 21-24. The publication of the documents by Orlandi and Sampers fills in the lacuna between the Philadelphia and California phases of Devitt's priesthood that was such a puzzle to Hampton.

² In 1852 Devitt was an enthusiastic backer of Neumann. When Neumann's plans for parochial schools were announced, Devitt brought in prominent lecturers to give talks in the parish hall. He also built a three story parochial school that accommodated 800 pupils. See Curley, *Neumann*, 209-210; *The Catholic Herald*, September 16, 1852; *A Century of Faith. St. Patrick's, Philadelphia*, 103-104.

³ The sixth decree of the First Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1852 exhorted bishops to choose a council of learned and prudent men as consultors who would assist them in the administration of the diocese. The Council also recommended a monthly meeting of the bishop and consultors. See *Concilium Plen. Balt.* I, 45; Mansi, *Concilia*, XLIV, 674-675; Guilday, *Baltimore Councils*, 178.

⁴ Father Edward Sourin, S.J., (1808-1888), a native-born Philadelphian, was ordained as a diocesan priest by Bishop Kenrick at St. Mary's on August 5, 1832. He later became secretary to Kenrick and the administrator of the diocese when the latter departed for Baltimore. He preached at Neumann's episcopal ordination, arranged for his reception into Philadelphia, became his Vicar General. He entered the Society of Jesus on November 11, 1855, was professed August 15, 1866, and died at Baltimore May 20, 1888. See Orlandi, *Neumann Relazione*, 51, n. 2; O'Donnell, *St. Charles*, 387; Curley, *Neumann*, 180-183, 197, 289, 315; R. Mendizábal, *Catalogus defunctorum in Renata Societate Jesu ab a. 1814 ad a. 1870*, Rome 1972, 6/818, p. 122. This will be referred to as Mendizábal, *Catalogus defunctorum*. For his funeral sermon on Neumann, see *Obsequies of the Rt. Rev. John Nep. Neumann*, Philadelphia 1860, 8-10.

⁵ Neumann deserves credit for carrying out the recommendations of the Council. Actually, « only few dioceses followed the injunction. The Second Plenary Council (1866) also advised it, but the Third (1884) found it necessary to command that the system be put immediately into practice ». See Guilday, *Baltimore Councils*, 179.

⁶ Neumann did not act on that. Actually, Devitt was still named as a consultor in the Fifth Synod of Philadelphia held in October 3-5, 1853. This was the Synod with the regulations on finances that irritated some of the clergy, including Devitt. Speaking of the current clerical unrest in Philadelphia, Kenrick mentions clerical avarice. See *Constitutiones Dioecesanæ in Synodis Philadelphiensibus annis 1832, 1842, 1847, 1853, 1855, et 1857 latae et promulgatae*, Philadelphia 1881, 26. This will be referred to as *Constitutiones Dioec. Phil.* See Kenrick to Barnabò, August 25, 1856, Baltimore, APF, Acta, vol. 220 (1856), fol. 679; Orlandi, *Neumann e i vescovi*, 368-369.

I made different proposals to the Sisters of the Visitation to keep them here, particularly I desired [that] they might establish themselves in a more central part of the City and to open a high school — they certainly would have succeeded much better as [*sic*] at their first trial [attempt] — but it was all in vain — the Reverend F.[ather] Curley⁷ has made them homesick, & I could not but consent.

Next week the collections will commence through the whole Diocese for the new Cathedral. I have engaged six of our Clergymen, to collect from house to house⁸. If they are successful as I hope we shall be able to carry the front up to the square before the winter⁹.

I have spoken several times to Mr. Frenaye¹⁰ to have the deeds made out to be signed by You, but this good old Gentleman is so forgetful, I hope in a few days he will be ready.

I beg You to accept the sentiments of sincere veneration and affection of

Most Reverend Sir

Your most devoted Servant and Son

† John N. Neumann C.S.S.R.

Bishop of Philadelphia

⁷ James Curley, S.J. (1796-1889), a native of Ireland, entered the Society of Jesus on September 29, 1827 and was admitted to final vows as a spiritual cooperator on February 2, 1841. His long life is associated with Georgetown College where he was « one of the most interesting figures in the history of the college ». He had the observatory built in 1843, inaugurated astronomy courses, delighted in teaching undergraduates and in acting as chaplain to the Visitation Sisters and Academy, a post he held for fifty years. He died July 24, 1889. See Joseph Durkin, *Georgetown University, The Middle Years, 1840-1900*, Washington, D.C. 1963, 1, 17-20, 138-139; Mendizábal, *Catalogus defunctorum*, 7/62, p. 127.

⁸ This was the method that Neumann devised for gathering funds in 1852. For later methods, see Curley, *Neumann*, 228-229, 257-259, 279, 317. See also the annual reports in the *Catholic Herald*.

⁹ Neumann found the rear and side walls erected up to the roof. He had to begin working on the front. He speaks of carrying it up to the square. This does not include the entablatures, pillars, clerestory, dome, etc. See Curley, *Neumann*, 228 and the picture at p. 233. In 1850 Kenrick told his brother, Peter Richard, the Archbishop of St. Louis, that « the cost of the front will be very great ». See Francis Tourscher, *The Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence*, Philadelphia, 1920, 309. This will be cited as *Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence*.

¹⁰ Marc Antony Frenaye, 1783-1873, a native of Santo Domingo who was educated in France, became a successful Philadelphia merchant. He was a great benefactor to the diocese. It was his generous loan of \$ 30,000 that enabled Kenrick to start St. John's and have a church under the bishop and not in the control of lay trustees. His marriage ended in separation. From the early 1830s he lived at St. John's and acted as the diocesan procurator under Kenrick and Neumann. See *Marc Antony Frenaye. A Sketch*, in *Records* 38 (1927) 132-143; Tourscher, *The Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence*, VIII. See the autobiographical data in *Records* 13 (1902) 454-456.

Letter 4

Philadelphia, November 16, 1852

Most Reverend Sir

I have been absent from the City for several weeks on a Visitation of the northern and eastern Missions of this Diocese¹ & did not receive Your favour but Saturday last on my return.

I will write today to Reverend Manahan² at Mauch-Chunk³ & I am confident that Your suggestions will be carried out with despatch. We have made several attempts to sell the lot in West-Philadelphia⁴ but we were not offered a sum which in our estimation should be paid for it. I had asked repeatedly of Mr. Frenaye to have the

¹ In the fall of 1852 Neumann was visiting sections of the diocese that now comprise the dioceses of Allentown (1861) and Scranton (1868). In Allentown he visited Beaver Meadows (Oct. 4), Easton (Oct. 3), Mauch Chunk (Oct. 15), Minersville (Oct. 10), Nesquehoning (Oct. 6), Rockport (Oct. 15), Summit Hill (Oct. 7), Tamaqua (Oct. 8). See Neumann, *Visitation Record* 5, 17, 166, 169, 171, 179, 184. In the diocese of Scranton he visited Archbald (Oct. 24), Dushore (Nov. 6), Honesdale (Oct. 24), Milford (Nov. 9), Mount Pleasant (Oct. 27), Silver Lake (Nov. 1), Susquehanna (Oct. 29), Towanda (Nov. 4), Wilkes-Barre (Oct. 17). See *Ibid.* 3, 17, 25, 169, 170, 181, 182, 184, 190. The October 17, 1963 issue of *The Catholic Light* published the data on the diocese of Scranton from the *Visitation Record*. See also John P. Gallagher, *A Century of History. The Diocese of Scranton. 1868-1968*, Scranton 1968, 63-79. This will be referred to as Gallagher, *Diocese of Scranton*. The Historical Edition of *The Catholic Light* for 1916 contains a great deal of material.

² Father Ambrose Manahan, a native of Utica, New York, was ordained at Rome on August 29, 1841. A study of the *Metropolitan Catholic Almanacs* (1842-1845) shows him working in the diocese of New York. Those of 1846-1852 list him as working in Boston. In 1852 he joined the diocese of Philadelphia and he was pastor at Mauch Chunk. On February 7, 1853 he returned to New York where he took over Ward's Island. While in Rome he obtained his doctorate in theology and was always a studious student and researcher. He published *The Catholic Church and Naturalism*, New York 1853. This was a lecture published as a thirty-two page brochure. His *magnum opus* is entitled, *Triumph of the Catholic Church in the Early Age*, a book of 572 pages that was published at New York in 1859, at Boston in 1860 and again at New York in 1866. He died, probably at the age of fifty-three, in 1867. Besides the *Almanacs*, see *The National Union Catalog. Pre 1956 Imprints*, vol. 358, 1974, 230-231. See also the data in the parish history of Mauch Chunk and Summit Hill as noted in letters 14, 15, 18. For the court cases mentioned in this letter, see the same letters.

³ The borough of Mauch Chunk was founded in 1815. In 1954 Mauch Chunk merged with East Mauch Chunk, across the Lehigh River, and was named Jim Thorpe in honor of the celebrated Indian athlete and Olympic champion who was buried there. See *Jim Thorpe* in *Collier's Encyclopedia* 13 (1977) 588-589. For the parish of the Immaculate Conception there, see letter 14.

⁴ The cornerstone of St. James' parish, the first to be set up in West Philadelphia, was laid by Kenrick on June 14, 1851. The church was blessed by Neumann the following year. See Curley, *Neumann*, 449; Mahony, *Historical Sketches*, 94-95.

deed made out & sent to You, but he is getting more and more forgetful⁵.

A circular will appear in the next *Herald*⁶ to the same intent as Yours in [the] last *Mirror*⁷ — to help my unhappy namesake out of the scraps⁸. I will write to Cardinal Wiseman⁹ this week yet.

We are again at work at [*sic*] the Cathedral. I hope the collection for it will bring [in] about \$ 5,000, & will enable me, to keep a few men engaged at it during the winter. The people commence to show a little more interest for it than when I arrived & the Clergy through the Diocese promised to make a more general and generous effort in their respective Congregations. During the next summer I intend to carry up the front before we put the roof on — which might probably be done next year¹⁰.

⁵ This is the second reference to Frenaye in the short space of two months in Neumann's first year in Philadelphia. He is already speaking of the forgetfulness and age of the diocesan procurator. This only added to Neumann's financial worries. Frenaye, who lived on to be 90, was then 69 years old.

⁶ *The Catholic Herald*, the official diocesan paper of Philadelphia, was founded under Bishop Kenrick in 1833. Its beginning is linked with the celebrated Hughes-Breckenridge debate. John Breckenridge, the secretary and general agent of the Board of Education of the Presbyterian Church, published his articles in *The Presbyterian* of Philadelphia. Father John Hughes, later bishop and archbishop of New York, published his rebuttals in *The Catholic Herald*. In 1857 it became *The Catholic Herald and Visitor*. See *Notes on the Catholic Herald*, in *Records* 22 (1911) 108-109, 157-159; E. Willing-H. Hatzfeld, *Catholic Serials of the Nineteenth Century in the United States. A Descriptive Bibliography and Union List*. 2 ser., pt. 5, The Catholic University of America, 1964, 23-27. The circular (see n. 8) appeared in the issue of November 25, 1852. See also the issue of November 11.

⁷ *The Catholic Mirror*, 1850-1908, was the paper of the archdiocese of Baltimore and nearby dioceses. See Wilging-Hatzfeld, *op. cit.* 2 ser., pt. 11, 1965, 14-19. For the circular, see the next note.

⁸ Neumann is referring to Cardinal John Henry Newman of England. Incidentally, the reference to Newman as his namesake may indicate that Neumann pronounced his own name Newman. Neumann is here talking about the «Newman Fund». When the decision in the Achilli vs. Newman trial for libel went against Newman, Catholics in Europe and America took up collections to help pay the exorbitant fine. See Wilfrid Ward, *The Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman*, 2 vols. London 1912, I, 275-304. In the United States, there was a meeting of prelates at Louisville, Kentucky, on October 1, 1852. They invited the clergy and laity to contribute to the cause. Kenrick's appeal, dated October, 13, appeared in *The Catholic Mirror* of October 16 and in every issue until January 1, 1853. The money collected was channeled through him. The phrase, «out of the scraps», is Neumann's. One senses the meaning from the context. There is no such English phrase. Perhaps he is thinking of the word «scrape». The phrase. «to pinch and scrape», indicates one who can scarcely manage.

⁹ When the hierarchy was restored in England in 1850, Nicholas Patrick Wiseman (1802-1865) was made Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. Two years later, he held the First Provincial Council where Newman gave his famous sermon, «The Second Spring». See B. Fothergill, *Wiseman, Nicholas Patrick*, in *NCE* 14 (1967) 976-977. There is no trace of such a letter.

¹⁰ Here Neumann shows himself extremely sanguine. Actually, the raising of the cross on the finished roof did not take place until September 1859. See Curley, *Neumann*, 393.

I have received my faculties from Rome two or three weeks ago and intend to write to Cardinal Franzoni [*sic*] this week¹¹. All the Clergymen in the southern part of N.[ew] J.[ersy] are desirous to remain united with this Diocese and have expressed the wish that things might remain as they are¹². For my part it is my sincere wish [that] the Diocese might be made as small as possible & it was no little consolation to me, to think of having the Pennsylvania part divided into two or three, at any time when You and the other Bishops of the Province would think it feasible¹³. I will write one of these days to Rome & recommend as far as I am allowed Your views on the New Jersey affair, which are mine too¹⁴.

I would beg You, Most Reverend Archbishop, to let me have the 5th Volume of the Life of St. Alphonsus¹⁵ for our Circulating Library¹⁶, where it is wanted.

I have received several appeals of the more influential Catholics of Philadelphia, particularly from the female scholars [students] of the Visitation Sisters, to invite them back, to open a High-School in a central part of the City. I had proposed it several times to the Superior before they left, & had offered every necessary aid to carry

¹¹ There is no record of a letter to Cardinal Franzoni at this time. The faculties first sent in February only reached Neumann in late October or early November. See above, Letters 1 and 2.

¹² According to Curley, *Neumann*, 231, when the new diocese of Newark was set up in 1853, the priests in Southern Jersey remained members of the diocese of Philadelphia, « though four of them were temporarily loaned » to Newark. A study of the *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac* (1853-1860) shows that more than four were working there when Newark was established, that some did return, and that some continued to stay in the new diocese.

¹³ This is a very important statement as background for the problems of dividing Philadelphia in 1855 and 1858, problems to be treated later. It shows how early the plan was in Neumann's mind. Neumann found the vastness of the diocese a difficulty in living up to his pastoral ideals.

¹⁴ Because of the proximity of Newark to New York and because Trenton was more centrally located in the State of New Jersey, Kenrick would have preferred to see Trenton chosen as the site of the new diocese. Neumann agreed with this view regarding territory that once, partially, belonged to his diocese. See *Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence*, 339.

¹⁵ Neumann is referring here to the fifth volume of the English translation of Tannoja, St. Alphonsus' first biographer. See Antonio Maria Tannoja, CSSR, *The Life of S. Alphonsus Maria de Ligorio, Bishop of St. Agata of the Goths, and Founder of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer*, 5 vols., London, Richardson and Son, 1848-1849. See *The National Union Catalogue, Pre-1956 Imprints* 582 (1978) 635. A one volume digest of this was published by an anonymous Redemptorist at Baltimore (John Murphy & Co.) in 1855. Some nineteenth-century data can be found in M. De Meulemeester, CSSR, *Bibliographie générale des écrivains rédemptoristes*, 3 vols., Louvain 1933-1939.

¹⁶ On his way to the United States and from his earliest days here Neumann often wrote about the need for reading material and especially devotional literature in

it out, but she found it altogether impracticable¹⁷. I have spoken to Mr. Lopez, & he will interest himself for [*sic*] it¹⁸.

I am confident that You will frequently remember my weakness and pray for

Your most humble and obedient Servant
 † John Nep. Neumann C.S.S.R.
 Bishop of Philadelphia

the letters to his folks and friends. It was most vital for the Catholics who did not have their own church and priest. Neumann would have them gather on their own for a service, part of which was reading this literature. See e.g., in ABPR, N, Neumann to his parents, February 28, 1836, Strassburg; Neumann to Dean Endres, June 27, 1836, New York. See especially, Neumann to Andreas Räss, May 30, 1837, Cayuga Creek. The German is printed in *Der Katholik* 66 (1837) 275-280. The English translation is found in *Social Justice Review* 27 (1934-1935) 130-131, 177-178. As bishop, he encouraged circulating libraries. See Curley, *Neumann*, 215.

¹⁷ See Letters 2, 3, 6.

¹⁸ See Letters 2, 23, 24.

Letter 5

[Early January 1853]¹

Most Reverend Sir

In the list of faculties which I have copied from Your circular I miss several, which had been granted to me on February 22 of the [*sic*] last year², & which I was allowed to communicate to the Clergymen on mission³. I hope that they remain valid, unless they are

¹ For the dating, see n. 2.

² As previously seen, Neumann's faculties were granted in the audience of February 22, 1852. This shows that the present letter was written in 1853. For further data, see n. 12.

³ In a letter to Pope Pius IX, Neumann speaks of the societies he established «in every mission of the diocese of Philadelphia». See Neumann to Pius IX, April 5, 1858, Philadelphia, in APF, Udienze, vol. 129 (1858 II), fols. 999r-1000v. Until 1908 the Church in the United States was still a missionary church subject to the jurisdiction of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. In that setup, one spoke of missions, not parishes. These missions automatically became parishes when the country was placed under the common law of the Church. See S. Woywood-C. Smith,

modified by the new faculties or expressly abrogated as the cases of the *bull* « *Sacramentum Poenitentia* » [sic]⁴. Should this my opinion be wrong or not safe enough, I beg You most humbly to let me know it [sic].

I take the liberty to transmit to You, Most Reverend Sir, our contributions for the « *Newmanns* [sic] Fund »⁵. Mr. Michael Magrath⁶ gave \$ 50.00. Father Sourin⁷ \$ 10.00. Reverend Mr. O'Connor⁸ \$ 5.00. The rest is partly from me, partly from different persons who offered some trifle. It is a difficult thing to make people contribute liberally to this fund — they regard it usually as money to be thrown away.

The work at the Cathedral is going slowly but steadily — The collection raised last fall brought in about \$ 7,000, & will enable me yet to build up the front & the corresponding side-walls to about 40 feet high [sic]⁹. The stone [sic] are nearly all cut to bring it that high & will be set as soon as the weather will allow it. The Catholics here seem to show again more interest & courage with regard to it, and the Clergy as well as the Layity [sic] promise to make a better collection next Summer. It will however take us four or five years, before we shall have the joy to see it finished & being consecrated by You, Most Reverend Archbishop¹⁰. We pray to God daily

A Practical Commentary on the Code of Canon Law, 2 vols. in one, New York 1952, I, 97. This will be referred to as Woywood-Smith, *Commentary on the Code*. Furthermore, « clergymen on mission » designated those who were engaged in pastoral work in contradistinction to those engaged in teaching, See Letter 10, n. 2.

⁴ The bull *Sacramentum Poenitentiae* was issued by Pope Benedict XIV on June 1, 1741. It designated certain reserved sins and their accompanying penalties dealing with clerical chastity. See Benedict XIV, *Bullarium* I, Prati 1845, 65-68.

⁵ This is the Cardinal Newman Fund mentioned in the previous letter. The contributions are listed in every issue of the *Catholic Mirror* from October 30 to the end of 1852. They are also listed in the issues of January 1, 15, February 5 and March 19, 1853. Philadelphia's contribution is not printed there.

⁶ The charter of St. Charles Seminary, Philadelphia, issued on April 13, 1838, called for nine trustees, five of whom were laymen. Mr. Michael Magrath was a lay member of the Board from 1838 to 1849. See O'Donnell, *St. Charles*, 282; *Philadelphia Catholic Historical Briefs*, in *Records* 22 (1911) 44.

⁷ For Father Sourin, see Letter 3, n. 4.

⁸ Father Richard O'Connor, born in Ireland in 1814, was educated at St. Charles Seminary. He was ordained June 6, 1846 and died January 31, 1883. Neumann thought highly of him. He proposed his name for bishop of Pottsville and made him one of the Executors of his will. See O'Donnell, *St. Charles*, 388; Orlandi, *Neumann Relazione*, 50, n. 9; *Neumann e i vescovi*, 357; André Sampers, *The Document of the Execution of St. John Neumann's Will*, in *Spic. hist.* 25 (1977) 70.

⁹ As is evident, the collection was \$2000 above Neumann's first calculation. See Letter 4.

¹⁰ With the passage of time and more experience, Neumann's expectations for the completion of the cathedral became more realistic. The remark about Arch-

that He may prosper this important undertaking, and that He may preserve You in good health until it is finished, & many happy years after it.

Mr. Johnson, the Quaker, leaves me no out. He wants to marry, & [to] insist on doing it at once. But having been declared « *non compos mentis* »¹¹ his matrimony might be declared legally null, — though he has at present sense enough — and a Priest might perhaps be made to suffer. A few days ago his mother promised him to get him restored to his full rights in a few months, & he has given up his project for that time.

I beg God, to grant to You a happy new year¹², & the fulness of His graces for so many marks of benevolence towards me.

Please to accept the assurance or the unfeigned submission with which I remain

Most Reverend Sir

Your most humble Servant
 † John N. Neumann C.S.S.R.
 Bishop of Philadelphia

bishop Kenrick shows Neumann's mind. In all probability he would have preferred to have Kenrick at the ceremony of the raising of the cross on the cathedral in 1859. However, Bishop Wood, the coadjutor, had been entrusted with the construction of the cathedral and he invited Bishop Martin John Spalding to preach. For the ceremony, see Curley, *Neumann*, 393.

¹¹ A technical Latin phrase that means « not of sound mind ».

¹² Note 2 showed that the letter was written in 1853. This remark shows it was written early in January, early enough to still speak of happiness in the new year.

Letter 6

Cascade¹, Lycoming County, Sept. 28, 1853

Most Reverend Sir

I expect to be back in Philadelphia about the middle of next month², when I will at once propose Your suggestions to our Clergy

¹ At present the church of the Assumption at Cascade is a mission of St. Aloysius parish, Ralston, in the diocese of Scranton. See *Official Catholic Directory A.D. 1978*, 862; Gallagher, *Diocese of Scranton*, 552.

² During September and into the middle of October, Neumann visited Belle-

& [the] more influential Catholics. I wish from my heart [that] some provision could be made for those poor converts — it will prove a most serious obstacle to the conversion of some, who would not enter on [*sic*] the Priesthood³.

The German Catechism, approved of by the National Council, had [*sic*] been published about a month ago by Mr. Murphy in Baltimore⁴. I wonder why he did not send a copy to every Pastor of a German congregation.

Mr. Bolmar wishes to dispose of his College & adjoining grounds (7 acres) at West-Chester⁵. He asked me whether the Visitation-Nuns

fonte (Sept. 8), Blossburg (Oct. 20), Cascade (Sept. 28), Chambersburg (Sept. 14), Carlisle (Sept. 8), Lewistown (Sept. 16), Lock Haven (Sept. 21), Nipponese Valley (Sept. 25), Ridgebury (Oct. 5), Troy (Oct. 9), White Haven (Oct. 16). See *Visitation Record*, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 164, 165, 173, 186, 187.

³ Neumann is here referring to the Protestant ministers who were becoming Catholics and to others who might be held back because they could not function as priests unless they renounced marriage. The most famous of the converts was Bishop Levi Silliman Ives who went to Rome and made a formal submission to Pius IX on Christmas Day 1852. Rome directed that provision be made for them. Kenrick showed himself extremely interested in the cause. Neumann is here responding to the suggestion of Kenrick for help. Kenrick had two plans: a converts' fund and help in providing them with occupations. See E. F. Leonard, *Ives Levi Silliman*, in *NCE* 7 (1967) 776-777. For samples of Kenrick's interest, see *The Catholic Mirror*, April 16, 1852; January 8, Feb. 5, 12, 1853. See also the many references in the letters to his brother, Peter Richard Kenrick, Archbishop of St. Louis, in the *Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence*, 323, 351, 357, 386, 394, 403, 447, 464, 469.

⁴ At the First Plenary Council in 1852 Neumann was commissioned to choose or write a German catechism and to submit it to the German-speaking bishops and to Archbishop Kenrick. The bishops approved the larger and smaller catechisms that he had previously published anonymously. These, along with the decrees of the Council, were brought to Rome at the end of June by the Bishop of Chicago, James O. Van der Veldt, S.J. On July 7 the Secretary of Propaganda sent them to Father Jan Roothaan, the General Superior of the Jesuits, with the request that one of the priests review them. On September 26 Propaganda informed Kenrick that the catechisms were approved. They were then published in 1853 under Neumann's name by John Murphy and Company at Baltimore with the statement that they were issued «with the approval of the National Council of Baltimore». See Neumann to Franconi, June 7, 1852, Philadelphia, in *APF, SRC, AC*, vol. 16 (1852-1854), fols. 114r-115r. See Sampers, *Neumanns Briefwechsel*, 257, nn. 26-27; Curley, *Neumann*, 161, 204; De Meulemeester, *Bibliographie*, II, 294-295, III, 358; Mary Charles Bryce, *An Accomplished Catechist: John Nepomucene Neumann*, in *The Living Light* 14 (1977), 327-337.

⁵ Anthony Bolmar (1797-1861). A native of France, Jean Claude Antoine Brunin de Bolmar was born in Bourbon Lancy, Lower Burgundy, in 1797. In 1828, after traveling in Europe since 1826, he settled in Philadelphia. Because of the outbreak of Asiatic Cholera in 1832 he moved to the Borough of West Chester, where he was in charge of the West Chester Academy from 1834 to 1840. In 1840 he bought Mrs. Phelps Young Ladies' Boarding School and converted it into a school for young men and boys. While he was in France in 1859 on business matters, the school was closed. His health prevented him from reopening it on his return. He died February 21, 1861. Besides teaching, he also published works dealing with the French language and culture. See J. Smith Futhey-Gilbert Cope, *A History of Chester County, Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia 1881, 305, 484; *The National Union Catalog. Pre 1956 Imprints*, 64 (1969) 698; 65 (1970) 1-2.

would not purchase it. He wants \$ 10,000 cash & \$ 20,000 at a time most convenient to themselves <...> sk⁶, them whether they would like to hear <...> can do hardly anything — & they are probably not yet rich enough, to think of another experiment [attempt]. I would otherwise be very glad if they would make an establishment. I have been looking for a house for them in the City but have not succeeded yet to find one⁷.

The Catholic settlement here commences to prosper⁸. There are at present 46 Catholic families settled, & there is every prospect for a greater number. Mr. Kelly & his good wife ask me to send You their most profound respects. At Blossburgh⁹ however all Catholics have left, with the exception of some 5 or 6 families. In these mining districts it would be the most expedient to erect great temporary tents, & to break them off [*sic*] when the coal fails or when the Companies give out¹⁰. Shamokin¹¹ & Wiconisco¹² have at pre-

⁶ The reason for the lacuna is this: This is a one page letter. Someone cut out Neumann's signature on the verso side and this destroyed these lines on the recto side.

⁷ Neumann continued to interest himself in the return of the Visitation Sisters. In 1853 he told them how much they were needed because of the number of girls who desire an academy education. He also mentions that he is looking for a suitable building, one that is big enough and not burdened with debts. His aim was to prevent another Philadelphia disappointment. The following year he told them that they were not forgotten, that many desire their return and ask him about this. See ABPR, N, Visitation Sisters, Neumann to Much Respected Sisters, December 7, 1853; Neumann to Dear Sisters, February 21, 1854, Philadelphia.

⁸ The original church of St. Mary of the Assumption, 30 x 40 feet, was built in 1850. Kenrick refers to it as St. Mary in Cascade Township in Lycoming County. Neumann made visitations there in 1853, 1856 and 1858. In the *Catholic Almanacs* of those days it was referred to as a Catholic Settlement. That is precisely what it was during the Neumann period when it was cared for by priests from Blossburg and Williamsport. See *Diary and Visitation Record of the Rt. Rev. Francis Patrick Kenrick, Administrator and Bishop of Philadelphia 1830-1851*, Philadelphia 1916, 266. This will be referred to as Kenrick, *Diary and Visitation Record*. See also, Neumann, *Visitation Record*, 9.

⁹ In September 1851, Kenrick administered Confirmation at Blossburg. The church was started in 1853 and blessed by Neumann in 1854. It got its first priest in 1853. However, by 1857 it was being visited by a priest once a month. See Kenrick, *Diary and Visitation Record*, 266; Neumann, *Visitation Record*, 6; J. Gallagher, *The Diocese of Scranton*, 69. St. Andrew's parish is still in existence. Furthermore, Blossburg also has St. Mary's, a Polish parish that goes back to 1874. See *The Official Catholic Directory*, A. D. 1978, 860.

¹⁰ More than once in these letters Neumann betrays a shrewd business sense. True, he found financial problems a burden and dreaded the possibility of going under in debts. However, that he was a poor financier is a « Neumann myth ». With all his building and the 1857 financial crisis, the diocese did not go bankrupt. He had sound investments to fall back on if overtaken by crisis. For more detail, see André Sampers, *The Document of the Execution of St. Neumann's Will*, in *Spic. Hist.* 25 (1977) 66-72.

¹¹ The original wooden church of St. Edward's parish in Shamokin was blessed by Kenrick on October 11, 1840 and was then visited once a month by Father

sent every good prospect.

I am with sentiments of sincere devotedness and veneration
Most Reverend Sir

Your most obedient Servant in Christ¹³

Most Reverend F.[rancis] P.[atrick] Kenrick
Archbishop of Baltimore

Daniel Magorien from Milton. Neumann made visitations there in 1852, 1854, 1857, 1859. It remained a mission station until the parish was formally established in 1866. There are now (1978) six parishes there. See Kenrick, *Diary and Visitation Record*, 194; Neumann, *Visitation Record*, 180; *The Official Catholic Directory*, A. D. 1978, 378; *The Diocese of Harrisburg 1868-1968*, Harrisburg 1968, 124.

¹² Wiconisco, a half mile from Lykens, is part of the parish of our Lady Help of Christians in Lykens in the diocese of Harrisburg. The archives of the diocese contain a short historiette of the parish. See also *Diocese of Harrisburg*, 66. For Neumann and the diocese, whose first bishop was William O'Hara whom he chose to be the rector of the Philadelphia seminary, see *ibid.* 21-22.

¹³ The absence of the signature is explained above, note 6.

Letter 7

J.M.J.

Philadelphia, January 20, 1854

Most Reverend Sir

I had been invited to bless the new Catholic Church in Loretto¹ on the feast of Epiphany², and to preach in Pittsburg on [the] Sunday following. On my return from this short excursion on the 12th I found two letters from the Nuntio, in which he kindly inti-

¹ Loretto, the cradle of Catholicism in Cambria County, is now in the diocese of Altoona-Johnstown. The first Mass was said there on Christmas Day 1799 by the celebrated priest and missionary, Prince Gallitzin. See T. Hartzel, *Gallitzin, Demetrius Augustine*, in NCE 6 (1967) 268-269. Speaking of St. Michael's there in 1830, Kenrick (*Diary and Visitation Record*, 41) says that it would require the strenuous labors of three priests. St. Michael's is still the only parish there. See *The Official Catholic Directory* A. D. 1978, 46.

² January 6.

mated that he would very willingly stay some days at Philadelphia³ provided I did not think it inadvisable, in consequence of the occurrence at Cincinnati⁴ [*sic*]. In my answer⁵, mailed on the 13, I stated to him, that, after consulting some of our Clergy about the feeling in the City after those events, I saw no danger to be apprehended of a riot or some other disturbance — and that we would be exceedingly gratified if he would consent to stay here, the longer the better — Since that [*sic*] nothing has occurred which could make me change my opinion.

Not knowing his residence in Washington, and not wanting to put his name on the address⁶ — I send [*sic*] my letter to him to the Very Reverend W.[illiam] Mathews⁷ [*sic*], thinking that he would know the [*sic*] best where he resided. It seems however that my letter has not come to [*sic*] his hands, the cause of which is quite beyond my comprehension.

As I hear from Mr. Slevin⁸, Monseigneur Bedini intends to

³ Neumann is referring here to Archbishop Gaetano Bedini, the Roman visitor who made a visitation here in 1853-1854. For his visit to Philadelphia, see below, n. 10. Here Neumann is speaking about the possibility of a second visit. Bedini had two projects: 1) another visit to Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York; 2) the filling out of a questionnaire dealing with the status of the church in the United States. We learn more about this from Neumann's report in a letter to Archbishop Purcell. He received Bedini's circular on February 13, 1854, a circular that was dated January 1, and mailed at Cincinnati February 5. Neumann wrote for more copies of the questionnaire that the sender forgot to enclose. See Neumann to the Most Reverend Archbishop of Cincinnati, February 14, 1854 Philadelphia, in AUND, Cincinnati Papers. Other bishops (Spalding and Blanc) also mention that they did not receive the copies of the questionnaire that were to be answered and then sent to Louis B. Binsse, the Consul General of the Papal States in New York. Apparently, nothing ever came of Bedini's project. See James T. Connelly, *The Visit of Archbishop Bedini to the United States*, Rome 1960, 110-111. This will be cited as Connelly, *Bedini*.

⁴ Native anti-Catholicism and the anti-clericalism of some immigrants occasioned anti-Bedini demonstrations. The worst was the « Cincinnati Riots » that occurred Christmas night 1853. Bedini left Cincinnati on January 3, 1854. See Connelly, *Bedini*, 95-109.

⁵ The letters could not be located.

⁶ Obviously, a sign of Neumann's caution. He must have felt that the letter might be destroyed if it carried Bedini's name.

⁷ William Matthews (1770-1854), a member of one of Maryland's earliest colonial families, was the first native American ordained in the United States (March 1800). After four years in Southern Maryland, he worked until his death as pastor of St. Patrick's, Washington, D. C. He was very active in church and charitable work, civic and educational projects; he was at home with the elite and government officials. See J. T. Durkin, *William Matthews: Priest and Citizen*, New York 1963.

⁸ Apparently, Bedini's mail must have been sent by various people. Neumann received his from Mr. Slevin. Spalding says he received his from Mr. Keany. See Connelly, *Bedini*, 110-111.

⁹ January 20 was a Friday. The following Tuesday was January 24. See *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac for 1854*, 14.

be here on next Tuesday⁹, and Your Grace will excuse me in intrusting the accompanying lines to Your care.

On the first arrival of Monseigneur Bedini¹⁰ things did not go on [*sic*] as they should, partly on account of my having to leave for the visitation, partly for the shortness of time — but above all for the fact of my being the poorest hand in creation for arranging [*sic*] celebrations or ceremonies, they may be sacred or profane. With the best will to do things like others, & to make myself amiable, I make every time more blunders, and say more nonsense than Sancho Panza¹¹. I have had this unwieldy disposition from my mother, and all the pains she, & my professors, friends, and brothers¹² have ever taken with me, were fruitless & thrown away. I will then have to keep it, with all its consequences, until God Almighty will make an end. Would to God that the last act of mine may not be an everlasting misstep!

Miss Martha Ryan¹³ is getting always more composed and quiet. The family of Professor Allen¹⁴ continues to edify me by their sin-

¹⁰ On his way back to New York from Washington and Baltimore, Bedini stopped off at Philadelphia. While in Philadelphia, Bedini was the guest of Father George Stroebel at St. Mary's. Prudence dictated that he take a neutral residence because Rome delegated him to try and settle the Trustee problem at Holy Trinity that was under interdict since Kenrick's time. Bedini did not succeed in this. Bedini was at St. Mary's on Friday, July 22, 1853, receiving and welcoming guests. The next day he visited the Catholic institutions of the city and met with the Holy Trinity Trustees. He left for New York on Sunday, July 24. He met with Neumann during the visit. However, he too had a busy schedule, being due to be at York that Sunday to bless St. Mary's church. See Connelly, *Bedini*, 22-25; *Catholic Herald*, July 28, 1853; Neumann, *Visitation Record*, 191; Curley (*Neumann*, 477, n. 3) has a slightly different chronology. Later, in his report to Rome, Bedini praised Neumann for his learning, holiness and zeal. However, he did not think he had the qualities for being the bishop of such an important See. To him, Neumann was more like a simple missionary than a polished bishop. See Connelly, *Bedini*, 224; Curley, *Neumann*, 284; Orlandi, *Neumann e i vescovi*, 319-320. Actually, we do not have sufficient information about the Philadelphia meeting of Neumann with Bedini. This much we know: In a report sent to Rome in August, a little over a week after the meeting, Bedini singles out Neumann — along with Kenrick — as bishops who received him with the greatest marks of distinction, love and respect and who gave sincere signs of their consolation of having a Representative of the Holy See in their midst, and who desired to have such a Representative not in passing but permanently. See Bedini to Franson, August 2, 1853, Milwaukee; APF, SRC AC, vol. 16 (1852-1854), fol. 637.

¹¹ In the words of Webster's Dictionary, Sancho Panza is « the squire in Cervantes' *Don Quixote*. He is a short pot-bellied peasant, ignorant and credulous, but shrewd and with a proverbial wisdom, thus being a foil to the master ». Spanish was a language Neumann mastered. When he studied a language, he used it to read the literary and spiritual classics, e.g., Cervantes and Teresa of Avila. For Neumann's humanistic achievements, see the writer's articles in *The Priest* 34 (May 1978) 23-27.

¹² The « brothers » mentioned here are the Redemptorist confreres.

¹³ The editor was not able to identify her.

¹⁴ George Allen, a professor of Greek and Latin at the University of Pennsylv-

cere and increasing piety. They and many others, of Your spiritual children, who come to see me now and then do not cease to think of Your Grace, and to enquire about Your health etc.

I remain with sentiments of the [*sic*] humble veneration
Most Reverend Sir

Your most obedient Servant in Christ
† John N. Bishop of Philadelphia

vania, his wife, Mary, and the entire family became Catholics under Bishop Kenrick. See *Some Philadelphia Converts*, in *Records*, 32 (1922) 239-244. For the Allens and Neumann, see Curley, *Neumann*, 176, 197-198, 348-349, 368, 398.

Letter 8

J.M.J.

Dushore¹, Sullivan County, July 27, 1854

Most Reverend Beloved Archbishop

I bid you heartily welcome in the field of Your troubles, labours & anxieties. The Reverend Keenan² will probably succeed in keeping

¹ Dushore, formerly called Loyalsock Creek and Cherry Township, was in Lycoming County until the creation of Sullivan County in 1847. In September 1836 Kenrick spent four days there and celebrated Mass in the home of Darby Deegan. About thirty received Holy Communion at the Mass each day. The people, German and Irish immigrants, agreed to build a wooden church and hoped to have a priest come four times a year. Kenrick dedicated the church, St. Basil's, on July 4, 1838. Neumann made visitations there in 1852, 1854, 1856 and 1858. In December 1858 he gave permission for the building of a new church. St. Basil's is still (1978) the only parish there. See Kenrick, *Diary and Visitation Record*, 132, 160; Neumann, *Visitation Record*, 16-17; T. Tourscher, *St. Basil's, Dushore, Pennsylvania during One Hundred Years, 1838-1938*, in *Records* 49 (1938) 27-49; *The Official Catholic Directory, A.D. 1978*, 861; Gallagher, *Diocese of Scranton*, 55-58, 69.

² When Father Bernard Keenan died at St. Mary's, Lancaster, on February 2, 1877, he was 98 years old, the oldest in the diocese. He came here from Ireland with his uncle, Bishop Henry Conwell of Philadelphia, in December 1820. At the age of 41, he was ordained on January 1, 1821. Two years later, in 1823, he went to St. Mary's where he was pastor for 53 years. Respected by Catholics and Protestants alike, he was a member of the Lancaster School Board, the Board of Trustees of

You with him a little longer — I am only sorry that my absence from the City on Visitation³ deprives me of the pleasure of meeting Y.[our] G.[race] at Lancaster and Philadelphia too.

I have of course no objection whatever to be considered as a friend to [*sic*] the University of Ireland. As it is the Holy See, from whom [*sic*] the idea originated no good Catholic will be against it⁴.

At the next Provincial Council⁵ a proposition might be made to have the feast of the Immaculate Conception raised to *Prima Classis cum Octava*⁶, & to be kept as a Holiday [*sic*] of obligation⁷, with a recommendation to prepare the faithful for its due celebration by a Novena etc.

A decree, stating plainly, what a Bishop has to do with a candidate for Holy Orders, who was born in Europe, and has since his arrival in America changed repeatedly his *Domicilium*⁸; & whether

Franklin and Marshall College, a personal friend of President James Buchanan. See *Diocese of Harrisburg*, 17; Richard M. Reilly, *Bernard Keenan*, in *Paper read before the Lancaster Historical Society* 28, 6 (1924) 85-91; S. Sener, *The Catholic Church at Lancaster*, ed. T. Middleton, in *Records* 5 (1894) 307-356.

³ From the end of June through August, Neumann was engaged in a vast visitation of the remote places of the diocese that are now part of Scranton. He visited Archbald (June 29), Athens (July 12), Blossburg (July 18), Dushore (July 27), Frenchtown (Aug. 6), Mehoophany (Aug. 2), New Milford (Aug. ?), Scranton (July 2), Slocum Hollow (Aug. 15), Silver Lake (Aug. 8), Susquehanna (Aug. 13), Towanda (July 23), White Haven (Aug. 24), Wilkes Barre (Aug. 22). See Neumann, *Visitation Record*, 3, 4, 6, 9, 17, 20, 167, 179, 180-182, 184, 187, 190.

⁴ Neumann is here referring to the proposed Catholic University of Ireland of which John Henry — later Cardinal — Newman was appointed Rector in 1852. The project had the enthusiastic backing of Pope Pius IX, a fact noted by Neumann. He gave hospitality to the priests who came to take up the collection in Philadelphia, where the cause was very popular because so many of the English-speaking priests were Irish-born and where over \$ 7,000 was gathered. See W. Ward, *The Life of Newman* I, 305-309; Curley, *Neumann*, 230; *Catholic Instructor*, July 2, September 17, 1853; *Catholic Herald*, July 14, December 29, 1853, February 23, 1854. The remark in the letter suggests that Neumann was named a « Friend of the University » because of Philadelphia's generous contribution. See the letter of thanks from Archbishop Cullen to Neumann, May 8, 1853, as found in the *Catholic Instructor*, July 2, 1853.

⁵ The Eighth Provincial Council of Baltimore was held May 5-12, 1855. See *Concilium Baltimoreense Provinciale VIII habitum anno 1855*, Baltimore 1857; Mansi, *Concilia*, XLVII, 139-148.

⁶ Neumann writes *pma Cl cum 8va*. *Prima Classis cum octava* is a first class feast with an octave. This was then one of the highest classes of feasts, outranked only by a first class feast with an octave of the first or second rank.

⁷ This recommendation was made even before the solemn definition of the Immaculate Conception on December 8, 1854. Neumann's suggestion was not followed at the Council in 1855. See *Concilium Baltimoreense Provinciale VIII*, 10; Mansi, *Concilia*, XLVII, 142. The Immaculate Conception did not become a holyday in the United States until the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1884. See Guilday, *Baltimore Councils*, 265.

⁸ « Domicile ». At that time, one acquired a domicile « by actual residence in a place with the intention of remaining there permanently ». See John Costello, *Domi-*

the oath, « *serviendi Missionibus Americae sub obedientia Episcopi* » has to be taken by every Priest who comes to America⁹ — to prescribe some formula, to be signed by him — & perhaps to put on record etc.

It would be perhaps good to see whether some provision could not be made for Priests who were deprived of faculties, and show themselves willing to submit to some discipline, either to reenter the sacred ministry after a sufficiently long trial, & to remain in such an institution or to remain in it until death¹⁰. A great many sins and scandals would certainly be prevented. A friend of mine, who is at present Confessor to the Ex-Emperor of Austria¹¹, was for many years Director of such an Asylum at Prague (Bohemia), & would no doubt put me in possession of the Rule etc. with his own remarks, & experience¹².

cile and Quasi-Domicile, Washington, D.C., 1930, 115. Neumann is concerned about the number of testimonial letters, required for entrance into the clerical state, that will be required of one who has moved often place to place. See Woywod-Smith. *Commentary on the Code I*, 619-620.

⁹ Following the lead of Kenrick at the Baltimore Synod of 1853, Neumann legislated in May 1855, at the Philadelphia Synod, that priests coming to work in Philadelphia from elsewhere must promise to serve the missions under obedience to the bishop. In October of the same year, the Eighth Provincial Council of Baltimore said that priests lose the title of the mission when they receive dimissorial letters, and that they regain it only when they are received into another diocese and take the oath by which they are bound to the missions of that diocese. See *Constitutiones Dioec. Phil.* 30-31; *Concilium Baltimoreense Provinciale VIII*, 18, 22; Mansi, *Consilia*, XLVII, 147. The legislation of the title of the mission is synthesized in the Second Plenary Council of 1866. When this Council asked that the Holy See dispense with the oath of serving perpetually on the missions, the request was not granted. See *Concilii Plenarii Baltimoreensis II, Acta et Decreta*, ed. 2, Baltimore 1894, LXXI, 170; Mansi, *Concilia*, XLVIII, 888.

¹⁰ Neumann showed warm concern for such priests and was anxious to see them resume priestly work in some way. See his query to Rome and Rome's answer, Neumann to Barnabò, June 4, 1855, Philadelphia, in APF, Udienze, vol. 122 (1855 II) fols. 1834r-1835v; Barnabò to Neumann, July 11, 1855, Rome, Secretary's copy in APF, LDB, vol. 346 (1855) fol. 468rv. See Sampers, *Neumanns Briefwechsel*, 273-276, 277-278; Curley, *Neumann*, 354; Berger-Grimm, *Neumann*, 359-360. For Neumann's concern about Father Daniel Devitt, see Letter 3.

¹¹ Ferdinand I (1793-1875), Austrian Emperor from 1835-1848, resigned in favor of his nephew, Franz Joseph, in 1848. See *Ferdinand I*, in *Encyclopedia Britannica, Micropedia* 4 (1974) 96. On his visit to Europe in 1854-1855, Neumann was the dinner guest of Ferdinand who gave him a generous donation and made him a member of the Nepomucene Heredität. See Curley, *Neumann*, 242.

¹² Neumann is referring here to his friend, Father Hermann Dichtl, the one who encouraged him in his missionary plans for America. Dichtl was the chaplain of such an institution for priests that was housed in the former monastery of St. George. See Joseph Dichtl-Kurt Huber, *Hermann Dichtl (1802-1877)*, in *Archiv für Kirchengeschichte von Böhmen-Mähren-Schlesien*, 4 (1976) 16.

I have the honour to remain with sentiments of the most sincere veneration

Most Reverend Sir

Your most humble and obedient Servant

† John N. Neumann C.S.S.R.

Bishop of Philadelphia

Most Reverend A.[rch]-B.[ishop] Kenrick
Baltimore

Letter 9

Philadelphia, September 25, 1854

Most Reverend Sir

I am very sorry to hear from the Reverend Keenan, that the letter which I had addressed to his care for You did not reach him¹, & that therefore I was deprived of the honour to welcome You to this Your own Diocese, even in writing.

I stated several subjects which it would be perhaps good to discuss in the next Provincial Council — namely to celebrate the feast of the Immaculate Conception on the 8th of December as a Holy-Day of obligation; — whether some plan could not be devised of an institution or Asylum for stray Priests, who are willing to submit to some discipline, being unfit for the ministry on account of censures or irregularities etc. etc. I would like it very well too if this Diocese could be divided into two or three — but the difficulty of finding a city or cities to be their [the bishops'] residence, & of subjects having the proper qualifications — make me rather backward to broach the subject².

¹ With regard to the points to be treated in the forthcoming Council of Baltimore (1855), this letter is an abbreviated repetition of the previous letter. Neumann's letter to Kenrick was sent to Keenan at Lancaster. He in turn must have written that he did not receive a letter. In those days the mail route from Dushore would be circuitous. Obviously, the letter ultimately turned up because we have it as one of Kenrick's letters.

² The theme of dividing the diocese again comes to the surface. Neumann

The deaths of the Right Reverend Bishops Barron³ and Gartland⁴ has [*sic*] produced a very painful sensation in the Clergy here & the different Congregations through the City. We will have a Pontifical Requiem for the late Dr. Barron at St. Marys⁵ [*sic*], & another for Bishop Gartland at St. Johns⁶ [*sic*].

I have the honour to remain with sentiments of most sincere veneration

Most Reverend Sir

Your most humble and obedient Servant
 † John N. Neumann C.S.S.R.
 Bishop of Philadelphia

brought it up at the Council the next year. The main difficulty was finding a place in Pennsylvania that was then suitable for a new diocese. See letter 10, nn. 7-8.

³ Edward Barron (1801-1854), born in Ireland, became a priest of the diocese of Philadelphia, being ordained in Rome on October 15, 1826. In Philadelphia he was rector of the seminary, pastor of St. Mary's and Vicar General. In 1840 he volunteered for Nigeria and was then named Vicar Apostolic of the Two Guineas. Because of sickness, he resigned in 1844, returned to the United States and worked in Missouri and Florida. For reasons of health, he returned to Philadelphia in July 1854. On hearing of the epidemic of yellow fever in Savannah, Georgia, he hurried south to help Bishop Gartland. He died a victim of the plague on September 12, 1854. See Code, *American Hierarchy*, 8-9; H. Nolan, *Barron, Edward*, in NCE, 2 (1967) 124-125; O'Donnell, *St. Charles*, 386.

⁴ Francis Xavier Gartland (1808-1854), born in Ireland, was ordained a priest of Philadelphia by Bishop Kenrick at St. Mary's on August 5, 1832. He worked in Philadelphia from 1832 to 1850 where he was pastor of St. John's and Vicar General. He was named the first bishop of Savannah, Georgia, July 30, 1850 and died a victim of the yellow fever on September 20, 1854. See Code, *American Hierarchy*, 106; O'Donnell, *St. Charles*, 387.

⁵ St. Mary's, Philadelphia's second oldest Catholic church, goes back to 1763 to Old St. Joseph's and the colonial Jesuits, long before the erection of the diocese in 1808. See Mahony, *Historical Sketches*, 38-42; M. Ryan, *Old St. Mary's - A National Shrine*, in *Records* 38 (1927) 158-168; Dennis C. Kurjack, *St. Joseph's and St. Mary's Churches*, in *Historic Philadelphia from the Founding until the Early Nineteenth Century*, in *Transactions of the American Philosophic Society* 43/1 (1953) 199-210.

⁶ The cornerstone of St. John's was laid on May 6, 1831. The dedication took place on April 8, 1832. The building of the church was an instance of a victory over the system of Trusteeism. See Mahony, *Historical Sketches*, 52-55; M. Griffin, *History of the Church of St. John the Evangelist, Philadelphia*, in *Records* 20 (1909) 350-405; 21 (1910) 129-138. For Neumann and St. John's, see Curley Neumann, 183, 189, 285-286, 318-320.

Letter 10

Philadelphia, June 7, 1855

Most Reverend Sir

A certain Reverend Patrick Corry¹ spent with us a month or two before he went to Europe last year — & since his return to better health he has remained again — in this City — As he had been recommended to me I made no difficulty in [his] staying at St. Patrick's [*sic*] & exercising the faculties². Since my return from the Council³ I spoke to him about his relation to this Diocese when I was informed that he was ordained in Baltimore, and would have to obtain Your permission before being adopted in this Diocese. I would not be unwilling to receive him provided his past conduct entitles him to confidence etc. Should You be willing to dismiss him I would beg [you] to inform me confidentially as to his past behaviour⁴.

I wrote to the Cardinal Prefect⁵, & to Monsignore A. [Alessandro] Barnabò⁶, that I find myself very much behind our age in financiering [*sic*] capacities so necessary in a City like Philadelphia; so

¹ Shortly after this letter was written, Father Patrick Corry died on July 4, 1855. He was born in Ireland, came to America as a youth and became a priest of the Archdiocese of Baltimore where he was ordained July 23, 1837. He taught at Mount St. Mary's Emmitsburg, where he was professor of Greek and Latin. For health reasons he gave up teaching in 1854 and later did some parochial work in Philadelphia. At the time of his death at St. Patrick's, he was ca. 40 years old. See his obituary in the *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory for 1856*, 299.

² Of Father Corry's move from teaching to do parish work at St. Patrick's his obituary says that «recently he entered on the mission». Apparently, this phrase was restricted to priests in parish work and did not include teachers or professors. For English-speaking priests Neumann was fortunate in vocations among the Irish-born. His efforts to build up native vocations in Philadelphia were very successful. See the writer's *People's Response to St. John Neumann in Pastoral Life* 27 (May 1978) 38-42 and also the data in *The Catholic Standard and Times*, January, 5, 1978, pp. 7, 35.

³ The Eighth Provincial Council of Baltimore, held in May 1855.

⁴ This letter was not found.

⁵ The Cardinal Prefect was Giacomo Filippo Fransoni (1775-1856) who was Prefect since 1834. See Neumann to Fransoni, May 28, 1855, Philadelphia, in APF, SOCG, vol. 981 (1856), fols. 1028r-1029v; Sampers, *Neumanns Briefwechsel*, 270-272. The contents of the letter are found below in note 7.

⁶ Alessandro Barnabò (1801-1874), who had been Secretary since 1848, became Prefect and Cardinal on the occasion of Fransoni's death in 1856. See Neumann to Barnabò, June 4, 1855, Philadelphia, in APF, Udienze, vol. 122 (1855 II), fols. 1834r-1835v; Sampers, 273-276. See the following note for the contents of the letter. For Fransoni and Barnabò, see J. Metzler, *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide memoria rerum*, III/1, Rome 1975, 38-48.

much so that I am in constant fears to embroil myself and the Diocese in inextricable difficulties. I exposed to them moreover that I despair in ever making any progress in the accomplishments of this world — urbanity — graceful deportment, & all that sort of necessities [*sic*] of life, that I would feel more at home at Wilmington (N.[orth] C.[arolina]) or Pottsville⁷. I really think before God that Wilmington would be the very place for me. As there may be some difficulty, if not an impossibility to find a priest willing to go to Wilmington, my prospect is brighter of finding there the desired *otium cum dignitate*⁸. I fear however that they will regard my protestations and statement, as nothing but a fine display of very praiseworthy or crooked humility⁹, & leave me splashing in the midst of my floating & non-floating debts — As the three Reverend Gentlemen proposed for Philadelphia & those for Pottsville¹⁰ would certainly find less difficulty in the administration of the temporalities especially — I am quite serious in my proposal for Wilmington. They may be somewhat embarrassed & hesitate in acceding to it since the affair in Pittsburgh & Erie — but there will be no more occasion for retrac-

⁷ The letters to Frànsoni and Barnabò were occasioned by Neumann's move at the Eighth Provincial Council of Baltimore in May. He wanted to have the diocese of Philadelphia divided into two. He also volunteered to leave Philadelphia and go to the new, smaller and poorer diocese to be erected at Pottsville. For the conciliar action, see *Concilium Baltimoreense Provinciale VIII*, 11, 15; Mansi, *Concilia*, XLVII, 143. The Council also recommended the creation of a See in Wilmington, North Carolina. After the Council, Neumann spoke of going there, the poorest of the projected Sees. For the long, involved story that saw Neumann kept in Philadelphia and given Wood as his coadjutor in January 1857, see Curley, *Neumann*, 271-305; Sampers, *Neumanns Briefwechsel*, 270-278; Orlandi, *Neumann e i vescovi*, 320-335, 351-388.

⁸ This is the Latin term for «leisure with dignity». His desire to go to the remote and poor territory of Wilmington was not motivated by leisure. He had in mind a smaller diocese where he could do justice to his pastoral ideals. He also hoped to get away from the crushing financial burdens of Philadelphia. To him, Wilmington meant «poverty and work and less authority» as he told Barnabò. See above, n. 6. At the present time, Wilmington is in the diocese of Raleigh and has two parishes. See *The Official Catholic Directory A. D. 1978*, 728.

⁹ Neumann is fearful that Rome will regard his willingness to leave the prestigious See of Philadelphia as «nothing but a fine display of very praiseworthy or crooked humility». Crooked humility is a show of humility in contrast to genuine humility. Occasionally, one hears such humility described colloquially as «hump-backed» humility. In his letter to Barnabò (n. 6) Neumann pleads with him not to regard his request to go to Wilmington as that kind of humility. Rather, it was the «Truth before God», a step that was «well thought out» and «taken with the advice of his confessor». Neumann's confessor was his confrere, Father Francis Xavier Tschenhens, who was stationed in St. Peter's, Philadelphia, during the Neumann years. See Curley, *Neumann*, 337, 372.

¹⁰ The candidates proposed for Philadelphia were James Wood of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati, John McCaffrey of the Archdiocese of Baltimore and Patrick Lynch of the Diocese of Savannah. Those proposed for Pottsville were Richard O'Connor and William O'Hara of the Diocese of Philadelphia and Tobias Mullen of

ing [my] steps¹¹. Your recommendation would certainly be almighty in Rome. I would beg of You, Most Reverend Sir, to mention my desire favourably, & to support it, if necessary with reasons, which are certainly not wanting.

Several Gentlemen¹² in Philadelphia are already aware of some proposed change. I am however as yet not aware of any bad effect. I think even our stock will rise when their suspicion will become a fact¹³.

I remain with sentiments of profound veneration
Most Reverend Archbishop

Your devoted Servant in Christ
† John N. Neumann C.S.S.R.
Bishop of Philadelphia

the Diocese of Pittsburgh. See the archbishop and bishops participating in the Eighth Provincial Council of Baltimore to Frasoni, APF, SOCG, vol. 981 (1856) fols. 1022-1027; Orlandi, *Neumann e i vescovi*, 351-359. In Neumann's day, there were only two parishes in Pottsville, but the Confirmations on each visitation were growing greater and greater. See Neumann, *Visitation Record*, 176-177. For this and other reasons proposed by Neumann, see the minutes of the acts of the council in AAB, 32B-G-6. At present, Pottsville is in the Diocese of Allentown and has four parishes. See *The Official Catholic Directory A.D. 1978*, 38.

¹¹ Neumann is referring to the Irish-born Philadelphia priest, Michael O'Connor, who was elected the first bishop of Pittsburgh on August 11, 1843. On July 29, 1853 he was transferred to Erie as its first bishop and then transferred back to Pittsburgh on February 20, 1854. See Code, *American Hierarchy*, 223; Henry Szarnicki, *The Episcopate of Michael O'Connor, First Bishop of Pittsburgh, 1843-1860*, a typed Ph.D. dissertation, The Catholic University of America, 1971, 310-311. This will be referred to as Szarnicki, *O'Connor*. Those who do not have access to this can consult W. Purcell, ed. *Catholic Pittsburgh. One Hundred Years*, Chicago 1943; J. Hennessey, *O'Connor, Michael*, in NCE 10 (1967) 638-639. For O'Connor and Neumann in his move to leave Philadelphia, see Szarnicki, *O'Connor*, 236-241.

¹² Gentlemen was an accepted way of referring to priests and clergymen.

¹³ Neumann could write that way in June. The situation was different in the fall of that year. The synod held in October 1855 laid down a series of sensible regulations regarding personal and parochial finances. Some resisted the bishop; the possibility of his being changed made them bolder. See Curley, *Neumann*, 286-287, 350. In a later report to Rome, speaking of clerical unrest at Philadelphia, Kenrick singles out clerical avarice or the striving for filthy lucre, a manifestation of the unrest occasioned by Neumann's financial regulations. See Kenrick to Barnabò, July 25, 1856, Baltimore, in APF, Acta, vol. 220 (1856), fol. 679; Orlandi, *Neumann e i vescovi*, 368-369.

Letter 11

Philadelphia, July 6, 1855

Most Reverend Sir.

I have been asked whether the Sisters of St. Joseph's¹ [*sic*] would or could accept the charge of a boys orphan Asylum which they say is being established at Washington (City. D.[istrict of] C.[olumbia])². As the applicants forgot to mention to Mother St. John³, whether You had been consulted & given Your sanction I thought it my duty to sollicit before all your own views & wishes

¹ Kenrick was anxious to get Sisters to care for St. John's Male Orphanage that was attached to St. John's church. While visiting his brother, Peter Richard, the bishop of St. Louis, he learned of the work being done for orphans by the Sisters of St. Joseph of France, whose motherhouse was at Corondolet, Missouri. He succeeded in obtaining four who came with him to Philadelphia in 1847, Mother St. John being the Superioress. Thus began their Philadelphia apostolate of conducting orphanages, hospitals and schools. The Order witnessed a phenomenal growth when, under Neumann, the motherhouse moved from McSherrystown to Chestnut Hill. When the generalate of the St. Joseph Sisters at St. Louis was set up in 1860 the Sisters in Philadelphia remained independent of it. Thus, there came into being the Sisters of St. Joseph of Philadelphia. See Mother Dolorita Marie Dougherty and Others, *Sisters of St. Joseph of Corondolet*, St. Louis 1966; Sr. Maria Kostka Logue, *Sisters of St. Joseph of Philadelphia, A Century of Growth 1847-1947*, Westminster, Maryland 1950, 15-16. This will be referred to as Logue, *Sisters of St. Joseph*.

² Father William Matthews, the pastor of St. Patrick's, established St. Vincent's Female Orphan Asylum in 1825. He opened one for boys in 1843 but it had to be discontinued in 1846. In 1853 he got the Trustees to issue an «Appeal to the Public» to arouse interest in the orphans. Father Matthews died in April 1854 before the plan was realized. However, he made some provision for the home in his will. St. Joseph's Male Orphan Asylum was incorporated on February 6, 1855 and opened as a combined orphanage and day school September 14, 1856, with the Sisters of the Holy Cross from Notre Dame, Indiana, in charge. See Joseph Durkin, *William Matthews*, 117-119; Joseph C. Eckert, *History of St. Joseph's Home and School*, in *Souvenir Book of the One Hundredth Anniversary of St. Joseph's Home and School*, Washington, D.C. 1955, 4-7. This will be referred to as Eckert, *St. Joseph's Home*. A look at the *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac* of the time shows that it was customary to say Washington City, D.C.

³ The celebrated and beloved Mother St. John Fournier was born in France November 12, 1814. She was professed in the Order of the Immaculate Conception in 1832. In her desire for mission work in the United States, she joined the Sisters of St. Joseph in 1836. After completing courses in work for the deaf, she came to America in 1837. As previously seen, she was the leader of the mission to Philadelphia in 1847. After a prodigious career of starting a hospital, orphanages and schools, she died at Philadelphia on October 15, 1875. See Logue, *Sisters of St. Joseph*, 159-170 and passim; C.M. Aherne, *Fournier, Mother St. John*, in NCE 5 (1967) 1044. For her testimony regarding Neumann's holiness and his ways of dealing with children and religious, see Curley, *Neumann*, 356-357, 369-371; Mother St. John to John Berger, November 23, 1872, Chestnut Hill, in ABPR, N, Berger Papers.

on this subject⁴. As they ask but for 3 or 4 Sisters to begin with, I think the Sisters could undertake it.

I intend to make a short retreat at St. Alphonsus' Baltimore⁵ in the first week of the [*sic*] next month. — when I hope from God to find you in good health⁶.

I remain with sincere veneration
Most Reverend Sir

Your most devoted & obedient Servant
† John N. Neumann C.S.S.R.
Bishop of Philadelphia

⁴ St. Joseph's Home opened under the new pastor, Father Timothy O'Toole. By the summer of 1856 he had succeeded in getting the Sisters of the Holy Cross, from Notre Dame, Indiana, to conduct it; there is a possibility that Kenrick suggested them. Certainly, on August 27, 1856, Kenrick wrote O'Toole giving his permission for the orphanage to be entrusted to the Sisters. See Eckert, *St. Joseph's Home*, 6, 67; *History of St. Patrick's Church, Washington, D.C., 1789-1939*, 34-38; *Our Provinces. Centenary Chronicles of the Sisters of the Holy Cross, The Eastern Province*, Notre Dame 1941, 217-220; AAB, Kenrick's *Literarum Registrum*, August 27, 1856, p. 108.

⁵ The cornerstone of St. Alphonsus', Baltimore, was laid on May 1, 1842. The dedication took place on March 14, 1845. See John Byrne, *The Redemptorist Centenaries*, Philadelphia 1932, 95-96. So much of Neumann's life, including his ordination as bishop, is centered around this church.

⁶ Undoubtedly, Neumann must have used these visits to unburden his soul and seek advice. So much could be said that did not end up on paper.

Letter 12

Philadelphia, July 18, 1855

Most Reverend Sir

I had a conversation with the Reverend G.[eorge] Strobel¹ on the 10th or 11th of this month about his stay at St. Mary's, and I had no hesitation in granting him his request, on the very terms,

¹ Father George Strobel, the pastor of St. Mary's where Archbishop Bedini stayed during his visit to Philadelphia, was born in London on June 14, 1800. Little is known of his early years or of his emigrating to the United States. From 1824 to 1828 he studied Law and served with the American Consulate at Bordeaux, France. He returned to America in 1828 and was admitted to the Philadelphia Bar. From

which You kindly suggested — I felt much gratified that I had anticipated your wishes².

The application for the Sisters of St. Josephs [*sic*] for the male-Asylum³ was made through Mr. John Scravendyke⁴ of this City, who gave no name to Mother St. John⁵ — the Very Reverend F.[ather] Sourin⁶ however showed me a letter from Washington, written for the same object, by a certain Mr. Clarke⁷ of Washington-City. Mother St. John has probably answered them already — negatively⁸.

I beg You to be assured of my gratitude for writing candidly to me on similar occasions⁹ — My want of experience etc. bring

1831 to 1841 he was the American Consul at Bordeaux. He returned to the United States in 1841 and became a Catholic in 1843. After completing his studies at Rome he was ordained as a priest of the diocese of Philadelphia on March 8, 1846. His life was completely centered at St. Mary's as curate in 1846 and as pastor in 1848 until his death on October 26, 1874. See O'Donnell, *St. Charles*, 388; Orlandi, *Neumann Relazione*, 52, n. 23; Ella Flick, *The Reverend George Strobel, 1800-1874*, in *Records* 34 (1923) 17-31.

² This is a very cryptic and enigmatic episode that involves Strobel, Neumann and Kenrick. Before July 10th or 11th, the day when Neumann spoke to Strobel, Strobel had been in touch with Kenrick. On July 11th Kenrick wrote letters to both Strobel and Neumann. Seven days later Neumann wrote this letter to Kenrick. A passing remark by Kenrick on August 8 sheds some light on the episode. Speaking of the Strobel case, he says that Neuman «seems to agree with my suggestions about a delay in the renouncing of his (Strobel's) office». He then goes on to say that Neumann made no definite promise. All this seems to imply that Strobel was thinking of retiring from his pastorate and of staying on at St. Mary's. Such a move, more than a hundred years ahead of its time, sounds more like the post-Vatican II age. See AAB, Kenrick's *Literarum Registrum*, July 11, August 8, 1855, pp. 84, 86.

³ See Letter 11, nn. 1-2.

⁴ At the age of 60 John Scravendyke died on February 2, 1868 and was buried in the vaults at St. Mary's. See John Martland, *St. Mary's Graveyard, Fourth and Spruce Streets, Records and Extractions from Inscriptions on the Tombstones*, in *Records* 3 (1888-1891) 261.

⁵ See Letter 11, n. 3.

⁶ See Letter 3, n. 4.

⁷ Richard H. Clarke was a Washington attorney. On August 29, 1856, as Secretary *pro tempore* of the Board of Trustees of St. Joseph's Orphanage, he witnessed the agreement regarding the orphanage signed by Sister M. Angela Gillespie, Superior of the Sisters of the Holy Cross, and Father Timothy O'Toole, Pastor of St. Patrick's and President of the Board of Trustees. He was a member of the Board from 1855 to before 1873. See Eckert, *St. Joseph's Home*, 6, 25. In the latter part of his long life, Clarke (1827-1911) published many works dealing with the history of the Church in the U.S.A. See *National Union Catalog. Pre 1956 Imprints*, 65 (1970) 351-352.

⁸ After this paragraph a few lines have been cut out from this first page, as is evident from the remains of the top loops of some letters and the dots of the i's.

⁹ One can only regret the loss of Kenrick's letters to Neumann. There is no trace of them in the archdiocesan archives of Philadelphia. References in AAB, Kenrick's *Literarum Registrum*, are helpful.

[sic] me often to make blunders, — however I never like them.
 I remain with sincere veneration
 Most Reverend Sir

Your most devoted Servant in Christ
 † John N. Neumann C.S.S.R.
 Bishop of Philadelphia

Letter 13

Easton¹, August 23, 1855

I have been absent from Philadelphia on Visitation since I had the honour of paying You my respects at Baltimore in the beginning of this month², & received the Circular from Rome³ only on my arrival in this town, where I am to give Confirmation on Sunday next⁴.

In answer to the various questions proposed by the Propaganda I submit with due deference my own opinions:

1. I would suggest that the faculties which were granted A[nno] D[omini] 1853 be continued, with the exception that Bishops be freed from the obligation of reporting the number of cases etc⁵. I would be very glad if the Holy See would authorize us to

¹ When Kenrick visited Easton in 1833, there was no church there. He celebrated Mass in Mr. Kavanaugh's house. After that, the Catholics hired an upper room in a private house for sixty silver dollars a year. The parish church, St. Bernard's, was blessed by Kenrick in 1836. Neumann made visitations in Easton in 1852, 1855, 1857 and 1859. As of 1978, Easton has five parishes. See Kenrick, *Diary and Visitation Record*, 86, 103, 128; Neumann, *Visitation Record*, 17; *Official Catholic Directory A.D. 1978*, 38.

² Neumann made visitations at Allentown (Aug. 22), Conewago (Aug. 15), Easton (Aug. 23-26), Gettysburg (Aug. 12), Haycock (Aug. 19), Littlestown (Aug. 12), Millerstown (Aug. 10). See *Visitation Record*, 3, 6, 13, 17, 21, 24, 164, 169.

³ The contents of the circular from Propaganda can be seen from Neumann's answers.

⁴ August 23, 1855 fell on a Thursday. The following Sunday was August 26 when Neumann confirmed ninety. See *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory for 1855*, 29; Neumann, *Visitation Record*, 17.

⁵ Similarly, Neumann asked not to be obliged to send to Rome the names of those enrolled in the scapular, confraternities, etc. See, e.g., Neumann to Barnabò, June 4, 1855, Philadelphia; APF, Udienze, vol. 122 (1855 II), fols. 1834r-1835v. See Sampers, *Neumanns Briefwechsel*, 273-276.

communicate to our Missionaries the faculty of Blessing the Scapular of the Immaculate Conception⁶.

2. I am of the opinion that more evil than good would come in this Diocese from an absolute prohibition of all mixed mariages [*sic*]. The conditions & limitations laid down in our Faculties, if carefully attended to, will prevent apostacy more effectually than an entire prohibition⁷. However I may be mistaken.

3. I would suggest that the Proclamation of the Bans [*sic*] of Matrimony be allowed in these States in Mixed Mariages [*sic*]. For such is the practice here, introduced by the Provincial Councils, though unintentionally on the side of the Propaganda⁸; as they are regarded as a very unpleasant regulation their prohibition would act as an inducement to contract mixed mariages [*sic*] —; they will prevent many hasty, inconsiderate, & often invalid Mariages [*sic*] considering the great number of husbands & wives [who]⁹ left one another in consequence of divorces or infidelity. In some of our States the Promulgation of the Bans [*sic*] is prescribed by law and could not

⁶ The origin of the Blue Scapular of the Immaculate Conception is attributed to the vision of Venerable Ursula Benicassa, the foundress of the Theatine Sisters, on February 2, 1617. The Patroness of the Theatine Fathers is Our Lady of Purity. In her honor they propagate the Blue Scapular in their apostolate. See A. Sagraera, *Benicassa, Venerable Ursula*, in NCE 2 (1967) 311; *Theatines*, in NCE 14 (1967) 6.

⁷ Here Neumann shows himself a prudent realist. For the sensible regulations regarding mixed marriages that go back to the first National Synod of 1791, when the country had only the one diocese of Baltimore, see *Concilia Provincialia Baltimori habita ab anno 1829 usque ad annum 1849*, Baltimore 1851, 18-19; this will be referred to as *Concilia Prov. Balt.* See also Guilday, *Baltimore Councils*, 67. The decree *Tametsi*, of the Council of Trent, nullified any marriage not contracted before the parish priest or the Ordinary and two witnesses. It was not promulgated in many parts of the United States. Before April 9, 1908, when the decree of Pius X went into effect, even such clandestine marriages were valid, even if forbidden or illicit. See W. van Ommeren, *Tametsi*, in NCE 13 (1967) 929.

⁸ To bring its legislation into conformity with the Councils of the Lateran and Trent, the Sixth Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1846 legislated the publication of the bans of marriage. After reviewing the Acts, Rome remarked that there was no sufficiently strong reason prohibiting the bans in mixed marriages also. The interpretation given this in the United States was that the bans were to be proclaimed in mixed marriages. In the Diocesan Synod of Baltimore in 1853, Kenrick had a different interpretation of Rome's answer and he empowered the pastors to dispense with the bans in such marriages. This was the beginning of a diversity in the interpretation of the law and its application. The 1918 Code of Canon Law prohibited the bans in mixed marriages. Until that time, in the United States «there was no general law and no uniformity of practice». See James Roberts, *The Bans of Marriage*, Washington, D.C. 50-56.

⁹ The word «who» has been inserted here. The original letter has the sign for the word «and». The sentence as such does not make sense.

be omitted without serious consequences¹⁰. We have in this Diocese no prescribed Form of contracting Mixed Mariages [*sic*]¹¹. I would be in favour of adopting the form laid down in the Circular as Num.[ber] 7.

4. I think it would be better not to insist on an Oath being required of the protestant [*sic*]¹² party. It seems to me that our Protestants are generally more inclined from principles of honour to fulfill a promise made to man — than a most solemn promise before a priest¹³, as their want of faith or [their] heresy will hardly ever allow them to regard it as inviolable etc.

5. I am at [a] loss what suggestion to offer in regard to the difficulties arising from the uncertainty of Baptism administered to Protestants — in its relation to Matrimony. I followed however the course intimated in the *Instructio S.[ancti] Offi[cii]* Num[ber] 2¹⁴.

6. From what I remember of the discussion in the Propaganda in Rome¹⁵, I should think that a residence of one month might be

¹⁰ The English civil law of 1753 that required banns was not extended to the American Colonies. However, various colonial legislators adopted the banns in some form. Gradually, the practice of getting a marriage license replaced the publication of the banns. See J. Roberts, *The Banns*, 122-123.

¹¹ For mixed marriages, the First National Synod (1791) forbade the imparting of the nuptial blessing found in the Nuptial Mass. The Fourth Provincial Council of Baltimore (1840) said they were not to take place in the church and that the priest was not to wear sacred vestments. See *Concilia Prov. Balt.*, 19, 170; Guilday, *Baltimore Councils*, 67, 124, 262.

¹² Neumann uses a small letter for the adjective form of the word and a capital letter for the noun. Here he shows the influence of German, his native language.

¹³ The First National Synod (1791) and the Fourth Provincial Council of Baltimore (1840) speak of promises before God and several witnesses. See *Concilia Prov. Balt.*, 17, 170. Technically speaking, these promises are not oaths. Neumann here manifests a sensitivity for the Protestant conscience that is much to the fore in the more recent documents on mixed marriages, e.g., the *Motu Proprio* issued by Paul VI on March 31, 1970. See *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 62 (1970) 257-263.

¹⁴ The Latin phrase means « the instruction of the Holy Office ». In all probability, Neumann is referring to the instruction issued on November 17, 1830, that gave an answer to the question « whether a doubtful baptism constitutes a diriment impediment of disparity of cult that would render the marriage null and void ». See *Acta Sanctae Sedis* 25 (1892-1893) 258; *Collectanea S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fidei*, Rome 1907, I, 482, n. 821; *Codicis Iuris Canonici Fontes*, Rome 1926, IV, 152-153, nr. 869.

¹⁵ Neumann is here referring to the Pontifical Urbanianum University that was established by Pope Urban VIII in 1627 to educate young men for the priesthood

very conveniently established to entitle parties to the privilege of a « *quasi-domicilium* »¹⁶. Any decision on this point will hardly affect us as we have no canonical parishes¹⁷, and are at a considerable distance from countries, where they exist. Mariages [*sic*] contracted elsewhere, might be called into question and their validity may have to be determined by us.

7. I would suggest, that whenever the solemn Form of Baptism¹⁸ (even *sub conditione*)¹⁹ is adhibited²⁰ in receiving Converts into our Church, that no *Professio Fidei*²¹ and solemn *Absolutio ab Haeresi*²² (as in the Ritual) be required; that in cases where Baptism is so conferred — *sub conditione* — the Confessor may be allowed to absolve the penitent Convert privately *in actu Confessionis sacramentalis*²³.

That the *Modus excipiendi Professionem* etc.²⁴ as in our Ri-

from mission countries. The pope placed it under the immediate direction of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith that had been founded five years earlier. See M. J. Costelloe, *Pontifical Universities, Roman*, in NCE 11 (1967) 558-559.

¹⁶ A « quasi domicile », an invention of the medieval canonists, has a bearing on a person's canonical obligations, rights and privileges. Before the Code of Canon Law (1918), one acquired a domicile « by actual residence in a place, with the intention of remaining there for the greater part of a year ». See John Costello, *Domicile and Quasi-Domicile*, Washington, D.C., 1930, 135. For the problem whether one acquired a quasi-domicile by a month's residence or whether such a residence was regarded as a presumption of the person's will to remain there for the greater part of the year, see *Ibid.* 85-97.

¹⁷ As previously seen, in territories subject to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, one did not speak of canonical parishes but of missions or quasi-parishes. That was the canonical setup in Neumann's time. After the Code of Canon Law went into effect in 1918, there were some remaining doubts regarding canonical parishes in the United States. A letter from the Apostolic Delegate at Washington, dated November 10, 1922, informed the bishops that parishes established before the Code, *ipso facto* became canonical parishes when the Code went into effect. See Woywod-Smith, *Commentary on the Code*, I, 97-98, 656-657.

¹⁸ The solemn form of baptism is that found in the Ritual with all the accompanying ceremonies.

¹⁹ This means conferring baptism « conditionally », e.g., if there is a doubt about a previous baptism.

²⁰ « Adhibited » here, or the passive form of adhibit, is from the Latin *adhibetur*. It would be difficult to think of it being used at the present time. However, it is an English word found in the dictionary, with no indication that it is obsolete.

²¹ « Profession of Faith ».

²² « Absolution from Heresy ».

²³ « In the act of the sacramental confession ».

²⁴ « The Manner of Receiving the Profession ». The full reading is: « The Manner of Receiving the Profession of the Catholic Faith from Converts ». For the ceremony, see *Compendium Ritualis Romani ad usum Dioecesium Provinciae Baltimorensis jussu Concilii Provincialis III, approbante SS. D.N. Gregorio P.P. XVI*

tuals be followed in all cases, where there is no reasonable doubt of the validity of the protestant [*sic*] Baptism (*in casu*)²⁵, and whenever conditional Baptism is administered privately (*omissis oibis* [= *omnibus*] *caeremoniis*)²⁶.

My reason for these suggestions are, that the ceremonies of solemn Baptism contain already the necessary abjurations (especially the *Forma Bapt.[ismi] Adult.[orum]*²⁷ to be adhibited in [the] future)²⁸, and a much better Profession as [*sic*] that mentioned in the Circular Num[ber] III. As the H.[oly] Sacrament of Baptism is the most effectual way of Justification & Incorporation with [*sic*] the Church of Christ, it seems almost derogatory to the efficacy of this H.[oly] Sacrament, to change the white stole for a purple one — and to absolve from Excommunication him, who a few moments before was invested with the white garment etc.²⁹ To use the *Forma Bapt.[ismi] Adult.[orum]*³⁰ and after it to go through the *Modus*

editum, Baltimore 1843, 191-197. This will be referred to as *Compendium Ritualis Romani* (Balt.).

²⁵ « For the case » [at hand].

²⁶ Private baptism, that is, baptism administered « with all the ceremonies omitted ». This could happen in danger of death, or, a times, when baptism is repeated conditionally.

²⁷ « The Form of Baptism for Adults ». This is nothing else but a more prolix rite for infant baptism that originated in the declining Middle Ages. Vatican II made obligatory the 1962 grant of carrying out the rite in stages and it decreed a full revision of the rites of infant and adult baptisms. See J. R. Jungman, *Baptism, Liturgy* of, in NCE 2 (1967) 61. For the new rites, see *The Rites of the Catholic Church as Revised by the Second Vatican Council*, New York 1976, 13-283. See *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 61 (1969) 548; 64 (1972) 252.

²⁸ Neumann speaks as though the rite for adult baptism will soon be obligatory. In 1852 the First Plenary Council of Baltimore asked Rome to grant forever, or to extend for twenty more years, the privilege of using the shorter rite of infant baptism for the baptism of adults. By way of answer, Pius IX granted the privilege for five years and the bishops were told that they should start to accustom themselves to the ceremonies for adult baptism. See *Concilium Plen. Balt. I*, 27, 49, 57-58; Mansi, *Concilia*, XLIV, 666, 676, 680. The Eighth Provincial Council of Baltimore in May 1855 reminded the priests that the privilege would run out in two years, that they should have at hand copies of the adult rite and that they should on occasion use it as a means of getting used to it. See *Concilium Balt. Prov. VIII*, 21-22; Mansi, *Concilia*, XLVII, 147-148. Later, Rome granted a further indulgence at the request of Archbishop Kenrick of Baltimore.

²⁹ Neumann is speaking here in the light of having the profession of faith after the baptism. See Neumann to Barnabò, April 11, 1858, Philadelphia; APF, Udienze, vol. 129 (1858 II), fols. 966a-d. Sampers, *Neumanns Briefwechsel*, 283-290. In the rite of baptism, after the renunciation of Satan and the anointing with the oil of catechumens, the priest takes off the violet stole and replaces it with a white one. After the baptism, each one receives a white garment, a symbol of joy, sinlessness and immortality. For the profession of faith, the priest then has to go back to the violet stole. To Neumann, this was incongruous theology and symbolism.

³⁰ See n. 27.

excipiendi Professionem etc.³¹ is a thing rather hard to enjoin, or better to say to perform, particularly on Sundays, or when returns [= conversions] to our H.[oly] Church, are a frequent occurrence [*sic*]. On the other hand it is very desirable that the Return of a Prodigal Son be better solemnized, than merely [*sic*] by making him repeat some three or four lines³².

8. I believe that no *general* method can possibly be devised to secure church property³³. The laws of our States are too various, & changing every year³⁴. To prevent serious losses I see no surer way, but to have always as little as possible — & to keep quiet³⁵. When new deeds are to be made after [= since] the last Law³⁶ I order to word them: « To the Right Reverend John N. Neumann Bishop of Philadelphia and his heirs and assigns on behalf of the Rom.[an] Cath.[olic] Congregation of N... as a grave-Yard etc. »³⁷. I believe that Provincial Councils afford the best opportunity to frame regulations for the dioceses of their province on this point as well as about the means to be secured for the decent support of each individual

³¹ See n. 24.

³² Neumann wanted to highlight the ceremonies of the sacramental rite in preference to extra-sacramental formulas. He was also concerned that the converts and the priests be not overburdened with unnecessarily drawn out ceremonies. The difficulties of doing this on Sundays, with miles of travel to the mission stations, is obvious. Neumann returns to the reception of converts in letters 26 and 28.

³³ Neumann's experience is borne out by the conclusions of Dignan's research. He says: « In the development of the Catholic Church in the United States, no problem has presented more difficulty than that of the tenure of church property ». See Patrick Dignan, *A History of the Legal Incorporation of Catholic Church Property in the United States: 1784-1932*, New York 1935, v.

³⁴ For the great diversity of laws, even at the present time, see *ibid.* 245-268.

³⁵ The general meaning is clear. He means not to buy too much property and not to publicize it too prominently. In referring to church property in the United States, we Catholics often say that we should « keep a low profile ».

³⁶ The Pennsylvania church property law of April 1855, reputed to be the machination of disgruntled trustees and Know-Nothingism, was a sharp reversal of the law of 1844 and was decidedly more lay-oriented. See Dignan, *Church Property*, 178, 198-200.

³⁷ In his letters, his visitations and the Synod of 1855, he had to work constantly to safeguard church property and to see that the requirements of civil and canon law were met. He had to see that property was not held by priests in their own name, that it was kept in the name of the bishop for the congregation, that personal income and debts were carefully separated from parish income and debts, that the priest have a lay committee, approved by him, for business help. See *Constitutiones Dioec. Phil.* 34-35; ABPR, N, Data 1855, « Rules for the Administration of Churches in the Diocese of Philadelphia, October 1855 ». See also Curley, *Neumann*, 252-255, 282-283, 286-287, 300-301, 384.

Bishop³⁸. No plan or system, howsoever wise & good, will work well. The world with all its paternal Governments will never rest as long as the Church has only one foot of ground to stand on: she is too spiritual, too divine for this unhappy world & they will not be satisfied until she is crucified. These are however dreams occasioned by the last news from Europe, which I read just now³⁹.

As I have to be absent yet from the City for some weeks⁴⁰ I have requested the Very Reverend F.[ather] Sourin⁴¹, to call for that unhappy woman, & to send her Deposition (*cum juramento*)⁴² to You — I hope he has succeeded in finding her⁴³. Though I have acted in this affair with all circumspection & good will as much as I am conscious of I feel very much uneasiness about it. I beg You most humbly to recommend this affair to God that everything may be directed according to his own most holy and merciful Will.

I received a short letter from Cardinal Franzoni [*sic*], in which he notifies me, that he will propose my request for an appointment to one or the other of the last projected Sees. — he says however that I must not expect much — as such like requests hardly ever are gratified [*sic*] — His letter is dated July 5⁴⁴ and no action has been

³⁸ For a survey of the legislation of the Baltimore councils regarding church property, see Guilday, *Baltimore Councils*, 267-270. For the methods of providing support for bishops in the United States, see Michael Kremer, *Church Support in the United States*, Washington, D.C., 1930, 117-124.

³⁹ The period after the revolutions of 1848 was characterized by democracy and liberty, anti-Catholic liberalism and the laicism of state bureaucracy. Taking advantage of the democratic spirit, Catholics could unite to establish a press, make themselves heard politically (Center Party) and take part in the social movement. This was the age of the leadership of Bishop Ketteler, Bishop of Mainz from 1850 to 1877. The Church spoke out against government bureaucracy and fought for its rights in clerical education and appointments, ecclesiastical discipline, religious instruction and the administration of property. The Church wanted to see itself less and less a department of the State. See K. Bihlmeyer-H. Tüchle, *Church History*, tr. V. Mills-F. Muller, Westminster, Maryland, 1966, III, 398-399; L. Lenhart, *Ketteler, Wilhelm Emmanuel von*, in NCE 8 (1967) 170-172.

⁴⁰ At that time Neumann was making visitations at Berlinsville (Aug. 23), Drumore (Sept. 23), Easton (Aug. 23-26), Parksburg (Sept. 16) and Stroudsburg (Aug. 28). See *Visitation Record*, 6, 16, 17, 174, 182.

⁴¹ See letter 3, n. 4.

⁴² A deposition « under oath ».

⁴³ For the possibility that this is Bridget Smith and that Neumann did not find her until 1859, see letter 27.

⁴⁴ The letter from Propaganda was dated not the fifth but the fourth of July 1855. See the Secretary's copy in APF, LDB, vol. 346 (1855) fol. 461r; Sampers, *Neumanns Briefwechsel*, 276-277. As previously seen, Neumann is referring to Pottsville, Pennsylvania, or Wilmington, North Carolina.

taken yet in reference to the last Prov.[incial] Council⁴⁵. I remain
with sentiments of the most profound Veneration
Most Reverend Sir

Your most humble and obedient Servant
† John N. Bishop of Philadelphia

⁴⁵ For the observations of Propaganda regarding the acts and decrees of the Eighth Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1855, see the letter of February 17, 1857 in APF, LDB, vol. 348 (1857), fol. 91; Orlandi, *Neumann e i vescovi*, 385.

Letter 14

Philadelphia, October 23, 1855

Most Reverend Sir

I am very sorry that the Reverend Shorb¹ has brought up Your name in the suit² of the Summit-Hill Congregation³, & I have written

¹ Basil A. Shorb (1810-1871). A native Pennsylvanian, born near Littlestown in 1810, Basil Shorb was ordained a priest of the diocese of Cincinnati on May 20, 1837. In 1843 he joined the diocese of Philadelphia and carried on a zealous apostolate in many parishes until his death at Bonneauville on April 4, 1871. As first resident pastor of St. Joseph's at Summit Hill from October 1854 to August 1858 he kept Kenrick and Neumann informed about the court cases mentioned here and in letters 15 and 18. Kenrick described Shorb as « a priest of blameless life and commendable zeal ». He also had the reputation of being somewhat quaint in his ways, of looking more like a farmer than a priest. Also at times he would preach in « Pennsylvania Dutch » — a dialect based on German and English — much to the delight of those who knew and understood both languages. See *One Hundred and Twenty Five Years, St. Joseph's Church, Summit Hill, Pennsylvania, 1850-1975*, 5. The pages are not numbered. This will be referred to as *St. Joseph's, Summit Hill*. See Kenrick, *Diary and Visitation Record*, 227, 240, 242, 254; F. X. Reuss, *St. Peter's Church, Columbia, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania*, in *Records* 4 (1893) 97; *Catholic Chronicles of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania*, in *Records* 9 (1898) 213-214; Orlandi, *Neumann Relazione*, 56, n. 107. Letters 14, 15 and 18 dealing with Shorb and Henegan, with Summit Hill and Mauch Chunk, are a unit. The composite picture can be obtained only by reading the texts and notes together.

² This note will deal only with the « Summit Hill suit ». The following note will deal with the parish. While Father Henegan was building up Summit Hill and other centers, he took out a loan. He did this without any authorization from Kenrick. Furthermore, he did it in the fall of 1851 after Kenrick left to become archbishop of Baltimore. In taking out the loan he put up the church property at Summit Hill

to him according to Your desire⁴. I do not see on what grounds the Creditors could claim an indemnification from You: but even in the case, that a decision would be made to that end, this Diocese will settle the matter⁵. I do not think though, that it will come so far⁶.

The bond & mortgage signed in November 1852⁷ is on the church in Mauch-Chunk⁸, & have nothing to do with the above law suit.

as collateral. Actually, the loan was made in the interests of his own personal property in Nesquehoning. It was a drawn out case (until 1857) with many postponements due to delayed affidavits in reaching the hearings and due to the procrastination of Father Sourin, the Philadelphia Vicar General, in forwarding documents. The church was in the hands of the sheriff and almost confiscated. See the letters of Shorb, the pastor of Summit Hill, to Kenrick in AAB, 31-I-8-9-10, [October 1855], March 5, 1856, May 7, 1856. In the second letter of March 5, 1856, Shorb speaks of the data he gave Kenrick the previous October. Hence the dating of the first letter as of October 1855. A later hand, not Shorb's, wrote October 16, 1852, on the letter. This is an impossible date for various reasons: 1) the statement made in the second letter; 2) Shorb did not get there until October 1854; 3) the letter says that the Summit Hill case had been going on for two or three years; 4) Shorb tells Kenrick in this letter that he reported the facts to Neumann when he first arrived there and that was a year ago (October 1854). These reasons point to an October 1855 dating. For further data, see letters 15 and 18. For Sourin's procrastination, see also AAB, Kenrick's *Literarum Registrum* October 19, 1855, February 19, 1856, pp. 92, 99.

³ There was a church at Summit Hill in 1844. Kenrick visited there in 1847 and 1849. The traditional date for the parish there, St. Joseph's, is 1850 when Father Patrick Henegan (see n. 9), who was starting parishes there and at Mauch Chunk, began keeping separate records. The first rectory was built under Father Shorb, pastor from 1854 to 1858. Neumann made visitations there in 1852, 1854, 1857 and 1858. See *St. Joseph's, Summit Hill*, 1-5; Kenrick, *Diary and Visitation Record*, 245, 256; Neumann, *Visitation Record*, 182.

⁴ There is no trace of this letter. The chronology of the events can be reconstructed. As already seen, sometime in October Shorb wrote to Kenrick about the Summit Hill suit. On October 19 Kenrick wrote to Neumann about the case and urged him to get a lawyer, lest he be held responsible for the mortgage. Neumann at once wrote to Shorb imparting Kenrick's instructions. Neumann then wrote this letter on October 23. See above, n. 2; AAB, Kenrick's *Literarum Registrum*, October 19, 1855, p. 92.

⁵ Kenrick was apprehensive lest he be held responsible for the Summit Hill mortgage. On his part, Neumann was resolved that Kenrick would not be involved financially. In the event of an adverse judgment, the diocese of Philadelphia would handle the matter.

⁶ The case went all the way through the courts. For the verdict, see letter 18.

⁷ Curley (*Neumann*, 279) ascribes this to 1851 and he speaks of a Mauch Chunk mortgage taken out then by Father Henegan. Neumann's date of 1852 is to be retained. This is confirmed by Kenrick who speaks of a mortgage taken out by John Tree in November 1852 in the name of the Mauch Chunk parish. See AAB, Kenrick's *Literarum Registrum*, October 19, 1855, p. 92. For Henegan's involvement in the Mauch Chunk suit, see below, n. 10.

⁸ As previously seen (Letter 4, n. 3), Mauch Chunk is now known as Jim Thorpe. The Immaculate Conception parish there was organized by Father Patrick Henegan (see next note). The traditional date for the parish is June 1850 when Henegan began to keep separate records for Mauch Chunk. He purchased property for a church in 1849 and began to build the church in 1850. It was completed in 1852, when Henegan had gone to Lambertsville, and was dedicated in 1853. Neumann made visitations there

I have never heard that Reverend P.[atr]ick Hanegan⁹ [*sic*] has made any use of Your name, nor that he has exhibited any document bearing Your signature¹⁰.

This unhappy affair & other similar ones that have occurred¹¹ strengthen me very much in my determination to have Committees appointed in every Congregation to assist Pastors in the management of the temporalities of our Churches¹².

Though I think that I have nothing in view but the good of this Diocese, I am getting from one trouble into the other [*sic*] on account of my indecision & want of experience, so much so that I wish always yet to be released, if such be the Will of God¹³.

in 1852, 1854 and 1856. See Lemuel B. Norton, *History of the Immaculate Conception Parish, in Dedication of the New Church of the Immaculate Conception, Mauch Chunk 1908*, 10-11. This will be referred to as Norton, *Immaculate Conception, Mauch Chunk*. See also Neumann, *Visitation Record*, 166.

⁹ In manuscript documents and printed books there is constant confusion regarding the correct spelling of the name. Documents bearing his signature in the archives of the archdiocese of Newark show clearly that the proper spelling is Henegan. Patrick J. Henegan was ordained a priest of the diocese of Philadelphia by Bishop Kenrick on July 19, 1847. First from Tamaqua, and later from Nesquehoning (August 1850), he started building up parishes in Mauch Chunk and Summit Hill. In February 1852 he left for Lambertsville, New Jersey, which was then in the diocese of Philadelphia. He stayed on there when the diocese of Newark was created in 1853. Documents in the archives show him slow in paying debts and defaulting on paying promissory notes. In a telegram, dated Philadelphia, October 3, 1854, Henegan asked Bishop Bayley for his « exeat » from the diocese and he requested that it be sent to him at Mauch Chunk. At that time he returned to Pennsylvania to pursue, together with a group of followers, his « Mauch Chunk suit » and « Summit Hill suit » against the diocese. Beginning with the 1855 edition he is no longer listed among the priests in the *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac*. In a letter of 1856 Shorb refers to him as the « ex-Reverend Henegan ». He also refers to a rumor about Henegan's plans to leave Pennsylvania for California. See Norton, *Immaculate Conception, Mauch Chunk*, 10-11; *St. Joseph's, Summit Hill*, 1-3; AAB, 31-1-9-10, Shorb-Kenrick Letters; Archives of the Archdiocese of Newark, Henegan folder.

¹⁰ Lacking court records, one can only rely on these words of Neumann for Henegan's part in the Mauch Chunk suit. Apparently, in his days there he had a document, to which he affixed Kenrick's signature, that made Kenrick responsible for debts he contracted. The case must have gone on for some years. Speaking of financial difficulties, the parish history relates that an execution for debt was issued on December 4, 1856 and that a levy was made upon the church property on January 7, 1857. We are then told that the pastor, Father Charles McEnroe, raised a sufficient amount of money to pay off all claims on January 26, 1857 and that the danger was overcome. See Norton, *Immaculate Conception, Mauch Chunk*, 13. Requests to the courts of Carbon County, Pennsylvania, have turned up nothing on this case.

¹¹ For more information regarding financial and property problems in the parishes, see Curley, *Neumann*, 279, 286-289.

¹² Although Neumann was against Trusteeism and insisted on the proper canonical and civil incorporation of church property, he was in favor of appointed lay committees for a more efficient management of parish finances. See *Constitutiones Dioec. Phil.* 35; ABPR, N, *Data* 1855, « Rules for the Administration of Churches in the Diocese of Philadelphia, October 1855 ».

¹³ The problems of finances and the temporalities of the diocese caused Neu-

I will send You this week yet the \$ 50.00 toward the expenses of our Roman Agent¹⁴.

I have the honour to remain, Most Reverend Sir, with sincere veneration

Your most humble Servant in Christ
John N. Neumann C.S.S.R.
Bishop of Philadelphia

Most Reverend Archbishop of Baltimore

mann to hope all the more that Rome would relieve him of the burdens of Philadelphia as he proposed in 1855 (Letter 10). Notice however his complete dependence on the Will of God. Rome's answer, which for Neumann was God's Will, did not arrive until 1857. Neumann's proposal regarding Philadelphia is mentioned in letters 16, 17, 18, 19.

¹⁴ The Eighth Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1855 recommended that a priest be chosen to go to Rome and work for the proposed American College in the name of the bishops of the United States. It was also suggested that each bishop make a contribution of \$25 or \$50 to pay the agent's expenses. In other provinces, there was not the same enthusiasm for the College or for the Baltimore Plan. Kenrick complained about the fewness of those who responded. Neumann is speaking here about his contribution for the « Roman agent ». See *Concilium Balt. Prov. VIII*, 17. More detail is found in the manuscript account of the minutes of the meetings as found in AAB, 32B-G-6, ff. 13-15. For Neumann as a contributor, see Archives of the Diocese of Charleston, 9-K-6, Kenrick to Lynch, December 9, 1855, Baltimore; Marschall, *Kenrick*, 275; AAB, Kenrick's *Literarum Registrum*, November, 2, 1855, p. 94. Here Kenrick speaks of receiving \$100 from M. Frenaye in the name of Bishops Neumann and O'Connor. The writer hopes to publish soon an article on Neumann and the American College.

Letter 15

[Fall 1855 ?]¹

Most Reverend Sir

I understand so little about legal affairs that I can hardly know what that deposition of Yours would want². The unhappy Reverend

¹ As previously seen, Shorb wrote Kenrick in October 1855 about the Summit Hill suit. After hearing from Shorb, Kenrick wrote Neumann on October 19. In keeping with Kenrick's request, Neumann wrote Shorb and then informed Kenrick about this on October 23. The suggestion is now made that the legal document mentioned here was received a bit later on in the fall of the same year. See Letter 14, nn. 1, 4. See also the next two notes of the present letter.

² The English is clumsy but the meaning is clear. Shorb had asked Kenrick

Hanegan³ [*sic*] had no right to take deposits & to charge them to the Church at the Summit⁴. — there is a statute of the first or second Diocesan Synod prohibiting this course⁵. As I have no copy of the Synods with me here, I cannot at present give the words. I will send a copy of them to the Reverend Shorb⁶ tomorrow morning⁷. I remain with the most humble submission

Yours, most truly
† John N. Bishop of Philadelphia

Most Reverend Archbishop Kenrick
Baltimore

to send an affidavit stating that he never authorized Henegan «to appear in court and confess Judgment against the church property at Summit Hill». Kenrick must have had a formal legal document drawn up and sent a copy on to Neumann as the bishop of the involved parish. The ponderous and technical language of legal documents can be difficult and Neumann was confused as to what the document required of him. See AAB, 31-I-9, Shorb to Kenrick, [October 1855].

³ For Henegan, see Letter 14, nn. 2-3, 7-9. Neumann's language bolsters the argument for the dating of the letter. He speaks of the «unhappy» Henegan. This argues for a date after his departure in late 1854 from the diocese of Newark and then from the priesthood. This was also the way he described him in Letter 18 of 1857 when he is reporting the settlement of the case. It is an adjective used to describe a priest who went astray. In a similar manner (Letter 24) Neumann uses the same adjective when referring to Sister M. Dolores Lopez who left the Visitations and then received a dispensation from her vows.

⁴ See Letter 14, nn. 1-4.

⁵ Prior to Neumann's time the first three Synods of Philadelphia were held under Kenrick in 1832, 1842 and 1847. Neumann's local memory fails him slightly here. Actually the reference should be to the second constitution of the third synod of 1847 that contains a strong prohibition of loans of this type. See *Constitutiones Dioec. Phil.* 19-20.

⁶ See Letter 14, nn. 1-4; 7; Letter 18, n. 1.

⁷ There is no indication where the letter was written. However, it was close enough to Philadelphia for Neumann to get back there and send a copy of the synod to Shorb the next morning. For the visitation of the parishes closer to Philadelphia, Curley describes him as darting in and out of the city. See Curley, *Neumann*, 218, 342.

Letter 16

Philadelphia, November 14, 1856

Most Reverend Sir

Bishop O'Connor has had the kindness to get drawn up the form of an Instrument by which I can assign all I hold in trust to a Priest, who will have to make it over again to my successor or successors, in case the Holy See would remove me from here, & appoint perhaps another one — than me — to Pottsville¹. Mr. Staunton, a lawyer in Equity, at Pittsburgh², finds it advisable, to have as many instruments of transfer as there are Counties, where I hold property³. The forms will be printed before I return from a trip to Bellefonte & [the] neighborhood⁴, & on the 21st of this month all these affairs will be in order.

¹ At one time (September 1856) in the protracted proceedings of the « Neumann Case » Kenrick and O'Connor were told that Pope Pius IX — while reserving the final decision to another meeting of Propaganda — declared himself ready to accept Neumann's request for a transfer and that they could make known in Philadelphia that it was almost certain that the request would be granted. O'Connor, who was well versed in the intricacies of civil law and church property, had a legal document drawn up for Neumann that would guarantee the smooth transfer of church property and satisfy the law of 1855. Curley, *Neumann*, 253,300-303; Orlandi, *Neumann e i vescovi*, 333-334, 380-381; Szarnicki, *O'Connor*, 239-240.

² The mention of the Pittsburgh lawyer is significant. Writing to Kenrick about Neumann and the church property problem, O'Connor says that Neumann intends « spending a week or ten days in Pittsburgh and there arranging that affair ». He then adds that Neumann « did not like to do anything about it in Philadelphia, lest it should give rise to other reports about his translation and consequently to disturbance ». See O'Connor to Kenrick, November 7, 1856, Pittsburgh, in AAB 30-W-65; Szarnicki, *O'Connor*, 241.

³ According to Neumann's reports in the annual *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory*, the diocese of Philadelphia comprised thirty-six counties.

⁴ The parish of St. John the Evangelist at Bellefonte goes back to 1830 and the zeal of Father John O'Reilly, later pastor of St. Paul's, Pittsburgh, who came over from Huntingdon and started building a church. Of the 1837 poverty of this mission, Kenrick says that the few people « can hardly contribute enough to support a pastor ». In 1838 the pastor lived in the sacristy « because the Catholics are too few and too poor to provide a residence ». See Kenrick, *Diary and Visitation Record*, 41-42, 152, 162. Neumann made visitations at Bellefonte in 1853, 1856 and 1858. In the latter year the Benedictines were in charge of the mission that took in seven counties. Later, Father Otto Kopf, one of the Benedictines stationed there, left an account of Neumann's zeal on visitation tours and of his concern for the poverty of a country priest. When Neumann took one look at Kopf, he insisted on going to a store and buying him a complete outfit of clothes. See Neumann, *Visitation Record*, 5; Curley, *Neumann*, 340, 343; Otto Kopf to Joseph Wissel, February 27, 1902, Monte Casino, Kentucky, in ABPR, N, Wissel Papers.

I have myself received as yet no communication from the Propaganda, & wait with all patience & resignation for the decision from Rome. In things of this sort I have to rely only in [*sic*] divine Providence⁵.

The Reverend Dr. Keogh⁶ passed through on his return from Rome to Pittsburgh. He brought me a Silver Medal which the Holy Father sends [*sic*] to the Bishops who have been in Rome on the occasion of the Dogmatical Definition of the Immaculate Conception⁷.

If the weather continues favorable two or three weeks more, the middle façade of the front of the Cathedral will be finished⁸. I need not assure you, Most Reverend Sir, that the whole front looks already exceedingly well, & might repay a trip even from Baltimore⁹.

⁵ Neumann is referring to an answer from Rome regarding his offer to resign Philadelphia and go to a smaller and poorer See. Here we notice his patience and resignation and his relying on divine Providence. At the end of the letter he asks Kenrick to recommend his future to the mercy of God. See the data in Letters 10, 13, 17, 18 and the answer in Letter 19.

⁶ James Keogh (1834-1870). The family of Irish-born James Keogh settled in Pittsburgh in 1841. He was ordained at Rome on August 5, 1856 where he obtained his doctorate in philosophy in 1851 and in theology in 1855. After working in Latrobe, he was appointed professor of dogmatic theology at St. Michael's Seminary by Bishop O'Connor. Under Bishop Domenec, C.M., he became president of the seminary, secretary to the bishop and editor of *The Pittsburgh Catholic*. In 1865, because of differences with the bishop over the conducting of the seminary and the newspaper, he resigned and went to Philadelphia where he taught at St. Charles Seminary and became (1866) the first editor of *The Catholic Standard*. He was a Secretary at the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore. Because of ill health he returned to Pittsburgh in 1868 and died there on July 10, 1870. See J. Hennessey, *Keogh, James*, in *NCE* 8 (1967) 162.

⁷ Neumann was one of six bishops from the United States who went to Rome in 1854. He took advantage of the visit to make his *ad limina* report to Pope Pius IX. He also went on to Bohemia to see his father and sisters whom he had not seen since leaving home in 1836. See Curley, *Neumann*, 233-246. For an interesting account of his stay with his Redemptorist confreres and for the pilgrimage aspect of his Roman visit, see Oreste Gregorio, *Ricordo del ven. G. Neumann tra i Redentoristi napoletani*, in *Spic. hist.* 11 (1963) 233-242.

⁸ The architect's report of 1857 on the middle or main facade speaks of the completion of the center pediment in front of the nave. The apex or crowning stone was laid the day before Christmas 1856. The facade rose 100 feet in the air. Some of the stones weighed ten to twelve tons. The report then mentions the contract for the facades of the side aisles and expresses the hope of having the entire front finished by the summer of 1857. See *The Catholic Herald and Visitor*, March 21, 1857.

⁹ The bishop's joy expressed in this December letter is heard again in his report at the annual meeting of the cathedral committee in March, 1857. Neumann says that, despite the tight economy, contributions kept coming in. In 1856, \$13,206.49 was spent on the cathedral. A big factor was the increase in population. The diocese was reported to comprise 250,000 people — possibly 300,000 — half of whom were in the city. The sight of the facade made Neumann think of a speedy completion of the roof and dome. See *ibid.* The estimation of a population of 300,000 is the highest Neumann ever made. A more realistic figure, both from Bishops Neumann and Wood, — from as late as September, 1858 — is 250,000. See the writer's *The Sainly John Neumann*, in *The History of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia*, 220.

I most humbly beg Your charity to recommend my future to the Mercy of God, & remain with sincere veneration

Most Reverend Sir

Your most humble and obedient Servant in Christ
† John N. Neumann C.S.S.R.

Most Reverend Archbishop of Baltimore

Letter 17

Philadelphia, January 26, 1857¹

Most Reverend Sir

I was several times prepared to start for Baltimore but could not yet get off. I hope though that next week nothing will happen to prevent me.

No letter has yet reached me from Rome in regard to my affairs², & all seem to think that no change will be made³. I am myself indifferent as to the decision⁴.

¹ In the archives of the archdiocese of Baltimore the first three letters of 1857 are catalogued as 30-U-20-21-22. The present letter is listed as letter 22. Actually, this letter should be listed as the first of the three and the Baltimore chronological sequence would be 30-U-22-20-21. The reason for the misnumbering is that the cataloguer read June instead of January in the — to him — confused abbreviation Jan. June is an impossible date, as will be seen in the next note. The letter is listed here as letter 17 as is explained in the Introduction.

² This remark makes it certain that the proper reading of the date of the letter is January and not June. Neumann's « affairs » center about his proposal to divide the large diocese of Philadelphia, resign his See and go to a smaller diocese. Neumann did not know Rome's answer in January, but he knew it in June, the answer having arrived in March. See the data in Letters 10, 13, 16, 18, and Rome's answer in Letter 19.

³ It is interesting to note that Rome's first reaction — which turned out to be the final decision — was that Neumann's request to leave Philadelphia would not be readily granted because it knew well the care with which he ruled the diocese. See Propaganda to Neumann, July 4, 1855, Rome, in APF, LDB, vol. 346 (1855), fol. 416r; Sampers, *Neumanns Briefwechsel*, 276-277. See Letter 13, n. 44. The longer the decision was in coming, so much greater grew the conviction that he would not be changed.

⁴ Notice his detachment and indifference in this long wait, a wait that lasted

Expecting to present my respects to You in person, I remain with sincere veneration

Your most humble Servant in Christ
 † J. N. Neumann C.S.S.R.
 Bishop of Philadelphia

twenty-two months. For the impatience of some of the friends of Wood, whose name was the first on the list in the event of Neumann's transfer, see Curley, *Neumann*, 203. For Rome's answer, see Letter 19.

Letter 18

J.M.J.

Philadelphia, March 10, 1857

Most Reverend Sir

The Reverend B.[asil] Shorb¹ of Summit-Hill² has just informed me, that the lawsuit of the Creditors of the unfortunate Reverend Hanegan³ [*sic*] against us has at last come to the [*sic*] end. The decision of the Judge was, that neither the Church at the Old Mines⁴, nor You, are responsible for the debts contracted — the plaintiff [*sic*] moreover is to pay the costs etc. I thank God that this very troublesome affair is settled⁵.

¹ See Letter 14, nn. 1-4; Letter 15, nn. 1-2.

² See Letter 14, nn. 1-4. See below, n. 4.

³ See Letter 14, nn. 2-3, 7-9; Letter 15, n. 3.

⁴ Summit Hill was formerly known as Old Mines. See *St. Joseph's, Summit Hill*, 1; *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory for 1852*, 80. in his *ad limina* report to Rome in 1854 Neumann refers to the place as Old Mines. See Orlandi, *Neumann Relazione*, 61, n. 23.

⁵ This is the only data on the close of the Summit Hill suit. Requests were sent to the courts of Carbon County; no documents were obtained. Furthermore, the archives of the diocese of Allentown and the parishes involved have no records bearing on the Summit Hill suit or on the Mauch Chunk suit.

It has been mentioned to me that Dr. Kane⁶ had become a Catholic before he died. Jos.[eph] R.[ipley] Chandler⁷, who is chairman of the Committee appointed to make arrangements for the reception of the remains — thinks however that this statement is unfounded — as Judge Kane, the Father of the deceased, would not conceal it if it were true. Our great men will therefore have their way without any danger of interference or collision.

I see in this mornings [*sic*] *Ledger*⁸ that Bishop Cretin⁹ was buried at St. Pauls [*sic*] on the 24th of last month. R.[equiescat] I.[n] P.[ace]¹⁰. Map be that the increasing number of vacant Sees will at last attract attention in Rome & urge them to action¹¹.

I remain with sincere veneration
Most Reverend Sir

Your most obedient Servant in Christ
† John N. Neumann C.S.S.R.
Bishop of Philadelphia

Most Reverend Archbishop of Baltimore

⁶ Elisha Bent Kane (1820-1857) obtained his Doctor of Medicine degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1842. He then became a Naval surgeon and pioneered in Arctic exploration. Kane Basin, northwest of Greenland, is named after him. He died at Havana, where he went for health reasons, on February 16, 1857. See *Kane, Elisha Bent*, in *Encyclopedia Britannica, Micropedia* 5 (1974) 685.

⁷ The life of Joseph Ripley Chandler (1792-1880), born in Kingston, Massachusetts, is centered in Philadelphia. While not a Catholic, he married Mary H. Jones, a Catholic, at St. John's in 1833. He was in the City Council from 1832 to 1848, a member of Congress from 1849 to 1855. In 1858 he became United States Minister to the Court of Naples, a post he held until 1861. The precise date of his becoming a Catholic is not known. It is known that in March, 1857, he spoke at the annual meeting of the cathedral committee and happily boasted: «I am a Catholic. I am a Roman Catholic». He died at Philadelphia on July 10, 1880. See *Some Philadelphia Converts*, in *Records* 33 (1922) 249; *The Catholic Herald and Visitor*, March 21, 1857.

⁸ *The Public Ledger* was also known as *The Public Ledger and Daily Transcript*, *The Public Ledger and Philadelphia Press*, *The Public Ledger and North American*. It began publication on March 25, 1836 and continued for almost a century when it merged with *The Philadelphia Inquirer* on April 14, 1934. See *American Newspapers 1821-1936. A Union List of Files Available in the United States and Canada*, ed. N. Gregory, New York 1937, 616.

⁹ Bishop Joseph Cretin (1799-1857). Born in France, Cretin was ordained a priest on December 20, 1823 and continued to work in France as curate and pastor until 1838. In that year, French-born Bishop Loras of Dubuque, Iowa, was recruiting priests in France. Cretin volunteered, arrived in Dubuque the following year and was immediately named Vicar General. He was named first bishop of St. Paul, Minnesota on July 23, 1850. He died there on February 22, 1857. See Code, *American Hierarchy*, 55; J. Shannon, *Cretin, Joseph*, in *NCE* 4 (1967) 446-447.

¹⁰ A prayer for the departed: «May he rest in peace».

¹¹ On March 10, 1857, Neumann did not yet know that Rome had already acted and had decided to keep him in Philadelphia. Nor did he have any idea that the answer was on its way, an answer that goes back to his proposal of May 1855. See Letters 10, 13, 16, 17, 18 and the answer in the following letter.

Letter 19

Philadelphia, April 10, 1857

Most Reverend Sir

The Right Reverend Dr. Wood has accepted his nomination to be my Coadjutor¹. His letter (dated April 4)², & the many good qualities, which are attributed to him by all who know him here, have produced the most happy effect on our Catholics, & we all give thanks to God for the provision he has made for the welfare of this diocese.

I perceived Dr. Wood, to have his consecration performed in Philadelphia, & I intended in case of his consent, to beg of You, Most Reverend Sir, to officiate — but he prefers to be consecrated in Cincinnati [*sic*], as he has there his Mother, Sisters, and so many friends, whom he wishes to grafitly. I am myself invited to assist at the Consecration, & will of course do it with great pleasure. I have not been notified, what day the Consecration is to take place — but it will be probably on the second or third Sunday after Easter³.

It is still very doubtful whether we will realize anything from the Will of H.[enry] Farrell⁴ — as there is some doubt whether

¹ Rome's solution for the Philadelphia problem was — in line with the proposal of Kenrick — to keep Neumann on as bishop of Philadelphia and to assign him a coadjutor who would be a help to him especially in financial matters. The choice fell upon James Frederick Wood, a priest of the diocese of Cincinnati, who was chosen December 9, 1856. The official notice was not sent until February 17, 1857; Kenrick received the news March 30, 1857. For the story and the documents, see Curley, *Neumann*, 301-305; Orlandi, *Neumann e i vescovi*, 334-337, 369-386; Alfred C. Rush, *The Saintly John Neumann*, in *The History of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia*, 240-241.

² This letter is not extant. However, we know from Kenrick's letter that he and Neumann received the news with great joy. See Kenrick to Barnabò, April 24, 1857, Baltimore, in APF, SOCG, Vol. 982 (1857), fols. 624rv. See also Neumann to Purcell, April 10, 1857, Philadelphia, in AUND, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-n.

³ Wood was ordained bishop on the second Sunday after Easter, April 26, 1857. The ordaining prelate was Archbishop Purcell, assisted by Bishops Neumann and Richard Whelan of Richmond. See Curley, *Neumann*, 310-311. James Frederick Wood (1813-1883), a native of Philadelphia who later moved to Cincinnati, became a Catholic in 1836 and was ordained in Rome in 1844. He was then engaged in pastoral work until 1857 and his appointment to Philadelphia. Both before and after coming to Philadelphia his name was proposed for various Sees. As coadjutor with the right of succession he automatically became bishop of Philadelphia when Neumann died on January 5, 1860. In 1875 Philadelphia was made an archdiocese, with Wood its first archbishop. He died and was buried there in 1883. See Curley, *Neumann*, 307-309; Code, *American Hierarchy*, 299. See also the section on Wood, written by Thomas A. Danaghy, in Connelly, *The History of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia*, 252-266.

⁴ The will of Henry A. Farrell, made in 1855 and executed in 1857, contained

he had his property in fee simple. We have been here tantalized pretty near enough, & would feel quite pleased, to get something tangible.

We have not heard here anything about Dr. McCaffrey⁵. The general belief especially of the clergy, is that he will not accept of [*sic*] his nomination — but he is said to have declared on some former occasion that he would accept of [*sic*] no bishopricks [*sic*].

The Philadelphia Students at St. Charles' College⁶ have invited me to see them the [*sic*] next week — If nothing particular will happen to prevent me — I intend to gratify them — on which occasion I hope to have the pleasure of paying of [*sic*] [a] short visit.

I wish You, most Reverend Sir, very happy Easter Holidays⁷ & remain with sincere veneration

Your most obedient & humble Servant
 † J. N. Neumann
 Bishop of Philadelphia

Most Reverend Archbishop Kenrick

bequests of real estate and its interest to St. Charles Seminary. See Register of Wills in and for the County of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Will No. 45, Year 1857.

⁵ The life of John Henry McCaffrey (1806-1881) is centered around Emmitsburg, Maryland. He was born there and made his studies for the priesthood at Mount St. Mary's College and Seminary. After serving as vice-president and president of Mount St. Mary's, he became president *emeritus* in 1872 and died in 1881. His name had been proposed for Charleston, Natchez, Savannah, Philadelphia and for coadjutorship of Philadelphia. See Orlandi, *Neumann e i vescovi*, 352, 377, 383, 385, 386; G. Mulcahy, *McCaffrey, John Henry*, in NCE 9 (1967) 5-6.

⁶ St. Charles College, a minor seminary conducted by the Sulpicians, was inaugurated at Ellicott City, Maryland, in 1831. See C. J. Noonan, *Sulpicians*, in NCE 13 (1967) 786. In his desire of fostering native vocations, and vocations among the poor, Neumann decided to recruit at an earlier age. In 1856 he had twenty youths whom he sent to Ellicott City to be educated at the expense of the diocese. His ideal was his own diocesan preparatory seminary. A few months before his death he saw his plan realized in the Glen Riddle preparatory seminary that opened in September 1859 with an enrollment of twenty-six. In this, Neumann was a man of vision; furthermore, his plan worked. In the Neumann years, 1852-1860, the average number ordained annually was nine. In the span of five years from 1860, Philadelphia was seeing ordination classes of fifteen, seventeen and nineteen. This increase of vocations also settled the problem of priests for German-speaking parishes. More and more the ordination lists contain German names, the American sons of the German immigrants who could speak German. See Curley, *Neumann*, 379-380; O'Donnell, *St. Charles*, 37-44, 389-392; Alfred C. Rush, *People's Response to St. John Neumann*, in *Pastoral Life* 27 (May 1978) 38-42.

⁷ This letter was written on Good Friday. Easter Sunday was April 12. See *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory for 1857*, 20.

Letter 20

WE JOHN NEPOMUCENE ¹
by the grace of God and the Apostolic See ²
BISHOP OF PHILADELPHIA ³

To all who will examine this document we declare and testify that the Reverend Mister ⁴ Edm.[und] Q.[uincy] S.[heafe] Waldron ⁵ obtained from me full liberty to leave the diocese of Philadelphia, & to submit himself to the Most Reverend Archbishop of Baltimore ⁶.

We testify that the same Reverend Mister was always outstanding, in purity of conduct and zeal for souls, & that, as far as we

¹ At Neumann's baptism his godfather, John Marek, named him John Nepomucene in honor of St. John of Nepomuc, the patron of Bohemia who died in 1393 and was canonized in 1729. See Rush, *Neumann Autobiography*, 21, 80; B.B. Szczesnik, *John of Nepomuc*, in NCE 7 (1967) 1062.

² In earlier times the archbishop investigated and confirmed the election of his suffragan bishops. In the fourteenth century, with the growing centralization of papal power, the confirmation of an election was frequently given by the Pope, often at the request of the one elected. In the fifteenth century, at the Concordat of Constance in 1418, this right was recognized as belonging to the Pope. One then spoke of a bishop as bishop not only by the grace of God but also by the favor of the Apostolic See. See Bihlmeyer-H. Tüchle, *Church History*, II, 197.

³ Philadelphia, Boston, New York and Bardstown, Kentucky, were set up as the first suffragan Sees of Baltimore in 1808 which then became the first archdiocese. For Philadelphia, see Arthur J. Ennis, O.S.A., *The New Diocese of Philadelphia*, in James Connelly, *The History of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia*, 63-67.

⁴ As previously seen, « Reverend Mister » was the acceptable way of referring to a diocesan priest.

⁵ Edmund Waldron (ca. 1811-1888). New Hampshire-born Edmund Quincy Sheafe Waldron graduated from Dartmouth College and then studied Law. It was probably in 1841 that he became a Catholic at Philadelphia. He then decided to become a priest. He was ordained by Kenrick on December 18, 1847. Along with other duties, Waldron was put in charge of the construction of the cathedral. Under Neumann he continued this work. He grew impatient with Neumann's policy of building only as the money came in. This led to a desire to leave Philadelphia and go to Baltimore. As early as 1853 Kenrick was urging him to stay in Philadelphia. In 1857, after Bishop Wood took over the supervision of the cathedral construction, he decided to make the move. Two weeks before this letter Kenrick wrote Waldron and told him to come quickly if he was so minded. He also insisted that the move was not his, but Waldron's personal choice. Waldron first worked at St. Matthew's, Washington. Later he became pastor at Pikesville, Maryland, a post he held until his death in Baltimore on April 16, 1888. See AAB, Kenrick's *Literarum Registrum*, December 15, 1853, p. 57; July 6, 1857, p. 126; Curley, *Neumann*, 182, 187, 229, 297-298, 317; *The Catholic Herald and Visitor*, August 8, 1857; *Some Philadelphia Converts*, in *Records*, 33 (1922) 265-266.

⁶ Catholicism in Maryland goes back to its colonization in 1634. It was only after the American Revolution and Independence that John Carroll became Prefect Apostolic in 1784 and the first bishop of Baltimore in 1789. As previously seen, Baltimore became the first archdiocese in 1808. See J. Gallagher, *Baltimore, Archdiocese of*, in NCE 2 (1967) 34-38.

know, he is free from all censures.

In testimony whereof we issued this document at Philadelphia, on the twenty third of July in the year 1857.

† John N. Neumann, C.S.S.R.
Bishop of Philadelphia

Letter 21

Most Reverend Sir

I have looked through the Constitutions of various Synods & Councils, but found few things only which might be treated at our next Provincial Council¹. To keep up the uniformity of discipline² it would be no doubt desirable to adopt such Constitutions of other Provinces which are in accordance with the General Discipline of the Church — I have only the Acts of the Provincial Council of Cincinnati³ [*sic*], but could not find those lately held at N.[ew] Y.[ork]⁴, St. Louis⁵ & N.[ew] O.[rleans]⁶.

I remain with sentiments of sincere veneration

Most Reverend Sir

Philadelphia, February 25, 1858⁷

Your most obedient Servant in Christ

† J. N. Neumann
Bishop of Philadelphia

Most Reverend Archbishop of Baltimore

¹ The Ninth Provincial Council of Baltimore was held May 2-9, 1858. See *Concilium Baltimoreense Provinciale IX habitum anno 1858*, Baltimore 1858; Mansi, *Concilia*, XLVII, 571-596.

² In a young church, a church that saw immigrants by the thousands arriving with their divergent customs and practices, uniformity of discipline was a vital need. See Guilday, *Baltimore Councils*, 85.

³ The First Provincial Council of Cincinnati was held May 13-20, 1855. See *Concilium Cincinnatiense Provinciale I habitum anno 1855*; Mansi, *Concilia*, XLVII, 167-190.

⁴ The First Provincial Council of New York was held September 30-October 8, 1855. See *Concilium Neo-Eboracense Primum, habitum Anno MDCCCLV*, New York 1855; Mansi, *Concilia*, XLVII, 81-106.

⁵ The First Provincial Council of St. Louis was held October 7-14, 1855. See *Acta et decreta concilii provincialis primi Sancti Ludovici, habiti anno 1855*, St. Louis 1858; Mansi, *Concilia*, XLVII, 307-318.

⁶ The First Provincial Council of New Orleans was held January 20-27, 1856. See *Concilium Neo-Aurelianense Provinciale Primum, habitum anno 1856*, New Orleans 1857; Mansi, *Concilia*, XLVII, 319-336.

⁷ In these letters there are only two instances where Neumann puts the date at the end.

Most Reverend Sir

I hardly know what to say in reference to the proposal of Bishop O'Connor¹.

The Very Reverend McMahan it appears has administered the affairs of the Diocese of Pittsburgh to every one's satisfaction², I at least have never heard any complaint, & I would therefore think it far better to make no change, unless the V.[ery] R.[everend] McMahan is unwilling to continue in his charge any longer or has become impracticable.

The position of a Coadjutor & his Bishop in our circumstances is so apt to become anomalous & to [*sic*] painful to be of long duration, unless both entertain the same views about the matters which may come up for their decision³.

I have seen the Very Reverend Edw.[ard] Purcell only once in my life, & have no personal knowledge whatever of his qualifica-

¹ Bishop Michael O'Connor of Pittsburgh, in these years, was trying to obtain a coadjutor. Father John B. Byrne of Washington was appointed his coadjutor on May 9, 1857. The day of his consecration was set for August 2. He then decided not to go through with the plans and sent the Papal Bulls back to Rome. O'Connor then looked around for someone else, as will be seen (n. 4 below). See Szarnicki, *O'Connor*, 319-324.

² Born in Ireland in 1800, Edward McMahan was ordained at Bardstown, Kentucky, on July 3, 1825. In 1852 he became Vicar General of the diocese of Pittsburgh. During the absences of O'Connor he acted as administrator. When O'Connor departed from Pittsburgh in 1859 to submit his resignation to Rome, he appointed his brother, James, as administrator. Under the new bishop, Michael Domenec, C.M., McMahan again acted as Vicar General. When Domenec appointed Father Tobias Mullen — later bishop of Erie — as his Vicar General in 1863, McMahan then left Pittsburgh and was accepted into Philadelphia in January 1864. See Andrew Lambing, *Brief Historical Sketches of the Deceased Bishops and Priests in the Diocese of Pittsburgh*, Pittsburgh 1914, 107-112.

³ Neumann's remarks about a coadjutor must be seen in the light of his own experience. The coming of Bishop Wood as coadjutor was not a happy solution. He mistakenly took for granted that Neumann was meant to resign and hand over the diocese to him. In this atmosphere of psychological friction, at the Ninth Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1858, Neumann proposed that Philadelphia be divided, that a new See be erected at Easton, that he resign Philadelphia and go to Easton, and leave Wood in Philadelphia. See Curley, *Neumann*, 321-335; Orlandi, *Neumann e i vescovi*, 336-340, 391-406; Alfred C. Rush, *The Saintly John Neumann*, in Connelly, *History of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia*, 241-249. Neumann's remarks here about having a coadjutor are the only indication we have of his suffering during this painful episode. In a letter to Cardinal Barnabò, Archbishop Purcell of Cincinnati cautions against the appointment of coadjutors and he then goes on to cite historical precedents to bolster his view. For this letter of 1859, see Orlandi, *Neumann e i vescovi*, 413-418.

tions. I give him however my vote if Bishop O'Connor insists on having him for his Coadjutor⁴.

I remain with sincere veneration
Most Reverend Sir

St. Joseph's, Susquehanna County⁵, July 5, 1858⁶

Your most humble and obedient Servant in Christ
† John N. Neumann C.S.S.R.
Bishop of Philadelphia

Most Reverend Archbishop of Baltimore

⁴ When Father Byrne refused the appointment as coadjutor, Bishop O'Connor tried to get Father Edward Purcell. The brother of Archbishop John Baptist Purcell of Cincinnati, Edward (1808-1881) was born in Ireland and came to America as a child. He was educated at Mt. St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, Md., and then went on to study Law. After practising for three years he studied theology and lived out his life as a priest of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati. In 1858, after agreeing to be coadjutor to O'Connor, he changed his mind and sent the document of his appointment back to Rome. See Szarnicki, *O'Connor*, 325-330; Orlandi, *Neumann e i vescovi*, 394, 416, n. 15.

⁵ St. Joseph, in the diocese of Scranton, brings to mind Father John Vincent O'Reilly, « the Xavier of the North ». During his priestly years, 1838-1873, he covered on horseback Susquehanna, Bradford, Tioga, Sullivan and Lycoming Counties, laying the foundation for future parishes. At St. Joseph he built St. Joseph's College, with its chapel to be used by the people in 1852, an academy for girls in 1856, and a parish church in 1859. Neumann made visitations there in 1852, 1857, 1858 and 1859. See Neumann, *Visitation Record*, 180-181; Gallagher, *Diocese of Scranton*, 59-61, 77-79, 81-84, 87-93. See also the supplementary material in *The Sisters of the I.H.M., The Story of the Founding of the Congregation of the Sisters Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary and their work in the Diocese of Scranton*, New York 1921, 52-55, 103-105, 160-167. It was under Neumann and O'Reilly that these Sisters came to St. Joseph in 1858. See Curley, *Neumann*, 385-386.

⁶ Because he was engaged in visitations in the remote section of the diocese, Neumann was unable to attend the meeting in Baltimore that considered the problem of Pittsburgh. He sent in his approval by mail. The meeting took place on July 2, 1858. The letter to Rome was signed by Archbishop Kenrick and Bishops O'Connor, McGill, Wood and Lynch. For the letter, see APF, SOCG, vol. 983 (1858), fol. 725; Orlandi, *Neumann e i vescovi*, 393-395. See Szarnicki, *O'Connor*, 325-326; AAB, Kenrick's *Literarum Registrum*, June 26, 1858, p. 150.

Letter 23

[Philadelphia, September 1858]¹

Most Reverend Sir

I have tried my best to bring Sister Dolores & her parents to the sense of their duty; Bishop O'Connor has done the same, — but all in vain. She has no desire to return to the Convent, & Mr. Lopez thinks that his 'Poor Child' would die there at once as her bodily health is not getting better², & when informed that I would not send her [a] Priest to hear her Confession³ she appeared nearly overpowered by temptation & said that she would never go to Confession & there however her parents checked her.

As I really do think that her vocation is gone, & that she has neither [the] bodily health nor strength of mind necessary to [*sic*] a life of seclusion & obedience, I thought it the best, to write to Monsignore Bedini⁴ to obtain for her the dispensation from the Vows of Poverty and Obedience⁵.

¹ For the dating, see below, nn. 4, 6.

² Sister Mary Dolores (Josephine Lopez), a native of Philadelphia, was professed as a Visitation Sister at the Philadelphia convent in 1849. She was then stationed at the Georgetown convent that conducted the Georgetown Visitation Academy for girls where she gave music lessons. This occasioned absences from the community spiritual exercises, a source of tension between her and the Superioress. Later her health suffered and she complained of being treated harshly. She resolved to quit the convent and never return. Before she requested or received a dispensation from her vows, her father came and took her home. For the story, see Neumann to Bedini, [September 1858], Philadelphia, in APF, Udienze, vol. 130 (1858 III), fols. 2026r-2027v; Kenrick to Barnabò, October 4, 1858, Baltimore, in APF, SRC, AC, vol. 18 (1858-1860), fols. 339-340. See Sampers, *Neumanns Briefwechsel*, 296-297; Orlandi, *Neumann e i vescovi*, 403-406.

³ It was not merely a question of hearing her confession. The priest would need special faculties to absolve her from the excommunication that she incurred by her unauthorized flight. Neumann's letter to Bedini mentions this point.

⁴ The mention of Neumann's letter to Bedini regarding the Lopez case (see above, n. 2) indicates that this letter to Kenrick is to be dated in September 1858. Neumann's letter to Bedini is not dated. However, the dispensation requested in the letter was granted in the audience of October 17, 1858. This leads one to presume that his letter was sent the previous month. See Sampers, *Neumanns Briefwechsel*, 296-297, nn. 166, 169. This present letter to Kenrick was sent after he wrote to Bedini.

⁵ Neumann speaks here of a dispensation only of the vows of poverty and obedience. He does not mention the vow of chastity. This is because of the doubt whether she took solemn vows, in which case no dispensation was given. In the course of the dispensation process for the Visitation nun, Sister Mary Loughborough, Kenrick was told by Rome to determine whether her vows were solemn or simple. If the vows were solemn he was to dispense from the vows of poverty and obedience only. See AAB, *Acta Episcopalia 1851-1863*, 14; Propaganda to Kenrick, July 27, 1856, Rome, in APF, Udienze, vol. 124 (1856), fol. 2127rv. For the documents involved in this long and complicated case that involved dispensations from the vows and two subsequent marriages, see Orlandi, *Neumann e i vescovi*, 375, n. 2. For more detail on the nature of the vows, see letter 24, n. 15.

When she heard that the Jubilee ⁶ is to be held in the Cathedral Parish ⁷ during October, she expressed a hope that, Priests then being invested with extraordinary faculties, I would let her make her Confession even if it were only once. I gave an evasive answer, not knowing yet what faculties had been granted by the Holy Father to Confessors in the Jubilee before this ⁸.

I see no change in the health of Bishop O'Connor ⁹. He spent two or three days in Philadelphia, & returned to Pittsburg [*sic*] this Evening.

I have as yet no news from Rome ¹⁰.

I remain with sincere esteem & veneration

Most Reverend Sir

Your most obedient Servant in Christ

† J. N. Neumann C.S.S.R.

Bishop of Philadelphia

⁶ A Jubilee or Holy Year is a year during which a solemn plenary indulgence is granted to the faithful under certain conditions and special faculties are granted to confessors. Holy Years are «ordinary» when they occur at regular intervals (every twenty-five years in modern times) and «extraordinary» when proclaimed for some special occasion. See J. Gavigan, *Holy Year*, in NCE 7 (1967) 108. The Holy Year of 1858 was proclaimed in the Consistory of September 25, 1857. See *Pii IX Pontificis Maximi Acta*, Rome 1858, I/2, 614-615. It was up to each bishop to set the precise time. Neumann chose the month of October. The reference to holding the Jubilee in the coming October is further proof that the present letter was written in September. For the contemporary account, see *Introduction on the Jubilee*, Baltimore, Murphy, 1858.

⁷ While the Philadelphia cathedral of Sts. Peter and Paul was being built, St. John's was the pro-cathedral. People who lived in the neighborhood of the «cathedral parish» first attended Mass in the public chapel of the bishop's house. Later, with the permission of Bishop Neumann, Bishop Wood in 1857 built a temporary cathedral chapel. See Curley, *Neumann*, 217. See Wood to Purcell, June 29, 1857, Philadelphia, in AUND, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-n.

⁸ The previous Jubilee of 1852 was proclaimed by Pius IX on November 1, 1851. See the encyclical, dated November 21, 1851, in *Pii IX Pontificis Maximi Acta*, Rome 1854, I/1, 348-352. See *The Catholic Mirror*, January 3, 1852. Neumann explained the Jubilee in his first pastoral letter written shortly after his arrival in Philadelphia. See *The Catholic Mirror*, May 1, 1852; Berger-Grimm, *Neumann*, 327-333. A copy of this can be found in ABPR, N, Data 1852.

⁹ The health of Bishop O'Connor is a constantly-recurring theme in the letters of the bishops during these years. In 1852 his health prevented him from being present at Neumann's episcopal ordination. Especially in 1855 his health problem grew more critical. See Szarnicki, *O'Connor*, 208, 317-319, 354.

¹⁰ He is referring to his offer to go to Easton and let Bishop Wood have Philadelphia. See letter 22, n. 3. In November Wood was told that the matter would be referred to the next Plenary Council. Meanwhile, he was to stay in Philadelphia, helping Neumann especially in financial matters. Barnabò tells Wood that «it was precisely with this in view that the Holy See, relying on the known excellent qualities of Your Lordship, chose you to be the coadjutor of the bishop of Philadelphia». See Barnabò to Wood, November 15, 1858, Rome, in APF, LDB, vol. 349 (1858), fols. 936r-937v; Curley, *Neumann*, 330. Actually the «Wood Affair» was only settled by the sudden and unexpected death of Neumann on January 5, 1860.

[Philadelphia, December, Pre-Christmas 1858]¹

Most Reverend Sir

I have the honour to send You through Rev. F.[ather] Jacobs² some copies of the 'Actus testimonialis' which appears to be required to gain the indulgences of the *Via Crucis*³ (V.[ide] *Corresp.[on-dance] de Rome* Vol. III, pag. 519)⁴. F.[ather] B.[urchard] Villiger S.J.⁵ mentioned to me that you had expressed a desire to see a copy. I have still some two hundred on hand for distribution. I take the liberty to add some copies of the power to say two Masses⁶

¹ For the date. see nn. 8, 19.

² Father Joseph Jacobs was born at Düren, Rhenish Prussia, on May 16, 1832. After being professed as a Redemptorist on February 2, 1854, he was sent to the United States in 1855, and ordained on December 23, 1856. One of his early appointments was at Cumberland, Maryland, under the saintly Father Seelos. In 1867 he was stationed in New Orleans where Seelos lay dying. After requesting to have Jacobs come in to him, Seelos warned him that he would lose his vocation unless he curbed his excessive social life. Later Jacobs was sent to England and there he was released from his vows. See Joseph Wuest, C.S.S.R., *Annales Congregationis SS. Redemptoris Provinciae Americanae*, III/2, Ilchester 1899, 439, n. 75; Michael J. Curley, *Cheerful Ascetic. The Life of Francis Xavier Seelos*, New Orleans 1969, 302.

³ The *Actus Testimonialis* is a document signed by the person empowered to erect the Stations of the Cross. Hung in a conspicuous place, it states that the person erected the Stations, with the attached indulgences, in keeping with the norms laid down by the then Sacred Congregation of Indulgences on May 10, 1742. See *Decreta Authentica Sacrae Congregationis Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquis Praepositae ab anno 1668 ad annum 1882*, Rome 1883, 117-118, n. 133. For the modifications in the practice of indulgences introduced by Popes Pius XI (1931) and Paul VI (1967), see *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 23 (1931) 522; 59 (1967) 5-24.

⁴ Neumann is referring to *Correspondance de Rome. Recueil des allocutions, bulles, encycliques, breffs et autres actes du Saint-Siège Apostolique, décrets des Sacrés Congrégations Romaines*, III (1851-1852), Liège 1856, 519. This cites a decree of the Congregation of Indulgences issued on September 25, 1841 (*Decreta*, 260, n. 294). According to this decree, the validity of the erection and of the indulgences depended on written proof for everything connected with the Stations or the Way of the Cross, namely the petition, the grant and the erection.

⁵ Father Burchard Villiger was born in Switzerland on May 14, 1819. He joined the Jesuits on October 4, 1838 and took solemn vows on December 5, 1857. Among the many offices he held was that of Provincial of the Maryland-New York Province. He died at Philadelphia on November 5, 1902. See Mendizábal, *Catalogus defunctorum*, 10/319, p. 186.

⁶ Neumann was concerned with the pastoral reasons for bination (saying two Masses on a Sunday or Holy Day), the necessary permission, the difficulties in saying two Masses in different places, and the rubrics for purifying the chalice. He mentions these points in a long letter to Rome dealing with diocesan problems. He also added a printed form, «Permission to Binatate», that he probably composed and that outlined the procedures to be observed by the priest. This was approved

& of the Questions for the Conferences of 1859⁷.

Last week I received from Rome the faculty to absolve & to dispense the unfortunate daughter of Mr. Lopez⁸. All my efforts to induce her to return to her Order were in vain. I ordered her to make a retreat & if she persists not to return, I will dispense her.

From what Mr. Lopez tells me, there are some of the Reverend Fathers at Georgetown⁹ who are of the opinion that a runaway Nun can receive the Sacraments even before she is canonically dispensed¹⁰. This may perhaps be true in case where the flight was necessary to save the life in an evident danger of being killed — but to extend the natural right so as to include those who through wounded pride & self love work themselves into the conviction that they must flee to save their life, is certainly carrying things too far. During the Jubilee¹¹ I requested Dr. O'Hara¹² & Dr. Balfe¹³ to study

by Rome and he then sent some copies to Kenrick. See Neumann to Barnabò, April 11, 1858, Philadelphia, in APF, Udienze, vol. 129 (1858 II), fols. 966a-d. The bination form is 966f; Sampers, *Neumanns Briefwechsel*, 283-290, 293-294. The general decree on bination, issued by Pius IX on March 11, 1858, found its way into the 1865 Ceremonial. See *Ceremonial for the Use of the Catholic Churches in the United States published by Order of the First Council of Baltimore*, Baltimore 1865, 58-60.

⁷ The Clerical Conferences or Moral Cases were a form of keeping up in theology. The Synod of 1855 legislated that they were to be held in the chapel of the bishop's residence on the first Tuesday of January, April, July and October. Because of the size of the diocese, regional meetings were held, e.g., at Reading, Scranton and other cities. See *Constitutiones dioecesanæ Phil.*, 33; Curley, *Neumann*, 355.

⁸ The letter to Neumann was sent on November 13, 1858. See APF, LDB, vol. 349 (1858), fol. 992r. In those days, as seen in a study of the contemporary correspondence, it took four to five weeks for a letter to get to the United States from Rome. This is the first indication for dating the present letter in December. For further precision, see n. 19.

⁹ For this period of the history of Georgetown, the oldest Catholic College (1789) in the United States, see T. Durkin, *Georgetown University. The Middle Years: 1840-1900*.

¹⁰ Neumann goes on to disagree with this principle. Normally, one needed special delegation to lift the excommunication before proceeding to the absolution of the sin.

¹¹ See Letter 23, n. 6.

¹² William O'Hara (1816-1899) was brought to America shortly after his birth in Ireland. He studied in Rome where he was ordained December 21, 1842. From 1843 to 1868 he worked in Philadelphia as curate and pastor of St. Patrick's, rector and faculty member of the seminary and Vicar General. He was named first bishop of Scranton on March 3, 1868 and died there February 3, 1899. See O'Donnell, *St. Charles*, 39-40; 88; *Church of St. Patrick Philadelphia*, 27-33; Code, *American Hierarchy*, 229-230; Gallagher, *Diocese of Scranton*, 117-134.

¹³ Father Joseph Ignatius Balfe (1816-1881) studied for the priesthood in Rome and was ordained there June 9, 1839. After working in the diocese he joined the Jesuits in 1843 but left in 1849 for health reasons. From his Roman days he suffered from tuberculosis and hemorrhages. Besides working in various parishes of the

her case, & to give me their opinion as to whether I could authorize a Clergyman to administer to her the H.[oly] Sacraments required as Conditions to gain the Indulgence¹⁴. Their opinions did not coincide, but were rather in her favour. As she moreover had made her vows under the general supposition that they were simple¹⁵, & as I found in Ferrari¹⁶ [*sic*] that during a Jubilee the Pope had granted particular faculties to Confessors in favour of penitents whose cases were still pending, to grant them Absolution 'ad hoc & semel'¹⁷ that they might not be deprived of the Jubilee — I authorized a Priest to hear her Confession during the Jubilee provided he found her ready to abide with the decision of the Holy See which we expected¹⁸. I have since ascertained from herself that she has not received the Sacraments, not finding herself willing to return into a house of her Order. She herself as well as Mr. Lopez, appear to

diocese of Philadelphia, he was also a professor at the seminary 1853 to 1860, 1864 to 1881. See Francis X. Reuss, *A Sketch of the Life of Rev. Joseph Ignatius Balfe*, in *Records* 9 (1898) 35-63.

¹⁴ The two sacraments were Penance and the Eucharist.

¹⁵ Because her vows were simple, the granting of the dispensation was less complicated. At that time there was a great deal of uncertainty whether the vows taken by the Visitation and Carmelite Sisters were simple or solemn. The problem was the strict cloister demanded by solemn vows that forbade entering or leaving the cloister. Kenrick spoke of the problem at length in letters to Rome. It was discussed at the Ninth Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1858. Some of the difficulties noted were the fact that the cloister was not recognized in civil law, that it played into the hands of the anti-Catholicism of the Nativists who produced anti-Catholic literature, claiming the Sisters were detained unwillingly and that they were deprived of their liberty. Furthermore, the setup of Nuns engaged in teaching or giving music lessons militated against it. The Council asked Rome for an instruction that would take into consideration the local circumstances. At the Council Neumann was in favor of solemn vows if all the requirements of the Council of Trent could be carried out. Otherwise, he thought the vows should be simple. See Kenrick to Barnabò, September 19, 1856, Baltimore, in APF, vol. 220 (1856) fols. 683-684; October 14, 1858, Baltimore, in APF, SRC, AC vol. 18 (1858-1860), fols. 339-340; Orlandi, *Neumann e i vescovi*, 375-377, 403-406; Mansi, *Concilia*, XLVII, 576-577. See O.D. Edwards, *Nativism, American*, in NCE 10 (1967) 247.

¹⁶ Lucio Ferraris, who died in 1763, was a Franciscan and the author of the very popular and encyclopedic reference work, *Prompta bibliotheca canonica, juridica, moralis, theologica, necnon ascetica, polemica, rubristica, historica*. It was first published in Bologna in 1746 in three folio volumes and was frequently reedited. In Neumann's time the Benedictines of Monte Cassino brought out an edition in 1844 that contained the published decrees of the Roman Congregations. The latest edition was published at Rome in nine volumes from 1882 to 1899. See F. Dougherty, *Ferraris, Lucio*, in NCE 5 (1967) 894.

¹⁷ The meaning is that the faculties dealt with the specific case and were to be used only once. Literally the words mean: « for this and once ».

¹⁸ The phrase, « which we were expecting », would make the meaning clearer. The meaning is not that they expected her to abide by the decision of the Holy See — something they took for granted — but that they were expecting Rome's decision.

have always expected that there would be no difficulty to receive the Sacraments. I think they would not have acted so inconsiderately if they had anticipated the difficulties, which they have experienced since.

I beg You Most Reverend Sir to accept my wishes for [a] very happy Christmass¹⁹ [*sic*], and to believe

Your most humble and obedient Servant
 † John N. Neumann
 Bishop of Philadelphia

¹⁹ This remark, coupled with n. 8, shows not only that the letter was written in December, but also shortly before Christmas, close enough to Christmas to contain best wishes.

Letter 25

Philadelphia, July 15, 1859

Most Reverend Sir

We have no Priest in this Diocese whom I could freely recommend to [*sic*] the Rectorship of the American College in Rome¹. I am moreover but very little acquainted with the Clergy of other Dioceses, & find myself incompetent to judge about their qualifications for the above important charge.

¹ The « inspiration » for the American College in Rome came from Archbishop Gaetano Bedini, the Roman Visitor to the Church in the United States in 1853-1854. During the summer and fall of 1859 the bishops were considering candidates for the rectorship. See the story in McNamara, *The American College in Rome*. It is possible that there is much more to Neumann's statement here than meets the eye. He does not say that he does not have a priest, but that he does not feel free to recommend one. Actually, he had Father William O'Hara, the Roman-trained Doctor of Theology and Rector of the Seminary, whom he was trying desperately to save for Philadelphia. When Neumann came to the diocese in 1852, the Vincentians were forced by lack of manpower to give up conducting the Philadelphia seminary. Despite his own lack of priests, Neumann kept it open, entrusted its care to the diocesan priests and appointed William O'Hara as rector. Neumann grew apprehensive when O'Hara's name was proposed for a diocese. See Curley, *Neumann*, 215; O'Donnell, *St. Charles*, 39-40. As a matter of fact, O'Hara was proposed for the rectorship. His name was the first on the list of Bishop Lynch of Charleston, South Carolina. See Lynch to Barnabò, August 10, 1859, Charleston, in APF, SOCG, vol. 904 (1859), fols. 803-804; Orlandi, *Neumann e i vescovi*, 428-430.

The most easy & expeditious way to settle this affair would in my opinion be, to intrust the direction of that College to the Lazaristes [*sic*] — but there appears to be considerable reluctance against them in several of the Bishops, so as to make them probably unavailable².

I will be perfectly satisfied with any nomination or appointment, made by others who are more acquainted with American Clergy & with the circumstances of Rome.

Bishop O'Connor left Philadelphia this evening for N.[ew] Y.[ork] & for Europe³. I was astonished to hear from him, that Bishop Wood has been put on the list for Mobile⁴. I hardly think that he would like to be removed from Philadelphia, where he is generally very well liked.

I have the honour to remain with sincere veneration
Most Reverend Sir

Your most humble Servant in Christ
† John N. Neumann
Bishop of Philadelphia

Most Reverend Archbishop of Baltimore

² Neumann is speaking here of the Lazarists, the Vincentians, the Congregation of the Mission, founded by St. Vincent de Paul. Among other things, they were well-known for their work in conducting seminaries. See N. Eberhardt, *Vincentians*, in NCE 14 (1967) 685-688. The main mover to entrust the American College to them was the Vincentian Bishop John Timon of Buffalo. Kenrick expressed a willingness to see this done, but he foresaw difficulties. See Francis Patrick Kenrick to Peter Richard Kenrick, January 19, March 4, 1859, Baltimore, in *Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence*, 417, 419.

³ When Edward Purcell refused to be the coadjutor to O'Connor of Pittsburgh, and sent back to Rome the document of his appointment, O'Connor thought of resigning because of his health. After leaving Pittsburgh he stopped off at Philadelphia, went to Ireland and then on to Rome to plead his cause of resignation. For the long involved story, see Szarnicki, *O'Connor*, 330-337; Code, *American Hierarchy*, 223. After his resignation was accepted on May 21, 1860, O'Connor joined the Jesuits on December 22, was professed in 1862 and died October 18, 1872. See J. Hennessey, *O'Connor, Michael* in NCE 10 (1967) 639.

⁴ For Wood and Mobile, see Orlandi, *Neumann e i vescovi*, 139, n. 81; 411, 417, 419-420. See also the section on Wood, written by T. Donaghy, in Connelly, *History of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia*, 268, n. 30.

Letter 26

Philadelphia, September 11, 1859

Most Reverend Sir

Bishop Miles¹ & Bishop Spaulding² [*sic*] arrived last Friday to assist at the Consecration of the Assumption³. The Bishops of Richmond⁴ & of Charleston⁵ had been invited, but have not come. I have therefore to return the Petition to Cardinal Barnabò with my own signature only⁶.

¹ Richard Pius Miles, O.P. (1791-1860). Born in Maryland in 1791, Richard Miles was professed as a Dominican on May 3, 1810 and ordained on September 21, 1816 at Springfield, Kentucky. Until 1837 he was engaged as a member of the faculty of St. Thomas College, Springfield, a missionary in Ohio and Kentucky, Prior of St. Rose Priory, Somerset, Ohio, and Provincial of the American Dominicans (April 22, 1837). He was named first bishop of Nashville, Tennessee, on July 28, 1837 and died there February 21, 1860. See Code, *American Hierarchy*, 203.

² Martin John Spalding (1810-1872). Born in Kentucky in 1810, Martin John Spalding was ordained at Rome on August 13, 1834 where he was the first American to obtain the doctorate in theology. Until 1848 he worked in the diocese of Bardstown-Louisville as pastor, professor and president of St. Joseph's College, Vicar General of the diocese of Louisville. In 1848 he was appointed coadjutor to Bishop Flaget of Louisville. He succeeded to the See on February 11, 1850. He was promoted to the metropolitan See of Baltimore on April 3, 1864 and died there February 7, 1872. See Code, *American Hierarchy*, 275-276; P. Hogan, *Spalding, Martin John*, in NCE 13 (1967) 517-519.

³ The cornerstone of the church of the Assumption, one of the finest examples of Gothic architecture in Philadelphia, was blessed on May 21, 1848. It was dedicated by Bishop Gartland on November 11, 1849. With the church completely free of debt, it was consecrated on September 11, 1859. Bishop Neumann officiated at the consecration. Bishop Wood was the celebrant of the Pontifical Mass. This letter was written on the day of the consecration. The financial success of the parish is due in large measure to the \$75,000.00 that the pastor, Father Charles Ignatius Hamilton Carter, inherited from his family in Kentucky. See Mahony, *Historical Sketches*, 85-86; F. X. Reuss, *Some Notes of the Rev. Charles Ignatius Hamilton Carter in Records* 9 (1898) 416-417; Ella Flick; *The Rev. Charles Hamilton Carter 1803-1879*, in *Records* 33 (1922), 193-215.

⁴ John McGill (1809-1872). John McGill, born in Philadelphia in 1809, was ordained at Bardstown, Kentucky, on June 13, 1835. Until 1850 he worked in the diocese of Bardstown-Louisville. On July 23, 1850 he was named bishop of Richmond. He died there January 14, 1872. See Code, *American Hierarchy*, 191.

⁵ Patrick Neison Lynch (1817-1882). Born in Ireland in 1817, Patrick Lynch was ordained at Rome on April 4/5, 1840 as a priest of the diocese of Charleston, South Carolina. He worked there until 1857 as editor of the *United States Catholic Miscellany*, professor at St. John the Baptist Seminary, Vicar General and Administrator. He was named third bishop of Charleston on December 17, 1857. He died there on February 26, 1882. See Code, *American Hierarchy*, 172; R. Madden, *Lynch, Patrick Neison*, in NCE 8 (1967) 1111-1112.

⁶ The petition deals with the three names proposed by the Metropolitan Province of Baltimore for the See of Savannah, Georgia. Neumann sent his signed agreement to Kenrick, who then sent a letter to Rome in the name of those suffragans who signed the document. Some had written over previously in their own name. See Kenrick and some Suffragan Bishops to Barnabò, Sep-

Last week I received from Rome two instructions, solicited by me after the last Diocesan Synod⁷. Both have reference to the reception of Converts. The Congr.[egation] of the Holy Office transmits a Profession of Faith & Form of Absolution much shorter than the one given in our Ritual. They will be very acceptable to our Missionaries & Converts⁸.

I have the honour to remain with sentiments of sincere veneration

Most Reverend Sir⁹

Most Reverend Archbishop of Baltimore

tember 1859, Baltimore, in APF, SRC, AC, vol. 18 (1858-1859), fols. 970-971; Orlandi, *Neumann e i vescovi*, 432-434. In a P.S. Kenrick writes some scathing words about Wood in his dealings with Neumann and he recommends that « the coadjutor be transferred to another See ».

⁷ The Sixth Synod of Philadelphia, held October 28-29, 1857. See *Constitutiones Dioec. Phil.*, 37-42.

⁸ All this is treated in great detail in Letter 28. See also Letter 13.

⁹ The signature has been removed.

Letter 27

J.M.J.

[Fall 1859]¹

Most Reverend Sir

I have at last succeeded in finding out [*sic*] Bridget Smith. She is 72 years old, lame and very poor². I will send the authenticated statement of it to Ireland this evening yet, with other circumstances which will help to identify her.

The Reverend Fr.[ancis] Marshall³ is dangerously sick of

¹ For the probable dating, see nn. 2, 8.

² In Letter 17 of 1855 Neumann asks Sourin to search for a certain woman, take her deposition and send it to Kenrick. This is the only request of such a nature in all these letters. Here, Neumann tells Kenrick that he has at last succeeded in finding Bridget Smith and he speaks about taking an « authenticated statement ». His words indicate that it was a long search, a search that could have gone on until 1859, and that the woman involved in the long search since 1855 was Bridget Smith. For further precision regarding the date, see n. 8.

³ Father Francis Marshall, a native Pennsylvanian, was born in 1778, ordained in 1823, and died January 5, 1869. He was doubly useful because of his com-

hersaipelas [*sic*]⁴ at St. Josephs [*sic*] — hospital⁵. I beg leave to recommend him to your prayers. The Reverend Reardon⁶ is not better yet, but the Reverend Haviland⁷ is recovering⁸.

With profound veneration

Your most devoted Servant in Christ
 † John N. Neumann C.S.S.R.
 Bishop of Philadelphia

mand of German. For some years before 1857 he was stationed at the bishop's residence. The *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory for 1857* (147) lists him as residing at Elizabethtown, where Father John McCosker was pastor, and refers to him as Valetudinarian. The *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac for 1859* (70) lists him as the chaplain at St. Joseph's Hospital. See O'Donnell, *St. Charles*, 386; Orlandi, *Neumann Relazione*, 51, n. 5.

⁴ This is probably Neumann's phonetic way of spelling erysipelas, an acute skin disease caused by a hemolytic streptococcus.

⁵ The moving spirits behind St. Joseph's Hospital were Doctor William Horner, a convert and dean of the Medical School at the University of Pennsylvania and Father Felix Barbelin, S.J., the pastor at Old St. Joseph's. Located at Sixteenth Street and Girard Avenue, the hospital opened June 25, 1849 with a capacity of twenty beds. It was entrusted to the Sisters of St. Joseph, Mother St. John Fournier being the Superior. Unexpectedly, in 1859, Bishop Wood entrusted it to the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul of Emmitsburg, Maryland. At present it is conducted by the Felician Sisters. See Logue, *Sisters of St. Joseph of Philadelphia*, 22, 49-56; Joseph Spellissy, *St. Joseph's Hospital*, in *Founder Week Memorial Volume*, ed. Frederick A. Henry, Philadelphia 1909, 613-631. The archives of the Sisters of St. Joseph at Chestnut Hill contain an anonymous pamphlet, *The Passing of a Century, 1849-1949*. For Neumann and the sick at St. Joseph's, see Curley, *Neumann*, 370. See also Mother St. John Fournier to John Berger, November 23, 1872, Chestnut Hill, in ABPR, N, Berger Papers.

⁶ Father Thomas Reardon was born in Killarney, Ireland, in 1813. After obtaining his B.A. at Trinity College, Dublin, he studied Law at the Temple Bar, London, along with his first cousin, Daniel O'Connell, the Irish Liberator. Because of ill health he came to America where he was admitted to the New York Bar after completing his Law studies. He then studied for the priesthood at St. Charles' and was ordained July 19, 1847. Right after ordination he went to Easton. During his thirty-five years at St. Bernard's, the mother church there, he visited numerous Catholic settlements in the area that later became parishes. Because of ill health, he resigned in 1882 and went back to Ireland where he died October 4, 1895. See John McCann, *History of Catholicity in Northampton County, Pennsylvania, from the Earliest Time to the Present, A.D. 1737-1920*, in *Records* 32 (1921) 74-77; Orlandi, *Neumann Relazione*, 54, n. 64; O'Donnell, *St. Charles*, 388.

⁷ Father Arthur Haviland, of Irish birth, was ordained in Philadelphia on June 29, 1850. He was a serious and industrious student. When he was in Rome in 1860 he underwent an examination that won the Doctor of Sacred Theology degree for him. After his death on May 22, 1886, his library of 1,200 volumes and 1,200 pamphlets was bought by the office of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*. See O'Donnell, *St. Charles*, 389; Orlandi, *Neumann Relazione*, 54, n. 91; Sampers, *Neumanns Briefwechsel*, 314-315; *Records* 2 (1886-1890) 10. See the next note.

⁸ The remark about Father Haviland's health indicates that this letter could have been written in the fall of 1859. In that year he took a trip to Europe for health reasons and brought with him a letter of recommendation written by Neumann on November 18, 1859. A copy of this letter is found in APF, SRC, AC, vol. 18 (1858-1860), fol. 1039r. See Sampers, *loc. cit.*

Letter 28

Philadelphia, December 11, 1859

Most Reverend Sir

When I sent to Rome the Constitutions of the 6th Synod¹, I stated to Cardinal Barnabò that our Missionaries complain very often of the length of time required in receiving Converts whose former Baptism is doubtful². I requested that we would be either allowed to omit the Profession of Faith & the Absolution *ab Haeresi*³, or that a shorter Formula of Profession be granted, more adapted to the usual condition of our Converts. I stated to him too, that a good number of our Priests, relying on the practice said to prevail in Rome, to administer private Baptism (*omissis omnibus caeremoniis*)⁴ when converts are to be admitted into the Church, have followed in America too this same practice⁵. Though the Declaration of the *S.[acra] C.[ongregatio] R.[ituum]*⁶ (4631: ad 4) [*sic*] making

¹ The Sixth Synod of Philadelphia was held October 28-29, 1857. See *Constitutiones Dioec. Phil.* 37-42. The constitutions of the synod were brought to Rome by the Conventual Franciscan, Father Leopold Moczygemba, who was passing through Philadelphia on his way to Europe. He also brought a letter of Neumann to Pope Pius IX. For this letter, see Neumann to Pius IX, April 5, 1858, Philadelphia, in APF, Udienze, vol. 129 (1858 II), fols. 999r-1000v; Sampers, *Neumanns Briefwechsel*, 278-282. This information is contained in the letter mentioned in the next note. For more on the synod, see nn. 2, 11, 19.

² The constitutions of the 1857 synod contain material dealing with baptism and the reception of converts whose previous baptism was doubtful. A week after sending over the constitutions of the synod, Neumann wrote a very detailed letter to Barnabò, explaining all the difficulties and problems. See Neumann to Barnabò, April 11, 1858, Philadelphia, in APF, Udienze, vol. 129 (1858 II), fol. 966a-d; Sampers, *ibid.* 283-290.

³ Absolution « from heresy ».

⁴ Baptism administered privately « with all the ceremonies omitted ».

⁵ Neumann speaks of this as « the Roman practice ». He remarks that those who studied in Rome claimed that the practice there, in the reception of converts whose former baptism was doubtful, was to administer conditional baptism privately, with all the accompanying ceremonies omitted. Neumann later remarks that this was also the practice in England. See below, n. 12.

⁶ « The Sacred Congregation of Rites ». The Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies, as established by Pope Sixtus V on January 22, 1588, dealt with worship in general and with the process of beatification and canonization. See F. McManus, *Rites, Congregation of*, in NCE 12 (1967) 518-519. On May 8, 1969, Pope Paul VI established the Congregation for the Causes of Saints as a separate Congregation. See *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 61 (1969) 297-305.

use of the words "*quatenus splendae sint* ⁷...' insinuates most probably that there is no positive command to supply the ceremonies *in casu* ⁸, we hesitated, to omit the ceremonies without being duly & plainly authorized to omit them. I remarked to His Eminence that a declaration to that effect would remove most of the above mentioned difficulties etc.

Moreover whilst the Declarations or Instructions of the two S.[acred] Congregations, to whom [*sic*] the matter had been referred by Cardinal Barnabò ⁹, have removed some of my difficulties & doubts, I have received as yet, not one word of reply to the question proposed, whether we can freely omit supplying the Ceremonies of Baptism when a Convert is received by a conditional Baptism.

The Const.[itution] II. of the 6. Synod is an exact copy — *ad verbum* ¹⁰ — as amended by the C.[ongregatio] Rit.[uum] & transmitted to me for publication ¹¹.

In my letter to the Prefect of the Propaganda I notified H.[is] Em.[inence] that there existed here a great variety of opinions and practices in regard to the *order* in which the Abjuration, the Baptism and the sacramental Confession should follow each other ¹². This

⁷ « To the extent that they [the ceremonies] are to be supplied ». The decrees of the Congregation are found in *Decreta authentica Congregationis Sacrorum Rituum*, 7 vols. Rome 1892-1927. The decision regarding the supplying of ceremonies is found not in 4631 *ad* 4, but in 2743 (4780) *ad* 4. See *Decreta*, II, 263-264.

⁸ « In [each] case ».

⁹ The two Congregations were the Congregation of Rites and the Congregation of the Holy Office. Propaganda did not submit Neumann's questions to Rites until half a year later, on January 19, 1859. See APF, LDB, vol. 350 (1859), fol. 60r. Regarding the answers, see nn. 11, 19. For the part of the Holy Office in this matter, see nn. 13, 16, 20.

¹⁰ « A word for word » copy.

¹¹ The emended version of the constitutions of the 1857 Synod were sent to Neumann, together with a letter from the Congregation of Rites, dated March 26, 1859. See the Secretary's copy in AR, Post-lit. die 24 Martii 1859, and in AR, Reg. lit. 1859, fols. 69v-70r; Sampers, *Neumanns Briefwechsel*, 302-303. This is the text found in the many editions of the synod. For a comparison of the original and emended constitutions, see Sampers, 304-307.

¹² For the letter, see above n. 2. Neumann speaks of three methods. The first consisted of private, conditional baptism, followed by the profession of faith and absolution from heresy. This is designated the Roman and English practice. The second method consisted of solemn baptism, followed by the profession and the absolution. The third consisted of solemn baptism with no profession and absolution. The conditional absolution would be taken care of in confession. Obviously, the second is very long. Neumann was ready to abide by it if so ordered by Rome. However, he was seeking a shorter rite.

point as well as the Profession of Faith & the *Absolutio a Censuris*^{12a} were referred to the *Congregatio S.[ancti] Offi.[cii]*¹³, & the *Instructio* (in App.[endix] N. [umber] I.)¹⁴ & the accompanying *Forma Absolutionis*¹⁵ have been granted by the *S.[acra] Congr.[egatio] S.[ancti] Offi.[cii]*¹⁶. This instruction makes no mention of any ceremonies of Baptism, probably as not being within the [*sic*] [its] sphere.

Kelly, Hedian & O'Brians¹⁷ [*sic*] new *Modus excipiendi Professionem Fidei*¹⁸ is wrong in stating on the title Page & in the heading of Page 1, *juxta formam a S.[acra] Rit.[uum] Congr.[egatio] die 26 Mart.[ii] 1859*¹⁹. it should read *a S.[acra] Congr.[egatio] S.[ancti] Offi.[cii] die 20 Jul.[ii] 1859*²⁰. The Very Reverend

^{12a} « The Absolution from Censures ».

¹³ « The Congregation of the Holy Office ». On July 2, 1859 Rites told Propaganda that the question regarding the profession of faith and the absolution from censures pertained to the Holy Office. See APF, SRC, AC, vol. 18 (1858-1860 II), fol. 891rv. On July 16, Propaganda informed Neumann that it had submitted the question to the Holy Office and that he would hear in time. See APF, LDR, vol. 350 (1859), fol. 453r; Sampers, *Neumanns Briefwechsel*, 307.

¹⁴ « The Instruction » from the Holy Office.

¹⁵ « The Formula of Absolution ».

¹⁶ « The Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office ». Propaganda wrote Neumann on August 2, 1859, that the Holy Office gave its answer on July 20. See APF, LDB, vol. 350 (1859), fol. 496r; Sampers, *Neumanns Briefwechsel*, 308. On July 20 the Holy Office sent Neumann an instruction on the reception of converts and a rite for the manner of receiving the profession of the Catholic faith from converts, together with a profession of faith and a formula for the absolution from heresy. The Instruction is found in the printed editions of the Philadelphia synods. For the instruction, profession and absolution, see *Concilii Plenarii Baltimorensis II, Acta et Decreta*, ed. 2, Baltimore 1894, 277-278; *Collectanea S. Congr. de Propaganda*, Rome 1907, I, 642-643, n. 1178; *CIC Fontes*, Rome 1926, IV, 226, n. 953.

¹⁷ Kelly, Hedian and O'Brien was a Baltimore publishing firm. Later, Piet joined the firm. Between 1831 and 1900 they published at least 230 items. This made them the eighth largest out of fifteen. See E. Willging, *Catholic Press: 27. United States*, d. *18th Through 20th Century Books and Pamphlets*, in NCE 3 (1967) 321.

¹⁸ The full reading is: « The Manner of Receiving the Profession of Catholic Faith from Converts ». Neumann's words imply that this was only recently published and that Father Lhomme edited it. No copy of this 1859 imprint has been found. It is not listed in Sr. Catherine Dodd, S.C.N., *A Survey of Catholic Americana and Catholic Book Publishing in the United States, 1856-1860*. This is a typed Master's Dissertation, The Catholic University of America, 1952. There is a series of such dissertations covering the years 1831 to 1900. For more information, see n. 20.

¹⁹ « According to the formula from the Sacred Congregation of Rites [given] on March 26, 1859 ». This was the date of the letter of Rites to Neumann about the 1857 Synod. See above, n. 11.

²⁰ « From the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office [given] on July 20, 1859 ». This was the answer of the Holy Office about the reception of converts and the profession of faith. See above, nn. 13, 16. In 1860, Kelly, Hedian and Piet published *Excerpta ex Rituali* (Excerpts from the Ritual). This is a United States Ritual, « arranged for the convenience of the priests and containing the most fre-

F[rancis] L'Homme²¹ [sic] added to the *Formola d'assoluzione* of the S.[acra] Congr.[egatio] S.[ancti] Offi.[cii]²² the *Veni S.[ancte] Spiritus*²³ etc. with V V [Versicles] & Oration²⁴, several V V after the Profession of Faith, the *Misereatur* & *Indulgentiam*²⁵, he added the form of Absolution from the Old Ritual²⁶, (omitting the new one which is shorter), & at the end he added the *Te Deum*²⁷ with two prayers.

He omits, [fails to mention] that the *De Profundis* may be recited in place of the *Miserere*, that a penance is to be imposed on the penitent, & that the Word 'forsan' is to be inserted in the form

quently used rites». The advertisement expressly states that it contains the rite for the reception of converts according to the new instruction from Rome and it gives the corrected date, July 20, 1859. There is no trace of this book; it is not listed in Dodd (n. 18) or in the National Union Catalog. It is known from the 1861 *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Guide* that carries the advertisement of Kelly, Hedian and Piet who list all their publications.

²¹ The spelling is Lhomme. Francis Lhomme (1794-1860). Born in France November 13, 1794, Lhomme joined the Sulpicians in 1827. After that he was sent to America and his life was centered around St. Mary's College and St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore. He was the fourth Sulpician Superior and Rector of St. Mary's Seminary from 1849 to 1860. He died there September 27, 1860. See Charles Herbermann, *The Sulpicians in the United States*, New York 1916, 239, 293-294, 302. See the official obituary write-up in the Sulpician Archives, 711 Maiden Choice Lane, Baltimore, Maryland 21228. There one can also find the diary that Father Lhomme kept from 1849 to 1860. See also below, n. 28.

²² «The formula of absolution of the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office».

²³ «Come, Holy Spirit». The first words of an invocation to the Holy Spirit that is often used at the beginning of prayer, meetings, classes, etc. See *The Raccolta*, New York 1952, 203, n. 287. The editor suggests that Neumann meant to write *Veni, Creator Spiritus* (Come, Creator Spirit). These are the opening words of the hymn, written by an unknown author of the late ninth-century Frankish Empire, that made its way into the liturgy of Pentecost. Outside Pentecost it was widely used for liturgical and extra-liturgical occasions, e.g., reception of converts. See M. Rousseau, *Veni, Creator Spiritus*, in NCE 14 (1967) 600. In Neumann's time it was used in nineteenth-century rituals in the U.S.A. See *Compendium Ritualis Romani* (Balt.), 191-192.

²⁴ In Neumann's time the oration for the *Veni, Creator Spiritus* and the *Veni, Sancte Spiritus* was the Collect for the feast of Pentecost. In the Roman Missal issued by a decree of the Second Vatican Council, it is found in the Votive Mass (A) of the Holy Spirit.

²⁵ Imprecatory prayers before imparting absolution. *Misereatur*: May Almighty God have mercy on you, forgive your sins and bring you to everlasting life. *Indulgentiam*: May the Almighty and Merciful God grant you pardon, absolution and remission of your sins.

²⁶ For the older rite, see *Compendium Ritualis Romani* (Balt.), 191-197.

²⁷ Because it was thought that St. Ambrose (397) wrote it, the *Te Deum* was often called the Ambrosian hymn. This Latin hymn of praise, of unknown authorship, dates from the fifth century and made its way into the Liturgy. In the Liturgy of the Hours it is now said on the Sunday outside of Lent and on solemnities and feasts after the second reading of the Office of the Readings. It is also often used

of absolution, whenever there is some doubt, whether Excommunication has been incurred ^{27a}.

I never suspected F.[rancis] L'Homme [*sic*] of being a Latitudinarian, but he is certainly not free from Longitudinarianism ²⁸.

I think that the practice to give conditional Baptism privately, without ceremonies, to Converts, is at least tolerated. Being administered so in Rome & in England, without ever having been disapproved is at least an indirect approbation. If there was anything wrong in the practice, the Cardinal Prefect, I think, would either have disavowed [it] or denied it [*sic*] that such is the practice of Rome to some extent. The same silence however makes me think, that under ordinary circumstances the Ceremonies are to be performed, but that we have the right to dispense with them 'rationabili de causa' ²⁹ as the *Rituale Rom.[anum]* ³⁰ says, in the *Rubric[icae] de Baptismo Adultorum, versus finem, paullo praecedente Ordo Bapt.[ismi] Adult.[orum]* ³¹.

My Biblical knowledge, Monseigneur, is *Longa rubigine torpet, & est multo, quam fuit ante minus* ³². In obedience however to

as a conclusion of extra-liturgical celebrations. See H. Huglo, *Te Deum*, in NCE 13 (1967) 954-955; *Liturgia Horarum*, Vatican City 1973, I, 45.

^{27a} It is standard procedure to add the word *forsan* = perhaps, when imparting conditional absolution. The substitution of the shorter *De Profundis* (Psalm 129/130) for the longer *Miserere* (Psalm 50/51) and the imposing of a penance are mentioned in the Instruction of the Holy Office of July 20, 1859. For the editions of the text, see above, n. 16.

²⁸ Writing to Kenrick, Neumann has recourse to this play on words and facetious pleasantries about Father Lhomme, whom they both regarded highly. Besides his Sulpician apostolate, Lhomme was Kenrick's Vicar General. He was also second assistant to Kenrick at Neumann's episcopal ordination. Lhomme told Kenrick that Neumann's appointment as bishop would be «the greatest honor that could be conferred on the diocese of Philadelphia». See *Kenrick Frenaye Correspondence*, 474; Curley, *Neumann*, 174, 177; *Catholic Mirror*, April 3, 1852.

²⁹ «For a reasonable cause». As is clear here, Neumann understands the difference between consent given by silence, by tolerating a practice, and consent given expressly. In his conscientiousness, Neumann looked to Rome for a written, black on white permission, something he was not likely to receive.

³⁰ «The Roman Ritual».

³¹ «Rubrics for the Baptism of Adults towards the end, shortly before the Rite of Baptism for Adults».

³² Except for one word, this is a quote from Ovid, *Tristitia. Lament*, 5.12.21. He says. «My biblical knowledge is grown dull, injured by long continued rust, and it is much less than it once was». Neumann speaks of his knowledge. Ovid was speaking of his talent. For the context, see the next note. Neumann was a great classic scholar. The study of the humanities was one of the happiest periods of his education, when he composed many anthologies of the Latin classics. See Curley, *Neumann*, 12; Alfred C. Rush, *The Autobiography of St. John Neumann*, C.S.S.R. Introduction, Translation, Commentary and Epilogue, Boston 1977, 25, 84.

your flattering commands I will offer my views on the subject in a few days³³.

I am at present experimenting on Olive Oil. The oil of poppies is as sweet, agreeable [*sic*] & applicable to all culinary purposes, as Olive Oil, & it can be manufactured for one half the price of olive Oil³⁴. I found it stated in a Commercial Hand Book [*sic*] that most of the O.[live] Oil, imported from the South of France is mixed with a large quantity of O.[il] of poppies or nuts. I fear it is as difficult to get pure Oil of Olives for Maundy Thursday³⁵, as it is to get natural wine for Mass³⁶.

I remain with sincere veneration

Most Reverend Sir

Your most obedient Servant in Christ

† John N. Neumann

Bishop of Philadelphia

³³ Kenrick had consulted Neumann on some point of Scripture. For Kenrick's Scriptural work and publications, see Nolan, *Kenrick*, 392-396; Marshall, *Kenrick*, 294-328. By the spring of 1859, Kenrick had completed in manuscript form his work on the entire Old Testament. That year he published *The Books of Job and the Prophets*. See Marshall, *Kenrick*, 314, 316. Neumann had the reputation of being an avid student of Scripture. In his seminary days it was his favorite subject. The study of the missionary journeys of St. Paul awakened his own missionary plans. See Curley, *Neumann*, 20-23; Rush, *Neumann Autobiography*, 27, 86.

³⁴ Poppy oil comes from the seeds of the plant that « contain forty to fifty percent fixed oil ». See *Poppy Seed*, in *Encyclopedia Britannica, Micropedia* 8 (1974) 121. Normally, the rubrics call for the use of olive oil in the liturgy. By reason of circumstances, oil from some other plant is allowed.

³⁵ Maundy Thursday is Holy Thursday, the Thursday of Holy Week. The word, Maundy, comes from the Latin word, *mandatum*, which means commandment. It refers to the washing of the feet in the Holy Thursday liturgy in keeping with the command of the Lord that we wash one another's feet as He washed the feet of the apostles. Furthermore, during the ceremony, one of the antiphons that is sung is: « A new commandment I give you. Love one another ». See John 13: 4-15, 34. Nowadays, one seldom hears the phrase Maundy Thursday; the growing generation would be hard pressed to say what it means. The oil for Maundy Thursday refers to the Chrism Mass when the Holy Oils were blessed.

³⁶ The wine for Mass cannot be artificial; it must be the natural wine from the vine. This was one of the topics of the Synod of 1857. See *Constitutiones Dioec. Phil.* 39-40.