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Daughters of the Church: A Popular History of the Daughters of Charity in the United States 1809-1987

Daniel Hannefin D.C.

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*DAUGHTERS OF
THE CHURCH*

**DAUGHTERS OF THE CHURCH:
A POPULAR HISTORY OF
THE DAUGHTERS OF CHARITY
IN THE UNITED STATES
1809-1987**

**by
Sister Daniel Hannefin, D.C.**

**Illustrated by
Sister Maria Liebeck, D.C.**


New City Press

A Project of the
VINCENTIAN STUDIES INSTITUTE

Researched and edited with the generous assistance of:

Sister Grace Dorr (Southeast Province)
Sister Catherine Madigan (East Central Province)
Sister Mary William Vinet (Province of the West)
Sister Elaine Wheeler (Northeast Province)

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Published in the United States of America by New City Press
206 Skillman Avenue, Brooklyn, New York, 11211

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data:

Hannefin, Daniel.

Daughters of the Church : a popular history of the Daughters of
Charity in the United States, 1809-1987 / Daniel Hannefin ;
illustrated by Maria Liebeck.

p. cm.

"A project of the Vincentian Studies Institute."

Includes bibliographical references.

ISBN 0-911782-66-4 : \$28.00

1. Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul--United States-
History. I. Vincentian Studies Institute (U.S.) II. Title.

BX4333.Z5U54 1990

271'.91073--dc20

89-85104

Printed in the United States of America

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FOREWORD

Throughout history, wise persons have reminded the world that to forget or to be ignorant of one's past is to limit, and perhaps even preclude, one's future. It is generally accepted that "the past is prologue" and an appreciative knowledge of the past provides perspective for the days that have not as yet dawned. Memory offers a shield against the two temptations of false optimism and faithless pessimism.

The popular history of the foundation and growth of the Daughters of Charity in the United States reveals visionary, dynamic Daughters of Charity who used every power of mind, body and spirit to advance the Kingdom, as they created an impressive network of services across this country. They make real the ideal of "audacious courage of the apostles" referred to in the Daughters' current Constitutions.

For the contemporary Daughter of Charity, this analysis of history awakens a deepened faith in God's Providence and a humble confidence in herself. The distillation of sanctity and creativity is also a source of gratitude and determination for Daughters in the five provinces of the United States.

We, the visitatrixes of these five United States provinces, dedicate this book to our early sisters, those strong, spiritual, community women who lived before us but continue to influence the present. May their example inspire and enlighten all of us that we may have the courage and the wisdom to continue to add to their harvest of good works by "honoring our Lord Jesus Christ as the source and model of all charity, serving him corporally and spiritually in the person of the Poor."

INTRODUCTION

DAUGHTERS OF THE CHURCH, a popular history of the Daughters of Charity in the United States, was undertaken at the request of the Vincentian Studies Institute to be a companion volume to *AMERICAN VINCENTIANS*, a popular history of the Congregation of the Mission. Because of the complexity of the subject matter—the long span of years, the large number of sisters, locations, institutions and types of service, as well as the changes in Community administration—the history is related chronologically rather than topically.

The five visitatrices of the United States who commissioned the work designated a sister from each province to provide information and materials, each from her respective province, and to review the manuscript for accuracy and adequacy in covering the development of the Community in each region. This Popular History Committee met for the first time in January 1983.

This history is intended primarily for use of the Community, particularly in formation, and for those who collaborate with the sisters or wish to know more about them. It aims to show the influences of historical trends and processes in the Church and nation on the development of the Community, and to suggest ways in which the Community may have influenced patterns of development in the Church and even in the nation. While every establishment is mentioned, however briefly, no attempt is made to name or rank in importance the thousands of sisters who gave their lives to God in the Community. Those foundations are more strongly featured which were pioneer works of their kind in the United States, first services of the Community in a particular state, or more colorful examples of trends of the times. Sisters named in the history are not necessarily holier or more important than others; but their words and actions are verifiable and exemplify the essential spirit of the Community.

Editorial Guidelines

The Chicago Manual of Style, 13th Edition (1982) was used as the basis for style and format. A few adaptations were made in capitalizations for the sake of clarity: *Church*, when speaking of the Catholic Church as a body of believers; *Community*, or *Company*, when referring to the Sisters of Charity of Saint Joseph's (before 1850) and the Daughters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul; *Council*, when used to describe the decision-making body of the Community; *Province*, when part of a proper name. Since this is a popular history, footnotes are used sparingly for explanatory material that does not properly belong in the text; endnotes are used only for direct quotations.

Family names of sisters are not always available. Where they are given, variant spellings of them are common. Variants that are too divergent are given in a footnote. Otherwise, the spelling with the best documentation was chosen—documentation such as personnel registers, signed letters, passports, tombstones if buried at the provincial house, and, in some cases, corroboration from outside contemporary sources mentioning the sister's family. Given Community names were usually different from the baptismal name, and they were sometimes changed when a sister was missioned. In this history sisters are called by the names they bore at the time and in the place where they are mentioned.

A Word about Words

The corporate title of the 1809 American foundation was *Sisters of Charity of Saint Joseph's*; that of the international community of which it became a province is *Daughters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul*. Then as now the terms *Sisters of Charity* and *Daughters of Charity* were used almost synonymously of the Community, and they are so used in this book. In general, *Sisters of Charity* is the generic term for women dedicated to works of charity; *Daughters of Charity* is the more specific description of the daughters of Saint Vincent de Paul.

Since the *sisters* take annual vows, they are not *nuns*. They live in *houses*, not *convents*, and belong to a *community* or

company, not a *congregation* or *order*. What religious orders call the *novitiate* (composed of *novices* and a *mistress of novices*) is known as the *seminary* (made up of *seminary sisters* and a *directress of the seminary*). The superior of a local house is called the *sister servant*. The house is often referred to as a local *mission*, where sisters live who are *missioned* or sent for a particular apostolate. In Mother Seton's lifetime the terms *novitiate* and *novices* were in use; but for the rest the vocabulary was the same as that used among the Daughters of Charity.

The word *visitatrix* as used in this history has two meanings. In the early 19th century it still designated what it had meant in Saint Louise's time: a sister authorized by superiors to visit an institution (or all those within a city or region) to see how the rule was observed and to represent to superiors the particular needs and difficulties of the sisters there. Since the Community became a province of the Daughters of Charity in 1850, the term has been used to denote a provincial superior.

The vocabulary of the apostolates has changed considerably over the 180 years covered in this history. Early *hospitals* were called *infirmaries*; today most have expanded into *health centers*. The term *asylum* was used for any type of refuge or shelter, whether for orphans, the blind or disabled, the "insane" or mentally handicapped, or social outcasts such as wayward girls and single mothers. Later the gentler term *House of Refuge* was used for a place sheltering the socially or physically handicapped, and *Retreat* or *Institution* became part of the corporate name for the psychiatric hospital or alcoholic treatment center. Children's homes might be called *Home*, *Hall*, *Haven*, or *Manor* in the 20th century to reduce the stigma of institutional living. *House of Charity* was a term borrowed from Europe for a place where all the works of mercy were sheltered. This later became non-residential and evolved into the modern *social center*. For the sake of simplicity, the above terms are used only when giving formal titles of institutions; generic terms such as *hospital*, *orphanage*, *infant home*, or *mental hospital* are preferred. In the educational field a similar evolution took place. Various types of schools are adequately defined in the text.

Acknowledgements

Special thanks to the visitatrixes of the United States, those who originally commissioned the work and their successors who have continued to give it both moral and financial support. Thanks particularly to Sister Mary John Lindner of the *West Central Province*, who entrusted me with this commission, and Sister Bernice Coreil, her successor, who provided the place and time to work on the project and facilitated it in every way she could.

I wish to pay tribute to the members of the Popular History Committee who rendered such generous assistance over the past years:

Sister Elaine Wheeler, archivist of the *Northeast Province*, who put her archives at my disposal by mail, supplied a copy of Mother Mariana Flynn's life, worked with unflagging energy and a genius for organizing data into charts, and undertook the tedious task of indexing the history;

Sister Grace Dorr, representative of the *Southeast Province*, who spent countless hours of research in the Emmitsburg archives and supplied copies or resumés of pertinent theses, articles and histories;

Sister Catherine Madigan, councillor of the *East Central Province*, who provided information on the past and present of each mission in the province in a succinct and organized form, and showed a special knack for simplifying complexities;

Sister Mary William Vinet, archivist of the *Province of the West*, who was a councillor when the provinces were divided in 1969 and supplied the documentation concerning the division. In addition to information about the West past and present, she contributed humor and unfailing support.

All four members of the committee read the manuscript at all stages and made suggestions for revision. Other readers who made useful suggestions were Sisters Rose Collins, Adelaide Kulhanek, and Beatrice Brown.

Members of the Vincentian Studies Institute offered valuable guidance and assistance. Father John Rybolt read the manuscript and made helpful recommendations; he also shared the fruits of his research abroad. Father Frederick Easterly offered hospitality in Philadelphia and an entrée into the archdiocesan

archives. Father Douglas Slawson read the manuscript from an historical point of view and made valuable observations.

Particular services were rendered by the staff of the following libraries: Saint Louis Medical Society, Catholic Health Association, DePaul Hospital and Kenrick Seminary, all in Saint Louis, Missouri, and the University of Maryland Medical Library in Baltimore.

Sisters of several provinces shared remembrances and personal experiences by letter, tape, and personal interviews. I am grateful to all of these, especially Sister Mary Rose McGeady, who in a two-hour interview gave me an overview of child care in the 20th century and reasons for program changes—all enlivened with particular details and anecdotes.

I would like to express special thanks to the archivists who assisted with photocopies and other services: Father John W. Bowen, S.S., of the Sulpician Archives, Baltimore; Sister Mary Felicitas Powers of the Cathedral Archives, Baltimore; Sister Aloysia Dugan of the Saint Joseph Provincial House Archives, Emmitsburg; and particularly Sister Henrietta Guyot and her staff of the Marillac Provincialate Archives, Saint Louis, who found books, looked up information, discussed ideas and events, and gave ongoing encouragement and support. Provincial secretaries have also afforded invaluable assistance. Sister Adele Francis of Emmitsburg made available the original Rule and Constitutions and the yet unpublished life of Sister Isabel Toohey. Sisters Geraldine Shanahan and Frances Cumberland of Emmitsburg and Mary Ann Hartman of Saint Louis have answered many telephoned requests. Others who merit special note are Sister Mary Louise Lyons who shared her copy of the rare Birmingham Diary; Sister Marie Sheehy who assisted with typing and proofreading; and Sister Emma Myers, who gave a summer doing many secretarial services.

No work so long in the process could have been completed without the special support of family, friends, and the sisters with whom I live, who encouraged and nurtured me through problems, frustrations and successive illnesses.

Marillac Provincial House
1989



Maria Liebeck 190

When her last hour came 4 January 1821, Elizabeth left this message with her Daughters: "Be children of the Church."

New Yorkers saw Sister Rose as a lady even when she was helping orphan boys move the wheelbarrow through the streets from market.

Father John Dubois lent his own cabin to the first group of Setons and sisters who arrived in Emmitsburg in June 1809.

Religion class on the mountain included all the girls of the parish, black and white, slave and free.

The Setons were not permitted to land at Livorno, but were quarantined in a cold stone lazaretto near the city. A week after their release into the care of the Filicchi family, Will died 27 December 1803.

A TREE PLANTED BY THE WATERS

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Catholic Church in the United States was a despised and barely tolerated minority. A century later it had become a respected ecclesial body influencing the thought and moral fiber of the nation, an acknowledged leader in human services. A strong factor in this development was the Community of Sisters of Charity founded in 1809 by Saint Elizabeth Ann Seton.

The Providence of God brought together those who would be instruments in the foundation of this Community:

- the first American bishop;
- two Italian merchants;
- a young widow with five children;
- Sulpician priests in exile from France;
- and a convert studying for the priesthood.

The Ground Is Prepared

The Catholic Church in America

The Catholic Church in the United States numbered fewer than thirty thousand when the nineteenth century began. Most Catholic families were of the laboring class. The few overworked priests spent exhausting days on horseback between settlements, offering Mass outdoors or in private homes.

Although the federal government supported freedom of religion, individual states still retained discriminatory laws.* Congregationalism remained the established religion in New England.

When John Carroll was named first bishop of the United States in 1789—the year George Washington became first president—his

*American law had been based on English law, and the Catholic Emancipation Act would not be passed in England until 1829.

diocese covered the whole nation. Baltimore was his see city.

British and French interference with American shipping made communication with Rome difficult. Filippo Filicchi, an Italian merchant from the port of Livorno (called Leghorn in English), admired Bishop Carroll and wished to help. He sent his younger brother Antonio to talk over the problem with Father John Thorpe, agent in Rome for the American Church. Accompanying Antonio was William Magee Seton, a young merchant from New York. Seton, an Episcopalian, offered the services of his father's shipping firm to channel Church correspondence to Baltimore safely. So it was arranged that communications from Rome would be sent to Bishop Carroll through the Filicchi firm in Italy and the Seton-Maitland firm in New York.

The Seton Family

In 1794 young Will Seton married a petite New Yorker named Elizabeth Ann Bayley, daughter of a prominent doctor. Their marriage was happy and fruitful. Anna Marie, born in 1795, was followed by William Vincent in 1796 and Richard in 1798. That year the elder Seton—Will's father—died, leaving to Will and Elizabeth the care of his seven youngest children, ranging in age from eight to eighteen, as well as the Seton firm, which was on the verge of bankruptcy because of losses at sea. Will had also inherited the family illness, tuberculosis.

The next two years were a nightmare of anxiety. As the ten Seton children grew, the family resources dwindled. In 1800—the year Elizabeth gave birth to her fourth child, Catherine Josephine (Kit)—the threatened bankruptcy became a reality. The house, the furniture, even the children's clothing were included in the inventory given to the commissioners. Rebecca (Bec) the youngest Seton child, born two years later, was born into poverty.

Will's health continued to deteriorate. When the doctor suggested a sea voyage, the Filicchi invited him to winter in sunny Livorno. Preparing to take him there, Elizabeth entrusted her frail Bec to her sister Mary Post, whose husband was a doctor, and left William, Richard, Kit, and the other Seton children under the care of Rebecca, Will's sister, then twenty-three years old. Anna Marie, eight, was considered old enough to accompany her parents on the journey.

Leaving New York 2 October 1803, they arrived at the port of Livorno 18 November “while the Ave Maria bells were ringing,” Elizabeth wrote to Rebecca. But news of yellow fever in New York made the port authorities wary, and the Setons were not permitted to land. They were quarantined in a stone lazaretto south of the city, where the cold dampness destroyed all hope for Will’s recovery.

When visiting poor widows in New York, Elizabeth had prepared others for death. Now she was faced with the challenge of doing the same for her own husband. As they shared new depths of prayer and acceptance of God’s will in the chill of the lazaretto, Elizabeth’s faith was strengthened; she and Will were drawn together in the closest of marital bonds. A week after their release from the lazaretto—hastened, perhaps, by the Filicchi—Will died 27 December 1803 and was buried in Livorno.

The Seeds Are Planted

Sojourn in Livorno

The year 1804 marked significant changes in Elizabeth Seton’s life. Widowed at twenty-nine in a strange land, faced with the need to support and mother her five children—ranging in age from one to nine—Elizabeth found in the Filicchi a charity richer than she had ever before experienced. Moved by their kindness, impressed by their all-pervasive faith, and envious of their daily participation in the Eucharist, she began to question and received strong answers. Filippo gave her books explaining the Catholic faith. Amabilia, Antonio’s wife, took her to the nearby shrine of Our Lady at Montenero, where she experienced to the depth of her soul the living faith of a Catholic people. Anna’s bout with scarlet fever and her own illness delayed their departure until April, giving time for these impressions of faith to sink deeper. Elizabeth wrote to her sister-in-law Rebecca:

How happy we would be if we believed what these dear souls believe: that they possess *God* in the Sacrament, and that he remains in their churches and is carried to them when they are sick.¹

The Return to New York

The time was to come when Elizabeth would believe in the Real Presence of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist, and this faith would be the cornerstone of her spiritual life. But she had first to return to New York and pass through the crucible of alternate doubt and faith, the struggle to support her children, and increasing rejection by family and friends as her leaning toward the Catholic faith alienated those who might have helped her.

The decision finally made, Elizabeth and her children were received into the Catholic Church in March 1805. She received the Eucharist for the first time as a Catholic 25 March. A year later, on Pentecost 1806, she was confirmed by Bishop Carroll in Saint Peter's Church, New York. It was their first meeting.

The Move to Baltimore

Catholic education was a priority of John Carroll's episcopate. He had founded Georgetown College near Washington for the education of laymen. He welcomed Sulpicians,* displaced by the French Revolution, to begin Saint Mary's Seminary in Baltimore for the formation of priests.

Father Louis William Valentine DuBourg, one of these Sulpicians, met Mrs. Seton on a visit to New York. Recognizing that she could support her family better in Baltimore, while serving the Church's need for the education of girls, he invited her to relocate in Baltimore near Saint Mary's Seminary. As founder and president of the lay college attached to the seminary, he offered her a house for \$250 a year rent, free education for her boys at the college, and the possibility of land for a school. The yearly \$400 given by the Filicchi for the boys' education could then be used to support her family and the school. Bishop Carroll heartily endorsed the plan. The Setons sailed for Baltimore 9 June 1808.

The house on Paca Street adjoined the seminary chapel, affording Elizabeth and her family the privilege of daily Mass and

**Jean Jacques Olier founded this community in 1641 for the formation of priests according to the norms laid down by the Council of Trent. The community takes its name from the large parish and seminary of Saint Sulpice in Paris.*

Divine Office. Ann Nabbs, a hired servant, did the cooking, cleaning and washing for \$4.50 a month, leaving Elizabeth free to attend to her children, the four boarders, and the day students. She would have been content to stay there forever if Providence had not indicated other designs for her.

In a letter written twenty years later, DuBourg recounts what happened next: he told Elizabeth of the Daughters of Charity, founded in France in 1633 by Saint Vincent de Paul and Saint Louise de Marillac, and confided to her his dream of seeing them established in the United States. Mrs. Seton “expressed a fervent wish to see the dream accomplished and to become part of it.”² In keeping with this intention, Elizabeth made vows for one year in the presence of Archbishop Carroll 25 March 1809 and was given by him the title “Mother.” By June, four young women had joined her, and others were asking to come.

On the Banks of Tom’s Creek

The Paca Street location had the advantages of being in Baltimore, where the need for Catholic education for girls was recognized, and of being near the seminary with its sacramental opportunities and the direction of the Sulpicians. But it had disadvantages too. One of these was lack of space. Another, evident to Carroll and to Francis Charles Nagot, Superior of the Sulpicians—though Elizabeth seemed to be unaware of it—was the availability of a number of priests willing to consider themselves directors of the sisters, some less prudent and wise than others. The principal drawback to the establishment, however, was lack of funds, lack of a place for the seedling to take root.

Samuel Cooper’s Offer

Samuel Sutherland Cooper, former sea captain from a prominent Virginia family, a convert to Catholicism, came from Mount Saint Mary’s College, Emmitsburg, Maryland, to continue his studies for the priesthood at Saint Mary’s Seminary in Baltimore. He offered \$7,000³ for the foundation of the sisterhood on three conditions: that it be located in Emmitsburg, fifty miles from Balti-

more; that it include a free school for poor children of the neighborhood; and that other services to families be offered, such as a factory or workroom where parents could make a living.

The proposal met with varied responses in Baltimore. Nagot highly favored it, and hoped to resign his presidency of the seminary to accompany the sisters to Emmitsburg as their first superior. Carroll would have preferred the sisters to remain in Baltimore and focus on education as their main apostolate. The affable Pierre Babad, whom many of the sisters favored as a confessor, thought the distance too great. Elizabeth herself considered Cooper's terms as a manifestation of God's will, and DuBourg came to share her point of view.

Purchase of the Emmitsburg Farm

The property selected by Cooper was purchased for the sisters, with the deed in the names of DuBourg, Cooper, and John Dubois. Dubois, pastor of the mountain parish near Emmitsburg and founder of Mount Saint Mary's Seminary two miles from the town, assumed supervision of the repairs of the farmhouse, in addition to his other duties.

Another priest exiled by the French Revolution, John Dubois had served more than a decade as a missionary in America before becoming a Sulpician in 1808. Although small in stature, he was a rugged pioneer of a man who felled trees, hauled logs, cleared land, and built his school on the mountain with his own hands, aided by neighbors and parishioners. His horse carried him in all kinds of weather to the sick parishioners in many counties of both Maryland and Pennsylvania. Because of this the people revered him. He lent his own cabin to the first group of Seton family members and sisters who arrived in June, long before the work on the farmhouse was completed.

The second group of sisters arrived from Baltimore, and on 31 July 1809 the sisters moved into the valley farmhouse, later known as the Stone House. This date is recognized as the beginning of the Sisters of Charity in the United States.

Life in the Stone House

Conditions were primitive. There were two rooms, used as classrooms, workrooms, kitchen, chapel, and community room. The sisters slept in a loft so cold that snow, coming in through inadequately boarded windows, would not melt and had to be carried downstairs and out of the house. There were two cots for the sick; the rest slept on straw pallets on the floor. Water was hauled uphill from a spring. Laundry was done in Tom's Creek, a flowing stream which separated Saint Joseph's Valley from Saint Mary's Mountain two miles away.

With Elizabeth were her three daughters, Anna (fourteen), Kit (nine), and Rebecca (seven); her two youngest sisters-in-law, Harriet and Cecilia Seton, who had followed her into the Catholic faith; two boarders; and her seven earliest companions: Sisters Cecilia O'Conway, Maria Murphy and Mary Ann Butler from Philadelphia; Rose White and Catherine Mullen from Baltimore; Susan Clossey from New York; and Sally Thompson from Emmitsburg. In September Sally's sister Ellen was accepted, and after the new year, Martina Quinn. It was close quarters—sixteen women and children in two rooms and a loft—but when the first Mass was celebrated 10 August 1809, the Eucharistic Lord took possession of the house. Then the crowdedness only made the Real Presence more immanent, for the chapel doubled as classroom and workroom and even community room, with a folding door screening the altar during the day. Elizabeth brought with her the freshness of discovery that is characteristic of the faith of a convert, and it was her charism that she could communicate this wonder and enthusiasm to the sisters. Joy in the Eucharistic Presence became the keynote of their fraternal life.

They were a wonderful assortment of Catholic womanhood. Cecilia O'Conway, daughter of a wealthy Philadelphia merchant, served as secretary, sacristan, and teacher of languages. Irish-born Maria Murphy, niece of Matthew Carey, the nation's first Catholic publisher, was so gentle that Elizabeth nicknamed her "Dove"; yet so fearless that once with her bare hands she removed a snake from the sanctuary of the mountain church.

Susan Clossey came from Ireland by way of New York, where her name appears on subscription lists for Catholic books, suggesting that she was mature and educated. She found creative ways to soothe pain as she nursed the sisters, the Seton children, the

people of the neighborhood, even poor German Deddi, the gardener, who in his broken English called her "Sister Sus."⁴ When she was missioned to Philadelphia, Elizabeth wrote to a friend there:

... There is one of the sweetest souls gone to Philadelphia from this house... more than an own sister to me... If ever you have a wish to find a piece of myself, it will be in this dear Susan Clossy.⁵

Rose Landry White was a Baltimore widow, age twenty-five. Her infant daughter died shortly after her husband had been lost at sea. Charles, her young son, was enrolled in Dubois' school at Mount Saint Mary's. Elizabeth, chronically ill with tuberculosis even in the Paca Street days, found Rose's brisk efficiency and penetrating intellect somewhat exhausting, but loved her and relied on her. Rose was elected assistant and later chosen to pioneer the new missions in both Philadelphia and New York. She was to succeed Elizabeth as Mother, being elected to this office four times.

Mary Ann Butler, daughter of Captain Edward Butler of Philadelphia, was "so frail that she looked like the wind would blow her over."⁴ Nevertheless, she taught a younger class, did much sewing, and was an artist and poet who expressed the devotion of the Community in several hymns.*

Gentle Sister Catherine Mullen, known as Kitty, was an effective teacher. Elected treasurer in 1812 and appointed mistress of novices in 1813, she held both offices until her death Christmas Day the following year.

Sally and Ellen Thompson came from a local family; their mother worked at the college on the mountain. Sally, who knew all the farmers around and could purchase the needed provisions, was elected procuratrix or housekeeper for the community. Big, strong, generous, she was also baker and leader of the laundry crew. Ellen, though weaker, was overjoyed to spend her life among sisters. She once wrote to Elizabeth that she climbed the hill each day to watch for the sisters' arrival from Baltimore and to gaze at the place where she would soon be living as one of them. Martina Quinn, a talented

**Hymns listed as her compositions are "O What Could My Jesus Do More," a Eucharistic hymn of thanksgiving; "Holy Patron, Thee Saluting" to Saint Joseph; and an unnamed hymn to Saint Vincent. See n. 4.*

teacher loved for her simplicity, arrived soon after the move to the White House in the spring of 1810.

The new building, even then called "The White House," was really a log house with room for about thirty in dormitories (with a bed, table and chair for each). There was a chapel, a dining room, a large infirmary, the schoolroom, parlor and Mother Seton's workroom near the chapel, which doubled as a bedroom for her and Bec, her youngest daughter. From the window Elizabeth looked upon the little wood selected as the sisters' last resting place, where her sisters-in-law Harriet and Cecilia Seton had already been buried.

Consumption, the Seton family ailment, was rampant in the Valley in these early days, aggravated by crowded conditions and severe hardships. In the Community's first six years the disease claimed the lives of twelve, all under twenty-five years of age. At the bedside of their companions the sisters acquired the nursing skills they would later use in serving the sick poor. They also learned to live on the threshold of eternity.

The Community Finds Its Identity

When Elizabeth Seton chose Samuel Cooper's idea—the Emmitsburg location, a poor school and service to country people—in preference to the sheltered life of boarding-school sisters in Baltimore, a change of identity was implicit in her choice. The name "Sisters of Saint Joseph" gave way to "Sisters of Charity of Saint Joseph." The new settlement in the valley was still under Saint Joseph's patronage, but Elizabeth had chosen the availability to all human needs, the character of "Servants of the Poor" that Saint Vincent de Paul and Saint Louise de Marillac had instilled into their Daughters of Charity. To effect this same character in her American daughters, the Community needed the Rule of Saint Vincent de Paul. Sulpician Father Benedict Flaget,* leaving for Paris

**When the Diocese of Baltimore was divided in 1808 with four suffragan sees erected in New York, Boston, Philadelphia and Bardstown, Flaget had been named for the Bardstown (Kentucky) diocese. Wishing to decline the honor, he set out for Paris to appeal the matter to the Sulpician superior general, Jacques Andre Emery, who added his command to the Holy Father's.*

late in 1809, was commissioned to obtain from the superiors of the Vincentians and the Daughters of Charity a copy of the Rules and Statutes of the Daughters of Charity, and more sisters for the United States.

Sulpician Superiors: DuBourg, David, Dubois

Meanwhile, Archbishop Carroll had confided the direction of the new Community to the Sulpicians, many of whom had known the Daughters of Charity in France. The saintly Francis Charles Nagot, superior of the Sulpicians, had planned to resign his position and accompany the sisters to Emmitsburg as their first superior; but a severely fractured leg made this impossible. He therefore appointed DuBourg, who had first suggested to Elizabeth the idea of founding Daughters of Charity in America. DuBourg, however, soon resigned. Nagot and Carroll next agreed upon John Baptist David, a man learned, dependable, experienced in religious life and much sought by the laity, both slave and free, for spiritual direction. But since David lacked the outward charm of a Babad or DuBourg, and Elizabeth lacked experience in the religious life, he seemed rigid to her. She found it hard to communicate with him or accept his direction. His work as seminary professor in Baltimore kept him too far from Emmitsburg to be fully aware of the situation in Saint Joseph's Valley. Since David had volunteered to accompany Flaget to Kentucky—where he founded the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth in 1812—his term of office was as brief as it was frustrating.

Flaget meanwhile had succeeded in obtaining the Rules and Statutes of the Daughters of Charity, as well as the promise of sisters for the United States. In the spring of 1810 he sailed with five other priests from Bordeaux, carrying a letter from three of the sisters there who were waiting for the approval of the government to follow them. The priests' departure was just in time. Before the group reached Baltimore, Napoleon Bonaparte had suppressed both the Sulpicians and the Vincentians in France, and was interfering in the government of the Daughters of Charity: to the extent of separating them from their Vincentian superior general, deposing and appointing superioresses, changing vows, service, and basic Vincentian identity. Father Dominique Hanon, vicar general of the Congregation of the Mission in France, was imprisoned for opposing Napoleon's plan for the Daughters of Charity. The situa-

tion in Paris had changed drastically in the few months since Flaget had obtained the promise of sisters in America.

Simon Gabriel Bruté, one of the young Sulpicians who accompanied Flaget to Baltimore, received a letter from a priest who quoted Sister Celeste as hoping to come even without Napoleon's permission. This letter suggests that as many as eighteen had been named to come.⁶ But the sisters never arrived; they were not permitted to leave France.

In mid-May of 1811 Flaget and David left for Kentucky. For a few months the sisters were without a superior. Then John Dubois—who already bore the responsibility for Mount Saint Mary's College and the mountain parish, which extended into Pennsylvania—was given the additional charge of superior of the sisters.

Adoption of the Rule of Saint Vincent

The growing menace of British interference with American ships, which was soon to explode into the War of 1812, had already cut off aid from the Filicchi family and sent prices in Baltimore skyrocketing. It also put an end to uncertainty about the arrival of the French sisters: until this crisis was resolved, it would be virtually impossible for them to reach America.

Dubois, therefore, undertook immediately the translation of the Rules and Statutes of the Daughters of Charity. Modifications were kept to a minimum, referring chiefly to the education of girls of all classes, not only the poor, and provision for Mrs. Seton to be a full member of the Community while still caring and providing for her five children. The modified Rules and Constitutions were then reviewed and approved by the Archbishop, and adopted by the sisters on 17 January 1812.

The principal end of the Company was the same as that of the Daughters of Charity in France:

To honor Jesus Christ Our Lord as the source and model of all Charity by rendering to him every temporal and spiritual service in their power in the persons of the poor either sick, invalid, children, prisoners, even the insane or others who through shame would conceal their necessities...⁷

The Rules, as translated by Dubois and adopted by Elizabeth and her sisters, added a secondary end of the Company which does not appear in the original:*

...to honor the Sacred Infancy of Jesus in the young persons of their sex whose heart they are called to form to the love of God...while they sow in their minds the seeds of useful knowledge.⁸

The Constitutions recognized that in America tuition was necessary to support the schools; yet added that such education "they will endeavor to extend gratis to poor orphans as far as their circumstances will permit them."⁹

Dubois was well acquainted with the Daughters of Charity in France, having served as chaplain of the Hospice des Petites Maisons in the Rue de Sevres, Paris, where forty Daughters of Charity cared for the blind, the insane, orphans, and the homeless poor in a group of "little households" that today would be called cottages. From this experience Dubois knew well the Rule and spirit of Saint Vincent and Saint Louise as lived before the French Revolution. In writing the Constitutions of the American Sisters of Charity during those autumn months of 1811, he declared unequivocally in Article I:

The Sisters of Charity in the United States of America, known by the name of Sisters of St. Joseph's—are daughters of St. Vincent de Paul, whom they acknowledge as their chief patron & founder; their institute is the same as that of the Sisters of Charity in France...¹⁰

He then noted the principal difference: that the American Sisters will educate female children in all stations of life, not only those who are poor.

He next settled the uncertainty about the sisters expected from France:

Although this institution is the same in substance as that of the Sisters of Charity in France, it will have no connexion whatever with

**In the Rules of St. Vincent de Paul, the only distinction of sex in those to be served appears in Article XVIII of the "Particular Rules for Schoolmistresses," who were told that no boy was to be admitted to their schools, though they could teach the principal mysteries to poor beggars when they had time and opportunity.*

the Company or government of the said Sisters in France, or any European country, except that of mutual charity & friendly correspondence. . .¹¹

Because of the newness of the Community, qualifications of age and length of membership were dispensed with for the first several elections. Therefore if any sisters arrived from Europe recommended by persons who could be trusted, they would be admitted to the Community at Saint Joseph's, but would not necessarily be preferred for office.*

In order to give the American Sisters of Charity the same guarantee of stability and the preservation of Vincentian spirit that was assured the Daughters of Charity by their relationship with the Vincentians, Dubois wrote into the Constitutions of the American Sisters a similar relationship with the superior of the Sulpicians at Baltimore:

The Sisters of Charity are inseparably under the paternal superintendence & protection of the Superior of St. Sulpice in Baltimore, which Superior shall have the right of nominating and presenting the Superior General of the Sisters to the Archbishop. . . The said Superior of St. Sulpice shall be also the guardian & protector of the Constitutions, but without interfering with the government of the Sisters further than is necessary to see the Constitutions maintained. . . nothing shall be added to or retrenched from them afterwards without the authority of the said Superior and the concurrence of the Archbishop of Baltimore.¹²

**Dubois' strong statement of "no connexion whatever" with the government of the Community in France, and the acceptance only of those French sisters recommended by "persons who could be trusted" obviously refers to the situation in the Community at that time, with the lawful superioress deposed and Napoleon's appointee replacing her. Some sisters had compromised with this situation; others had withdrawn from what they saw as no longer Vincent's Community. Dubois wanted any French influence on the Community to be authentically Vincentian.*

As soon as word reached the United States of Napoleon's defeat, the restoration of the Sulpician and Vincentian communities, and the release from prison of their superiors, Dubois wrote 18 April 1816 to Antoine Garnier, Sulpician superior general in Paris, asking him to speak with the Vincentian superior about sending a French Vincentian to take over the role of superior of the American sisters. "If the Rev. Superior approves," he wrote, "I will try to enter into correspondence on the subject with the Superior of the Fathers of the Mission, formerly Lazarists, to see if it were not possible to form a union between the Sisters here and those of France. . ."¹³ Members of Saint Vincent's Congregation of the Mission were known as Lazarists in Europe. In America they are more commonly called Vincentians.

Article XXVIII reiterates this:

The Superior of the Seminary of S. Sulpitius of Baltimore is the head of the whole Company: nothing can be done in it, no solution can be carried into effect without his approbation...in matters of importance such as would be the forming of new establishments, receiving foundations, legacies or donations, buying, lending or selling real property, borrowing money, dispensing for a time with any point of the Rules or Constitutions, etc. he must be consulted in person...¹⁴

Article XXIX gives the role of the "Mother" who "shall have the direction of the whole Company, with the Superior" and shall give detailed accounts to him of the state of the Company and of her own conduct.

She shall carefully watch over all the members of the Community, and particularly the officers, in order that they may faithfully discharge their respective offices. She shall endeavor to be the soul and life of the whole body, animating her Sisters as much by her example as by her words...She will employ them in the exercises of the institution, send them to the separate establishments, or recall them when thought expedient; the whole with the advice of the Superior or Delegate and of the officers.¹⁵

The officers included the assistant, the treasurer, and the steward or procuratrix. These formed the Council, and were elected by the sisters from a list prepared by the superior and the Council of the Community, two names having been proposed for each office. The term of office was three years. It was the Mother's responsibility to appoint a mistress of novices, a head schoolmistress, sacristans, housekeepers and sister servants of distant missions.*

Admission to the Company was reserved to "virgins and widows of sound mind and body, between the ages of 16 and 28, disposed to serve God all their lives in the persons of the poor and in the education of young girls."¹⁶ Widows were to be legally exonerated from responsibility for their children, with the one exception of Mrs. Seton, whose vow of poverty was limited to allow her to

***Sister Servant" was the term adopted by Vincent and Louise to describe the superior of a local house.*

administer their property, receive gifts for them, even beg for them if needed.*

Candidates were to pay their board for the first year; otherwise no dowry was expected of them. Candidacy was normally three months, followed by a novitiate of one to two years.** At the end of this time, vows were made for one year, renewable annually. Like the Daughters of Charity in Europe, the Sisters of Charity in America took only annual vows throughout their lives.

Soon after the adoption of the Rules and Constitutions, Elizabeth Ann Seton was elected Mother, with Rose White as her assistant, Kitty Mullen as treasurer and Ann Gruber as procuratrix. After completing their year of novitiate, eighteen sisters pronounced their first vows on 19 July 1813. In addition to Mother Seton and her early companions—Rose, Kitty, Cecilia O’Conway, Susan Clossey, Mary Ann Butler, Sally and Ellen Thompson and Martina Quinn—there were: Angela Brady, Julia Shirk and Fanny Jordan, brought by David from Baltimore in the summer of 1810; Elizabeth Boyle, a Baltimore convert; Ann Gruber, a native of Switzerland; Adele Salva and Louise Roger whom DuBourg brought on his return from Martinique in 1811; and Teresa Conroy and the young widow Margaret Farrell George, candidates who came in 1812. Though only a novice, Elizabeth’s oldest daughter Anna Marie (Sister Annina Seton) had been permitted to pronounce her vows before her death early in 1812; she was the first in the Community to do so.

The year 1812 marked the beginning of “pensioners” at Emmitsburg. These were boarders, mostly widows, who shared the prayer life of the Community without becoming members. Three came that year: Mary Landry, Rose White’s mother; Bridget Farrell, mother of Margaret George (whom Elizabeth loved for her Irish simplicity and promptly dubbed “Ma Farrell”); and Madame Guerin (Elizabeth called her “the Frenchwoman”) who came with DuBourg’s Martinique candidates: Adele Salva, her sister, and Louise Roger, her dressmaker. A widow, Madame Guerin had a young son whom she placed at Mount Saint Mary’s.

**Other widows in the Community, notably Rose White and Magdalen Guerin, had young sons in school at Mount St. Mary’s. The mothers saw their boys twice weekly, but did not have to be concerned about their support or their futures since the boys had patrimonies and legal guardians.*

***In 1835 this Constitution was modified to require two years of novitiate for all.*

When Kitty Mullen was named mistress of novices and eight sisters began their novitiate, "Ma Farrell" at forty-seven was the oldest of them. Others in the group were Sisters Victoria Brady and Agnes Duffy, Benedicta Corish and Jane Frances Gartland (boarders from the school), Mary Joseph Llewellyn and Scholastica Bean, and Ann Nabbs, the housekeeper who had proved such a treasure in the house on Paca Street, and who was to be known in the Community as Sister Anastasia.

Before long the petite and modish Madame Guerin also applied for admission, taking the name of Sister Magdalen. Besides teaching French, she preferred lowlier household tasks; her beautiful hands were soon red and raw. An old journal relates that she once met Dubois on the narrow infirmary steps when he was bringing up the Blessed Sacrament to the sick and she was carrying down a chamber pot to be emptied. When she later apologized, he reassured her: "My child, the God of Charity met a Sister of Charity performing an act of charity."¹⁷

Burgeoning of the Apostolates

Education at Emmitsburg

In one of her notes Elizabeth wrote: "This morning in my Communion I thought: If You would but give me the care of poor little children, no matter how poor!"¹⁸ Always a mother by vocation and a teacher by profession, she desired to offer free education to the children of the poor. But being poor herself, she was forced to concern herself also with the education of the children of the rich.

As early as 22 February 1810, a free school was opened at Saint Joseph's for the children of the town and the mountain parishes. Often food and clothing as well as books were provided; some took home provisions for their hungry families. This free parish school is often cited as the nucleus of the parochial school system in the United States.

When roads became passable in May 1810, the first boarders came from as far away as Frederick, twenty-five difficult miles from Emmitsburg. The White House was soon filled, and the dire poverty of that first winter was somewhat relieved by income from

the boarders. Boarders, schoolchildren, pensioners, parishioners, sisters, priests and seminarians all referred to Elizabeth as "Mother Seton." Having missed a mother's care in her own childhood, she gave freely to others the love, encouragement and tender corrections of a mother's heart. She offered timely sympathy to homesick students, encouraged seminarians to persevere, communicated her ideals to young Father Bruté, and admonished the newly ordained John Hickey about carelessly prepared sermons. Gradually she left the actual work of teaching in the valley school to others, limiting her role to supervision of classes and training of the sisters as teachers. When visiting classrooms, she would observe the methods and skill of the teachers, take notes, and later talk over with them how they might be more effective.

A curriculum dating from about 1813 indicates that there were four levels of instruction. From primary spelling, reading, writing, ciphering, sewing and mending, the children advanced into grammar, parsing, bookkeeping, history, geography, and French. The school day was filled from 8:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. with time included for meals, prayers and two recreation periods.

Discipline was firm but gentle. A point system graded students on the quality of their recitations, with awards for work well done. Unruly students were led to reflect on God's goodness to them and how they could better return his love. Mother Seton reminded the sisters that "what is good for one pupil is not good for all, because all do not have equal talents."¹⁹

The sisters also helped with the work of the parishes, caring for the sacristies, visiting the sick, leading the singing and teaching Gregorian chant, and offering the girls catechetical instruction on Sundays while the priests and seminarians instructed the boys. On the mountain these classes were held outdoors or in the laundry building at the college, and included all the girls of the parish, black and white, slave and free.

Saint Mary's of the Mountain a Separate Mission

In July 1815 Dubois asked for sisters to take charge of the kitchen, laundry, clothes room and infirmary at Mount Saint Mary's College. Sisters Bridget Farrell, Ann Gruber and Anastasia Nabbs were sent, and later Sister Angela Brady as sister servant. This service was offered gladly until 1846, a return for the many

services the sisters in the valley received from the priests and seminarians on the mountain.

Besides helping the college by their economy, the sisters brought a touch of womanly warmth to homesick young students, and reduced the ravages of illness with good food and nursing care. Dubois delighted in their presence and at first attempted to supervise their work as he did every other phase of activity. When he came once too often to the kitchen to lift the pot lids and inspect the supper being prepared, Sister Ann silently removed her apron and held it out to him. From then on the kitchen was her domain.

Sister Angela's stay on the mountain was brief. One bitterly snowy day she helped an old Negro woman back to her cabin after Mass and caught a cold which persisted. Her lungs were already weakened, and she became another of the sisters to die young of tuberculosis.

Philadelphia, 1814: The First Catholic Orphanage

The first call to establish a mission outside of Emmitsburg came from Philadelphia in 1814. The Council decided to accept the invitation of Father Michael Hurley, to direct a parish orphanage which was sixteen years old and \$5,000 in debt. Provisions were costly—it was wartime and the British were still in Chesapeake Bay—and the allowance for maintenance of the household and the thirteen orphans was low—\$600 a year. Sister Rose White was chosen to direct this new establishment. When Archbishop Carroll objected to her being sent so far away from her family, Dubois responded that her mother and son had already made their sacrifice, and she was needed in Philadelphia:

Her age, her zeal, her prudence are known to you. She is in fact the only one who could be at the Head of an Establishment there... In case of anything happening to Mrs. Seton she may be recalled to the helm in a few days.²⁰

Rose was accompanied by Sisters Susan Clossey and Teresa Conroy. They left Emmitsburg by carriage 29 September 1814, begging hospitality along the way from Catholic families known to Dubois. It was a two-day trip over roads that were mere rutted tracks. One trunk contained all their baggage. Arrived in Phila-

delphia, they had some difficulty finding Holy Trinity Church and the orphanage, but were warmly welcomed by Father Hurley, who had known Elizabeth Seton in New York.

The matron who had been caring for the children left, taking with her most of the furniture, which belonged to her. On 6 October 1814 the sisters assumed charge of Saint Joseph's Asylum—a service they were to continue in Philadelphia for one hundred seventy years. They found the children in rags, running the streets like little beggars, and the number of beds not half sufficient. Boys and girls were housed together, but Rose reported to Elizabeth in her letter home, "Assurance was given that as soon as practicable, it was the intention to form separate establishments."²¹

For the first year their principal food was potatoes, their drink a "coffee" made from corn with sugar, and their fuel the bits of bark the sisters and children were allowed to glean from the tanyards. But they soon made friends. Mrs. Rachel Montgomery, a convert and president of the Lady Managers, knitted twenty-seven pairs of stockings for the children that first winter; an unknown benefactor paid a \$48 grocery bill; and the old woman at the covered market, to whom an orphan was sent with 12½¢ for a soup bone, sent him back with the money, some beef, and 50¢ more. Sister Rose proved herself a good manager. Within three years the debt was paid and the institution prospering, with twenty-five orphans.

New York, 1817: Second Catholic Orphanage

Two years later Bishop John Connolly of New York requested sisters to staff an orphan asylum like the one in Philadelphia, which one of the trustees had visited. When the request came, Elizabeth, with her knowledge of New Yorkers, said, "So much depends on who is sent..."²² Dubois wrote the reply in which he said that the decision of the Council was to send "at least for a time the excellent Sister Rose."²³

Accompanying Rose were Sisters Cecilia O'Conway and Felicity Brady. Arriving in August 1817, they stayed with the family of Robert Fox, who had three daughters in school at Saint Joseph's, until the little frame house on Prince Street was ready to receive them with the first five orphans. Within a year the five had become twenty-eight. Again the promise of a separate establishment for

boys was exacted; however, thirty years were to pass, and the number of orphans be counted in the hundreds before that promise would be kept.

In New York as in Philadelphia the sisters made friends who supported their work. Mrs. Fox was interested and helpful. A certain Madame Larue, before her return to France, used to collect donations for the orphans, assisted and later succeeded by the saintly slave Pierre Toussaint, New York's most talented coiffeur. Having no money of his own to contribute, since his earnings belonged to his owner, he collected from his fashionable clientele and kept careful lists of donors and their gifts. On the first Tuesday of each month he would bring to Sister Cecilia at Prince Street what he had collected for the support of the orphans.

The wisdom of Dubois as superior is shown in the contracts drawn up with the boards of trustees of both these orphanages. The sisters were to be free to manage the house according to their Rules, making reports of receipts and expenditures to the trustees. No salary was paid to the sisters, but they were to receive shoes and a clothing allowance of \$36 a year. The trustees were also to pay their traveling expenses. The sister in charge was to be consulted in regard to the number of orphans as well as the admission and removal of each. To help the sisters, an association of Ladies of Charity should be formed, whose members could be admitted to the house more freely than the men of the board.* The similarity of these contracts, even in expression, to the agreements found in the correspondence of Vincent and Louise, indicates how thoroughly Dubois had studied all that was available regarding the establishments of the Daughters of Charity in France.

The orphanage in New York was incorporated under the title "New York Catholic Benevolent Society." Here too an attempt was made to form Ladies of Charity, but Cornelius Heeney, one of the trustees, was heard to say, "I know no lady but Sister Rose; and she never appears more like a lady than when helping the little orphan boys to move the wheelbarrow through the streets from market."²⁴

**Dubois had known the Ladies of Charity in France, and probably intended these organizations to follow their Rule, which Flaget had brought and Dubois had translated. But the Sisters were not familiar with Ladies of Charity at this time, and the organizations took on the character of Lady Managers instead. A few individuals—Rachel Montgomery in Philadelphia and Margaret Haughery in New Orleans, for example—stand out as living the spiritual ideals demanded of Ladies of Charity by Saint Vincent.*

In both cities the sisters gave basic instruction to the orphans, including in their classes such children of the parish or neighborhood as wished to attend. Among the sisters sent to Philadelphia to teach was Sister Fanny Jordan,* a native of the West Indies, who knew several languages and was soon asked to open a free school for German-speaking children of Holy Trinity Parish. Severe illness caused Sister Fanny to be recalled to Emmitsburg in 1819; whether the German school continued beyond that date is not known.

Saint Joseph's Valley in 1818

Growth of the Community

At Saint Joseph's in Emmitsburg, meanwhile, the number of boarders had been increasing. After 1816 this included a number of orphans boarded and educated *gratis*. By the autumn of 1818 a new building was needed to accommodate the increased number of pupils in the day school. Elizabeth selected the site and went with Dubois one damp day to inspect the foundations of the new building. The outing brought on a new and more severe attack of "lung fever" which was the beginning of her last illness.

Ambrose Maréchal, third Archbishop of Baltimore, visited the Valley about this time and noted that there were sixteen vowed sisters, eighteen novices and two postulants there, besides three sisters in New York and three in Philadelphia—a total of forty-two in the Community, as well as sixty-seven boarders. In his report to Rome 16 October 1818, he described the religious houses of his Archdiocese:

...The third house is that of the Daughters of St. Vincent de Paul...who live holy lives according to the rules of their Holy Founder, with the exception of the modifications demanded by American customs and dispositions. They do not take care of hospitals, nor could they since the administrators of these hospitals are Protestant. Their principal work is the pious instruction of Catholic girls, those of the poor as well as those of the rich.²⁵

*Sister Fanny's full religious name, Sister Francis Xavier, was rarely used.

There were new faces in the valley. Sister Augustine Decount, a woman of remarkable musical ability, was teaching vocal and instrumental music. Her niece, Sister Martina Butcher, had accompanied her to the Community from Philadelphia. Another widow, Sister Xavier Clark—daughter of French refugees from Santo Domingo—taught French. Elizabeth found in her a kindred spirit, soon named her mistress of novices, and was delighted when in 1820 the sisters elected her assistant. The shy Samuel Cooper, ordained and assigned to the parish in Emmitsburg, would speak only to Sister Mary Paul Dougless, who for years cared for the farm in the Valley. Former students had remained to join the Community: Martha Daddisman, Mary Stanislaus McGinnis, Benedicta Parsons. Felicitas Delone, daughter of a Pennsylvania farmer, would soon be followed by her younger sister Rebecca; and Sister Genevieve Tyler, oldest daughter of a convert family of New Hampshire, had pioneered the way to Emmitsburg that her three younger sisters would soon follow.

But there were faces missing too: Magdalen Guerin, the French-woman; Ellen Brady; Mary Elizabeth Wagner, Elizabeth's "good Dutch girl"; Mary Joseph Llewellyn and others had joined those who slept in the little woods.

The Seton Children

Missed most of all was Bec, Elizabeth's youngest daughter, whom she called her "child of the Cross." A fall on the ice in 1812, concealed from her mother because of Annina's last illness, caused a tumor on her hip which developed into tuberculosis of the bone. The best doctors were unable to help her. Cheerful as a bird, she told her mother, "This leg will carry me to heaven." Her favorite doctor was Bruté, then president of Saint Mary's College in Baltimore, who had received his medical degree from the Sorbonne in Paris before seeking ordination and admission into the Sulpicians. He visited when he could, wrote letters, amused her with his little notes and sketches, and challenged her to look forward to heaven and treasure the sufferings that were her passport there. Inspired by his and her mother's faith, Bec reached unusual heights of holiness before dying on her mother's knee 4 November 1816.

Kit, Elizabeth's only remaining daughter, also showed signs of the family illness. Having finished school, she taught music for a

while, then visited Elizabeth's friends and relatives in Philadelphia and New York before settling in with the family of General Robert Goodloe Harper in Baltimore, becoming like a daughter to them. She later lived with her aunt in New York, where at the age of forty-six she became the first American postulant of the Sisters of Mercy. After many years of devoted service to prisoners in New York, she died at the age of ninety.

William joined the navy. When he was assigned to the *Cyane* on duty off the coast of Liberia, his brother Richard worked as Captain's clerk on the same ship. Richard offered to assist Jehudi Ashmun, the agent attempting to found a free black colony in Liberia. Having nursed Ashmun through a virulent fever, Richard contracted it and died at sea in June of 1823, aged 26. William retired early from the navy to care for Kit, who was ill. He later married and fathered nine children, among them Archbishop Robert Seton and author William Seton. He died in 1868 and is buried at Mount Saint Mary's.

Bruté's Return to Emmitsburg

While in Baltimore, Bruté offered hospitality to the first Vincenians who had come to the United States from Rome at the request of Bishop DuBourg of New Orleans. They were Felix DeAndreis, Joseph Rosati, and their companions. Bruté wrote to Elizabeth asking for prayers for the success of the seminary they hoped to establish in the West, noting that it is the duty of Daughters of Charity to pray for good priests. Elizabeth responded joyfully to news of the Missionaries, adding that the sisters had offered Mass and Communion on the feast of Saint Lazarus for them and their work.

In 1818 Bruté returned to Mount Saint Mary's to assist Dubois, whose many duties were overwhelming. The two worked together in deep spiritual friendship in spite of their differences in personality. The Community leaned on the stalwart Dubois in practical matters. As superior he guided economic decisions, insisted uncompromisingly on the Rule and spirit of Vincent and Louise, steered the Council to make choices according to "what our French Sisters do," and challenged them to have the daring of pioneers. Bruté nourished the spiritual life of the sisters through his role as chaplain, through retreats, conferences, and spiritual direction given to

Elizabeth and others among the sisters. A beautiful bond had developed between him and Elizabeth, each inspiring the other with enthusiasm for the spiritual life, love of Scripture and the Eucharist, and joyful acceptance of God's will manifested in the present moment. Elizabeth corrected his unique English and helped with his homilies; Bruté shared with her his copious library of the Fathers of the Church and masters of the spiritual life, from which she translated passages for the sisters.

Bruté, like Dubois, knew well the Daughters of Charity in France and could convey their ideals with all the ardor of his soul. In his words to the sisters he used such colorful imagery that his imperfect mastery of English only made the lessons more memorable:

O, that they beg humbly to be made true Daughters of Charity, true angels of the sick, the dying, the orphan, the widow; true sufferers with sufferers; true pitying, gentle condescending fellow-travelers with mortals not so easily weaned from things below...to be enabled to prepare well enough for their last hour!²⁶

Humility, Simplicity, Charity. How well these blessed names of the three virtues marked out by St. Vincent will carry us through...²⁷

Death of Elizabeth Seton

Years earlier Elizabeth had written to her friend Julia Scott about the Sulpicians:

I shall be always protected and taken care of as part of their family, and I cannot help wishing extremely that I may be so fortunate as to merit a continuance of their friendship.²⁸

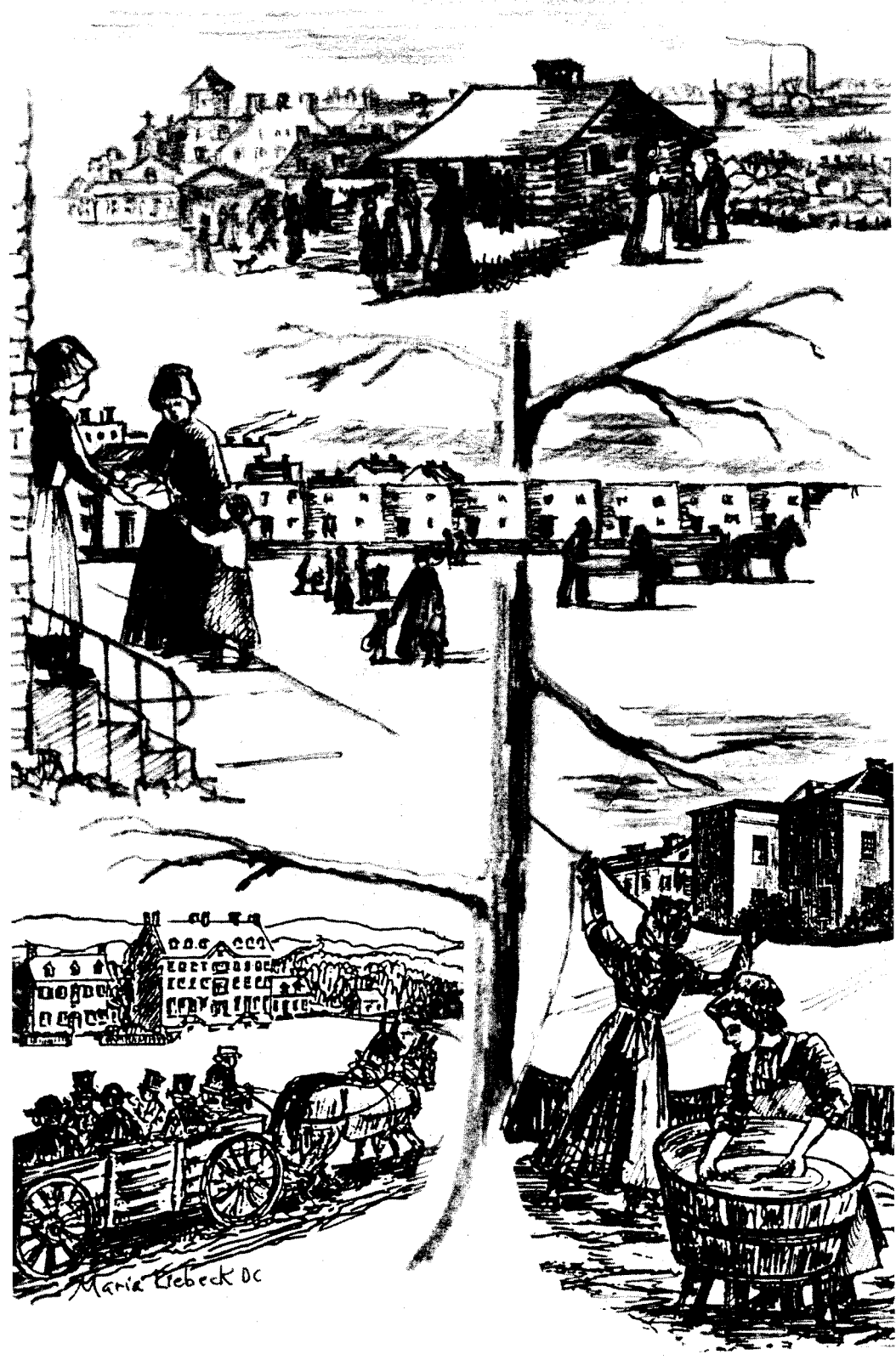
Both Elizabeth and her sisters valued this friendship. Besides the Sulpicians of Mount Saint Mary's and those of Saint Mary's, Baltimore, the Community counted among its friends in these early days four Sulpician Bishops: Marechal of Baltimore, DuBourg of New Orleans (later Montauban, France), Flaget and David of Bardstown. Because of their associations with the two seminaries, the sisters were acquainted with many more who would be counted among the hierarchy of the future, who were in 1820 still students or faculty members of the two seminaries—including Dubois and Bruté. Through their closeness to the Sulpicians, the sisters were

close to Church leadership in many American dioceses of the future.

Before 1820 the Church in America was composed of one archdiocese, Baltimore, and five dioceses: New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Bardstown, and New Orleans. The Community of Sisters of Charity, not yet a dozen years old and numbering only fifty sisters, was already serving in three of them and would soon spread to others. The calls of the Church and the needs of the poor would always be the criteria upon which the Community would base its acceptance of new missions.

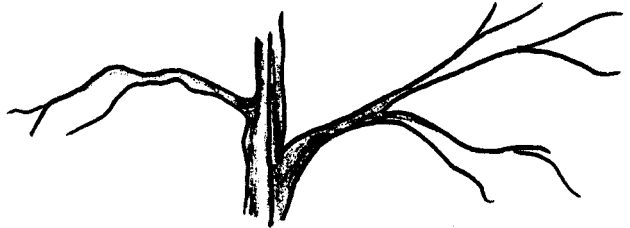
"I thank God for having made me a child of His Church," Elizabeth Seton said more than once to the sisters around her sickbed. "When you come to this hour, you will know what it is to be a child of the Church."²⁹

When her last hour did come 4 January 1821, this was the message Elizabeth left with her Daughters: "Be children of the Church; be children of the Church. Oh, thankful..."³⁰

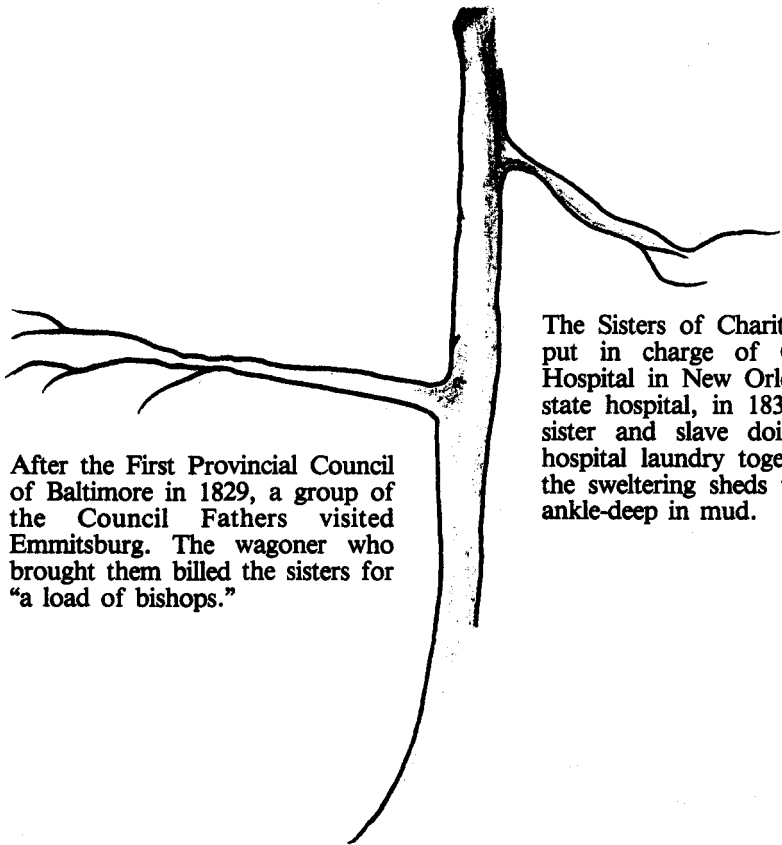


Maria Krebeck DC

In 1828 four Sisters of Charity opened a hospital in Saint Louis at the request of Bishop Rosati. This log cabin was the nation's first Catholic hospital.



In the epidemics of 1832-1833 the sisters nursed cholera victims in all the major seaports, bringing the bereaved orphans home and caring for them.



After the First Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1829, a group of the Council Fathers visited Emmitsburg. The wagoner who brought them billed the sisters for "a load of bishops."

The Sisters of Charity were put in charge of Charity Hospital in New Orleans, a state hospital, in 1833. The sister and slave doing the hospital laundry together in the sweltering sheds worked ankle-deep in mud.

2

ROOTED IN THE CHURCH

Three times during that bitter January of 1821 death stalked the Valley, claiming Mother Elizabeth Seton on the 4th, Sister Mary Ann Butler on the 14th, and Sister Victoria Brady on the 19th. Three times funeral processions wound past the stable to the cemetery; three times the hounds Sultan and Sailor moaned their mournful accompaniment to the chant of the "In Paradisum." Having claimed the Mother, death seemed to flaunt its power over her daughters.

But in the kingdom of God it is always springtime; and so the Community went on. In the same letter which notified sisters on distant missions of Mother Seton's death, Father John Dubois asked each sister to suggest names of a possible successor. From the names suggested, Dubois and the Council would choose two for each office, to be submitted to the sisters at or near the Motherhouse for voting during the election. This method was stipulated in Article XIII of the Constitutions:

The Daughters of Charity being destined to be scattered in small groups over various and perhaps distant parts of America...it will be impossible for all the Sisters to be present at the meetings held in the Mother House either for elections or other affairs...For this reason it is provided that in such a case the Sisters not distant more than two or three days journey from the Mother House who have eight years of vocation...shall be the natural deputies of the whole company to attend the same elections, and other like meetings convoked on extraordinary and important affairs in which the welfare of the whole body is concerned...and all the others shall conform to the solutions adopted in the said meetings....¹

In the election of 1821 the sisters selected Sister Rose White to succeed as Mother, and retained in office those who had been elected to the Council 14 July 1820: Sisters Xavier Clark, assistant; Augustine Decount, procuratrix; Susan Clossey, treasurer. Sisters Xavier and Augustine were both fairly recent arrivals, women in

their thirties, capable, experienced, and advanced in spirituality. Both had been inspired to join the Community by Sister Rose's example, one in Philadelphia, the other in New York.

Expansion in Dioceses Already Served

Rose returned to the Valley in March, having been away seven years. A violent storm made the passage from Philadelphia to Baltimore a rough one, but Rose's son Charles—grown to young manhood, a student at Saint Mary's College, Baltimore—met the sisters with a carriage for the remainder of the journey. Because of the deep snow it took them two full days to travel the fifty miles from Baltimore to Emmitsburg. When they arrived, the Council lost no time in meeting to handle business that had been deferred by Mother Seton's illness and death.

Baltimore: 1821

The Council's first major decision was to respond favorably to a pending request for sisters for Saint Mary's Free School in Baltimore. Dubois, with his usual care for details, notified the president of the Association of Charitable Ladies that the sisters were to be provided with a house, \$100 a year living expenses, and shoes. If this sum proved to be more than needed, the surplus would be returned.

The house on the corner of North and Mulberry Streets was a small poor one, furnished with an assortment of second-hand chairs and tables, a cot and a double bed with a mattress half its size. Within six months several orphan girls were sharing this house with the sisters. Since there was no hired help, the sisters did the cleaning, cooking and laundry as well as teaching. Sister Benedicta Parsons had been chosen as sister servant. Father Louis Regis Deluol, the Sulpician appointed as confessor to the sisters, asked her why she was called sister servant. "It means that I'm to be the servant of all," she replied. Since she was the first of many sisters he was to direct in his long association with the Community, he always referred to her as his eldest daughter. She signed her letters to him with a simple "Bene."

Before long the sisters from Saint Mary's were teaching at the Cathedral—a pay school and a boarding school—as well as at Saint Mary's Free School, which soon had more than 200 pupils. A second free school was added for the immigrant poor of Saint Patrick's Parish, Fell's Point.

Beginnings in Health Care: Baltimore, 1822

Believing that education would long be the principal employment of the American Sisters of Charity, Archbishop Carroll had written to Elizabeth Seton in 1811:

A century at least will pass before the exigencies and habits of this country will require and hardly admit of the charitable exercises towards the sick sufficient to employ any number of Sisters out of our largest cities...²

Before a dozen years had passed, the Archbishop's prediction was proved to be too conservative. In May 1822 Dubois received a letter asking for sisters to staff the newly established Baltimore Infirmary. Doctor Granville Sharp Pattison was impressed with the quality of care given to the sick children in Saint Mary's Asylum. Named director of the new infirmary which was being added as a training center for students of the medical college of the University of Maryland, Pattison wanted the sisters to manage it.

In his letter of acceptance, Dubois specified that Pattison alone should have control over the sisters. Under the authority of the Board of Trustees, they were to have complete charge of the management and supervision of the work, including authority to hire and fire workers as needed, to admit and discharge patients, to make rules and regulations for the house, to handle expenses for supplies, food and fuel. Male attendants, selected by the sisters and subject to them, were to give the necessary physical care to male patients.

The sisters were to be boarded in the Infirmary; each was to receive \$42 a year for her maintenance. Their duties, as spelled out by Dubois, would include corporal care of the sick, spiritual instruction of persons in health and sickness, bleeding, giving remedies, furnishing a proper diet to the patients, maintaining cleanliness, preparing the sick for death, laying out the dead, and

providing means for decent burial. Care, such as food and clothing, might also be extended to poor persons who were not sick, whether at home or in prison. In closing, Dubois wrote enthusiastically:

I cannot express the joy they felt at the opening which your charity affords for the exercise of their zeal. Now they feel that they are true Sisters of Charity.³

Several factors led the sisters into health care so early in their American history: one was the reputation of the European Daughters of Charity in health care. The Community at Emmitsburg was not only following the Rule of Saint Vincent de Paul, but also patterning its service on what their sisters in Europe did.

There were, too, strong medical influences in the lives and experiences of the sisters. Mother Seton's father and brother-in-law ranked as eminent doctors in New York, as did Sister Joanna Smith's brother in Baltimore. Bruté's knowledge of medicine was in evidence in his guidance of the young Community. Illnesses in the Seton family, among the boarders, and within the Community brought the sisters into frequent contact with Doctor Daniel Moore of Emmitsburg and the learned Doctor Pierre Chatard of Baltimore. Among books passed down in the Community are a French medical textbook dated 1823 and a hand-written manual on spiritual care of the sick, partly translated from the French and partly gleaned from instructions given by Sister Xavier Clark.

The Baltimore Infirmary was completed in October 1823; the following month the sisters began their first work in a university hospital. Sister Joanna Smith was the first sister servant, assisted by Sisters Ann Gruber, Adele Salva, and later Appolonia Graver, Ambrosia Magner and Veronica Gouch. By 1832 the Infirmary had three physicians and four surgeons. There was a special ward for diseases of the eye. Another for seamen was expanded into a separate marine hospital, temporarily under the care of the sisters in 1827.

The doctors practicing at the Baltimore Infirmary were those associated with the faculty of medicine at the University of Maryland. Working under their supervision, the sisters learned much about illnesses, wounds and remedies, developing nursing skills that would shortly be put to use in Catholic hospitals.

Frederick: 1824

In 1824 John McElroy, S.J., pastor in Frederick, Maryland, about twenty-five miles from Emmitsburg, asked for sisters for a free school. Sisters Margaret George and Rosalia Green were sent. The house provided was a one-story frame building, very poor. The one large room with a stove was intended for the schoolroom. Adjoining it were a tiny sleeping room and a windowless kitchen. Water was drawn from a well in the yard. When school opened, eighty applicants came; but the schoolroom could hold just fifty.

McElroy desired only a free school; but when orphans were entrusted to the sisters with no means for their support, a pay school was added. Before long the house was enlarged to include boarders as well as the orphans and day students (both pay and free) and a school for small boys.* Instruction for slaves was provided on Sundays. In 1846 this school was transferred to the Visitation Sisters.

Washington: 1825

Another request for sisters to staff a free school in the Baltimore archdiocese came from Father William Matthews of Washington, D.C. Sister Augustine Decount was sent as sister servant, with Sisters Clotilda Cuncell and Petronilla Smith as her companions. The small cottage, named Saint Vincent's, soon served as an orphanage as well as a day school. Before the end of the first year there were thirty orphans.

In 1831 at the request of Father M. Deagle of Saint Peter's Parish, sisters were sent to open Saint Paul's Academy on Capitol Hill, a pay academy to support a free school. The school was well patronized, but—since the sisters had no opportunity for Mass and the sacraments—the Community withdrew in 1834.

Another short-lived mission in the Washington area was an orphanage and school in Georgetown sponsored by Madame Augustine Iturbide (widow of the emperor of Mexico).

**The custom through most of the 19th century was for men to teach boys. Coeducational schools were very rare. If boys were admitted, the exception was only for small boys, ages three to seven or eight. They were taught in separate classes.*

Early Missions in Virginia: 1832, 1834, 1837, 1838

Richmond, Virginia, had been named a diocese in 1820, but after one year the bishop resigned. Another was not appointed until 1841. During the twenty intervening years, Virginia was governed as part of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, since Catholics and priests were scarce. Samuel Cooper, a native Virginian, had expressed to Sister Mary Paul Dougless (in charge of the Emmitsburg farm) that the Community must never refuse sisters for Virginia, because Sisters of Charity were destined to spread the Catholic faith in his home state.

True to this legacy, the Community accepted a school in Alexandria in 1832. This was followed by Saint Joseph's Orphan Asylum and School in Richmond in 1834, another school in Norfolk in 1837, and—at the request of Father Richard Whelan, the pastor—a boarding and day school in Martinsburg in 1838. The Richmond school and orphanage expanded; in addition to orphan girls and day students, it soon included boarders. An academy helped to support the free school and orphanage. The other missions, however, were short-lived: the Norfolk school because of low enrollment; that of Martinsburg because sisters were needed for other free schools for the poor, while this one served primarily the children of landowners. Service to the poor in Martinsburg at that time was limited to Sunday classes in religion and basic education for Negro women.

Meanwhile, the academy in Saint Joseph's Valley, Emmitsburg, continued to flourish. As early as 1831 train service had been established between Baltimore and Frederick. Emmitsburg was an overnight stop for the stagecoach between Baltimore and western Maryland. In 1838 a wing, five stories high, was added to the Dubois Building and named the Deluol Building; and ground was broken for a large chapel of Tuscan design on the site chosen by Mother Seton.

Diocese of Philadelphia

The diocese of Philadelphia was beset with problems caused by rebellious trustees and incompetent leadership. Yet the city continued to grow and the Community responded to further requests for help. Saint John's School (pay, select, and free) was

accepted in 1830, and Saint Mary's School in 1833. Both of these held classes for servant girls twice weekly. In 1835 Saint Joseph School for Boys in Holy Trinity Parish was accepted temporarily.

The Irish immigrants of Saint John's Parish were roused to action when the orphaned children of Catholic neighbors were sent to the almshouse. The schoolmaster and his wife called a meeting in their home, which resulted in the formation of a group to support the orphans by dues of \$1.50 a year. Soon there were over one hundred fifty members contributing to the support of these children who were cared for by foster-families. When children became more numerous than available families, the group applied to their pastor, John Hughes, for help. He obtained four Sisters of Charity from Emmitsburg and rented a double house on Prune Street, of which one half was intended for orphan boys and the other for girls. In 1836 Hughes proposed sending the girls to Saint Joseph's and taking all the boys at Saint John's, using the school sisters to staff his expanded orphanage; he made his plans without consulting the sisters. Bishop Francis Kenrick, making his yearly visitation of the diocese, was informed of these events at Saint John's by his correspondent, Marc Frenaye:*

Mother Augustine advised us, before we come to a final conclusion on the subject, to consult with their superior at Emmitsburg; and very properly, she remarks: "The children belong to you, but we do not."⁴

From Kenrick's visitation records clear pictures emerge of other schools—some housing orphans—staffed by the Sisters of Charity in the diocese of Philadelphia: in Harrisburg, Wilmington, Conewago, Pittsburgh, and Pottsville.

Harrisburg: 1828

Harrisburg, capital of Pennsylvania, was a primitive place with no railroads when the sisters began a school there in 1828. Sisters

**Frenaye was a Philadelphia merchant who had lent \$30,000 to build St. John's Church and who served on the parish board. He lived in the rectory and was a trusted friend and financial advisor to Kenrick. Sister Augustine Decount, former superior of the Community, was sister servant at St. John's in 1836.*

Stanislaus McGinnis, Lucy Ignatius Gwynn, and Gonzaga Grace cared for orphans and taught school, often chopping their own firewood. In his visitation record of 1830, Kenrick notes the growth of this mission:

In a house close to St. Patrick Church are three Sisters of Charity who teach young girls the rudiments of letters. Thirty girls, most of them non-Catholics.⁵

Wilmington: 1830

Saint Peter's in Wilmington was the only church in the state of Delaware, except for a small chapel in the pastor's home six miles away. In 1830 the sisters opened a school in the parish. It included a small orphanage, the first child-caring institution in the state. When Kenrick visited in August of 1830 he was impressed with the solid beginnings the sisters had made, "where, besides six little orphan girls, who are cared for and taught in the house, many other young girls learn the rudiments of letters and religion." In 1832 the bishop recorded that he confirmed forty and delivered a sermon on charity and giving to the poor, for the benefit of the orphan asylum which was under the care of the Sisters of Charity.

Three sisters are taking care of six orphans and at the same time conducting a school, which is not succeeding as well as it deserves. The Rev. George A. Carrell has lately bought a house in his own name for \$2700 to be erected for the use of the orphans, but the money has not yet been paid.⁶

Conewago: 1834

Also mentioned in the bishop's diary is the school opened in June 1834 at Conewago, Pennsylvania, near the historic Jesuit mission. A separate boys' school was added, then a girls' boarding school. In 1840 the sisters' house was destroyed by fire. The Community withdrew at this time. When the building was later rebuilt, the Religious of the Sacred Heart staffed the school.

Pittsburgh: 1835

Father John O'Reilly, who had been a student at Mount Saint Mary's in Mother Seton's lifetime, requested the sisters in 1835 to take charge of a school and orphanage in Saint Paul's Parish, Pittsburgh, of which he was pastor. The mission was poor, so a pay school and academy were soon added as the principal means of support for the school and orphanage. After Father O'Reilly's departure from the parish, when Pittsburgh had been made a diocese, Bishop Michael O'Connor brought in Sisters of Mercy from Ireland and desired them to take over the educational works. Since the small orphanage depended on the schools for support and the sisters were needed even more elsewhere, the Council decided to withdraw them from the care of the orphans also. With so many pioneer dioceses asking for Sisters of Charity, the presence of another community dedicated to works of charity within a diocese was a factor for the Council in deciding how sisters would be allocated among the many bishops asking for them.

Pottsville: 1836

When Bishop Kenrick visited Pottsville in the mining district of Pennsylvania in 1830, he found at least one hundred Catholic families, most of them poor. "In this whole region," he wrote, "to the New York border not one priest."⁷ A few years later Pottsville had two parishes (Irish and German) and two or three Sisters of Charity teaching in Saint Ann's School. In spite of poverty and hardship, faith was strong. The bishop tells of an Alsatian woman named Lefevre who heard that there was a priest in Pottsville. When her husband died, she walked alone one hundred twenty miles through forests and over mountains to have Mass offered for him in Pottsville. The sisters remained at Saint Ann's for about nine years.

Diocese of New York

By 1822 the orphanage in New York had expanded into several works: a pay school directed by Sister Cecilia O'Conway; a free school taught by Sister Agnes O'Connor; and the orphanage entrusted to Sister Susan Clossey, who was missioned there before

completing her term as treasurer. The school sisters were to board at the orphanage for \$100 a year each; Sister Susan was to be sister servant of all the sisters. Dubois wanted all arrangements in writing: the board for the sisters, the lease of the school building for \$80 a year, and the understanding that part of the profits of the pay school were to be returned to Emmitsburg to support the novices, aged and infirm sisters. In New York as in Philadelphia, the sisters continued visiting almshouses, prisons, and the sick poor in their homes, as had been done when Mother Rose began the missions. Sunday classes for adults and children of the parish were also offered.

In 1830 sisters were sent to staff another parish school in New York: Saint Joseph's. In 1833 two more missions were accepted in the city: a "half-orphan asylum" (for children with only one parent living) and another school, Saint Mary's on Grand Street.

Albany: 1828

Typical of the hardships endured in these early parish missions were those experienced at Saint Mary's in Albany, where three sisters arrived in September 1828. Saint Mary's was the only Catholic church and Father Charles Smith the only resident pastor north of New York City. He had rented a small house next to the church for the sisters, and an abandoned bake-house a block or so away for a school. Neither possessed a stove; each depended on one wood-burning fireplace for heat. But there was in the schoolhouse an old baking oven, no longer usable except as lodging for a colony of rats, who sometimes became so noisy and boisterous in their play that classes had to be interrupted until they quieted down again. Eventually the rats prevailed and the building began to collapse. The school was then moved to the basement of the church.

Albany winters are severe, and that of 1829-30 was exceptionally cold there and all over the country. Two of the original group of sisters became ill and had to be recalled; the youngest, able to bear the rigors of the climate, became sister servant. This was Sister Mary DeSales Tyler.*

**Sister Mary DeSales was Sister Genevieve Tyler's sister. Of the nine children in this family of New Hampshire converts, one son became the first bishop of Hartford; all four daughters*

In May of 1829 Father Smith wrote to Mother Augustine Decount at Emmitsburg:

I am happy to tell you that the Sisters are successful in Albany. The pupils are numerous and every day increasing. I was aware that if I could get the good Sisters of Charity to Albany that a blessing would accompany them and my expectations have been realized.⁸

When cholera struck Albany in the late summer of 1831, there was no one to care for the orphans; so the sisters took them into their small home. To provide support for them, a pay school offering broader educational opportunities was added. When in 1844 Father Smith's successor refused to make necessary repairs on the building, which had become dilapidated, the Council withdrew the sisters; but they returned to Albany two years later to resume the work in a different parish, where the works of charity multiplied under pastoral encouragement and support.

Brooklyn: 1831

Another beginning in the New York diocese was made in Brooklyn at the request of Bishop Dubois. Sister Rose White, who had been replaced as Mother by Sister Augustine Decount, began a free school and orphanage in Brooklyn with two companions 29 March 1831. A second foundation was made in Saint Paul's Parish in 1841, but the two were combined the following year. In 1839 the free school became a separate mission, called Saint James.

Utica: 1834

John and Nicholas Devereux provided two buildings for an orphanage and school in Utica, New York, an old Catholic settlement in the Mohawk Valley. Begun with only three children in 1834, Saint John's was the first orphanage in central New York State. Saint John's School, also staffed by the Sisters of Charity, was the first parochial school within the present Syracuse Diocese. It soon

became Sisters of Charity. One of them later transferred to the Visitation Order. Details of the early days in Albany are given in the life of Sister Mary DeSales Tyler.

grew to include a free school, a day school for pay students, and eventually an academy and industrial school.

But the beginnings were hard. Sisters Etienne Hall, Lucina Simms, and Theophila Williams began in a very small house, where the orphans soon overflowed into an attic dormitory with rafters so low that only the smallest child could stand erect. The Devereux family would have built and donated larger quarters, but Sister Etienne insisted on some contributions from other citizens of Utica, so that the orphanage would belong to all. She succeeded so well that by 1848 it could be incorporated as an institution no longer dependent on the benevolence of one family.

Fordham: 1841

Sisters were sent briefly to Rose Hill College in Fordham, New York, to serve in the domestic department until other arrangements could be made.

Rochester: 1845

Saint Patrick's Orphanage in Rochester, New York, had already been established by managers, with several young women caring for the orphans. It was entrusted to the Sisters of Charity 4 April 1845.

Expansion into New Dioceses

Sister Rose White's second term of office had ended in 1827. She was succeeded by Sister Augustine Decount, aided by Sisters Fanny Jordan, assistant; Benedicta Parsons, treasurer; and Ann Gruber, procuratrix. Sister Xavier Clark was recalled from Philadelphia to serve again as novice mistress, an office she filled for a total of twenty-eight years, forming a whole generation of Sisters of Charity in the spirit of humility, simplicity, and charity towards God, one another, and the poor.

The rapid growth of the Church through immigration and evangelization led to the First Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1829, bringing together bishops from the archdiocese and the ten dioceses of the United States. Having made recommendations

regarding the limited role of trustees in parishes, the urgent need to develop Catholic schools, and the location and appointments for new dioceses, a group of the Council Fathers decided to visit Emmitsburg. The driver who brought them from the stagecoach at Frederick later sent to Sister Benedicta, among his bills for other wagonloads of commodities delivered, a bill for "a load of bishops." Included in this wagonload was Joseph Rosati, C.M., first Bishop of Saint Louis and the first Vincentian to visit Saint Joseph's Valley. Rosati's diocese included what later became eleven states: all of the Louisiana Purchase above Louisiana and Mississippi.

Saint Louis, 1828: First Catholic Hospital

When the Vincentians from Rome first landed in Baltimore, Simon Gabriel Bruté, then president of Saint Mary's College, offered them hospitality. It was to Bruté, therefore, that Rosati appealed when he wanted three sisters to staff a hospital in Saint Louis. John Mullanphy, an early Catholic philanthropist of Saint Louis, had offered land, \$150 for the sisters' journey, \$350 to furnish the hospital, and two rental houses to help support the hospital. On 21 July 1828 the Council voted unanimously to take charge of the Saint Louis Hospital in Missouri, as the bishop requested. In addition to the three sisters he had asked for, they sent a fourth who could speak French.

Sisters Francis Xavier Love, Martina Butcher, Rebecca Delone, and Francis Regis Berrett were the chosen pioneers. Their journey took several weeks: by carriage to Frederick, where they caught the stage, which almost overturned while crossing the Cumberland Mountains; then down the Ohio by steamboat, finally reaching Vincennes, Indiana, on 1 November—two weeks after leaving Emmitsburg. Here they had their first opportunity to hear Mass and receive the sacraments. The rest of the journey was worse: by flatboat, carriage and farm cart across Illinois, mostly on rough track through prairie and forest. Sister Xavier was injured when the wagon overturned and the horse ran away, abandoning them in the wilderness.

When they finally reached Saint Louis, the bishop was away and their cabin was not ready. For several weeks they were guests of Mother Philippine Duchesne and her Religious of the Sacred Heart

in their city house on Convent Street. But soon the first hospital—a two-room log cabin with a lean-to kitchen where the sisters cooked, prayed, washed, and slept—was ready. The first patients were received 26 November 1828.

The contract states the purpose of the hospital: to care for “indigent sick free persons without respect to color, country, or religion.” The hospital register for 1829 indicates that this purpose was carried out. As many as eighteen patients at a time shared the two rooms. One man diagnosed as “insane” stayed most of the winter. The rates were \$1.50 a week if paid by the patient, \$1.25 if by the city. Charity patients included black patients listed as “indigent free” but there were other blacks like “George, free” who paid for himself and “Mary, a slave” paid for by her master.¹⁰

In spite of generous benefactors, the sisters sometimes ran into hard times. The winter of 1830 was exceptionally severe, and one night the sister on duty helped herself from a neighbor’s woodpile when the hospital’s supply of logs ran out. When she apologized the next morning, the neighbor took measures to see that in future the hospital would always be supplied with firewood.

Bishop Rosati wrote frequently to Emmitsburg, expressing his delight in the sisters. Deploing the poverty of the hospital, he wrote:

The Hospital is on the footing of all the institutions in our state. True, it is but in embryo, but I have no doubt as to its attaining perfection; but in the meantime we shall do all we can for its welfare. Mr. Mullanphy has made over everything to me and I have given *carte blanche* to the Sisters. They will be under no other control than that of the Bishop of St. Louis who will never stand in their way against what they think proper, conformably to their customs and Rules. I have been much edified and pleased by their conduct. I perceive that the Daughters of St. Vincent in America have succeeded perfectly in acquiring the virtues which he bequeathed as a precious inheritance to his Daughters of France.¹¹

The new two-story brick hospital was no sooner completed than it was filled with patients with a strange new disease that brought death in a matter of hours. Even before it was identified as Asiatic cholera, the disease took on epidemic proportions. In a letter written some weeks later, Sister Xavier described people fleeing the city in panic; whole families stricken and dying; Bishop Rosati in tears offering Mass for his people, telling the sisters to come and

"receive your God, He will be your strength and your courage, He will go before you all the day and count your steps."¹²

The hospital register underlines in pathetic lack of detail the tragedy of those days:

533 female, name unknown. died October 4.

541 male, name unknown. Oct. 16-18, died.

Three men, unknown, buried by the Sisters. Two were German.

Louis, an Indian admitted May 30, died after having received the sacraments, June 1, 1833.*¹³

As a result of the epidemic, the number of orphans left in the hospital was greatly increased. By 1834, forty-one orphan boys were listed.** One of the doctors donated his farm in the village of Carondelet, known as Vide-Poche, five miles south of the city. A two-room log house there provided a healthful home for the orphans as early as 1833. A school for girls, named Saint Joseph's, was added. By 1836 the new Cathedral Orphanage in Saint Louis was completed, and the Carondelet property was turned over to the Sisters of Saint Joseph, to become their motherhouse in the United States. In 1846 they assumed care of the orphan boys in a new building west of the city.

By 1841 a separate building housed the girls of the Cathedral Orphanage and a free school for girls of the parish. In 1843 Saint Mary's Orphanage for girls was opened by Sister Benedicta Parsons and three companions in a house provided by John Mullanphy's widowed daughter, Ann Biddle. Included were a free school and, for a time, a school for German-speaking children. Another free school, named Saint Vincent's, served the children in the central part of the city. Opened in 1843 in Saint Francis Xavier Parish, it became known as "Sister Olympia's School"*** and soon passed the four hundred mark in enrollment. An academy developed to support the free school.

**Louis was one of the three Nez Percé Indians of the Pacific Northwest who had come to St. Louis by canoe down the Missouri River to ask Bishop Rosati to send a priest to instruct their people.*

***The Religious of the Sacred Heart cared for some orphan girls. Male attendants from the hospital helped the sisters with the boys.*

****Sister Olympia McTaggart was in charge of the school.*

The Saint Louis Hospital* continued to flourish. For a time it was the only hospital in Missouri, and was declared by Mayor Carr Lane, who served as a doctor there, as the official city hospital. By 1837 entries in the ledger were labeled "Marine," indicating that it was the recognized facility for care of seamen in Saint Louis. Enlarged in 1840, the hospital was widely known for skilled care.

Cincinnati: 1829

As steamboats became common on the inland rivers, cities along the rivers experienced growth in population. Sisters were needed to serve the Church in these river cities. Bishop Edward Fenwick of Cincinnati, Ohio, asked for sisters to staff a school and take in orphan girls.

Since many of the immigrants in the Ohio Valley were German, Sister Fanny Jordan was chosen as sister servant. Her companions were Sisters Beatrice Tyler, Victoria Fitzgerald, and Albina Knott. Saint Peter's Orphanage and School began 8 October 1829. It was later expanded to include an academy. A German school was conducted by Sister Fanny. In 1842 a second work was undertaken in Cincinnati: an orphanage for German boys.

Sisters going to missions in Cincinnati, Saint Louis, and New Orleans often traveled together, making an overnight stop with the sisters in Cincinnati. On one occasion Sister Fanny, needing a strong sister as cook for the orphanage, exchanged Sister Emiliana Pigot, destined for Cincinnati, for Sister Francis Assisium McEnnis, who seemed healthier and could cook. Bishop Rosati reported the trade to Mother Augustine Decount, but each remained where she was. As a result, Sister Emiliana died a martyr of charity caring for cholera patients in Saint Louis, while Sister Francis Assisium lived to pioneer in California. Bishop Fenwick of Cincinnati also fell victim to the cholera. Bishop John Baptist Purcell, who succeeded him, sent Sister Victoria to Vide-Poche near Saint Louis as she was too near death to be useful in Cincinnati. She recovered and served well at Charity Hospital in New Orleans and on other missions.

**Incorporated as "Saint Louis Hospital" but often called "Sisters' Hospital," the institution was renamed "Mullanphy" in 1874 when rebuilt at a new location. In 1930 the name was changed to DePaul, by which name the hospital is still known.*

New Orleans: 1830

After the resignation of DuBourg from the diocese of New Orleans, Rosati administered this diocese as well as his own of Saint Louis, until a successor was appointed. It was during this time that he wrote to Mother Augustine asking for sisters for New Orleans. In his letter two apostolates were suggested: to teach in the Poydras Orphan Asylum, which was administered for children of all faiths and had many Catholic children; or to teach free Negro girls in Miss Alicot's school. DuBourg had encouraged Miss Alicot to found her school for free Negro girls; Rosati understood that she wished to enter a religious community and turn her school over to them.

The Council sent Sisters Regina Smith and Magdalen Councill to New Orleans to staff the school for Negro children. They soon learned, however, that Miss Alicot envisioned a community of her own, dedicated to the education of black girls, and expected her teachers to join it.* Since this condition was not acceptable to the sisters, their services as teachers were no longer desired. The Ursulines of New Orleans gave hospitality to the sisters and introduced them to the lady managers of the Poydras Asylum, who accepted their help as teachers and soon turned over much of the management to them. But when Julian Poydras, the Catholic benefactor of the orphanage, died, the situation changed subtly. The managers wished the matrons, Catholic and Protestant, to share the living quarters and life of the sisters, an arrangement which would have interfered with their community life. Also, there were restrictions placed on their teaching of Catholic doctrine.

In Rosati's absence, the vicar general of the diocese gave notice that the sisters would be withdrawn and would set up a Catholic orphanage. Margaret Haughery, a young Catholic widow, came with the sisters when they withdrew. She made their Catholic orphanage her life work, begging food for the children from the French Market as long as they stayed in the city; buying a cow to provide them with fresh milk when they moved to the country. With a strong business sense, she increased the cow to a herd and was soon driving a wagon into the city to sell milk. Later, she became owner of a bakery from which she supplied all the orphans

**Miss Alicot later aided in the foundation of the Holy Family Sisters.*

of the city with bread and earned the money to help build several orphanages.

This first home for girls was incorporated as the New Orleans Female Orphan Asylum. When the number of children became too large, two other institutions were separated from the original: Saint Vincent's Infant Asylum for the babies and preschoolers, and Saint Elizabeth's House of Industry for girls in their teens.

Margaret Haughery gave not only money, but herself in love. In the process she developed a strong prayer life which was the source of her charity, and a reputation for business acumen that was unequaled among Southern women. Though she could sign her will only with an X, she left a small fortune for the support of orphans in the care of Daughters of Charity, and other legacies as well for other orphanages of the city.

Boston: 1832

The diocese of Boston, which included all of New England, had no Sisters of Charity until 1832. Bishop Benedict Fenwick asked for a girls' school in Saint Aloysius Parish; but the cholera epidemic that year necessitated opening an orphanage as well. Sister Ann Alexis Shorb led the group of sisters who went from classrooms to sickbeds in the homes of the poor, winning respect and breaking down prejudice by their charity. Nevertheless, it took nine years to raise enough money to build a new orphanage, large enough to accommodate the crowds of Catholic children left homeless by the epidemic. In spite of the bigotry of Nativists and the polemics of Lyman Beecher, in spite of the mad hatred of the mob that burned the Ursuline convent in nearby Charlestown, the sisters continued serenely to care for their children. They were always able to make room for one more child, even for all the Ursulines and their students when they fled from the burning convent-school. Sister Ann Alexis had a dignity that won the respect of Bostonians, and a tenderness with children that made the youngest of them lisp out her name as "Mama 'Lexis."

Vincennes: 1838

In 1834 Simon Gabriel Bruté, the loved chaplain of Saint

Joseph's Valley since the time of Mother Seton, was called from Emmitsburg to be first bishop of the newly erected diocese of Vincennes. The new diocese comprised the entire state of Indiana and the eastern half of Illinois, including the village of Chicago. Mother Rose, serving her third term at the head of the Community, revealed to the Council Bruté's poverty and suggested a gift of money to pay for a journey to his new diocese. Father Hickey gave his breviary, Doctor Shorb offered his watch, and with Mother Seton's Bible and some of his most treasured books, he departed for Saint Louis, where he was consecrated by Bishop Rosati in the newly consecrated cathedral on the bank of the Mississippi. He then set out for his own cathedral city, striking in its poverty. In the entire diocese he had three priests, one of them borrowed from Saint Louis!

For a time four Sisters of Charity of Nazareth (Kentucky) operated a boarding school in Vincennes, but by 1837 two of them had been recalled. In a letter dated 19 July 1837, Bruté asked for two or three sisters from Emmitsburg to supplement or replace the two who remained.

Sister Benedicta Parsons, then treasurer, volunteered for the distant mission. She was appointed sister servant, with Sister Mary Margaret Cully to accompany her. They set out 11 December with four sisters bound for New Orleans, traveling by stage to Cincinnati. After a visit with the sisters there, the two groups separated. Continuing down the Ohio by steamboat, Sisters Benedicta and Mary Margaret stopped at the home of a good Catholic family in Evansville.* Here they had the joy of discovering Bishop Bruté on his way south by doctor's orders to recover his health. The sisters continued their journey in a rough open stage (since the Wabash was not navigable in December), staying by night in the chinked log sheds adjoining the public inns. The journey took two weeks; they arrived in time to celebrate Christmas in Vincennes.

Bruté's plan for Vincennes was for a boarding and pay day school and a separate free school. The house was small and old. Hoping for more sisters, he bought a corner lot with a garden and four buildings, the largest of them a two-story brick. The sisters set

**Anthony Deydier, pastor at Evansville, met the sisters as they passed through and immediately wrote to Mother Rose describing his plans to build a church and establish the sisters in Evansville. He made his application early for the sisters he would need in the future.*

to work repairing, cleaning, painting—even planting—with the help of the two girls who had come for school. One of these was to be the first Indiana vocation to the Community, Ann (Sister Aurelia) Brown.

Letters of 1838 mention forty children in the school, ten in the house, with many more being turned away because two sisters could do only so much. In the summer of 1838 two more sisters were sent to help. Then the boarding school became an academy with music and French, as well as plain and fancy needlework, added to the basic subjects. The free school grew to an enrollment of over eighty. Most of the children of the free school belonged to poor French families.

The grateful Bruté dreamed of still more sisters for his poor diocese. From Chicago he wrote to Mother Rose describing the small wooden church, too small to hold the poor Catholics there, nearly a thousand of them:

I dream of Sisters here!—but how so? Col. Beaubien offers lots, etc.—Very well!—but Sisters?...Most (as usual) of our Catholics are of the poorest...¹⁴

Eventually the school in Vincennes became self-supporting, with a registration of eighty in the academy and ninety in the free school. After Bruté's death, however, misunderstandings arose between the sisters and his successor. In 1843 the Community withdrew, transferring the school to the Sisters of Providence.

Building a Reputation for Health Care

Until the cholera epidemics of 1832-1833 swept the country, education had been in many dioceses the primary apostolate for the sisters. Care of the few orphans entrusted to the sisters was often secondary to the school. But in the early thirties, large numbers of Catholic immigrants died of cholera; their orphans were often taken into protestant families or almshouses where they could not practice their faith. Thus the need for large-scale Catholic child care became evident. In question was no longer the care of a dozen orphans, but of hundreds. Orphanages became as important and as difficult to support as schools in the dioceses, most of which lacked the resources even for the buildings needed.

The Cholera Epidemic: 1832-1833

Another effect of the cholera epidemics, which struck fear into the bravest, was to draw attention to the selfless nursing care offered by the Sisters of Charity.

The devastating contagion hit hardest in seaports, spreading fastest in the overcrowded tenements where Negroes, immigrants, and other poor families lived. In New York, Boston, and Washington the sisters nursed cholera victims in their own homes, seeking out those attacked by the disease: bringing food, medicines, and care; and when death came to the adults, taking the orphans home with them. Death carts crossed the cities, picking up bodies for burial. In city almshouses thirty to forty died each day. Doctors attributed this to exposed food and contaminated water supplies.

In Baltimore the mayor gave public tribute to the sisters who nursed cholera victims at four locations. Five of these sisters became ill with the disease and two died: Sisters Mary Frances Boarman, aged 29, and Mary George Smith, aged 19. Records were well kept in Baltimore, showing the variety of treatments used: bloodletting, cuppings, poultices, laxatives, magnesia jalap, enemas, vapour baths, ipecac, morphia. But even with the best of care, almost sixty per cent of those who contracted the disease died. Most of the casualties were between the ages of twenty and fifty. Baltimore counted eight hundred fifty-three deaths in the epidemics, one per cent of its population.

In Philadelphia the situation was worse. From Blockley, the almshouse and general hospital then located on Spruce Street, many of the nurses ran away. Others struck for higher wages; if they were to die of cholera, it would be for more than five dollars a week and board.

The Guardians granted all their demands, even paying in advance—only to find that the money was invested in whiskey, which the nurses believed would protect them from infection. By

sent a messenger on horseback to Emmitsburg, begging for sisters. The Council came to an immediate decision, and two hours later thirteen sisters left for Philadelphia. Quiet efficiency, cleanliness, and hope were soon in evidence in the old almshouse. With direction, the employees worked hard and well. Historians of the institution state that the only peaceful interval in its stormy nineteenth century history was that time when the Sisters of Charity were in charge. The sisters restored order to such a degree that they were asked to remain permanently; but after nine months, when the crisis was well past, they were withdrawn. Among the reasons given by Father John Hickey, superior at the time, were: that they might serve where they could provide a more Christian environment for the sick, and in order to leave job openings for the poor convalescents and vagrants usually employed in bedside care in the almshouse. Sister Gabrielle Zevier,* who had charge of the sisters at Blockley, died of the after-effects of the disease shortly after her return to Emmitsburg.

In addition to Blockley, other emergency hospitals throughout the city of Philadelphia were served by the sisters. Father Michael Hurley had turned his rectory and school at Saint Augustine's into a cholera hospital where Sisters Olympia McTaggart and Isabella Devoy nursed three hundred sixty-seven women (only forty-six of whom were Catholics). Sisters Ursula Mattingly and Seraphine McNulty served in another temporary hospital, a warehouse on Dock Street, taking complete charge of the women while doctors cared for the men.

The South was not spared the ravages of the cholera. In New Orleans it was combined with yellow fever and smallpox to inflict a triple terror. Matthias Loras, then a student in Mobile (later first Bishop of Dubuque) wrote to his mother in France 10 November 1832:

The disease broke out in New Orleans on October 24 and has brought to the grave daily nearly 200 persons. The terror is at its height; the dead are buried clothed as they are and pell-mell... The people of Mobile are in a state of consternation.¹⁵

**In some Community records her name is spelled "Zevyer" and even "Zwyre."*

A further graphic glimpse comes from the pen of Mother Philippine Duchesne, writing from the Convent of the Sacred Heart in Saint Louis 23 June 1833:

During the last cholera epidemic, New Orleans was forced to recognize the fact that religion alone gives the courage to risk death in order to assist the unfortunate victims. A committee, visiting one hospital when the contagion was dying out, found there sick people completely abandoned for days, dying victims lying with those already dead, animals rooting among the bodies that no one had buried. The town council appealed to the Sisters of Charity to take charge of that hospital. . . They already have an orphanage in New Orleans, founded to care for 100 children. Cholera has reappeared in that city with fresh fury. . .¹⁶

Later in the year Philippine added:

New Orleans has at last decided to entrust its hospital to the Sisters of Charity. They have won the admiration of people of all creeds in St. Louis by their work in our hospital.¹⁷

Charity Hospital, New Orleans: Service in a State Institution

The reputation of the Sisters of Charity serving in the hospital in Saint Louis had reached the ears of the Board of Administrators of Charity Hospital, New Orleans—a board appointed by the state legislature to administer this state-owned hospital. On 6 May 1833 the treasurer wrote to superiors at Emmitsburg “to obtain Sisters to manage the internal economy of this institution.” The sisters were to take immediate management of the nursing and household concerns of the hospital.

The number required will be about ten, and the remuneration they will receive, if satisfactory to them, the same as that agreed upon for the Sisters engaged in the Female Orphan Asylum of this city.¹⁸

That remuneration was \$150 a year, often referred to as a clothing allowance. The sisters were to be housed in the hospital itself. The letter noted that the institution owned a number of slaves to do the menial work.

Sister Regina Smith and nine companions took charge of the hospital 6 January 1834. There were one hundred eighty patients,

many of them insane. Care had been inferior and the food served sometimes rotten, because of rivalry between the house surgeon and the doctor in charge, a political appointee. The sisters established rules for good order and cleanliness, supervised the wards, took charge of the storerooms and selected employees. For several decades political maneuvering ceased to dominate the hospital, and patient care became a primary concern.

The new hospital building, completed in 1832* was three stories high with ten spacious halls and five surgical wards, besides medical wards—space for five hundred forty patients.

No sooner had order been restored in the hospital than another epidemic broke out. Sister Regina wrote to Emmitsburg asking for reinforcements. Ten more sisters arrived in November; by that time, five of the original group were dead, and two of the replacements were to die within the next six months. This pattern was to be repeated in one epidemic after another: cholera, yellow fever, smallpox. Throughout the nineteenth century many of the sisters missioned to Charity Hospital died while in their twenties or younger, of illnesses contracted from those they served. But others survived, developing immunities that enabled them to serve as valued nurses twenty-five, fifty or more years in the crowded wards of this state hospital where most of the patients were charity patients.

The situation of the sisters at Charity Hospital was a unique one. Not only were they put in complete charge of a hospital that was state property, but they also had entire control over the departments of nursing, housekeeping, dietary, laundry, property management—and this property included sixteen slaves, a new experience for Sisters of Charity! Three wells on the property supplied water, which had to be hauled by hand up to the wards. Because of the low-lying land, the yard was constantly under water, so that the sister and slave doing the laundry in the sweltering sheds worked ankle deep in mud. It was customary for the laundry sister and kitchen sister to change places every two weeks, supposedly to give a rest to the kitchen sister, who had no slave to help her. Three sisters were assigned to each of the three floors to care for the thirty-three wards of the hospital, with one lay nurse on duty in each ward. There were also six attendants: three for cleaning, three

**It was to serve as Charity's main building until 1937.*

for carrying and serving food. Convalescent patients sometimes stayed to receive medical care in exchange for assistance with other patients. Once Sister Magdalen questioned one of these convalescents and sent for Sister Regina, rightly suspecting that it was Sister Regina's long-lost brother.

Although owned and sponsored by the State of Louisiana, Charity Hospital received no regular state appropriations until 1844. Numbers of patients and resultant costs spiraled astoundingly in the 1830s. At one time over nine hundred patients were being cared for in space built for five hundred forty. The only income was from fines and taxes, sums from forfeited bonds, and a limited number of city patients, for each of whom New Orleans paid 50¢ a day. Debts continued to mount until gradually property owned by the hospital—including the slaves—was sold to meet current expenses. By 1841 the debt was over \$62,000. In 1842 the legislature ordered an "insane asylum" to be erected on the grounds, the upper floor to be used as an isolation hospital for smallpox and other communicable diseases. Yet no funds were appropriated to equip, staff and maintain this new building.

A medical college was opened in 1843, leading to competition between the faculty and the city doctors, which resulted in better care of the patients. Under Sister Regina's leadership, the sisters strove to improve their nursing skills, with the older and more experienced on the wards teaching their younger and newer partners all that they had learned.

Care of the Mentally Ill

In August 1833 the Council acceded to a request for the return of sisters to the city public hospital in Baltimore, known as the Maryland Hospital, where they had served during the cholera epidemics. For a time, the sisters were given a free hand to make improvements in equipment and patient care. Debts were paid and improved methods of service introduced.

This hospital had a wing for the mentally ill, whose plight touched the hearts of the sisters. While learning much about psychiatric care from the doctors, the sisters surrounded the patients with a gentle and humane atmosphere that fostered healing.

In 1840, however, differences arose between the sisters and the

doctors, at first with regard to the latitude given to alcoholic patients to come and go at all hours of the night. In the new regulations drawn up by Doctor Richard S. Steuart and approved by the Board, the sisters had no authority to maintain good order in the house. After several fruitless attempts to correspond with Doctor Steuart about the difficulty, Father Louis Regis Deluol, superior, wrote to Sister Olympia McTaggart, the sister servant: "Dr. Steuart, sustained by the Board, has resolved to make slaves of the Sisters."¹⁹

As a result, notice was given that the sisters would be withdrawn at the end of September 1840. Deluol purchased a ten-acre property with buildings that could be remodeled so that the sisters could open a hospital of their own. When they left the Maryland Hospital, eighteen patients were withdrawn from the Maryland by relatives who wished to keep them under the sisters' care. These became the nucleus of Mount Saint Vincent's, which began 1 October 1840 in a small two-story brick house on Front Street. Two months later, Sister Matilda Coskery was recalled from the hospital in Richmond to replace Sister Olympia as sister servant and administrator.

Sister Matilda Coskery might be called the pioneer Catholic psychiatric nurse in the United States. As a young sister serving at Maryland Hospital, she showed remarkable ability to reach and encourage mental patients, and to understand rapidly what the doctors could teach her. Under her direction Mount Saint Vincent flourished. Stories are told of her calming influence over patients; how, for example, she lured one suicidal patient down from the roof by offering him some apples through the window of the cupola. Her skill was especially notable during the patients' period of recovery, when with respectful, gentle firmness she helped them build self-confidence and self-esteem.

When the work was only a year old, Mount Saint Vincent's was visited, in November 1841, by W. G. Read of New York, who had been commissioned by the New York legislature to study institutions for the mentally ill, to inquire about their government, organization, and internal arrangements. In his report to Doctor W. Devereux of the Committee of Trustees of the New York State Lunatic Asylum, he described his interview with Sister Matilda, highlighting conditions in the hospital and the principles of treatment:

The sisters never use blows or a strait jacket, which they consider extreme harassment. . . . The usual mode of restraining the violent is with a sort of sleeve, invented by themselves, as I understood, and which is attached to a frock body, made to lace up behind, like a lady's corset. The sleeves are some inches longer than the arm, closed at the end and drawn around the body and fastened behind. Festoons in front support the arms, as in slings, and prevent the distressing weariness that would otherwise be experienced. A coat or dress over the whole conceals the restraints, so that other patients are not aware of them, as they find their patients excessively sensitive to the observation and opinion of others. . . .

Solitary confinement and precautionary restraints used elsewhere the Sisters say causes the mind to prey upon itself; they prefer, as far as possible, the restraint of their own presence and companionship to actual bonds. . . .

Treat them as rational beings, converse with them as such, endeavor to conceal every symptom of distrust. Occasionally lead them to converse upon the theme of their derangement, rather than leave this sorrow uncommunicated. Gradually gaining their confidence, endeavor to insinuate more rational ideas. Sometimes let two communicate with each other freely. . . .sympathy is thus excited instead of the morbid selfishness of the insane.

Occupation is important; light labor. . . .adds to self-respect. In cases of sullen withdrawal, under the direction of the physician some slight bodily annoyances, as a blister, cupping, mild cathartic to draw attention and prevent the mind from preying on itself.²⁰

Read went on to describe innocent amusements: music, draughts (checkers), chess, nine-pins, sewing parties where patients could make whatever they wished from material provided, while enjoying conversation and refreshments. The greatest discipline was to be excluded from these parties. Books and newspapers were permitted freely. Walks, rides, shopping excursions and the Offices of the Church, with soothing liturgical music and solemn ceremonials completed the program offered. The diet was described as "wholesome, agreeable and abundant, but not gluttonous."²¹

The visitor was apparently much impressed that "the sisters combine natural tenderness with a supernatural motive of divine love, the softness of domestic affection with the firmness of a stranger," and that they recognize every case as more or less unique, requiring an individual course of treatment.²²

The hospital became so well known that a larger facility was needed. When the Mount Hope College property was purchased, the name seemed so appropriate for a psychiatric hospital that it was retained as the name of the new building. Patients came from as far away as Florida and Louisiana.

Later missioned to Saint Joseph's in Emmitsburg, Sister Matilda prepared a manual on the care of the sick and used it as a textbook to teach nursing skills and principles to sisters who had just completed their novitiate. A copy of *A Manual on the Care of the Sick* in Sister Matilda's handwriting is preserved in the Saint Joseph Provincial House Archives. Because of her classes, a generation of Daughters of Charity ready to serve in the hospitals, ambulances, and battlefields of the Civil War was available to the Community.

Who will Nurture the Tree?

While the sisters were branching out into new dioceses and gaining experience in new forms of service, life within the Community enjoyed dynamic growth. For fifteen years John Dubois had been superior of the young Community, a stalwart prop supporting the sapling in its youth. Because Dubois was near at hand, experienced with Daughters of Charity, and dedicated to Vincentian ideals, John Tessier, superior of the Sulpicians in the United States and therefore guardian of the sisters' Constitutions, left the care of the sisters completely to him.

Louis Regis Deluol Appointed Superior

But in 1826 the winds of change struck with the force of a gale; Dubois was named to replace the recently deceased John Connolly as Bishop of New York. Archbishop Ambrose Marechal wrote to Sister Rose 7 August 1826 reminding her that the responsibility for naming a new superior general belonged to Tessier. Enclosed was Tessier's letter of the same date, naming Father Louis Regis Deluol of Saint Mary's Seminary as the new superior. Affixed to the appointment was the Archbishop's approval.

Deluol was the leading theologian at Saint Mary's Seminary, authority on Hebrew, treasurer and later superior of the Sulpicians, for a time president of Saint Mary's College. But he was more.

Friend and host to bishops and missionaries, he knew all the concerns of the Church. Historian Peter Guilday credits him with great service to the American Church because of the assistance he gave to the Archbishop and Council Fathers in the seven Provincial Councils from 1829 to 1849. Prudent, kind, cultured and versatile, Deluol was at the heart of the Church—listening, observing and participating in his Sulpician spirit of mildness and simplicity. His involvement, correspondence, insights into characters and events are reflected in the diary he kept for many years.

Deluol's appointment as superior of the sisters brought significant changes for both them and him. The sisters lost the ready availability of a superior two miles away; they lost Dubois' familiarity with their ways and problems, his experience with Daughters of Charity, his decisiveness in dealing with bishops and boards of trustees. More decision-making, more autonomy in placements and appointments fell to Mother Rose (later to Mother Augustine) and her Council. Correspondence regarding the missions was, more often than in Dubois' time, written by and addressed to Mother rather than the priest-superior. The Council made mistakes: Brief attempts at service in the Marine Hospital in Baltimore, Madame Iturbide's orphanage in Georgetown, and the school for free Negro girls in New Orleans—all pointed up the need for clear written agreements before beginning new undertakings. But, learning from their mistakes, they matured as a Community.

For Deluol, more familiar with men religious than women, this was a new challenge which added greatly to the responsibilities that were already his. Always conscientious, he immediately visited Emmitsburg that August, twice again during the autumn months, and for the entire week between Christmas and the New Year. He also made a diligent study of the Rules and Constitutions, Dubois' records, and the writings of Saint Vincent de Paul.

From the Sulpicians in France he sought information about the Daughters of Charity. His close associates among the American Sulpicians also took a supportive interest in the sisters' concerns. John Joseph Chanche, a Baltimorean who later became first Bishop of Natchez, suggested expanding the curriculum of Saint Joseph's, Emmitsburg to include rhetoric, philosophy, algebra and several sciences, so that it would offer an intellectual challenge to women and qualify as an academy. This wise educational decision of 1828 was implemented in schools in other cities, raising the standard of education in schools taught by the Sisters of Charity.

It was also Chanche who brought back from France news of the apparitions of Our Lady to a young Daughter of Charity* in Paris; he brought, too, the first medals of the Immaculate Conception, already being called in France "the miraculous medal." Other Sulpicians traveling to and from Paris carried messages and gifts between the American and French sisters and obtained copies of Vincentian publications for the sisters in America.

Sulpician Renewal Required Change in Sisters' Government

For the Church in France the post-Napoleonic era was a time of renewal. The Vincentians—who, because of political events, had been living for decades under separate vicars general in France and Italy—were reunited under a superior general, as in the days of Vincent. The Daughters of Charity were still weeding out abuses that were the effects of Napoleon's interference in the government of the Company. Both Communities, under the leadership of the new superior general Jean-Baptiste Etienne, would soon be examining their heritage, curbing abuses that had crept in, restoring apostolates in France, renewing their fidelity in the Vincentian spirit, and through this renewal, blossoming more than ever in worldwide service of the Church.

Among the Sulpicians this return to the roots had begun a decade earlier. When Antoine Garnier—one of the pioneer Sulpicians in the United States—was named superior general, he reminded the Sulpicians on both sides of the Atlantic that their original exclusive purpose had been the education of priests. An official visitation of Sulpician foundations in the United States and Canada in 1829 focused on the gradual relinquishment of all works other than seminaries—works such as staffing colleges for laymen, responsibility for parishes, and directing communities of sisters. The man chosen to implement these changes was Louis Regis Deluol. A more loyal, obedient man could not have been selected for the office, but neither could they have chosen one for whom it would be more difficult. Deluol believed in the value of Saint Mary's College, source of many converts and vocations to the priesthood and builder of strong and loyal Catholic laymen. He also believed strongly in the Sulpician responsibility to nurture the

**Sister Catherine Labouré, declared a saint by the Church in 1947.*

Sisters of Charity in their Vincentian spirit until Vincentians could be found willing to take over their direction. Committed to relinquish the direction of the sisters to someone else, Deloul was also committed to preserve intact the Vincentian character of the Community. It was a dilemma he would struggle conscientiously to solve for the next twenty years.

Because of his new responsibilities as Sulpician superior, Deloul appointed John Hickey to be superior of the sisters—a position Hickey held from 1829 to 1841. Yet Deloul did not relinquish complete control; he was still guardian of the Constitutions. Minutes of Council meetings during this period, particularly those dealing with constitutional matters, indicate his frequent presence. His correspondence likewise reflects his concern. Whenever possible, he procured Vincentians as confessors or to give conferences and retreats to the sisters, not only at Emmitsburg, but also in Saint Louis, New Orleans, Cincinnati, and Philadelphia—wherever there were Vincentians nearby.

Vincentian Direction Sought

Archbishop Eccleston* seconded Deloul's efforts to interest the Vincentians in the Sisters of Charity. When in 1835 John Timon was named provincial superior of the newly erected Vincentian province in America, Eccleston asked him to urge his French superiors to bring about a union of the American sisters with those in Europe. Eccleston also offered the College of Mount Saint Mary's in Emmitsburg to the Vincentians, together with the direction of the Sisters of Charity. The offer was not accepted. Timon did, however, carry to France a request for information on how superiors of the world-wide Daughters of Charity kept in touch with the distant missions. The response he brought back led to the appointment of "visitatrices" to serve as they did in Europe: with delegated authority to make immediate changes of personnel within their regions, to speak with sisters, bishops and pastors and to report to Emmitsburg their findings and impressions; to be the bearers, also, of messages from superiors to the bishops and to the sisters of the region in which they lived and worked. Appointed as

**Samuel Eccleston, also a Sulpician, had succeeded Marechal as Archbishop of Baltimore.*

visitatrixes at this time were: Sister Loretto O'Reilly in the South; Sister Benedicta Parsons in the Midwest; and Sister Rosalia Green in New York.*

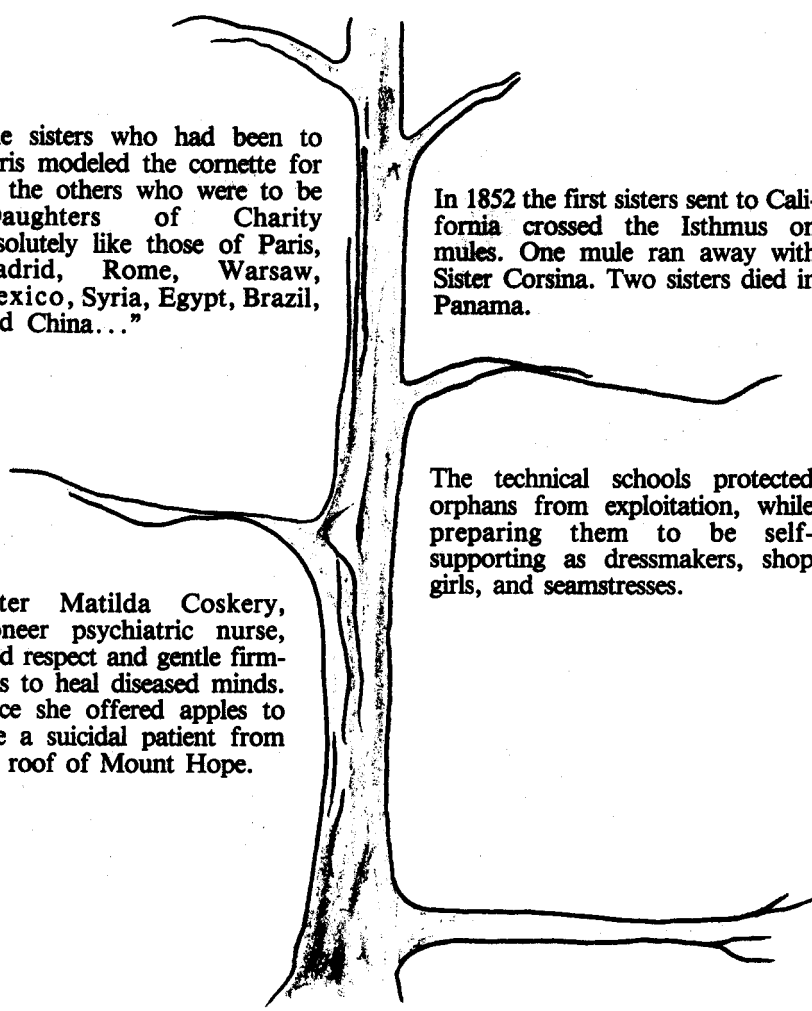
When the Council discussed the request of Bishop Anthony Blanc for a novitiate in Louisiana dependent upon Saint Joseph's, both Eccleston and Deluol were present. The request was refused at that time (1838); but a decade later, brief attempts at regional novitiates were made in both Donaldsonville, Louisiana, and Saint Louis, Missouri.

The Sulpicians had the direction of two communities they had been instrumental in founding in the United States: the Sisters of Charity in Emmitsburg, and the Oblate Sisters of Providence in Baltimore. Since the constitutions of both guaranteed for them the services of the Sulpicians as superiors and guardians of their constitutions, the mandate of renewal for the Sulpicians necessitated a change in the constitutions of both communities of sisters, insofar as they related to the Sulpicians. While guiding the Oblates into the care of the Redemptorists, Deluol began the process of deepening the Vincentian identity of the Sisters of Charity, attempting to convince the American Vincentians that the direction of the Daughters of Charity is an integral part of their mission, and educating bishops and clergy to understand the uniqueness of the vows of the Sisters of Charity—who give themselves to God for life to serve the poor in community, though their vows are simple and annual. It was Deluol's concern to guide the Community in such a way that, when grafting on the parent tree became possible, the sisters would be ready for it.

Among the clergy known to the Sisters of Charity there were priests who influenced the sisters according to their own spirit. It is to the eternal credit of the Sulpicians that their direction of the Sisters of Charity in America was always in the spirit of Vincent de Paul and Louise de Marillac.

**When Bishop Hughes demanded that Sister Rosalia leave his diocese, Sister Matilda Coskery was appointed visitatrix in her place.*





The sisters who had been to Paris modeled the cornette for all the others who were to be "Daughters of Charity absolutely like those of Paris, Madrid, Rome, Warsaw, Mexico, Syria, Egypt, Brazil, and China..."

In 1852 the first sisters sent to California crossed the Isthmus on mules. One mule ran away with Sister Corsina. Two sisters died in Panama.

Sister Matilda Coskery, pioneer psychiatric nurse, used respect and gentle firmness to heal diseased minds. Once she offered apples to lure a suicidal patient from the roof of Mount Hope.

The technical schools protected orphans from exploitation, while preparing them to be self-supporting as dressmakers, shop girls, and seamstresses.

In at least one foundling home, a "turn" was provided, where a mother could leave her infant safely and secretly.

When the turn was activated, a bell alerted the sisters that a baby had arrived to be cared for.

WEATHERING THE STORMS

The Church at Mid-Century

By 1840 Catholics were no longer a small minority of the population of the United States. Almost 600,000 immigrants, more than half of them Catholics, had poured into the United States during the 1830s. Rivers, canals and turnpikes through the mountains fed the mushrooming cities and made possible new settlements in the wilderness as far west as the Mississippi.

What had seemed a vast wave of immigration in the 1830s more than doubled to a mighty flood in the 1840s with over a million and a half new arrivals, and crested in the 1850s with two and a half million more. Fleeing from starvation, religious persecution and political upheavals, they came chiefly from Ireland and Germany. City populations doubled and tripled in a few years. The populations of some frontier states multiplied as much as seven times.

For the Catholic Church these were years of unprecedented expansion, challenge and growing pains. From one archdiocese and fifteen dioceses in 1837, the Church in the United States grew to seven archdioceses and thirty dioceses in 1853, only sixteen years later. In place of one ecclesiastical province (Baltimore), there were seven: Baltimore, Oregon, Saint Louis, Cincinnati, New Orleans, New York and San Francisco. So vast were the problems attendant on this influx of destitute Catholic immigrants that for at least fifty years, from 1830 to 1880, the overwhelming needs of these newcomers colored the decisions of the American Church. These decisions, in turn, inspired the works undertaken by the Sisters of Charity.

The Plight of the Immigrants

There was some organization to the German Catholic immigration. Facing the handicap of language, they came in groups

bringing tools, skills, and sometimes a little money. Having learned that land on the frontier could be purchased for \$1.25 an acre, they banded together to form rural Catholic communities. Those who remained in the cities engaged in trade and formed closely-knit German parishes. To help them preserve their faith and culture, the bishops sought German-speaking priests and sisters. European mission societies, such as the Missionsverein and the Leopoldine Society, gave money for the building of churches and schools. German publishing houses provided newspapers and textbooks in German.

The plight of other immigrants, especially the Irish, was more desperate. Already half-starved, they were packed like cargo in the holds of lumber or cotton ships for a passage of twenty-nine days. If the trip took longer, their ration of bread and water ran out. Typhoid, called "ship fever," took its toll on almost every trip. Sometimes as many as ten per cent of the passengers died on the way of typhoid or cholera.*

Those who survived arrived in emaciated condition and moved into unwholesome tenements where they easily fell prey to epidemics. A quarter of the Irish who came died within two years of their arrival. Those able to work were at the mercy of unscrupulous contractors, who advertised for more workers than they needed at distant work sites, then cut the promised wages when a surplus of manpower was available. Foremen paid their crews in bad liquor—supposed to increase their stamina for tasks beyond their strength—or in worthless scrip redeemable only for land along the canal or railroad being built. As work sites moved, so did the families of the workers, forging another chain of dependence on their employers. Most of the canals, roads and railroads built prior to the Civil War were carved out by immigrant laborers, predominantly Irish, who were paid the lowest wages and given the most dangerous jobs, such as blasting through rock with gunpowder.

Nativists and "Know-Nothings"

As the number of immigrants increased, Nativist opposition to

**In the last months of 1853, 1,933 passengers died at sea and 457 were sent on landing to barrack hospitals, where most died. One-fourth of the ships arriving from English ports had cholera on board.*

the poor and foreign-born concretized into pockets of hardened bigotry directed against the Catholic Church. In Philadelphia, when Bishop Francis P. Kenrick asked that Catholic children in the city's public schools be excused from services using a protestant version of the Bible, ninety-four leaders representing twelve protestant denominations met to form what they called "The American Protestant Association." The articles of its constitution, in language typical of similar groups in other states, expressed a belief that "Popery" was a system subversive of civil and religious liberty, and proposed to "defend our Protestant Interests" by circulating writings against Catholicism, rousing the community to beware the supposed threats to liberty, and opposing the election of any but native-born protestants to public office.¹ The antagonism stirred up by this group erupted in the Philadelphia public riots of May and July 1844, in which thirteen citizens were killed, over fifty wounded, and two Catholic churches as well as the homes of many Catholics burned to the ground.

In a letter to Mother Xavier Clark at Emmitsburg, Sister Gonzaga Grace, sister servant of Saint Joseph's Orphanage, Philadelphia, described their situation:

We are in the midst of frightful dangers; a great portion of our peaceful city is the scene of dreadful riot and bloodshed: two of our churches burned to the ground, St. Michael's up in Kensington this afternoon, and St. Augustine's about half-past nine tonight. St. John's has been guarded since Monday night, and St. Mary's is now surrounded by a strong detachment of the military besides a patrol. . . Three police officers now guard our Asylum, and we know not at what moment our dear little ones must be roused from their peaceful slumbers to fly for their lives. Threats have been made positively to destroy St. John's tonight; and in consequence the poor Sisters and Orphans have been obliged to retire to some good families for a shelter, because if the church were burned the Asylum would certainly catch. . .

I am fearful it will be worse tomorrow night. The military are out on duty, but it seems no use. They have burned whole rows of houses, and shot many as they passed along. . . Do pray very hard, Mother; for what will become of us if the Asylum were attacked? How could we escape with ninety-nine children, seventy of whom would not be able to assist themselves even out of the mob?²

Sisters in several cities experienced similar nights of violence during the next decade, but in most the threats did not reach such proportions. Faithful parishioners surrounded the parish buildings ready to fight off the attackers, if necessary; one priest who said early Mass for the sisters appeared in the guise of an old market woman.

To all Catholics who suffered from outbreaks of this kind, or who resented the exaggerations of the public press, the bishops recommended moderation and restraint in imitation of the charity and patience of Christ.

After the Whig defeat of 1852 the American Party, popularly called "Know-Nothings," was launched. By the mid 1850s they had become a national force in politics, able to win elections and control the legislatures of several states, where they passed laws favoring trustees opposed to the clergy and calling for inspection of convents. In preparation for the elections of 1856 they openly called a national convention, adopted a platform, and supported Millard Fillmore for the presidency. Abraham Lincoln wrote of them at this time:

As a nation we began by declaring that all men are created free and equal. We now practically read it as "all men are created equal, except negroes." When the Know-Nothings get control it will read, "All men are created equal, except negroes and foreigners and Catholics. When it comes to this, I shall prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretense of loving liberty.³

The Community was not spared in the efforts of the Know-Nothings to discredit the Catholic Church. Josephine Bunkley, a convert from Norfolk, Virginia, had applied to enter the Community. After a year's delay she was admitted on probation. Some months later she left secretly at night, asking in Creagerstown for help to return to her father. He came for her and the *Frederick Examiner* printed a sensational story of her "unlawful detainment" and "escape." Later, at her father's request, Miss Bunkley wrote down her experiences. These were expanded with a large amount of ghost-writing by one Charles Beale, whom she later sued in a New York court because she was not allowed to see what he had given to the printer. Mother Etienne Hall assured the editor of the *Frederick Citizen* that Miss Bunkley, like all candidates, was free to leave at any time.

Miss Bunkley's book created a small sensation and then was

forgotten. Indeed, the whole furor of the Know-Nothing movement was upstaged by the vehemence of the slavery debate. The defeat of the American Party was brought about in part by the immigrants they so despised, who cast their votes for Abraham Lincoln.

Coping with Needs on a Larger Scale

The tremendous expansion of the Church strained to the utmost the human resources of the Community. Sisters were in demand everywhere, as works already accepted became much larger than foreseen and the insistent requests of bishops and doctors opened many new fields for service. The criterion for closing a mission became, not so much whether the sisters were needed, as whether they were more needed somewhere else. Already serving in eleven states by 1840, the Community pioneered in six more during these two decades before the Civil War, adding new types of service to those already known.

The Development of Catholic Hospitals

Of all these services, the most significant in these two decades was the development of the Catholic hospital administered by the sisters. Prior to 1840, the Saint Louis Hospital, sometimes known as Sisters' Hospital, had been the only Catholic hospital staffed by the sisters. The other hospitals in which they worked were under city, state or university auspices.

The withdrawal of the sisters from Maryland General Hospital in 1840, to form a psychiatric hospital of their own in which they could determine policy, marked a turning point in the history of hospitals in the United States. During the next twenty-five years the Daughters of Charity accepted the administration of more than twenty general hospitals, and worked briefly in several others. Fifteen of these hospitals were Catholic, either diocesan-owned or sponsored by the Community. Thirteen of them became enduring Catholic institutions. Several other communities of women also entered the hospital field, serving primarily in Catholic hospitals. The general hospitals opened by the Daughters of Charity at this time were in the cities of Detroit, Washington, Buffalo, Milwaukee,

Troy, New Orleans, Norfolk, Philadelphia, Rochester, Mobile, Boston, Baltimore, Richmond, Donaldsonville, and Los Angeles.

Detroit

Saint Mary's Hospital, Detroit, was the first hospital in the state of Michigan and even in the entire Northwest Territory. In 1844 the sisters had opened a school in Detroit. That same year Sister Rebecca Delone, who had nursed in the Saint Louis Hospital, began a small hospital in one of the school buildings. On the first floor six beds were provided for men; on the second, six for women. Fund raising for a new hospital was begun; but before the hospital was completed the 1849 cholera epidemic struck Detroit; all the classrooms had to be turned into hospital wards. The first sister servant, Sister Loyola Ritchie, died in that epidemic. A three-story brick hospital was opened in 1850, with accommodations for over one hundred patients. Other epidemics followed: typhoid in 1851, cholera again in 1854. In 1855 Sister Mary DeSales Tyler, then the sister servant and administrator, began to admit psychiatric patients.

Washington, D.C.

In 1846 the former city jail in Judiciary Square was remodeled and opened as the Washington Infirmary, the only hospital in Washington, D.C. This was a District hospital, and the Sisters of Charity were asked to staff it. This they did from 1846 to 1849. After the fall of Fort Sumter in 1861 it was requisitioned as a military hospital; once again the sisters were asked to take charge.

When the Infirmary became a military hospital, Washington was left with no hospital for the civilian population. A group of physicians asked the Daughters of Charity to start a new one. Sister Lucy Gwynn, sister servant of Saint Vincent's Orphanage, acted as intermediary in the negotiations. A suitable house was found on Capitol Hill—the Nicholson Mansion at the corner of Second and D streets, Southeast—and rented from its current owner, Sarah Carroll Nicholson, widow of the quartermaster general of the Marine Corps. Here Providence Hospital was formally opened on 10 June 1861. Sister Mary Sarah Carroll was sister servant; her

companions were Sisters Mary O'Neill, Mary Vincent Foley and Alphonsa Groell. Doctor Joseph Toner was the house physician, but an unusual policy of open staffing made the hospital wards available to all the physicians of Washington to care for their patients at a charge of \$4.00 a week.

Buffalo

When John Timon was named first bishop of Buffalo, New York, he immediately asked for sisters to open a hospital, a school, and an orphanage in his diocese. Sisters Ursula Mattingly and Hieronymo O'Brien were the first administrator and chief nurse; five sailors were the first patients. The hospital could accommodate one hundred patients; the charge for a private room was \$4.00 a week. During the 1849 cholera epidemic, the hospital was turned over to the city for the care of the stricken. Of 134 admitted, 82 recovered.

During 1851 seven hundred patients were admitted, and Timon wrote to Emmitsburg asking for an apothecary sister (pharmacist) and one who understood bookkeeping. By this time there were seven sisters serving the hospital. Before long the number had increased to thirteen.

Milwaukee

Bishop J.M. Henni of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, requested and received sisters for a hospital in late 1848. Cholera victims were cared for during the next two years. Then in 1850 a boatload of immigrants brought typhoid to the city. At the mayor's request, the sisters set up a quarantine hospital on Jones Point; here 260 patients were cared for, but only 60 recovered from the disease. In 1858 a new Catholic hospital was built on land at North Point overlooking Lake Michigan, donated by the grateful city. At this time the original Saint John's Infirmary was renamed Saint Mary's Hospital.

Troy

Because so many immigrants arrived with typhoid in 1845, the

people of Troy, New York, erected a temporary barrack hospital for them. Later, when Sisters of Charity came to care for orphans of victims of the epidemic, some immigrants were nursed in a few rooms of the orphanage. A free clinic and dispensary were added, and a hospital opened in 1850. Three years later, records show that there were ten sisters caring for 789 patients.

New Orleans

Sisters of Charity had been serving in Charity Hospital, a state institution for the poor, since 1833; but Bishop Anthony Blanc of New Orleans desired a Catholic hospital for that city. Doctor Warren Stone, Louisiana pioneer in the use of ether, asked for Sisters of Charity to staff a private infirmary he wished to open. Known at first as "Maison de Santé," it opened in 1852 and moved to larger quarters in 1858. It was incorporated under the name of "Hotel Dieu," meaning "House of God"—the name of the large institution in Paris where Vincent de Paul sent his first Daughters and the Ladies of Charity to serve the poor sick. One feature of the New Orleans Hotel Dieu was a special department for the care of slaves, where their masters paid \$1.00 a day to procure for them the best of physical care, and the sisters gave them spiritual care and devotedness free of charge.

Norfolk and Portsmouth

When a terrible yellow fever epidemic decimated Virginia in 1855, a desperate call for help came to Emmitsburg from Portsmouth, where all the doctors had died. Sisters were sent to nurse victims of the epidemic in two locations: an isolation hospital for civilians known as the Julappi Hospital and the Naval Hospital. The devotedness of the sisters resulted in a request to open a Catholic hospital in Norfolk. Saint Vincent's Hospital was commenced in 1857; its name was later changed to DePaul.

Philadelphia

Doctor John D. Bryant of Philadelphia answered the call for

volunteers to care for yellow-fever victims in Portsmouth and Norfolk in 1855. His account of the epidemic was prophetic in blaming the mosquito-infested swamps nearby for the epidemic's virulence. Impressed by the sisters' nursing service, he studied and embraced the Catholic faith after his return to Philadelphia.

Doctor Bryant had been instrumental in the beginnings of a diocesan hospital in Philadelphia in 1849. The board entrusted Saint Joseph's Hospital to the Sisters of Saint Joseph. When they relinquished the hospital in 1859, the Daughters of Charity assumed its administration. At this time the diocese gave full control of the hospital to the sisters. A new wing was added for maternity, medical, surgical, and alcoholic patients. Sister Ursula Mattingly was administrator.

Rochester

Bishop Timon had provided a hospital for Buffalo and was eager to do the same for Rochester, New York. In 1857 Sister Hieronymo O'Brien and two companions began Saint Mary's Hospital in two remodeled stone stables. Most of those admitted were charity patients, but some paid eighty cents a week, others one or two dollars, and a few from five to fifteen dollars per week. When a new wing was added in 1858, the average daily census was seventy patients.

Mobile

In March of 1852 the sisters responded to an urgent call for nurses at City Hospital, Mobile, Alabama, during a deadly yellow fever epidemic. Bishop Michael Portier supported the city's request that the sisters remain after the epidemic to administer the hospital. Because of government neglect and lack of financial support, the sisters withdrew in 1854, but returned in 1860 under an improved administration.

Bishop Portier also wished to have a Catholic hospital in his diocese. Providence Infirmary was opened in Mobile at the end of 1855. Discontinued for a time, it reopened permanently in 1857.

Boston

Carney Hospital in Boston was founded in 1863 by Andrew Carney to help the poor and sick of the city. Sister Ann Alexis Shorb was the first administrator. The intention of the benefactor was to endow the hospital, but he died before signing the codicil to his will, and so the endowment never became a reality. As a result, Carney has always had a financial struggle to fulfill its mission to help the poor and sick; yet it has continued to do so. An outpatient clinic opened in two frame houses charged a fee of ten cents a visit. The hospital became the setting for advances in medical technology. Famous work on color-blindness was done in the ophthalmic department, opened in 1869. The first ovariectomy was performed there in 1882, ushering in an era of abdominal surgery and making Carney a favored setting for medical education.

Baltimore

Lady Elizabeth Stafford, granddaughter of Charles Carroll, gave the land on which Saint Agnes Hospital in Baltimore was to be built; the gift which made the building possible was a donation of Charles Dougherty. The hospital opened in 1863 with Sister Mary Ann McAleer as administrator. During and after the Civil War it served the civilian population of Baltimore. For a time towards the end of the nineteenth century it became a sanitarium for the treatment of nervous disorders, specializing in hydrotherapy, before returning to the status of a general hospital.

Richmond

For a few brief years—1838 to 1841—sisters had nursed in the Richmond Medical College Infirmary. In 1860 they returned to health care in Richmond, opening Saint Francis de Sales Infirmary. With the advent of war the number of sisters doubled and the care of the Confederate wounded was separated from the care of civilians in the hospital. When the last of the veterans had been placed in other facilities, the infirmary closed in 1867.

Donaldsonville, Los Angeles, San Francisco

In many of the orphanages, particularly those in out-of-the-way places which had no hospitals, it was customary to receive and care for sick adults in or near the infirmary for the children of the orphanage. This had been done in Troy, New York, as early as 1848; the continuing need had led to the establishment of a separate hospital. It was done in Donaldsonville, Louisiana, where a small hospital was intended as part of the mission as early as 1845. Because the need proved to be smaller than expected, the hospital closed in 1861.

The same custom was followed in the early missions of California. In San Francisco the service was temporary; but in Los Angeles the early infirmary that was part of the Charitable Institution developed into Saint Vincent's Hospital.

Catholic Psychiatric Hospitals

Mount Hope, Baltimore

The property known as Mount Saint Vincent, where the Sisters of Charity had opened the first Catholic hospital for the mentally ill, was filled to overflowing by 1844. Doctor William H. Stokes, the attending physician from 1842 to 1892, listed eighty-five patients in his annual report for 1842-43, ten of whom were patients with general diseases, the rest with psychiatric illnesses. The report lists thirty-two recoveries among the mentally ill. This was the same year reformer Dorothea Dix went before the Massachusetts legislature deploring conditions in state institutions for the insane: neglect, filth, chains, beatings, also female patients in the care of male attendants of the crudest sort. Miss Dix's pleas for reform in state institutions would ring across the nation for the next forty years; but already the first Catholic psychiatric hospital was in its fourth year of proving the effectiveness of gentle firmness and respect in healing diseased minds.

The move to the eighteen-acre Mount Hope was completed in 1846. That year 22 sisters were caring for 100 patients. By 1847 Stokes reported that 195 patients had been cared for in the insane department, of whom one hundred were discharged, recovered. In

the general department 164 patients had been cared for, with 120 recoveries. Thirteen patients had died during the year. A comparison of these results with those of fifteen other institutions for the insane showed that cures of the mentally ill at Mount Hope averaged 71 percent, while the highest percentage elsewhere was 50 percent.⁴ Doctor Stokes attributed this success to a combination of physical agents, mental and moral treatment, the continual influence of kindness linked with authority, and the policy of asking that mental patients be admitted for a minimum of six months, since they were liable to relapse if removed when beginning to convalesce. Speaking of the importance of kind and tactful attendants, the doctor remarked:

In the Sisters of Charity are associated a combination of qualities, peculiarly and fully adapting them for these important duties. The high percentage of recoveries in this institution is no doubt mainly attributable to their untiring assiduity and devotion, to their perfect self-abandonment and self-sacrificing zeal in the discharge of the duties committed to them. Deeply imbued, as their hearts are, with those principles and feelings, which are the direct emanations and blessed fruits of that enlightened and universal charity, which has its unperishable root in the Christian religion, they also bring to bear those influences which female ingenuity and womanly tenderness can alone devise and apply.⁵

The values of combining a hospital for the mentally ill with a general hospital, in beautiful grounds and homelike surroundings, were enumerated by Doctor Stokes: The patient is more reconciled to being left in an institution that has not the stigma of being just for "the insane"; resources are available for treating physical problems which generally accompany mental or nervous disorders; and the public observe respectful treatment for the patients and respond with sympathy, better understanding, and a lessening of the prejudices and fears based on ignorance about mental disease.⁶

By the year 1855, however, the number of psychiatric patients had so increased that the department for general diseases had to be discontinued. To allow for Mount Hope's continuing growth, a large property six miles from Baltimore was purchased. Completed in 1860, the new hospital became a center for the clinical experience and education of doctors and other health professionals interested in psychiatry. Renamed Seton Institute in the twentieth century, the

hospital witnessed the blending of modern psychiatry with Catholic principles in the formation and practice of many leading Catholic psychiatrists.

Saint Vincent's Institution, Saint Louis

In 1858 a second psychiatric hospital was opened by the Daughters of Charity: Saint Vincent's Institution in Saint Louis. A separate unit for mental patients had been part of the Sisters' Hospital in Saint Louis since the addition of a new wing in 1840; but as numbers increased, it became apparent that a special hospital for them was needed. A four-story building was erected in the Soulard Addition. Covered porches extended the length of the hospital on all floors, overlooking a large walled yard which contained walks through a grove of trees. There were eight sisters to care for forty or fifty patients. Doctor John Leavy was the house doctor.

Providence Retreat, Buffalo

Sister Rosaline Brown and her companions from the Sisters Hospital in Buffalo, New York, often sought out the Catholic and other poor patients at the Erie County Poor House. They were kindly received by the administration and permitted to visit all the patients. The sisters saw that the poor were generally well cared for in the county home, except in the department for the mentally ill. Here many were chained to posts or strapped down to the benches, half-naked, treated more like animals than human beings.

When Sister Rosaline spoke of this to Francis Burlando, C.M., director of the Daughters of Charity, he suggested that she begin a campaign to build a hospital for them. "I have no money," she responded. Burlando replied, "But you will have the blessing of God and that of my heart."⁷ Bishop Timon approved the plan, a twenty-three acre farm was purchased for \$8000, and construction commenced. By the time the building was completed, sufficient funds had been collected to pay for it. Providence Retreat was opened in August 1860 with fifteen patients. The work prospered, serving the people of Buffalo for over eighty years.

Louisiana Retreat, New Orleans

In 1865 a few of the psychiatric patients were removed from the halls of Hotel Dieu, New Orleans, to a small frame house on the outskirts of the city which had formerly served as a school. This was the nucleus of the Louisiana Retreat. Under the leadership of Sister Mary Jane Stokes the hospital was built and enlarged several times, becoming the South's outstanding psychiatric hospital. When a new hospital was built on the same site, the name was changed to DePaul Sanitarium.

Saint Joseph's Retreat, Detroit

As early as 1855 there was a unit for psychiatric patients in Saint Mary's Hospital, Detroit. In 1860 this became a separate institution. Located on Michigan Avenue and named Michigan State Retreat, it was the first psychiatric hospital in Michigan. It was incorporated as Saint Joseph's Retreat in 1866. The hospital continued to grow and serve the people of Michigan well into the twentieth century.

Saint Vincent's Hospital, Baltimore

Most of the psychiatric hospitals had a treatment program or a special wing for "inebriates." The book of instructions on the care of the sick by Sister Matilda Coskery has a section on the treatment of alcoholics, suggesting that Mount Saint Vincent's may have had such a unit even before it became Mount Hope, in the early 1840s. In other hospitals for the care of the mentally ill, alcoholic units can be identified as early as 1870.

In the early 1870s the alcoholic patients from Mount Hope were removed into a separate facility, Saint Vincent's Hospital for Inebriates. The experiment was abandoned in 1884 and the separate facility closed.

The wisdom of Doctor Stokes' combination of psychiatric with general hospital care later began to be rediscovered. After a brief history as a sanitarium for nervous cases, Saint Agnes Hospital in Baltimore became general again, with the program for nervous disorders only one of its offerings. Gradually in the twentieth century the free-standing psychiatric hospitals began to disappear,

to be absorbed again into the general hospital where the patient could be offered a variety of services.

Foundling Homes and Maternity Hospitals

Snowballing urban populations in the 1850s and the desperate situation of the poor in the cities—particularly conditions of employment for women and girls—brought to the fore another social problem. This was an increasing number of illegitimate births, rendered worse by the frequent incidence of desperate mothers abandoning their babies—sometimes in hospitals and churches, but often in doorways or alleys. Too many of these infants died, often from lack of prenatal care as well as exposure and malnutrition. Concerned about the conditions which led mothers to such desperation, bishops, pastors and benefactors sought ways in which mothers as well as infants could be helped discreetly.

In Saint Louis the recently widowed Ann Biddle, daughter of philanthropist John Mullanphy, donated land and money for the first Catholic foundling home in the United States. It was to include a “lying-in” or maternity hospital and a wing to care for ten elderly widows. The institution, named Saint Ann’s after its benefactress, opened in May of 1853. Sister Felicitas Delone was sister servant and administrator.

Five more foundling and maternity homes were opened in the next seven years: Saint Mary’s in Buffalo, Saint Vincent’s in New Orleans, Saint Vincent’s in Philadelphia, Saint Vincent’s in Baltimore, and Saint Ann’s in Washington. The latter, begun in 1860, was incorporated in 1863; Abraham Lincoln signed the articles of incorporation. In its early years it occupied the Octagon House, which had been the British Embassy and which later housed vice presidents and other Washington notables.

Charles I. White was pastor of Saint Matthew’s Parish in Washington, in which parish the foundling home had its origin. White knew the Community and its traditions well, having often visited Emmitsburg while researching the first biography of Mother Elizabeth Ann Seton—which he had completed in 1852. One of his concerns was the number of suicides among young girls who had no one to help them when they became pregnant.

A similar concern is expressed in the stated purpose of Saint Vincent’s, Baltimore: “for foundlings and also to provide for

deserving indigent or unprotected females during their confinement in childbirth.”⁸

All foundlings were brought to these infant homes, which were usually the only ones in the city. Adoptions were not uncommon, either by relatives or Catholic families recommended by their pastors. Deaths, too, were frequent. Many were brought in too ill and undernourished to be placed for adoption; some had been so starved or abused that brain damage was permanent. Epidemics brought in by such children spread where there were so many infants in close contact.

In at least one foundling home—Saint Ann’s, Saint Louis—there was installed a “turn” in the French fashion, where a mother too ashamed or frightened to reveal herself could deposit the baby in a basket in the wall and then rotate the turn, placing the baby on the inside of the building, warm and sheltered. When the turn was activated, a bell sounded inside, letting the sisters know immediately that a baby had arrived. Infants placed in the turn were received in a healthier condition than other foundlings, and were immediately known to be adoptable. The mother, often a live-in housemaid unable to keep her child, could return to work knowing that her baby would be baptized, cared for, educated, and possibly adopted into a good home.

Foundlings not adopted in infancy were kept at the infant home—a true cross-section of the city’s population—until the age of four or five. At that age—or as soon after as space was available—they were transferred to the orphanages of the diocese, which were frequently separated by sex, race, and nationality.

Education at Mid-Century

Prior to 1840, many schools housed orphans and most orphanages contained schools where children of the parish as well as the orphans were educated. Once provided with a building to house the school and orphanage, however, sisters were usually faced with the need to earn or beg to support the establishment. The seven Provincial Councils of Baltimore (1829-1849) stressed the value of Catholic education, encouraged bishops and pastors to establish schools, and urged parents to patronize them. Although there was increasing emphasis on Catholic education, there was as yet little diocesan organization to support these schools. In many

places even parish financial support was lacking or spasmodic, since the parishes themselves were dependent on the meager donations of impoverished immigrants. As a result, sisters developed a system of free schools supported by academies or "select" schools—which offered more advanced education for higher fees and often received boarders.

Free schools without such support were often in church basements or old houses, crowded, unsanitary, even unheated—a severe threat to the health of both sisters and children. It was because of such conditions that the sisters had been withdrawn from Saint Mary's in Albany. The dismayed Catholics of the city held a meeting in which they drew up a resolution stating in part:

We view the departure of the Sisters of Charity as a great calamity and a loss which will be felt by every Catholic, more particularly on account of the education of the rising generation and the loss the Catholic orphans will sustain in being deprived of their motherly care and protection. Resolved—that if arrangements can be made for the return of the Sisters to Albany that we pledge ourselves as Catholics to use all exertions to sustain and support them in a proper manner.⁹

When the sisters returned to Albany two years later, in 1846, it was to Saint Joseph's Parish they came, where the pastor erected a suitable building and promised to see to their support. Yet they seem to have helped with their own support, as the works from this time included a select school for girls as well as the orphanage and free school.

The average American in the 1840s received just a year and a half of schooling in a lifetime. Child labor—sometimes ten to fifteen hours a day—was common. This made education almost an impossibility for the children of the poor, who had chores and the care of younger children if not working in factories. The free schools, an open-handed response to these realities, were available to all children who chose to come, when they could come. There were no restrictions of religion, age, nationality or race except where state laws forbade the education of Negroes. Children came when they were able, stayed home when they had to help at home, and learned as much as they could or desired to before they were put out to work. Those whose families could afford it paid five cents for pens and a fee for the cost of winter fuel.

Between 1840 and 1860 the Community opened twenty-eight

schools and twenty-four orphanages. Many were in the ten states already served by the sisters; but others were in six new states: Alabama, Michigan, Wisconsin, Mississippi, Illinois, and California. Among the new schools were free schools in English and German in Saint Louis; one in French and English at Boulogne near New Orleans; a school for the deaf near Emmitsburg; and a school for free Negro girls in Mobile. While most were for girls only, in some places the sisters maintained separate primary schools for small boys who, after learning basic skills, moved on to schools taught by schoolmasters.

By 1860 the sisters were teaching in Catholic girls' schools in Emmitsburg and Baltimore in Maryland; in Albany, Troy, Syracuse, Utica, and Buffalo in New York; in New Orleans, Donaldsonville, and Baton Rouge in Louisiana; in Natchez, Mississippi; in Alton and La Salle, Illinois; in San Francisco, Santa Barbara, and Los Angeles, California; as well as in Washington, D.C., Philadelphia, Wilmington, Detroit, Milwaukee, Richmond, and Saint Louis. In some cities they conducted three or four schools in as many parishes.

Although economic necessity called for academies or select schools to support free schools, the preference of the Community was for free or affordable education for the poor. Where parents wanted an academy but no free school attached to it, the tendency was to withdraw the sisters. This happened in Norfolk and Martinsburg, Virginia, and later in Baton Rouge.

The Academy at Emmitsburg

The academy founded by Mother Elizabeth Ann Seton at Emmitsburg continued to flourish. Well known for its success in imparting "a Christian and virtuous education" while fostering intellectual growth and refinement, the academy drew boarders from as far away as Mississippi, Alabama, Tennessee, Louisiana, the Carolinas, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Wisconsin, and Michigan. Sister Raphael Smith, who in 1847 had succeeded Sister Margaret George as directress of the academy, was to continue in that position for almost forty years, endearing herself to girls from all parts of the country. Samuel Cooper's prophecy—that the community and school established by the sisters in Emmitsburg would extend their influence throughout the whole

United States—was certainly being fulfilled.

The number of boarders had passed the hundred mark, necessitating expansion. The number of sisters in formation was also high in these years. During the 1840s the chapel was completed and consecrated; the Bruté building was added, as well as a larger sisters' residence, a Children of Mary chapel, a new bakehouse, refectory, infirmary, and mill house. A gift from William Seton, Elizabeth's son, helped erect a mortuary chapel for her remains; this was begun in 1845. What had been Saint Francis Xavier School for little boys—between Saint Joseph's and Mount Saint Mary's—was renamed Saint Lazare House and became a dispensary where food and clothing were prepared, stored, and distributed to the poor. By 1849 four sisters were employed there, serving twenty to thirty poor persons each day.

In order to place the sisters' residence and the Bruté building near the chapel, it was necessary to move the White House in which Mother Seton and the early Community had lived. Mother Xavier Clark—who had served as Mother Seton's assistant—had it moved, renovated, and used to house twenty—later forty—orphans brought from homes staffed by the sisters to be educated at the academy and prepared for careers as teachers or governesses. Several sisters shared this home with the girls and helped them with their studies.

The academy and free school at Emmitsburg also played a role in the apostolic formation of young sisters. After their novitiate, many remained for several years to help in the academy and elementary schools, completing and enriching their own education while assisting experienced teachers from whom they could learn teaching methods.

Technical Schools

One significant step forward in Catholic education came about—strangely enough—because overcrowding in orphanages had led to “placing out” girls at too early an age. “Placing out” was not adoption, nor even foster-home placement; rather, it was a form of indenture or apprenticeship in which girls of ten or twelve years were placed in private homes, where frequently they were overworked, seldom educated, and sometimes physically abused. In their distress they had nowhere to turn except to the home of their youth. Here the sisters received them lovingly, though sometimes in

defiance of the rules set up by the board. Stories the girls told revealed the need for a placement that would prepare them for independence, teach them marketable skills, and provide a home in which they would be secure, even when temporarily unemployed.

The answer was the technical or industrial school, where girls twelve to eighteen could live and be taught basic education, while learning to sew, launder, cook, keep house, even do fancy needlework and dressmaking. One unique feature of these schools was that they were self-supporting even while the girls were learning; the trousseaus, layettes, shirts, or soldiers' uniforms made by the sisters and students were the sole support of the institution.

The earliest of these technical schools were: Saint Philomena's in Saint Louis (1846), Saint John's Industrial School, Utica (1848), and Saint Elizabeth's House of Industry in New Orleans (1855). Others followed: Saint Joseph House of Industry, Baltimore, in 1865; and House of the Guardian Angel in Saint Louis, which began as an orphanage in 1859, but soon evolved into a half-orphanage and technical school because sewing was its main source of income.

Changes in Child Care

Early Catholic orphanages in the United States were concerned primarily with girls, and were parish-based. Overcrowding caused several trends in the larger cities: the shift from several parish orphanages to one or two diocesan ones, separation of smaller from larger children, and, as the sisters had been requesting since Mother Seton's time, boys from girls.

Many of the new orphanages accepted by the Community in mid-century were, from the start, diocesan rather than parochial. Examples were: Saint Patrick's in Rochester, 1845; Saint Rose's in Milwaukee, 1846; Saint Mary's in Natchez, 1847; Saint Mary's in Troy, 1848; Saint Mary's in Norfolk, after the yellow fever epidemic of 1848; Saint Vincent's in Buffalo, 1848; Roman Catholic Orphanage in San Francisco, 1852; and the Los Angeles Charitable Institution, 1856. Others represented the trends to centralization and separation of age groups, rather than a beginning in care of orphans in their respective cities. Such were: Saint Mary's, Saint Louis in 1843; Saint Vincent's in Albany, 1846; and Saint Vincent's Home in Philadelphia, 1855.

All the children's homes named above were for girls; some had

a small school attached to the orphanage, which later became separated from it. In smaller cities there were missions opened primarily as schools where a few orphans lived with the sisters. Such were Saint Vincent's in Donaldsonville, Louisiana, where the space previously used for the seminary was used to house orphans after 1850; the Maison des Cinq Plaies (House of Five Wounds) in Boulogne near New Orleans, 1854, where five orphans were cared for in a day school for French-speaking children; Saint Vincent's in La Salle, Illinois in 1855; and Saint Vincent's in Santa Barbara, California, where the orphans were primarily Indian children, in 1857.

Care of Orphan Boys

In the early part of the century boys had not been numerous in orphanages. Frequently other provisions were made for them. The by-laws of Saint Vincent's Orphanage in Washington (1825) specified that, while both boys and girls were to be cared for, the Sisters of Charity were to have charge of the girls. The first two orphans in Boston in 1832 were a brother and sister. Bishop Fenwick brought the girl to the sisters and took the boy into his own home. It was only by exception that the sisters cared for boys of school age.

Where such exceptions were made the arrangement was understood to be temporary, until other arrangements could be made. On those terms some new orphanages, including or exclusively for boys, were accepted after 1840: Saint Mary's, Mobile for both boys and girls in 1841; Saint Vincent's in Baltimore for boys in 1841; the German Male Asylum in Cincinnati in 1842; Saint Vincent's Orphanage in San Rafael, California, in 1855.

Boys were generally apprenticed at age eight to ten. For some, bishops paid board at good schools. Archbishop Kenrick of Saint Louis brought in the Viatorian Fathers to open a boarding school where the boys of Cathedral Orphanage—and others—could be educated.

But few bishops had funds for such programs, and few technical schools for boys were in existence. As dependent boys became more numerous, the tendency grew in some dioceses to leave the boys longer in the orphanage. This gave rise to problems—not only discipline problems, but even moral ones, especially where the boys' and girls' orphanage was really one, separated only by a wall, as in New

York. Some bishops tried to alleviate the problem by hiring laymen or assigning priests or Saint Vincent de Paul Society volunteers to take charge of the orphan boys. Others provided separate facilities for boys, and removed those of school age into the care of others.

But other bishops ignored the problem, leaving the sisters to struggle with the dual role of full-time teachers as well as house-mothers to hundreds of boys and girls, in overcrowded situations, with no hired help. Regional visitatrices were sent to remonstrate with these bishops, to remind them of their promises to make other arrangements for the older boys, sometimes to no avail. Such was the case in New York, where Bishop John Hughes was keeping the orphanage boys well into their teens, in the hope that some of them would be candidates for the seminary he planned. Numbers far exceeded the two hundred fifty the orphanage had been built to accommodate. There seemed to be no age limit for the boys the home was expected to house. When Daniel Ferry—who had left at the age of fourteen to study for the priesthood in Rome—returned to the diocese seriously ill at the age of twenty-one, he was again sent to the orphanage for care. Hughes was not alone in this; other bishops, too, seemed to have forgotten that the care of male orphans by the sisters had been agreed upon as a temporary concession.

In October 1845 the Council of the Community decided to take a firmer stand by asking all the bishops to make provisions for male orphans—since the Rule adopted by Mother Seton in 1812 called the sisters expressly to the care of “young persons of their sex.” Concessions which had been necessary in pioneer times, when only Sisters of Charity were available for active service, were no longer needed; other active communities of men and women, and several apostolic lay organizations, were at the service of the Church in the United States.

The decision of the Council was conveyed to bishops in whose dioceses the sisters were caring for male orphans by means of the regional visitatrices. Visiting the bishops personally to explain the situation and the rationale, these visitatrices asked that boys over the age of five be separated from girls in the orphanages; also that the care of these older boys be confided to others; or, if others could not be found to manage the boys’ orphanage, that separate living quarters be provided for the sisters, and that other persons be hired for the immediate supervision of the boys.

Most of the bishops saw the request as regrettable but reasonable.

Those in Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Baltimore, and Saint Louis found others to take over the care of the boys. Bishop Portier of Mobile asked for a little more time, as he was expecting the arrival of the Brothers of the Sacred Heart in his diocese; the transfer took place in 1847.

Bishop Hughes of New York responded that the boys were a mere handful—one hundred thirty-to forty preadolescents—"mere infants."¹⁰ At about the same time the *Truth Teller*, New York's Catholic newspaper, was boasting of their proficiency in philosophy and Greek. Catholic historians and Hughes' biographer agree that he saw in this request an opportunity to achieve what he had long desired for New York: a diocesan community of Sisters of Charity.

Bishops and the Community

In the early 1840s Bishop Benedict Flaget of Louisville was one of the oldest and most respected of American bishops. He who had brought the Rule of Saint Vincent to the Sisters of Charity in the United States urged them to seek again the affiliation of their Community with the one founded by Vincent de Paul and Louise de Marillac in France in 1633—a union which could not be effected during the Napoleonic era. On one occasion Father Francis Burlando, C.M., traveling from Ohio to New Orleans on the same steamer with several Sisters of Charity, suggested to them, while delayed in Louisville, a visit to the venerable bishop. As they knelt to receive his blessing, Flaget embraced Burlando and said to him, "You are a Lazarist; do all you can to unite these sisters to the children of Saint Vincent."¹¹

Others among the hierarchy agreed with him. Bishops Maréchal of Baltimore and Chanche of Natchez, both Sulpicians like Flaget, desired the affiliation. Vincentian bishops Rosati of Saint Louis and Timon of Buffalo first thought the idea impracticable, but later favored it. Archbishop Samuel Eccleston of Baltimore had met with Deloul and the Council at Saint Joseph's several times prior to 1840 to seek means of bringing the Community in the United States into the pattern of and into union with the Community in Europe.

But while some bishops looked upon the Church from its international aspect, others—with equal zeal for the Church—thought more in terms of the local church in their own dioceses. As destitute Catholic immigrants swarmed into the cities and fell victim to the

ravages of epidemics, bishops were hard pressed to meet the needs for care of the sick, the orphans, the schoolchildren. Concentrating on these needs within their own dioceses, some bishops preferred to develop diocesan communities of sisters. Flaget himself had supported David and Nerinx in the foundations of the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth and the Sisters of Loretto, as early as 1812. Bishop John England of Charleston, South Carolina, procured the Rule of Saint Vincent from Bishop Flaget in order to found in his diocese in 1841 the Sisters of Our Lady of Mercy. Bishop Pius Miles of Nashville, Tennessee, having secured some Sisters of Charity of Nazareth from Kentucky for a school and orphanage, asked for six of them to be the nucleus of a diocesan community in Nashville. His request was granted; however, this community, lacking support, later transferred to the Kansas Territory and became the Sisters of Charity of Leavenworth.

Many religious communities agreed when bishops requested "a few sisters" to form into new communities potential recruits from their dioceses. Bishop Hughes had long been known to favor diocesan government for religious communities. On 5 December 1842, when sending suggestions for the agenda of the Third Provincial Council, Hughes wrote to Archbishop Eccleston:

Again, altho it is a matter perhaps foreign to the deliberations of the Council as such, still, I think the numbers of the Sisters of Charity who are far removed from their centre, the Mother House, would seem to call for a modification in their system.¹²

The "modification" he desired, revealed in a letter to Father Deluol in 1846, was to erect into a separate community the fifty-two or more sisters then serving in the diocese of New York, with the bishop himself as their superior general. He desired to begin his diocesan community, not with four or six sisters, as other bishops had done, but with 20 percent of the Community.

Father Deluol replied 17 June 1846, speaking for the Council of the Community:

We may be mistaken, but we consider this step of yours as calculated to inflict a deep and dangerous wound on the community, and if the example be imitated, and every bishop in the Union had the same right, we would consider it mortal. Appointed as we are to watch over the conservation and promote the welfare of the community, we can neither approve of nor even connive at the measure.

Therefore, we consider it our bounden duty to recall to the Mother House all the Sisters of Charity who are actually in your diocese...¹³

In his letter to the sisters, Deluol explained why the Council had arrived at this decision:

It would not be for its (the Community's) good to parcel it out. This has never been allowed in France, where the Sisters of Charity have existed for upward of two hundred years. This was refused thirty years ago to the Venerable Bishop Flaget of Kentucky, by Bishop Dubois and Mother Seton. This we cannot ourselves allow...¹⁴

He then gave the sisters freedom to choose between the Sisters of Charity of Saint Joseph and the new community to be formed in New York, allowing them a month to deliberate prayerfully.

There is some evidence that Bishop Hughes tried to influence the decision of the sisters in favor of the New York community by withholding information from them. For example, when he communicated to the sisters the verdict concerning boys' orphanages, the conditions under which the sisters might retain supervision of them with the help of hired assistants seems to have been omitted. Hughes later admitted that he had told them also that the orphans would be totally abandoned if they left, when in fact he did have a contingency plan in case all the sisters had chosen to leave. Without knowledge of these facts, the sisters were placed in the position of either totally abandoning their poor or transferring to a diocesan community. Faced with such a painful choice, more than half of them chose to remain in New York.¹⁵

From the New York beginnings, other diocesan communities of Sisters of Charity followed. In 1854 Honoria Conway, a thirty-nine-year-old novice in New York, volunteered to go with Bishop Thomas Connolly to New Brunswick, Canada, where she became the first mother general of the Sisters of Charity of Saint John. In 1856 four sisters from the New York community were given as the foundation stones to the Sisters of Charity of Halifax, Nova Scotia. In response to the appeal of Bishop James Roosevelt Bayley, step-nephew of Mother Seton, two more sisters from New York formed the nucleus of the diocesan Sisters of Charity in New Jersey in 1859.

Affiliation with the International Community

Devastated by the blow which, like a thunderbolt, had divided the Community of which he had charge, Deluol sought with even greater urgency to effect the affiliation of the American sisters with those of France. In a letter to Jean-Baptist Etienne, C.M., superior general of the Vincentians and the Daughters of Charity, he urged that the union was necessary for the very survival of the American community, and outlined the steps he had already taken to achieve it:

The first step I took to carry it out was to discuss it with Father Timon, now Bishop of Buffalo. I next wrote to my Superior General, Father de Courson, to urge him to speak to you about it, but his applications to you remained unsuccessful. Some time later, I requested the Bishop of Natchez [J.J. Chanche] to take up the good work. He did so, but his first efforts were fruitless. I urged him not to lose courage, considering that the designs of God almost invariably encounter obstacles in the beginning, obstacles which to the eyes of human wisdom appear insurmountable. After renewed attempts, he had the consolation of announcing to me what he knew would cheer the heart of his old professor of Theology and former Superior, namely, that you at last favorably received my petition. May God be praised! May He who began this work, perfect it.¹⁶

Etienne, like Saint Vincent de Paul, believed in working slowly until God's will was clearly evident. He wrote to Mariano Maller, C.M., then provincial of the Vincentians in the United States, telling him to visit both Baltimore and Emmitsburg, speak with the archbishop and the sisters there, and then to report, in person, his findings to the superior general.

In October 1849 Maller visited Emmitsburg and spoke with the sisters, who received him with a joyful *Te Deum*. Later that same month he wrote to Mother Etienne from Baltimore:

I have seen nearly all the Sisters of this city. I am happy to find the same good dispositions everywhere. Thanks be to God! The Archbishop seems very much satisfied; also Father Deluol...¹⁷

In this consultation of the sisters Maller was fulfilling the conditions of Article XIII of the Constitution, which provided that for decisions of importance, those "within two-days' journey" of the

Mother House should be considered the "natural delegates" of all the sisters. On his way east from Perryville, Missouri, he had spoken with bishops of Saint Louis, Cincinnati and Wheeling, telling them of the proposed affiliation and the right of the Vincentian superior to appoint confessors for the sisters, if the union should be realized. All those he spoke with were in favor of the affiliation with the international Community.

From this point events moved quickly. Maller went to Paris and made his report to Etienne in person. At the Motherhouse in Paris on 18 July 1849 the Council of the Daughters of Charity considered the request for affiliation that had come from the Sisters of Charity in the United States, through Mother Etienne Hall. Maller wrote from Paris to Mother Etienne:

A Sister who knew nothing about your Community has been repeatedly favored by the Almighty with the most extraordinary favors. In different visions of the Blessed Virgin and of our Blessed Father St. Vincent she was told that there was a community in a certain country which would join the community of the Sisters of Charity in France.¹⁸

The sister referred to is Catherine Labouré, the seer of the Miraculous Medal, to whom Our Lady said in 1830:

When the Rule shall be in vigor, another Community will come to be joined to your own. This is not customary, but I also very much love this Community, and you are to say that they are to be received. God will bless them and they will enjoy great peace. And thus your Community will become very large.¹⁹

The decision of the Council in Paris was favorable, but it was to be another whole year before the union of the two Communities would be effected. The Emmitsburg Council Book records under date of 25 March 1850:

On this day the renewal of the Vows has taken place in this house and we hope generally throughout the United States. . . The Sisters have used the same formula which is used yearly by the Daughters of Charity throughout the world, and having made the vow of Obedience to the Venerable Superior General of the Congregation of the Mission, they have thereby, as far as in them lies, consummated the Union with the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, contemplated for some time previous, and approved by the

Archbishop of Baltimore [Eccleston] and by the Protector of the Constitutions [Deluol] and by the then Superior General of the Sisters [also Fr. Deluol].²⁰

In a circular addressed to the Sisters of the United States 1 November 1850, the formal date of the Union, Etienne wrote:

...a nominal union and one of friendship does not suffice. You yourselves have already understood that life should come to you from the source... You are grafted on the tree planted by the Holy Founder, in order to receive sap from it, that you may bear fruit... Your union with the Mother House, my very dear Sisters, requires that you become Daughters of Charity absolutely like those of Paris, Madrid, Turin, Rome, Posen, Warsaw, Leopoldstadt, Mexico, Syria, Turkey, Greece, Algiers, Egypt, Brazil, China...²¹

After laying the basis for the new administration by appointing Mother Etienne Hall as visitatrix and confirming the members of her Council in their respective offices, Father Etienne named Mariano Maller as the first director of the new province of the United States. This formal erection of the province sealed the affiliation of the Emmitsburg community with the international Community of the Daughters of Charity.

Four sisters were sent from Emmitsburg to France in 1850 to become imbued with the spirit and practices of the Community. They were Sisters Vincentia Repplier, Valentine Latouraudais, Ann de Sales Farren, and Marie Louise Caulfield (who spoke French fluently and had been chosen to be trained as the first secretary of the new province—an office she held for almost half a century). These four were followed in 1851 by Mother Etienne Hall and Sister Ann Simeon Norris.

During a retreat for sister servants held at Emmitsburg in October 1850, the four who had recently returned from France modeled for all the blue habit and white cornette they had donned in France, soon to be worn by sisters all over the United States. On 7 December the sisters of the Central House (as Saint Joseph's was now called) adopted the "French costume." Sisters on the missions requested it gradually, so that all in a city changed the same day.

On 9 May 1850 Father Etienne wrote to Maller:

I bless God for the manner in which He has disposed the minds of my new Daughters! I did not expect that the unanimity of sentiments could be so complete.²²

The unanimity was not quite complete. Six sisters preferred to form a new diocesan community rather than be united to the international Community of Daughters of Charity. They were accepted by Bishop John B. Purcell 25 March 1852 and became the Sisters of Charity of Cincinnati. From this community other diocesan groups of Sisters of Charity were derived: In 1859 the first postulants of the Convent Station, New Jersey, Sisters of Charity made their novitiate in Cincinnati. In 1870 five sisters were sent from Cincinnati to form the nucleus of another community of Sisters of Charity of Greensburg, Pennsylvania.

Effects of the Union

The most obvious result of the affiliation of the American Sisters of Charity with the international Daughters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul was the change to the blue habit and white cornette, so familiar in other parts of the world. Another evident result was a change in vocabulary: "visitatrix" instead of "Mother"; "seminary" for "novitiate"; "directress" instead of "mistress of novices"; "house" in place of "convent"—a term which had rarely been used by the sisters.

But the obvious results are seldom the important ones. The most significant effect of the union was the one intended by Deluol: the stability in the Church that would free the Community from being internally threatened by outside influences. The privilege of exemption preserved the Community in the secular status affirmed by annual vows as it had been handed down from Vincent and Louise, Dubois and Elizabeth Seton. This stability guaranteed the preservation and promotion of the Vincentian spirit under the spiritual direction of the Vincentians, and safeguarded the sisters from interference by bishops in the internal direction of the Company.

Perhaps the most unexpected result for the sisters was their greater voice in their own destiny. In former years the priest-superior had had, in effect, the final voice in all matters except elections. The Vincentian director's role is more of an advisory one: instructing the sisters on Canon law, searching out information and enunciating principles to guide them in decision-making, providing spiritual guidance more than administrative leadership. Their choice of obedience to the superior general of the Congregation of the Mission gave to the sisters a unity of spirit with one another and

with Daughters of Charity throughout the world, as well as the liberty needed to develop self-reliance and preserve the integrity of the Community's unique character and spirit.

For all the sisters involved, both those who chose to be daughters of the local Church and those who made the move towards the Church universal, these years of sifting were painful ones. There could be no turning back to things as they had been. Those who united with the international Daughters of Charity had to relinquish the dear black habit and some treasured customs. Those who joined the diocesan communities severed their roots with "Home" and renounced the hope of being missioned back to the Valley. All suffered the anguish of separation from dear friends and loved companions of former years.

The fruit of this suffering was that all these communities of Sisters of Charity grew in numbers and were fruitful in the service of the Church. Sharing still Mother Seton's love for God's children and His will, they could look forward with her to that Eternity of which she wrote:

Surely the next blessing in our future existence to that of being near the Source of perfection will be the enjoyment of one another's society. No separation: but free communication of affection, unshackled by the whys and wherefores of this world.²³

The Call to California

In January 1848 Jim Marshall identified the sparkle in the water at Sutter's Mill in California as "GOLD!" The echoes drifted down the current of the American River to resound throughout the Sacramento Valley. The wind carried the sound over the mountains, across the plains, and even beyond the seas. In an incredibly short time the world had taken up the cry: "There's gold in California!"

Within a few years five hundred towns were hastily constructed; the population of California jumped from fourteen thousand to two hundred sixty-four thousand. The sleepy pueblo of Yerba Buena awoke to find itself a boisterous metropolis, the seaport to the gold fields. San Francisco, born of golden dreams, glittered even in its infancy.

But few golden dreams came true. Seekers of wealth found instead poverty and disease. Asiatic cholera struck, killing over one

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But few golden dreams came true. Seekers of wealth found instead poverty and disease. Asiatic cholera struck, killing over one

thousand in three months. An orphanage was immediately needed to care for children of the victims.

At the time of the First Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1852, San Francisco was raised to the rank of an ecclesiastical province. After the Council, Archbishop Joseph Alemany of San Francisco visited Emmitsburg to plead for Daughters of Charity for his new archdiocese. He wanted schools, an orphanage, perhaps a hospital. Sisters were promised, but their departure was delayed until they could be clothed in the blue habit and white cornette of the international Community.

On 17 June 1852 seven sisters began the long journey by sea to California. Sister Francis Assisium McEnnis was sister servant, accompanied by Sisters Fidelis Buckley, Honorine Goodman, Sebastian Doyle, Bernice Williams, Mary Ignatia Greene, and Corsina McKay. The crowded steamer *Ohio* took them south to the shabby port of Colón in Panama. From here, in tropical heat intensified by heavy rains, they crossed the Isthmus on mules, following a trail that wound up rugged mountains, along steep precipices, and then down treacherous muddy slopes to the Pacific port of Panama City. Sister Corsina's capricious mule separated her from her companions several times, once dashing up the mountain into a trackless marsh far from the trail. With rain falling in torrents around her, she gave voice to her desolation in the psalm she had so often intoned for vespers at Emmitsburg: "By the waters of Babylon we sat and wept when we remembered Zion..."²⁴ The driver of the baggage wagon found her by the sound of her singing and tied the troublesome mule to his wagon for the remainder of the journey.

Crossing the Isthmus took three weeks. Accommodations, primitive at best, were totally inadequate for the numbers making their way to California, and the crowded conditions were aggravated by the long wait for places on ships—whose crews had often deserted and headed for the mining camps. Outbreaks of cholera, typhoid, malaria, and yellow fever decimated the bands of travelers. Sister Honorine was so ill she had to be carried on a litter the last few miles to Panama City, where she died the following day. Sister Mary Ignatia then became ill and died two days later. Sister Corsina caught the fever, but slowly recovered. When the *Golden Gate* finally sailed on 5 August, five sisters were on board instead of the original seven. The sisters were fortunate to have lost only two of their number. Crossing Panama at the same time with a company

of soldiers and their families bound for Oregon, Captain Ulysses Grant lost more than one hundred of his party to the diseases of the Isthmus.

San Francisco

Arriving in San Francisco 18 August 1852, the sisters were welcomed to Saint Patrick's Parish by the pastor, Father John Maginnis, and fifteen orphan girls who were to be under their care. The house prepared for them was a shanty like the others that dotted the sand hills; the furniture consisted of wooden stools fashioned by Father Maginnis and hard cots with pillows made of goats' hair. During the day these cots were stacked to make room for the school. The wind piled up sand before window and door; the rain interfered with cooking unless an umbrella was held over the stove; and the frogs, as Archbishop Alemany remarked, helped sing the Sunday benediction. The district was called "Happy Valley."

In addition to their orphans, the sisters had at first fifty, and by the end of the term, ninety girls in Saint Vincent's School. Maginnis and an Irish schoolmaster named Barry taught the boys.

Pleased with his five sisters, the archbishop was soon asking for more. By 1854 a train was running across the Isthmus of Panama, so that the second band, led by Sister Frederica McGrath, was spared the ordeal of the mule ride over the mountains. After the arrival of the second group, the teaching of smaller boys was confided to the sisters, making a new school building more necessary than ever. Removing his gold cross and chain, Archbishop Alemany gave the first contribution toward the school on Jessie Street. In 1858 the school opened with an enrollment of seventy-five orphans and over three hundred day scholars. The building, later the site of the Palace Hotel, housed at this time both the school and the Roman Catholic Orphanage.

San Rafael

Across the bay in San Rafael, a rancher named Don Timoteo Murphy bequeathed to the archbishop three hundred acres of land, on condition that a school be built there before 11 January 1855. Alemany asked Sister Francis Assisium to meet the stipulation so

that the bequest would not be lost. Superiors in Emmitsburg agreed; so Sisters Francis and Corsina were rowed by four Indians across the bay to see the property and choose a site. A two-story frame building was erected and Sister Corsina with two lay helpers and four orphan girls opened the school 2 January 1855, thus claiming the bequest with nine days to spare!

Pupils were few, as the site was too remote. There was no priest in the vicinity, so sister and children could not participate in the Eucharist unless they made an all-day trip by rowboat across the bay to San Francisco. In September 1855 the Community transferred the property back to the archbishop, who withdrew the twenty-eight boys from the Market Street orphanage and placed them in San Rafael under the care of Father Robert A. Maurice. Besides these boys, who formed the nucleus of Saint Vincent's Orphanage, forty pupils continued in the free school, taught by Father Maginnis's sister.

Los Angeles

A third group of Daughters of Charity arrived in San Francisco 14 November 1855, after an uneventful three-week journey from New York. They had come at the request of Thaddeus Amat, C.M., newly appointed bishop of Monterey, a diocese which included all the southern half of California. The six sisters destined for Los Angeles sailed on the *Sea Bird* to San Pedro and completed their journey in a wagon, arriving in Los Angeles 6 January 1856.

Sister Mary Scholastica Logsdon was sister servant of the group. Her five companions were: Sisters Ann Gillen, Corsina McKay—transferred from San Francisco—Clara Sisnero, Angelita Mombrado, and Francisca Fernandez. The last three girls the bishop had brought from his native Barcelona, by way of the Motherhouse in Paris, where they were introduced as postulants, then left at Emmitsburg for a five-month seminary before their departure for California. Their formation was hampered by the fact that they had learned little French in Paris and less English in America, and their companions had not yet learned Spanish. By the end of May Francisca had decided to return to Spain; after a few years Clara followed her. Sister Angelita, however, served sixty-seven years in the Community.

The house chosen for the Los Angeles Charitable Institution (or house of charity) was a frame building set in twelve acres of

orchard and vineyard, located at the corner of Macy and Alameda. The cost was \$8000. The sisters moved in with seven orphans and began a day school, which by June had one hundred twenty girls. Blaise Raho, C.M., pastor of the old Plaza Church, taught the boys. It was soon necessary to replace the frame house with a larger two-story brick building. The first Orphans' Fair was held in October 1856; this became one of the big annual social events, always held on a "steamer day" since the monthly steamers brought the only ice with which to make ice cream.

Sister Scholastica's letters back to superiors at Emmitsburg gave glimpses of how the works progressed. During 1856 the vineyards earned \$600. When a piano was donated, Sister Corsina gave music lessons. Father Raho brought a very sick man to the sisters, saying he would die without care. For want of space for a hospital, Sister Ann cleared out the tool shed by the garden gate and made it into a sick room where she tended her first patient until he recovered.

In May 1857 Sister Scholastica wrote that the population of Los Angeles had reached six thousand—fifteen thousand counting the surrounding towns and ranches. "There is no hospital in lower California. We will begin one next spring if you send two sisters in November."²⁵ The sisters for the Santa Barbara foundation were expected at that time. In October she wrote again that they could buy a house and lot for the hospital for \$3000.

The letter of October 1858 was filled with news. The bishop wanted sisters for San Juan Bautista and San Gabriel. Sister Ann's hospital had thirteen patients. The first stage had arrived and been greeted with cannon, having made its way from Saint Louis to Los Angeles in twenty-one days. The ladies had a tea party for the orphans, which netted \$610.50.

The little hospital opened by Sister Ann was in the former home of Don Aguilar, a four-room adobe house near the Plaza. There were eight cots provided for patients, two for the three sisters. Water was brought from the river and the linens washed on the riverbank. An Indian boy and girl did the cooking. Milk was scarce, as California cows were unaccustomed to being milked. The hospital was recognized as the county hospital, since it was the only one in southern California. On 29 May 1858 its administration was separated from that of the Charitable Institution which housed the orphanage and school. From this nucleus Saint Vincent's Hospital grew, expanding in several successive locations, taking a leadership role in the medical history of southern California.

Santa Barbara

Sister Melanie Mullane was sent as sister servant of the new house in Santa Barbara, one hundred miles up the coast from Los Angeles. With Sisters Andrea Gibbs and Angelita Mombrado she traveled by steamer, arriving in Santa Barbara 8 January 1858. Sister Andrea taught school, baked bread three times a week, and did the wash on Saturdays. Sister Angelita taught sewing and served as a very inexperienced cook and housekeeper. Saint Vincent's Institution, as they called their mission, cared for orphans and taught the children of ranchers from Santa Barbara, Santa Ynez, and the surrounding mountains. Some of the children boarded; others arrived on ponies or in ox carts. Most of the orphans were neglected Indian children brought by the pastor, James Vila.

Sister Melanie had arrived in a tubercular condition, aggravated by the ocean voyage. The dampness of their first home in Santa Barbara caused her illnesses to become more frequent and severe. In a beautiful letter to Burlando she reported on the progress of the mission and revealed her own condition. Sent to Sister Ann's hospital in Los Angeles, she was too ill to recover. A month had passed before the next steamer brought to her young companions in Santa Barbara the news of her death. She was twenty-seven years of age.

The Los Angeles Seminary

In the autumn of 1858 Amat sailed to Rome, stopping in Paris on the way to see the superior general and the superioress of the Daughters of Charity. In January 1859 Sister Scholastica wrote: "I hear by the Bishop's letters that he is quite in hopes of having a seminary in his diocese in time."²⁷ In June she reported to Burlando:

The Bishop says he had the promise of Our Most Honored Mother for a seminary in his diocese. He will bring two Vincentians and five Sisters from Paris for San Juan Bautista or San Gabriel. San Juan Bautista is said to be a fine flourishing place settled mostly by Irish... Will you come be our director and Sister Ann Simeon our Visitatrix?²⁶

Sister Teresa Fox, California's first Daughter of Charity, traveled across the Isthmus to enter the Community at Emmitsburg in 1859. An Australian by birth, she had lived in San Francisco before coming south to teach music at the Charitable Institution in Los Angeles.

But few could be expected to make such a difficult journey. As early as 1858, Amat had sought the approval of major superiors in Paris for the opening of a seminary for the formation of Daughters of Charity in his diocese, to be followed by the establishment of a province of the Daughters of Charity in the West. Burlando, provincial director for the Daughters of the United States, hesitated to support the plan, fearing that the bishop had in mind a diocesan community. Amat reassured him that this was not his intention, but only the formation of a separate province. This promise of the bishop and the increasing difficulty of travel by sea because of the wartime blockades led Burlando and the Council to give full support to the project. Burlando wrote to Sister Scholastica Logsdon 12 November 1860 that she was to be the directress of the new seminary, which would be housed in the Los Angeles Charitable Institution.

The seminary was opened 1 May 1861, and three days later six girls were admitted, ranging in age from sixteen to twenty years. One came from Santa Barbara, one from San Francisco, and the other four from Los Angeles. While these were being formed in the spirit of the Company, others were received as postulants and being prepared for the seminary. The formation program was further enriched by the arrival of a group of Vincentians under the leadership of John Asmuth, who was also appointed sub-director of the Daughters of Charity. This had been suggested by Sister Scholastica, who wrote to Burlando that the missions of California were becoming too important to be managed by letter. The Vincentians helped the sisters in other ways, not the least of which was acting as intermediaries in the dispute with the bishops over land tenure. Asmuth wrote to Etienne, the superior general, 28 February 1865, asking him to obtain the necessary exemption so that the sisters could hold corporate title to their own property.

The California seminary remained in existence from 1861 to 1870, forming during that time almost seventy young sisters for service in the western missions. At one point Sister Scholastica was named as visitatrix for the province being considered. Several factors appear to have been at work in the decision to close the

seminary and defer plans for a separate province. One was the question of the best location for the seminary, with some of the Vincentians preferring San Francisco or Sacramento to Los Angeles. The second was the difficulty with both bishops over deeds to property. A third factor was the completion of the Union Pacific Railroad in 1869, uniting the country by rail from east to west. Compared with an ocean voyage, the train trip seemed safe and economical, and the journey took a mere seven or eight days. Whatever the reason for the decision, it was another turning point in which the American superiors weighed their options and chose the one more likely to preserve unity, one of the basic values of the Company. The decision was not popular with the California bishops, who went so far as to write to the Congregation Propaganda Fide in Rome to protest; but the Roman officials respected the autonomy of the Community.

The Blossoming of the West

While war was devastating the land east of the Mississippi River, the growth of the West continued. Gold from California and silver from Nevada traveled east to help finance the war and build the railroad that would unite the country. News of the war and the report of Lincoln's assassination were carried west in the pouch of the pony express rider.

For the Community in the West it was also a period of expansion, made possible by the local formation of young Daughters of Charity in the Los Angeles seminary. The first of the new missions opened were in the Monterey-Los Angeles Diocese; both were opened in 1862.

San Juan Bautista

The old mission of San Juan Bautista was an exchange station on the route between San Francisco and Los Angeles, and so was a growing community. Father Anthony Ubach, the pastor, wanted an orphanage and a school. Three sisters were sent; they lived in the cloister of the old mission and held classes in a room behind the sacristies. With orphanage, boarders, and day school combined, there were only forty-five pupils. Having no basis of financial

support, the work faltered; debts were high. Drought added to the financial difficulties. In 1869 the service of the sisters there was discontinued.

Santa Cruz

Also commenced in 1862 was the School of the Holy Cross in Santa Cruz. Sister Corsina McKay was the first sister servant of the school, which was begun in the old adobe Eagle Hotel, originally part of the Santa Cruz Mission. The building was two and a half stories high, with porches across the front at two levels. An orphanage later was added to the work of the school, which continued to serve the people of Santa Cruz for over eighty years.

Petaluma

The first outlying mission opened in the San Francisco Archdiocese, Saint Vincent School in Petaluma, was begun in a stable by two lay teachers in 1859 and entrusted to the Daughters of Charity in 1867. Sister Angela Noyland was the sister servant. By this time the day school was in a small frame house. At the request of both pastor and parents an inexpensive boarding school was opened. However, the house was too small for this, and the debt on the property high. With no prospect of building or enlarging to take in boarders, there was little hope of paying off the debt. The sisters withdrew in 1885, and the school was again confided to lay teachers.

Virginia City, Nevada

The discovery of silver in Nevada in 1859 gave rise to the boom town of Virginia City on the steep slopes of Mount Davidson. By 1864 the population had reached fifteen thousand. Father Patrick Manogue, the young Irish pastor who had himself been a miner in California, asked for sisters for an orphanage and a school. Sisters Frederica McGrath, Xavier Schauer, and Elizabeth Russell commenced the mission in October 1864. By October 18 there were ninety children in school; but storms and blizzards forced the school to close for much of the winter. By the following July,

however, there were twenty-five orphans and boarders and one hundred twelve in the school. Five of the boarders, twenty of the pupils were kept free of charge.

Their first winter was a challenge. The orphanage was a brick building not yet completed; only one room was finished. Furnished with a stove, table, bench, two chairs, a rough cabinet, and a "water bowl"—which had to be carried to the dump to be emptied—it served as home to three sisters and twelve orphans and as classroom, also, for the entire school. All slept in the loft above, reached by an outside stairway covered with ice and snow for most of the winter, as one blizzard followed another. Summer was worse, with dust settling on everything, laundry dirty before it was dry, and water, hauled from the Washoe Valley, like liquid mud and so scarce that cleanliness was a forgotten luxury.

As the Comstock bonanza continued, additions were made to the buildings on H Street; soon there were two large and two small brick buildings in the complex that comprised the first Catholic school and orphanage in Nevada. From 1867 to 1872 the school and orphanage received aid from the state; but most of the income was from tuition, the proceeds of annual orphans' fairs, and the help of the parish conference of the Saint Vincent de Paul Society, which counted five hundred members.

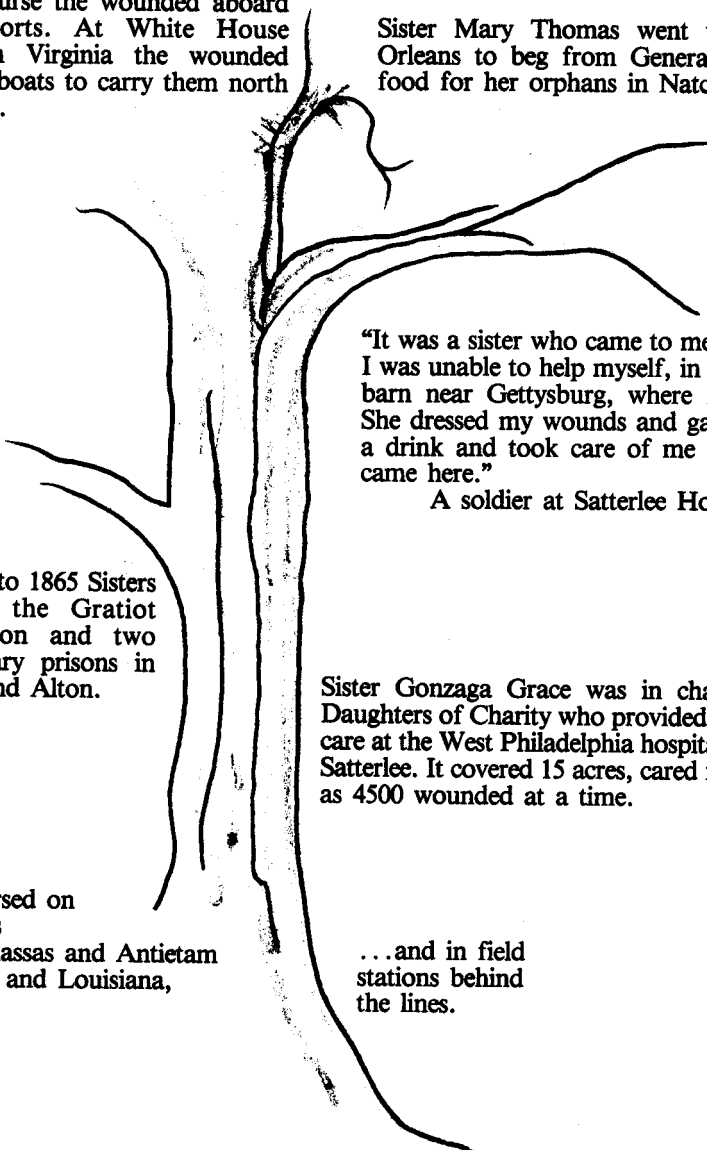
In addition to their work at home, the sisters made regular visits to care for the sick and poor in Virginia City, Gold Hill, and other settlements scattered up and down Six Mile Canyon. They held religion classes for public school children and some adults, including members of neighboring Indian tribes—Washoes, Shoshones and particularly the Paiutes, whose encampment of wickiups was clustered just outside the city.

While the West had been blossoming into an era of order and prosperity, the rest of the nation was torn by the Civil War and its bitter results. The sisters in California and Nevada endured hardships of their own; but these were far from the wartime experiences of their companions in other parts of the nation.



The surgeon general requested 100 sisters to nurse the wounded aboard the transports. At White House Landing in Virginia the wounded waited for boats to carry them north to hospitals.

Sister Mary Thomas went to New Orleans to beg from General Butler food for her orphans in Natchez.



"It was a sister who came to me when I was unable to help myself, in an old barn near Gettysburg, where I was. She dressed my wounds and gave me a drink and took care of me until I came here."

A soldier at Satterlee Hospital.

From 1861 to 1865 Sisters nursed in the Gratiot Street Prison and two other military prisons in St. Louis and Alton.

Sister Gonzaga Grace was in charge of the Daughters of Charity who provided the nursing care at the West Philadelphia hospital known as Satterlee. It covered 15 acres, cared for as many as 4500 wounded at a time.

Sisters nursed on battlefields from Manassas and Antietam to Florida and Louisiana,

...and in field stations behind the lines.

STRENGTHENED IN UNITY

Beginnings of the Civil War

Even before 1860 the wall of division between North and South was growing, stone by stone. The topics might vary: "abolition versus slavery," "states' rights versus federal Union," or even "plantation South versus industrial North"; but the frenzy and the fury of the arguments only increased with time. Voices speaking of wisdom and compromise, of solutions just to all, went unheeded. Inflammatory prose filled the newspapers; blows were exchanged in the Senate chamber; and John Brown attempted to lead a slave uprising at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, without having consulted or notified the slaves he planned to lead.

Among the voices counseling moderation were those of the Catholic bishops of the United States. United in their detestation of slavery, yet trained to look at both sides before passing judgment, they advised the faithful to be guided by the principles of justice and charity in particular situations, being careful not to identify the Faith with the fortunes and goals of any party. Many of the bishops favored gradual, planned emancipation of slaves, with provision for their future as part of the planning. Some had gone on record asking for government compensation for slaveholders who would voluntarily free their slaves. Others urged Catholics who inherited slaves to give freedom to as many as could provide for themselves and their families. Catholic institutions which had received slaves in payment of tuition or debts had already done this.

The practice of voluntary emancipation was spreading in parts of the nation. In the 1860 census some slave states showed a decrease in the number of slaves. In Frederick County, Maryland, for example, where Emmitsburg was located, more than 60 percent of the blacks were free. Washington itself—a southern town between two slave states, Maryland and Virginia—counted eighteen hundred

slaves and nine thousand free blacks within the city. Nevertheless, the practice of slavery was a persistent and often cruel evil in American society.

Secession rather than slavery was the issue which began the war. In November 1860 Abraham Lincoln was elected president; four days later, South Carolina seceded from the Union. By March 1861 the cotton states—Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas—had followed. The shelling of Fort Sumter in April destroyed any hopes that still remained for a peaceful compromise. Virginia too seceded, and Richmond became the capital of the Confederate States of America. Colonel Robert E. Lee, the most promising officer in the United States Army, resigned his commission and offered his services to his native Virginia. His beautiful home across the Potomac from Washington became part of the battleground that separated the two capitals—only about one hundred miles apart.

The secession of Virginia—in which both the naval yards at Norfolk and the arsenal at Harper's Ferry were located—left Washington undefended and open to invasion. Its other neighbor, Maryland, after a long and tense delay, voted in December to remain loyal to the Union; but there was much secessionist agitation and unrest, particularly in the city of Baltimore. Archbishop Francis Patrick Kenrick of that city wrote on 10 May 1861:

Our state is changed to the appearance of a great encampment, and our city, in peril of a siege in the spirit of revenge.¹

Again on 7 September 1861 he wrote:

It has been determined to destroy this city if the confederate soldiers come here; we are surrounded by the military, and they are raising ramparts from which to throw shells into the city.²

By October, however, a defending force had been assembled and the threat of invasion had been turned aside. For the time being, the battleground was to be the Shenandoah Valley in Virginia.

The Daughters of Charity Volunteer to Serve the Armies

In early June 1861 Dorothea Dix, appointed by her brother,

Major-General John Dix, to gather a corps of female nurses, issued her first call for volunteers. On 5 June the *Washington National Intelligencer* printed this news item:

We learn that two hundred Sisters of Charity are ready to 'enlist' in the cause of the sick and wounded of the army, at any moment the Government may signify to them a desire to avail itself of their services, to take charge of hospitals, ambulances for conveying the sick or wounded, or any post far or near, where the cause of humanity can be served.³

It was true that Mother Ann Simeon Norris had made such an offer to the President, acting in the spirit of Saint Vincent de Paul, who said to Daughters of Charity of seventeenth-century France:

Men go to war to kill one another, and you, Sisters, you go to repair the harm they have done... Men kill the body and very often the soul, and you go to restore life, or at least by your care to assist in preserving it.⁴

The number of sisters in the Community had reached approximately eight hundred by this time. Superiors were willing to send two hundred or more of them to serve in the ambulances and military hospitals for as long as needed. The salary of \$12 a month paid to lay nurses was not asked for the sisters, but the Council of the Community laid down five specific conditions to be observed wherever the sisters were to serve:

1. That no lady volunteers be associated with the Sisters in their duties, as such an association would be rather an encumbrance than a help.
2. That the Sisters have entire charge of the hospitals and ambulances they serve.
3. That the Government pay the traveling expenses of the Sisters, furnish their board and other actual necessities during the war; clothing also, in case it should be protracted.
4. That a Catholic Chaplain be in attendance.
5. Of course, no compensation is required by the Sisters for their services.⁵

That the Council could make such stipulations and expect them to be honored is not surprising. Nursing care in public hospitals at that time was given by inmates of the institution or members of the pauper class. Some women had developed competence through home nursing or assisting doctors to whom they were related; some were treasures of competence and caring; but they were not available in large numbers. Catholic sisters were the only organized groups in the United States who could pass on a heritage of knowledge, skills and management ability within an organized system of nursing. There were five hundred seventy sisters sent from twelve communities to nurse in the Civil War; four of these communities had previous hospital experience in the United States. These formed the backbone of the nursing corps during the war. But none had the composite experience of Daughters of Charity, covering more than three decades of nursing in both North and South, in epidemics and catastrophes, in seven public hospitals and twelve Catholic ones administered by the Community. Their system of pairing the young and inexperienced with the skilled and competent guaranteed a uniform standard of service. Besides, their Vincentian Rule specified obedience to the doctor as well as to the sister servant, thus promising harmonious cooperation on the teams serving the wounded.

Again and again demands were made for Daughters of Charity, demands that could not always be referred to Emmitsburg because communication was cut off. Foreseeing this problem, superiors had authorized local sister servants to discern the needs and make decisions about sending sisters. Records were not always kept of how many or who were sent. Attempts to compile data later from fragmentary sources yielded over two hundred thirty-two names of sisters who are definitely known to have served as war nurses. Names added later from local sources, particularly in the South and Midwest, bring the number to almost two hundred seventy. But there are gaps that can never be filled, since names have been forgotten and records are incomplete. Yet the composite picture reveals a magnificent panorama of a Community mobilized in unity to serve Christ in those who suffer, ready to respond to the calls of the Church or military leaders without regard to recompense or political ties. The same Vincentian charity inspired those who did the work of three to continue the care of the poor at home, or those who left at an hour's notice to serve in ambulances, transports and military hospitals on both sides of the conflict.

Serving Both Armies in Virginia

Early requests to serve in federal hospitals and prisons came from local rather than national leaders: Generals John F. Rathbone in Albany, John C. Fremont in Saint Louis. Even before the First Battle of Bull Run, men were admitted to sisters' hospitals in New York and Saint Louis to be treated for dysentery, typhoid and other fevers. Similar requests came from Confederate Generals Braxton Bragg and A.G. Blanchard in the Deep South.

But a telegram had also come to Emmitsburg in May 1861 from Confederate headquarters in Richmond, asking that sisters be assigned specifically to care for wounded soldiers in hospitals already conducted by the sisters in Richmond and Norfolk. A second telegram on 7 June requested sister-nurses for an "ambulance" or mobile field hospital near Harper's Ferry to serve with the Confederate Army. All these requests were answered affirmatively. The sisters made their way through the Union lines, served on the battlefield at Manassas, retreated with the army to Winchester, and in July staffed the general hospital in Richmond, which cared for both Confederate and Union soldiers.

The federal military leaders did not seem to understand at first that the Daughters of Charity were prepared to nurse impartially the wounded of both sides, serving the person rather than the cause. The trips back and forth across the lines were attracting attention. In December 1861 Father Francis Burlando, C.M., director of the American Province of Daughters of Charity, received a letter from Archbishop Kenrick of Baltimore:

Major General Dix has just apprized me that a letter has been referred to him by the Government, charging that ladies dressed in the costume of Sisters of Charity furnished by the convent at Emmitsburg, have passed the lines into Virginia, for the purpose of keeping up communication with the Confederate States. He professes himself unwilling to believe that they have been guilty of so gross an infidelity to the Government. . . I have replied without delay, stating that the Sisters were stationed at Richmond and Norfolk for many years and they have extended their services to the sick and wounded. . . I also stated that their journeys were open and with formal passports from the Government at Washington, and wholly unconnected with politics, and not intended in any way to aid rebellion.

It may be proper for the Superior of the Sisters to draw up a sort

of statement to the same effect and have it signed by three or more of the Council, and, lastly by yourself. It will be well even to bring it to Baltimore and present it to the General. It is proper that all suspicion should be at once removed.⁶

In response to the Archbishop's warning, the Council immediately drew up a letter stating, among other explanations, that:

...at no time, under no circumstances, directly or indirectly, have any Sisters belonging to said Community gone to Virginia or any other state for political purposes, or carried documents or messages having political tendencies. The only object for which the Sisters were sent to Virginia was to nurse the sick and wounded soldiers. The Sisters now in Richmond passed lines at various times via Harper's Ferry, or by Bay to Norfolk, but furnished with passports either by General Banks, Major General Scott, or the Secretary of State. The first two bands that crossed at Harper's Ferry had no pass, none being then required...

The fact that the Sisters went to nurse soldiers in the South could not be interpreted as disaffection for the Government, since Sisters from the same society were, at the request of General Rathbone, sent to Albany where they took charge of the sick soldiers and remained at the hospital until their services were no longer required. At the request of General Fremont, the Sisters went to attend and are still attending the sick soldiers at the Military Hospital in Saint Louis. They also gave their attendance to the sick and wounded soldiers at the Infirmary in Baltimore, until they were removed to some other locality; also at the Troy Hospital, Milwaukee, and other places. In a word: the Sisters have responded to every call without distinction of creed or politics, and are ready at the moment to give their services if asked by the proper authority; nay, they are willing to suspend their schools and diminish their number in hospitals and orphan asylums for the purpose of nursing the sick and the wounded. Of about eight hundred Sisters of Charity, there is not one but would readily obey the first summons for the same work of charity...

We take the liberty to remark that the duty of the Sisters of Charity is to strive to save their souls by the exercise of charity towards their fellow-creatures, the poor and suffering of every nation, independent of creed or politics.

(Signed) Sister M. Othelia Marshall, Procuratrix
Sister Julia Dyer, Treasurer

Sister Ann Simeon Norris, Mother Superior
Reverend F. Burlando, Superior
Sister Marie Louise Caulfield, Secretary

Saint Joseph's House, Emmitsburg, Maryland
December 20, 1861⁷

No further questions were raised about the sisters' crossings into Virginia to care for the wounded of both armies there. This service was extensive. In addition to nursing Confederate wounded in hospitals already conducted by the sisters in Richmond and Norfolk, they also staffed the Marine Hospital at Portsmouth for Union soldiers; the general hospital in Richmond which served the wounded of both armies; and various temporary field hospitals in Virginia:

1861: Winchester. Six sisters; Confederate wounded.

1861: Harper's Ferry. Three sisters; Confederate wounded.

1862: Danville. Ten sisters; Confederate wounded.

1862: Manassas. Five sisters; wounded of both armies.

1862: Gordonville. Three sisters; both armies.

1862-65: Lynchburg. Five sisters in both a hospital and a factory, serving the wounded of both armies.

Sister Angela Heath, who served in field hospitals with the Army of Northern Virginia from January 1862 to 13 April 1865, kept a brief account of the experiences of the sisters with whom she served:

Left Richmond for Manassas on the 9th of January 1862, at the solicitation of Dr. Williams, Medical Director of the Army of the Potomac. We were five in number, & found, on taking possession, 500 patients, sick and wounded of both armies. Mortality was very great, as the sick poor had been very much neglected. The wards were in a most deplorable condition, & strongly resisted all efforts of the broom to which they had long been strangers, & the aid of a shovel was found necessary. At best, they were but poor protection against the inclemency of the season & being scattered, we were often obliged to go through snow over a foot deep to wait on the sick. . . . On an average, ten died every day, & of this number, I think I may safely say, four were baptized. . . . On the 13th of March we received orders from Gen. Johnson to pack up quietly & be ready to leave on six hours' notice, as it was found necessary to retreat from

that quarter. Oh the horrors of war! We had scarcely left our post than the whole camp was one mass of flame, & the bodies of those who died that day, were consumed. Our next field of labor was the military hospital at Gordonsville. We were but three in number & found 200 patients very sick—pneumonia and typhoid fever prevailing. Here again privations were not wanting. The sick were very poorly provided for, although the mortality was not as great as at Manasses... The approach of the Federals compelled us to leave Gordonsville on Easter Sunday & we retreated in good order to Danville... Here we found 400 sick much better provided for than in M... In Nov. the Medical Director removed our hospital to Lynchburg as there was no means of heating that in Danville. Our number had increased to five as the hospital was larger and contained 1000 patients, whom we found in a most pitiful condition...

The approach of the Federals placed our hospital in imminent danger & it was decided to move the sick & hospital stores to Richmond. The Surgeon General of the Confederate Army begged that we would take charge of the Stuart Hospital in that city which we did on the 13th of Feb. 1865. We were then 10 in number, & as usual, we found plenty to do to place the sick in a comfortable situation, which we had just accomplished when the city was evacuated, & on the 13th of April, the hospital being dispensed with, we left R. for our sweet valley home.⁸

Service with the Transports

There was no Red Cross and no ambulance corps in the armies of the Civil War. The wounded were carried from the field by teamsters more accustomed to handling lumber or grain sacks. Ambulances were often requisitioned farm carts without springs, horse-drawn over bumpy fields and rutted roads. After emergency care was given at a first aid station, the wounded, even amputees, were bounced to the nearest railroad or river for transport to a military hospital. The need for haste led to severe crowding in railroad freight cars or the holds and decks of ships. Some died along the way; others arrived with fevers, gangrene, infections, exhausted from thirst and suffering.

The surgeon general requested one hundred sisters to nurse the wounded aboard the transports on the Potomac River and the seaports north of it. Burlando described the beginning of this service in a letter to Mother Gilberte-Elise Montcellet in Paris 6 July 1862:

For the last two months I have been constantly travelling about: a great number of Sisters are asked for to attend on the sick and wounded. A good many are already at work. Twenty-nine are at present in the large hospital of Philadelphia. This hospital is a whole league in circumference, and contains three thousand beds; the chief surgeon wants fifty Sisters to wait on the patients, and even they would hardly be enough.

In several others we have been able to send fifteen at a time; twenty are employed in the hospital of St. Louis. Besides these numerous bands, the surgeon general wants one hundred for the transports: we managed to find eighty, but you may imagine the state of our other works and our poor houses. I accompanied the first colony, consisting of thirty-three Sisters, to the place where they were expected for this novel sort of service; they had just found a temporary lodging when a sudden movement of the adverse army obliged every one to take flight. Through the care of the general in command, our Sisters were placed in safety and sent to the transports with the wounded...⁹

They called it White House Landing, that graceful green slope on the Virginia side of the Potomac opposite Washington, where the wounded waited for hospital boats that would carry them north. Before the war was ended it would become Arlington National Cemetery. The white house for which it was named was the Custis Lee mansion, the confiscated home of Robert E. Lee. This was the temporary shelter provided for the sisters mentioned in Burlando's letter; it later was converted to a hospital.

Throughout the summer of 1862 the sisters served on the hospital ships or transports. Some of their names have come down to us: Sister Ophelia Marshall, who led the group taking the wounded to New York on board the *Commodore*; Sisters Clara Moloney and Consolata Conlon, for whom the war was their first mission; Sister Henrietta Casey, whose selfless dedication was an inspiration to the doctor in charge; Sister Euphrasia Mattingly, who portrayed graphically in her account the misery of patients stacked on the floors on all decks, the airlessness of the lower cabins, lit by lamps and candles day and night; and the ship so overloaded that it was "more like sinking than sailing."

Other sisters served on transports on the Mississippi carrying the wounded north to Saint Louis. For them the sacraments were readily available; but continued deprivation of spiritual oppor-

tunities led superiors to withdraw those serving the transports on the Potomac to serve instead on land. Burlando described this in a letter of 1 September 1862:

Those floating hospitals were, however, very frightful: more than four or five hundred sick and wounded lay heaped on one another; the bottom, middle and hold of the ships were filled with sufferers. Willingly would we have continued our services, but our Sisters were deprived of all spiritual assistance; no mass or communion; even when they entered the port, it was hard for them to go to church, either because they did not know where there was one, or because the distance would not allow them. We were therefore obliged to remove and place them in the organized hospitals on land, where they can at least rely on the assistance of a priest. . .

The spectacle presented by our Sisters on these floating hospitals was an object of surprise and admiration amid so much wretchedness and suffering. Everyone is struck likewise by the good order which reigns in the hospitals and ambulances which they attend. If we had a thousand Sisters at our disposal, we should have more than sufficient work for them, merely in attending the poor wounded. The Sisters of Charity are now known everywhere, they can go to any place without a passport, and are everywhere respected. I think that amid all these disturbances I foresee a brilliant future for our province; but we must learn to suffer in the transition. We will let God do his own work, while we pray and fix our eyes on the divine will, holding ourselves ready to follow it in all.¹⁰

Temporary Hospitals in Maryland

As the war moved across the Potomac with the invasion of the North, battles were fought on Maryland soil; field hospitals similar to those of Virginia were served by the sisters there. Boonsboro and Frederick, Antietam and the nearby town of Sharpsburg were all scenes of temporary hospitals where Daughters of Charity nursed. At Frederick they had care of the United States General Hospital situated outside the city, which housed one thousand patients. On 4 July four hundred more men were brought in, most of them with typhoid. Public buildings were requisitioned as hospitals and more sisters requested.

A tent hospital at Point Lookout, at the southern tip of Maryland between the Potomac and Chesapeake Bay, offered the

wounded relief from the summer heat in the cool Atlantic breezes. The camp housed many Confederate prisoners also. Some of the sisters who had been serving on the transports were sent to nurse there. Sister Mary Clare Kelly, sister servant of the group, described the situation as most primitive, with no conveniences of any kind. The sisters had only a few boxes to serve as chairs for all of them.

Doctor S.P. Duffield, the surgeon in charge, admired the fidelity of the sisters to their trust, which included serving under quarantine at the contagious hospital when typhoid broke out in the camp. He later cited Sister Henrietta Casey's devotion to the sick as the example and inspiration that led him to investigate and join the Catholic Church. Sister Consolata Conlon, not yet twenty years of age, died of typhoid fever and was buried among the soldiers at Point Lookout.

Hospital Service in Washington, D.C.

Before the war there was only one hospital in Washington, the Infirmary on E Street. After the fall of Fort Sumter it was requisitioned as a military hospital and the Daughters of Charity were again asked to staff it. This they did, caring for the wounded there through most of 1861 until the building was destroyed by fire 4 November of that year.

Providence Hospital was begun at the request of Washington doctors because there was no other hospital for civilians. Throughout the war it continued to serve the civilian population; but even before the first civilian patient was discharged, the wards were filled with wounded Union soldiers and Confederate prisoners from the Battle of Bull Run, fought just twenty-five miles from Washington. The hospital soon had a marine ward tended by a Navy surgeon, and tents filled with wounded and dying men clustered all around the hospital and in the opposite square. The four sisters were in need of reinforcements to nurse in these indoor and outdoor wards.

Barrack and tent hospitals were soon being set up all over Washington. Warehouses, schools and private homes were turned into hospitals as train-and boatloads of wounded continued to pour into the city. Conditions in some of these makeshift stations were deplorable. Before long Daughters of Charity were requested to staff three other military hospitals in Washington: Eckington

Hospital, where nine sisters under the direction of Sister Camilla Bowden cared for about four hundred patients at a time; Cliffburn Hospital, consisting of tents and sheds which housed from twelve hundred to sixteen hundred wounded at a time, tended by fourteen sisters; and finally the Lincoln Hospital, in use from December 1862 until August 1866. During that time over twenty-two thousand Union soldiers were cared for there.

In a letter to Paris Sister Camilla described the Eckington Hospital:

We have generally about four hundred patients, the greater number of whom are wounded; and we are nine Sisters to attend upon them. The head surgeon is a protestant; but his respect for the Sisters is very great, and he wishes all those under his charge to show the same... We have a great many servants and infirmarians; the Sisters have charge of distributing the medicines, of superintending the wards, and preserving good order and cleanliness, and in general of everything that concerns the welfare of the sick, their food, and the little delicacies for the patients...¹¹

From Cliffburn Hospital Sister Helen Ryan, newly arrived from the hospital in Portsmouth, wrote to Mother Montcellet 22 September 1862 describing Cliffburn:

It is indeed a real military hospital, composed of tents and sheds; we have but a plank to shelter us; and in going from one tent to another we have nothing above us but the sky. The Sisters are lodged pretty much like the soldiers... We have about twelve hundred sick and wounded; tents are constructing to receive those who are continually coming; it is expected that we shall soon have sixteen hundred. We are only fourteen Sisters, and I am afraid we shall have to give up two to a house still more overburdened than we are...

Yesterday a young methodist, seriously wounded, was continually calling out for a priest. The Sister who had charge of the ward, thinking at first that he wanted a minister, at last asked him if he wanted a Catholic priest. "I do not know what you call him," replied the patient, "but I want one of those belonging to your religion of white bonnets." Our greatest difficulty is to get a priest when we need one. Two have the sole charge of twenty hospitals, and their parishes to attend to besides, while each of these hospitals has its own protestant chaplain...¹²

The Lincoln Military Hospital, completed in December 1862, consisted of thirty large buildings besides many small structures and hundreds of tents. There were also isolation camps for contagious diseases. Doctor Webster Lindsley, executive officer, was the assistant surgeon general of the United States Army. Sister Helen Ryan was brought from Clifftown to take charge at Lincoln, with thirty sisters to assist her. President Lincoln liked to visit the Union soldiers in this hospital named for him. Lincoln Hospital remained open after the war until the last of the men were able to return home.

In a report on the Lincoln Hospital dated January 1865, the Surgeon General of the United States Army wrote:

Twenty-eight Sisters of Charity were on duty and I must bear evidence to their efficiency and superiority as nurses. The extra diet kitchen is under the care of a Sister, and one is detailed by the superior to each ward. They administer medicine, diet and stimulants under the orders of a ward surgeon and are responsible to him alone. They have been beloved and respected by the men.¹³

Nursing Service in Pennsylvania

On the Battlefield of Gettysburg

As the war moved north into Maryland and Pennsylvania during the summer of 1863, the peaceful valley of Emmitsburg, so near the Pennsylvania border, became the scene of a bivouac, and almost of a battle. In a letter written 8 July 1863 Burlando described in detail what happened:

You have doubtless learned through the newspapers that we have been visited by the Army of the Potomac, and that quite near us a terrible battle has been fought—the most disastrous since the beginning of hostilities. Saint Joseph took good care of his house, and Saint Vincent of his Daughters. We have not been troubled, or at least, we suffered only by foraging parties and the destruction of the fences enclosing our grounds.

On the afternoon of June twenty-seventh the troops appeared on the slight elevation a short distance from Saint Joseph's; regiment after

regiment, division after division advanced with artillery and cavalry and took possession of all the heights, encamping in order of battle. On the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth, we were completely surrounded; on the thirtieth, Saint Joseph's and the town of Emmitsburg were in the midst of a section of the Army about 80,000 strong.

General Howard with his staff took up lodging in our house at Emmitsburg; General Shurtz and his officers were on Saint Joseph's grounds, occupying the house which formerly served for an orphan asylum.* The other Generals had Quarters along the Army lines. Our locality had been selected because it was known that the Southern Army was a few miles to the west of Emmitsburg.

For the protection of Saint Joseph's, General Shurtz stationed guards at every point. General Howard did in like manner with regard to our little property in Emmitsburg. Several of the officers asked permission to visit the institution; all conducted themselves with the greatest respect and expressed their gratitude for the services rendered by the Sisters to the soldiers in the military hospitals. On Monday this portion of the Army moved off and was succeeded by another equally numerous, ranged in line of battle like the former. . . During these days I heard many confessions and the Sisters distributed among the soldiers a large number of medals, chaplets and Agnus Deis: bread, milk and coffee were generously supplied.¹⁴

From the pen of Sister Mary Jane Stokes, who had charge of the farm at Saint Joseph's, comes another graphic description of the visit of the army and the response of the sisters:

When the army was on its way to Gettysburg (I mean the Federals) they paid a visit to St. Joseph's, which caused much terror. The poor soldiers had been on the march for many days, and they were of the color of smoked herring; they were also very weak. Our dear Mother Ann Simeon sent word we were to do all in our power for them, and each one tried to do her best. The church was opened and many went to confession, then sisters and employees served the men with tea, coffee, milk and bread from the kitchen. The distribution began about three, and lasted until the bugle sounded for the men to go to the camp below the barn. The men were ordered not to go near the house or to disturb the sisters, and next day they were called

**This was the White House. The general mentioned is Carl Schurz.*

away. We believed a real miracle was operated at this time because having distributed food to so large a number, Mother thought none would be left for the Community, however the supper bell rang as usual. . . We thought all the bread was gone, but when we went to look, that day's baking had not been touched.¹⁵

Shortly after the Federal regiments departed, divisions of Confederate soldiers passed along the Fredericktown Road, to the great delight of several boarders from the South, who had been without news of their families since the beginning of the war.

Gettysburg is only twelve miles from Emmitsburg, and the battlefield covered several miles. Some of the fighting was a mere nine miles away. The roar of the cannon could be heard as far as Saint Joseph's Valley, and a constant vigil of prayer and adoration was kept in the chapel as long as the guns could be heard, with sisters leaving their duties by turns to pray for the dead and the dying. When silence suggested that the battle might be over, Father Burlando took the farm wagon loaded with sisters and provisions to the battlefield. His own description follows:

On Sunday, the day after the battle, I accompanied to the scene of action eight Sisters who were supplied with remedies and provisions for the wounded. Having completed six miles of the journey we found a barricade to intercept all communication and at a considerable distance another. At this second station was a band of Federal soldiers. I alighted and fastening a white pocket handkerchief to my cane, I approached the barricade and explained the object of our coming. Immediately several soldiers were told to open the way so that our two vehicles continued without difficulty. However, having gone some distance we found ourselves in the presence of a new barricade; this obliged us to take a new direction. Finally we reached the scene of combat. What a frightful spectacle met our gaze! Houses burnt, dead bodies of both Armies strewn here and there, an immense number of slain horses, thousands of bayonets, sabres, wagons, wheels, projectiles of all dimensions, blankets, caps, clothing of every color covered the woods and fields. We were compelled to drive very cautiously to avoid passing over the dead. Our terrified horses drew back or darted forward reeling from one side to the other. The farther we advanced the more harrowing was the scene; we could not restrain our tears. At last we reached the city of Gettysburg. Here a large portion of the Army was guarding the battlefield. All the avenues and environs of the city were encumbered with soldiers, horses, wagons, and artillery carts. The inhabitants

were just emerging from the cellars to which they had fled for safety during the combat; terror was depicted on every countenance; all was confusion. Every house, every temple, the courthouse, the Protestant Seminary, the Catholic Church—all were filled with the wounded; and yet there were thousands still stretched on the battlefield with scarcely any assistance, it being impossible to provide for all.

I placed two of our Sisters in each of the three largest improvised hospitals, heard some confessions, and then returned to Saint Joseph's. The following day I set out with other Sisters and other remedies and provisions. In the meantime supplies were sent by the government and the poor wounded soldiers were assisted. The people recovering from their fright united in administering to the suffering thousands and the dying. Eleven Sisters are now employed in this city which is converted into a vast hospital to comfort and relieve suffering humanity. Sister Ann Simeon, Visitatrix, went to the city this morning but will return tonight.

Tomorrow, if possible, we shall send other Sisters and some remedies. While I am writing to you, the roar of the cannonballs tells us of death and destruction in another battle to the west. O my God! when wilt Thou give peace to our unhappy country! We deserve this frightful chastisement which will cease only when we shall have been profoundly humbled!

Assist us by your prayers, for the American does not pray; and yet, how can we appease the anger of God without prayer?

In the love of our Lord and his Immaculate Mother,
Your most humble and devoted son,
Burlando
U.P. o.t.M.¹⁶

In the days immediately following the battle, one hundred thirteen hospitals were set up in Gettysburg in churches, private homes, the protestant seminary, wherever possible. Thousands of the wounded were sent by train to Satterlee Hospital in Philadelphia. As the number was reduced either by death or transfers to other hospitals, the number of hospitals in the town was reduced also. By mid-July there were seven remaining: four for Federal wounded, three for Confederates.

Outside the town sisters were also serving in makeshift hospitals within a three-mile radius of Gettysburg: barns, tents made by fastening blankets to posts, farmhouses, even in open fields with no other resource than water from the stream. Some who served in

these outlying stations described the stench of dead horses gathered into heaps for burning; the ditches dug for mass burial of the dead, marked only by a post showing the number of dead and their regiment. To get from one farm "hospital" to another the sisters had to pass these trenches and climb over the piled-up debris of battle.

As many as one hundred Daughters of Charity from Emmitsburg and Baltimore may have served temporarily in the fields and hospitals of Gettysburg. Among them were Mother Ann Simeon Norris; Sister Euphemia Blenkinsop, her assistant; Sisters Camilla O'Keefe and Marie Louise Caulfield, treasurer and secretary; Sisters Raphael Smith, Felix McQuaid and Maria Landry of the academy; Sister Genevieve McDonough, London-born directress of the seminary who had served in hospitals at Metz in France and Alexandria in Egypt; Sister Mary David Salomon, the kitchen sister; Sister Adele Durm, the infirmarian; Sister Matilda Coskery, who had shared her knowledge of nursing with so many; and many of the young sisters. Some served a few days or weeks; some remained for many months; and at least one group continued to nurse in Gettysburg until August 1865, more than two years after the battle, when the last of the wounded and sick veterans were discharged from the hospital.

Satterlee Hospital, Philadelphia

On 25 May 1862 Surgeon-General William Hammond, through Doctor I.J. Hayes, requested twenty-five Sisters of Charity to nurse the sick and wounded soldiers in the West Philadelphia Hospital, afterwards known as Satterlee. The hospital covered an area of fifteen acres. The plan was for thirty-three wards, each built to accommodate seventy-five patients comfortably with bed, table and chair. Two small rooms attached to each ward provided a place where nurses could store and prepare delicacies, medicines and other remedies.

When the first sisters arrived 9 June 1862, only eight of the planned wards were completed. The sick began to arrive the same day—one hundred fifty at first, but the number soon reached nine hundred, many with severe cases of typhoid, camp fever, chronic dysentery and other ailments. On 16 August over fifteen hundred more sick and wounded were brought in, most from the Battle of Bull Run (Manassas). Sister Gonzaga Grace, who had charge of the hospital throughout the war, described the situation in her journal:

The wards being now crowded, tents were erected to accommodate over one thousand. We had at one time not less than four thousand five hundred in the hospital.¹⁷

When smallpox broke out, the surgeon in charge set up an isolation camp on the grounds at some distance from the hospital. Sister Josephine Edelin offered to go into isolation with these men to care for them. When she became ill, Sister Gonzaga took her place, putting to good use her knowledge of medicinal plants. One of her favorite remedies was a tea made from *Saracenia purpurea*, the pitcher plant. From November 1864 to May 1865 about ninety smallpox cases were cared for; of these only nine or ten died—an exceptional record for the time.

Sister Gonzaga's journal records many baptisms, among them a soldier from one of the Indian units and three Negro soldiers: James Simmons, William Hopkins, and Joseph White. Samplings from this journal give a straightforward account of the service at Satterlee:

After the battle of Gettysburg, we received a large number of patients who were very badly wounded—in all we had about 6000. The wards were densely crowded and there were three hundred tents erected on the grounds. Additional physicians and nurses were on duty, but a considerable number died from their wounds... The greatest number of Sisters in the Hospital, when we had so many sick, was forty-three.¹⁸

1864 May 23. We now have nearly three thousand four hundred patients in our hospital. Indeed, it is as if we were in the midst of a little city. Everywhere we turn, we meet crowds of the maimed, the lame, and the blind, going through the corridors and yards as best they can. The wards are quickly filling up with rows of beds in the centre, as new arrivals are coming in every day from the recent battles. Many more are dying this summer than last summer.¹⁹

From our taking charge of hospital June the ninth, 1862, until we left it on August 3, 1865, ninety-one Sisters had been on duty there. The war being over in April, 1865, the Government only desired our service, after that, until the convalescents could obtain their discharge. The physicians, however, requested us to remain until all the sick were removed to the Soldiers' Home, or returned to their own homes. I am happy to be able to state that, during our whole

sojourn at Satterlee Hospital, there never was an unpleasant word between the physicians or officers and the Sisters.²⁰

During their three years at Satterlee the sisters attended more than eighty thousand sick and wounded soldiers. Reverend Nathaniel West, protestant chaplain of Satterlee, published in 1863, an historical sketch of the hospital in which he paid tribute to the sisters:

It is most firmly believed that better nurses, better attendants on the sick, more noiseless, ceaseless performers of services in the hospital than these Sisters could not be found. . . . No matter what the character of their services is, they are ever at their post. The work assigned must be done, whoever does it; and it must be done in the manner required. And it will be hard to find any establishment of equal magnitude to the Satterlee United States Army General Hospital where neatness, cleanliness, arrangement, order and adaptation to the end designed are better contrived and observed; and by all employed, irrespective of religious creeds and ceremonies. This is what has raised the character of the hospital, and of him who holds the charge of it, to their present exalted elevation. The Sisters were placed in the hospital by order of the Surgeon General on the reception of the first patients, and there is probably not a hospital in the public service that would not be glad to have them, if the supply was equal to the demand.²¹

More pleasing to the sisters were the expressions of appreciation from the men, particularly those who were not Catholics and had never known sisters before. One day after the war Generals W.A. Hammond and Franz Sigel visited the hospital. Sigel, who had lost a leg at Gettysburg, was just mastering the art of getting about on crutches. The convalescent patients, eager to see them, crowded into the corridors as best they could. When a sister commiserated with one boy, still too sick to leave his bed, that he was missing out on all the excitement, he replied:

I would any time rather see a Sister than a general, for it was a Sister who came to me when I was unable to help myself, in an old barn near Gettysburg, where I was. She dressed my wounds and gave me a drink and took care of me until I came here.²²

Care of War Veterans in New York State

Early in the war, enlistments were for six months or a year. Many of the wounded were brought back to their home states because they were being mustered out as soon as they recovered. In 1861 General J.F. Rathbone asked for sisters to nurse in a temporary hospital in Albany until other arrangements could be made for men returning from the battlefield. In Troy, where the sisters already operated a hospital, they cared for all types of patients, city or private, civilian or military. When the mayor of Utica inquired about these arrangements, W.D. Van Alstyne, mayor of Troy, replied enthusiastically:

The Hospital was never under the direction of the City authorities, but from the commencement has been under city patronage in this way. Worthy poor people... have been sent to the Hospital when sick or meeting with sudden accidents, the city paying the Sisters \$1.50 per week for their care and medical attendance, the sum they would pay if they were sent to the County House... Persons of all creeds and color are admitted, the only qualifications of a candidate *is to be sick*. When they are no longer sick they must go away. Six of the Sisters are employed in the management of the Hospital in various departments assisted by the necessary servants: from study long practice and otherwise some of the Sisters have become *excellent* apothecaries and also acquired a considerable knowledge of the medical profession: while one and all of them are the *best* of nurses. The general management of the Hospital is said to be excellent, neatness and order prevail, while the Sisters' attendance to the sick no matter who they are or *what* the disease is untiring and devoted. With what is paid the Hospital by the city and county and what is received from private patients it is self sustaining. I feel assured that whatever encouragement your city may afford to the Sisters of Charity will not be regretted in the future...²³

In January 1864, when this letter was written, the sisters had been serving in Saint John's School and Asylum in Utica for thirty years. If the mayor did ask for sisters for a hospital, none could be spared at this time when more than one-fourth of the sisters were in the service of the armies.

Saint Mary's Hospital in Rochester had a soldiers' ward very early in the war. By March 1863, however, it became officially designated a military hospital; civilian patients were still nursed by the sisters, but in a building across the street. During 1864 there were

as many as three hundred soldier patients at a time; tents on the grounds provided for the overflow. In 1865 occupancy went as high as seven hundred, including some survivors of the notorious prison camp in Andersonville, Georgia, weighing on arrival as little as sixty pounds and suffering from scurvy, malnutrition and weakness. The hospital archives preserves the register of patients from those days, giving name, rank, regiment, date of discharge, and "remarks." A sample page from 1864 lists under "Remarks" one death, one discharge, ten transfers back to active service, and thirteen who were granted furloughs (of whom two deserted instead of returning).

The sister servant of the hospital was the indomitable Sister Hieronymo O'Brien. Convalescent soldiers were under army discipline. A cocky lieutenant punished one who returned intoxicated by ordering him to be hung up by the thumbs. When Sister Hieronymo discovered this, she had the culprit taken down and locked in the guardhouse, to which she pocketed the key. The angry lieutenant complained to his commanding officer, tendering his resignation if such interference were to be tolerated. Sister replied simply that a hospital is a place of healing, not of torture. The lieutenant's resignation was accepted and he was transferred.

Care of the Wounded in Other Northern States

Throughout the North the services of existing hospitals were utilized to care for wounded Union soldiers. Some of these were hospitals operated by the Daughters of Charity.

Carney Hospital in Boston cared for one hundred seventy-five returning servicemen during 1864-65. A fee of \$4.50 per week was paid by the federal government for each enlisted man; officers were cared for free of charge.

Saint Joseph's Hospital in Philadelphia also admitted many soldiers of both armies during the war years.

In Detroit Sister Mary DeSales Tyler, sister servant of Saint Mary's Hospital, was asked to organize a military hospital. On a farm she had purchased for the mentally ill she had a frame building erected, large enough to accommodate one hundred soldiers. The government paid liberally for their support. By diligently cultivating the land around she provided her patients with vegetables and fruit; the excess was sold and the money saved. After the war she built Saint Joseph's Retreat, Dearborn, for her mentally

ill patients with these savings.

Saint Mary's Hospital in Milwaukee was the only hospital in Wisconsin where the returning sick and wounded could be cared for. A daily average of fifty to eighty disabled soldiers stayed at Saint Mary's until other hospitals were built; then the number dropped to twenty or thirty of the most severe cases. Since Camp Sigel was nearby and had few trained nurses, six sisters nursed one hundred twenty patients there. At times the corridors were jammed with cots.

After the war many federal army hospitals closed, increasing the burden of care on private hospitals in the soldiers' home states. Gradually public agencies developed which took over these services; but until that time, many veterans were cared for as charity patients, with no funding from state or federal governments.

Saint Louis: Hospital City of the West

As Ulysses Grant's campaigns to gain control of the Mississippi led to battles in Missouri, Tennessee, Kentucky and Mississippi, Saint Louis became the principal center for care of the Union wounded as well as Confederate prisoners. Major General John C. Fremont, in charge of the Department of the West, requested sister-nurses for several military hospitals and prisons.

The first of these was the House of Refuge beyond the city limits. Built as a detention home for wayward youth, it was requisitioned for the army and opened the 19 August 1861 as Saint Louis Military Hospital. After the Battle of Shiloh, boatloads of wounded were brought up the river to Saint Louis and cared for there. The hospital was in Immaculate Conception Parish, of which Patrick John Ryan, later Archbishop of Philadelphia, was pastor. He offered Mass regularly for the Sisters and patients in the little oratory that had been allotted to them, and served as volunteer chaplain to the hospital. Offered the position of a paid chaplain with the Union, he refused it so that he could continue to minister to the Confederate prisoners. More than five hundred baptisms of patients in the hospital were recorded in the parish records.

Once the sister on duty in a surgical ward found a man in great pain whose hand had been amputated. The doctor had ordered a hot poultice, but the patient had not received it. When sister asked why, she learned it was because there were no hops in the hospital. Going to a bakery across the street, she procured the needed hops

and had the poultice prepared and applied.

When Benton Barracks opened in 1863, the hospital at the House of Refuge was discontinued by the Western Sanitary Commission.* Sister Catherine Mullen was sister servant of the group of sisters who nursed at Benton Barracks.

Throughout the war many wounded were cared for at the Sisters' Hospital on the corner of Fourth and Spruce Streets. The sisters provided nursing care for the soldiers, while their medical and surgical care was in the hands of army physicians assigned to the hospital. A fee of \$2.50 a week per patient was paid by the government for care of the Union wounded in the hospital. Sister Walburga Gehring and a companion had charge of two military wards, with seventy to eighty men in one and twenty-five to thirty in the other. Sister Walburga had been struggling for years to master her temper, with such success that when one of the men contemptuously spat his medicine all over her white collar and into her face, she simply wiped it off and returned with a second dose, telling him to swallow this or the doctor would be displeased with him. He did, and his attitude completely changed. Both he and the man in the next bed died fervent Catholics.

In 1862 the provost marshal again tapped the resources of the Community in Saint Louis, ordering that sisters from the hospital be sent to care for the sick and wounded at the Myrtle Street and Gratiot Street Prisons. The Myrtle Street Prison was a terrible place, the former Lynch's Slave Pens on Myrtle and Broadway, where slaves to be sold were chained. It was reserved for Confederate military prisoners and civilian sympathizers. After some months it was closed and the remaining prisoners were transferred to the Gratiot Street Prison. This was the McDowell Medical College, an arched building in grey stone at Eighth and Gratiot Streets, which had been requisitioned for a military prison. Three sisters began the nursing care here; others were added as the numbers grew. The first group of thirteen hundred prisoners arrived on 22 December 1861 in thirty-six railroad cars, so closely packed that there was scarcely standing room. They included both Union and Confederate prisoners. This service continued for the duration of the war.

**The U.S. Sanitary Commission supplemented the medical departments of the Union Army in furnishing medical and surgical aid to temporary hospitals.*

In *The Irish in America*, J.F. Maguire tells of a western farmer who interrupted a post-war camp meeting in which a preacher spoke of Catholic priests and sisters in a derogatory way. The farmer stood up and said:

That's a damn lie. . . I was in the prison at M'Dowall's College; I was there for six months; and I saw the Sisters waiting on the prisoners, and nursing the sick—unpaid and disinterested. . . I saw the priests too, constant in their attendance. . . That six months cured me of my folly, and I tell you, and you know me to be a man of truth, that the Catholic Church is not the thing it is represented to be. . .²⁴

In 1864 Sisters from the Gratiot Street Prison were asked to staff another prison hospital across the Mississippi in nearby Alton, Illinois, in the building that had formerly housed the state penitentiary. Conditions were deplorable, but the help of the townspeople and the determination of the sisters led to needed improvements. A total of four thousand Confederate and one thousand Union prisoners were cared for there. When the last prisoners departed, the people of Alton asked the sisters to remain and open a hospital for the civilian population. Saint Joseph Hospital opened in July 1864 in the house which had formerly been used for Immaculate Conception School.

The War in the Deep South

While battles were raging around Richmond and Washington, the Navy was attempting to blockade Southern seaports, and battles were fought along the coast in Georgia and Florida. In March 1861 four sisters were sent from New Orleans to nurse the wounded in Pensacola and Warrington, Florida, at the request of General Braxton Bragg of the Confederate Army. Sisters also nursed in tent hospitals in Atlanta and in a hospital in Marietta, Georgia.

Meanwhile on the Mississippi, U.S. Grant of the Army of the West was winning victories in Missouri, Kentucky and Tennessee, earning the nickname 'Unconditional Surrender Grant.' After taking Fort Donelson on the Cumberland River, he moved on to Nashville, then south along the Tennessee River to twenty miles north of Corinth, Mississippi, the most important railroad junction

in the Mississippi Valley. Here the battle of Shiloh was fought near Pittsburgh Landing—the largest and bloodiest battle the war had yet known, with terrible casualties on both sides.

Since October 1861 four Daughters of Charity from New Orleans had been in charge of a military hospital at Holly Springs, Mississippi. In 1862 they and others served also in ambulances at Corinth. Sister Cyril Ward was sister servant of this group. Among her assistants were Sisters Philomena Pitcher and Jeanette Murrin. While Yankee wounded and Confederate prisoners were carried in transports upriver to Saint Louis, the Confederate wounded and Yankee prisoners were cared for by these sisters. To express his thanks for their devoted service to the Confederate wounded, General Bragg presented to them a cross made from a melted-down Yankee cannon, on which was inscribed:

Captured on Santa Rosa by the 5th Georgia Regiment October 9, 1861, where it was abandoned by the Enemy. Presented to the Good Sisters of Charity who had devotedly nursed our Sick and Wounded. By request of the Commanding General Braxton Bragg.²⁵

In the spring of 1863 Grant laid siege to Vicksburg, which surrendered 4 July, the day after the guns were silenced at Gettysburg. By this victory the control of the Mississippi River was restored to the Union. Three sisters who had cared for the wounded in Natchez in 1862—Sisters Martina, Philomena and Scholastica—nursed at Vicksburg during 1863.

City Hospital in Mobile, Alabama, already staffed by Daughters of Charity, cared for Confederate soldiers during 1862 and after. Seven sisters from there were sent to staff a Marine Hospital for men of the Confederacy, also in Mobile in 1862. Other sisters nursed in Montgomery, Alabama, as early as 1861, when five sisters were caring for over three hundred patients, sometimes as many as five hundred men of both armies.

The War in Occupied Louisiana

In 1861 Sister Regina Smith of Charity Hospital, New Orleans sent four sisters to nearby Camp Moore to nurse Confederate wounded and those suffering from malignant fevers. From Natchez Sisters Geraldine, Emerita, and Vincentia went to Monroe, Loui-

siana, early in 1862 to staff a camp hospital for Confederates. Because of the blockade, they crossed the Mississippi by night in a skiff rowed by the chaplain and were met by an ambulance on the opposite shore.

The old Marine Hospital in New Orleans had been converted to a Confederate military hospital. Charity Hospital retained its status as a civilian state hospital for the poor; at the outset of the war it had 891 patients in space for 540. But the cost of war, complicated by the successful blockade of the port of New Orleans, made resources scarce.

On 25 April 1862 New Orleans fell to Admiral David Farragut's fleet without a shot being fired in its defense. All of southwest Louisiana came under Federal occupation and control, while the rest of the state remained part of the Confederacy. Charity Hospital was in enemy territory, cut off from the administrative guidance and financial support of the legislature. When the city fell, Doctor Ernest Lewis, then only twenty-one, accepted the Confederate wounded from the Marine Hospital into the wards of Charity Hospital, although he had refused Union wounded. He was arrested and compelled to take Union men as well into the hospital.

It was probably due to Sister Regina's prudence and charity that Charity Hospital was not entirely requisitioned as a Union military facility. As it was, she was told in August to send three sisters immediately to the Marine Hospital, to receive sixteen hundred sick soldiers on the way from Mississippi Swamp, due to arrive shortly with no provisions made to receive them. The sisters went, labored a day and a night without a pause for meals, saw the men settled and dealt with their immediate needs, and then returned home to Charity. An order soon came from the Surgeon General clarifying his intention: they were to be permanently established at the Marine Hospital. Until the end of the war these three served the Marine Hospital and Sister Regina and her sadly depleted staff of sister-nurses did double and triple duty to meet the demands of military and civilian patients at Charity. From 1862 to 1865 they cared for 22,268 patients at Charity Hospital—an annual average of 5,574—in an era when the average hospital stay was measured in months rather than days.

While free blacks were always nursed at Charity, Hotel Dieu had a ward specifically for the care of slaves. It was not a charity ward; service was paid for by the slave-owners, who wished their valuable property restored to health. After the Emancipation Proclamation

of January 1863, this ward was converted into a ward for Union wounded, with fifty severe cases being sent in one night. Sister Ernest Ernst, who had charge of the ward, did her best: carrying up coal and water from the yard, keeping up fires, caring for open wounds, consoling the dying, baptizing those who wished it. By morning eight had died, all having asked for baptism.

The occupation of New Orleans began in May 1862 with a force of fifteen thousand men under the control of General Benjamin Butler. Despised by New Orleanians as coarse, brutal and high-handed—promptly nicknamed “The Beast”—Butler still had a kinder side when dealing with sisters asking for the needs of their poor. For the seven months he remained in this post, Butler provided the chief support for Charity Hospital—\$5000 a month. His successors carried on his policies; and so the poor of Louisiana were cared for in Charity Hospital even in the worst months of the war.

When Grant’s armies passed through Mississippi, living off the land and occupying Natchez, Sister Mary Thomas McSwiggan obtained a pass to visit Butler in New Orleans to plead for her orphans and the poor of the city. He gave an order for \$400 and provisions sufficient for three months to be entrusted to her for distribution, promising the same amount each month as long as he was in command, and even providing the boat to carry her provisions back to Natchez. Touched by her pleading in the name of Christian charity, he even signed a permit for two sisters to cross the lines carrying food and medicines to the rebel wounded, provided no political information be given.

When the city of Donaldsonville was bombarded and burned by Farragut’s men in retaliation for a sniper attack on his fleet, and General Butler learned that the house of the Sisters of Charity had also been shelled, he wrote an apology, saying:

No one can appreciate more highly than myself the holy, self-sacrificing labors of the Sisters of Charity. To them old soldiers are daily indebted for the kindest of offices. Sisters to all mankind, they know no nation, no kindred, neither war nor peace. Their all-pervading charity is like the love of Him who died for all, Whose servants they are and Whose pure teaching their love illustrates.²⁶

For almost two years communication had been impossible with either Paris or Emmitsburg. After the occupation of New Orleans by Federal troops, however, communication with Paris became

possible again. In a long letter dated 11 August 1862, Sister Regina Smith recounted to Mother Montcellet the details of the blockade and occupation and reported on the military service of the sisters in the South.

Meanwhile several deaths among sisters in New Orleans made it necessary for her to recall the sisters she had sent to Richmond. With difficulty the sisters made their way to Mobile, and eventually were able to return to New Orleans. In a continuation of the same letter to Mother Montcellet, Sister Regina tells of their arrival and of later developments:

They came just in time, for since then we have had the house full of wounded federals. A great battle took place last week at Baton-Rouge, the capital of Louisiana, situated on the banks of the Mississippi. Sick and wounded are sent hither daily, and are rapidly filling up our hospitals. There are nine hundred at the Naval hospital; it is an immense building scarcely finished, which had to be given up to the victims of the war. Sisters have been asked for, at least to superintend. These poor creatures are generally protestants, and only know Catholicity to despise it. Many of them have not even received baptism. There are a good number of Irishmen among them, all of whom ask for the priest. Our good missionaries gladly accede to their desires; and many souls who have long been estranged from God are reconciled and slumber in the sleep of peace.

Nothing is so distressing as a war of this kind; we find the son armed against the father, and brother against brother. A poor young man told one of our Sisters that he had a twin brother on the other side. . . .²⁷

Sister Euphemia's Visits to the South

During these years of deprivation, overwork and anxiety, the sisters of the South had the consolation of several extended visits from Sister Euphemia Blenkinsop, Mother Ann Simeon's assistant. Obtaining passes through the lines, she traveled through all kinds of dangers to get to the sisters wherever they were. In her letters she described the conditions under which the sisters were trying to accomplish the impossible:

... Thus, for example, the hospital of Richmond, where I spent some time, contains seven hundred patients and only seven Sisters. It is very extensive, and consequently requires a great deal of time for the service. Besides preparing the remedies, the Sisters are entrusted with the clothes-room, the superintendence of the kitchen, distribution of wine, etc. They are nearly always obliged to cleanse and dress the patients' wounds themselves, for otherwise they would be forgotten. There is so much suffering and so much to be done.

The Louisiana hospital [the former Marine Hospital being used as a military hospital] numbers three hundred and fifty patients; there are six sisters there, who are anything but strong; and the patients are scattered about in small rooms, which render the service very inconvenient. Yet, I must say that all goes on very well there...

During my stay at Richmond, we were for two long days in the very midst of the sounds of war; but incredible calm and tranquillity reigned among us... Our poor Sisters, though the shells were flying around them, did not even interrupt their duties, going wherever their presence was needed, under the protection of Heaven. The soldiers seeing this, said with surprise to one another: "How is it that the Sisters do not tremble? As for us, we are used to the noise of cannon and shells, but they are very different, and yet they go about as if nothing were the matter." Others going further, asked what we should do if the enemy should reach us in triumph! "We should remain at our post," replied the Sister who was asked... These words made a deep impression on the poor soldier, and especially consoled those whose wounds, or the violence of disease kept confined to their beds. They exclaimed in a spontaneous transport of joy: "The Sisters will not leave us! Thank God! Thank God!"²⁸

It was Sister Euphemia who sent home news of Sister Regina Smith's death in January 1864 and appointed Sister Avellina McDermott to succeed her at Charity Hospital. She livened recreations on her return to Emmitsburg with many anecdotes of the sisters and their patients: of the man who would not believe that his sister-nurse could be a Catholic because he had been told they were vile people and she was so good; of another who asked, "Who pays you? What do you get a month?" and marveled that the sisters who worked so hard and never stopped were working only for the love of God. She told of the soldier brought in to Richmond General Hospital whose wound was putrefying, generating worms as fast as it was possible to remove them. The doctor who saw him

classified him as dying, beyond help; but Sister Valentine Latouraudais, his nurse, told the attendants in what position to place him and then knelt beside him for three hours applying a soothing wash and picking off the worms. The doctors, finding the man greatly improved, ashamedly took over the task, each in turn spending a half hour with the man, who soon recovered. One doctor later referred to Sister's silent example as "the best lecture army surgeons ever had!"

After the Battle of Gettysburg Sister Euphemia took some boarders from Saint Joseph's Academy, Emmitsburg, through the lines and to the South with her in an attempt to reunite them with their families. An explosion occurred on the train; the engineer was killed, cars overturned, and only the coach in which they were riding escaped harm. The frightened girls long remembered Sister Euphemia beside the track among the injured and dying, easing some, comforting others, praying with or baptizing the dying.

In 1863 a fire destroyed much of the town of Emmitsburg. The homeless turned to Saint Joseph's for help. The White House, formerly used as an orphanage, was placed at their disposal and the sisters supplied them with food, bedding, clothing and other necessities. Families remained until their own homes could be rebuilt; but some had no resources with which to build. At least one couple, the elderly parents of Sister Sarah Myers (and of Sister Philomena, deceased) remained for the rest of their lives, visited daily by their daughter and supplied with all their needs.

The End of the War

After U.S. Grant took command of the Army of the Potomac, the number of casualties reached new heights. In one month fifty thousand Union wounded were brought to hospitals behind the lines. A new determination kept them fighting with the ruthlessness that was the price of victory. Events moved swiftly and inexorably towards the end of the war. In February 1865 Lee's supply line was cut off. By the end of March the Confederate Army of Virginia was in flight; a wire was sent advising all to leave Richmond. On 3 April the last Confederates crossed the James River; bridges were destroyed and the ammunition depots torched, causing such explosions and fires that one-third of the city was destroyed. Looting and drunken disorder followed until Federal troops occupied the city,

where few remained except the frightened poor, the wounded too ill to travel and the sisters caring for them.

The climax came during Holy Week. On Palm Sunday, 9 April 1865, Lee surrendered at Appomattox Court House. On Good Friday, 14 April, after a cabinet meeting in which the fiery Secretary of War, Edwin Stanton, opposed the president's fraternal reconstruction plans for the South, Lincoln was shot by John Wilkes Booth in Ford's Theatre in Washington. The war was over; but the silence of the cannons gave place to lamentation as families counted their dead and sifted through the ashes of broken dreams.

For the Community too it was a year of suffering. Burlando must have been thinking of 1865 when he wrote later to a discouraged sister:

Experience must have already taught you that where divine Providence seems to close a window, it opens a large door; and when we think nothing but darkness is to be met, suddenly a big light unexpectedly appears that makes us see our way through the mist.²⁹

During this year Burlando suffered from a nearly fatal case of typhoid fever; Mother Ann Simeon grew progressively weaker as cancer spread and multiplied in her body; and the Community, represented by Sister Euphemia, was brought to trial in the notorious Mount Hope case, to face charges of misleading the public, misrepresenting cures in annual reports, and keeping patients against their will. Burlando recovered. The trial, having dragged on for a year, ended in a glorious vindication of the sisters and doctors who served Mount Hope, the charge being recognized as a bigoted attempt to discredit a Catholic institution which had an exceptionally successful record in the care of the mentally ill. Mother Ann Simeon's suffering ended with her peaceful death in Saint Agnes Hospital, Baltimore. Her body was brought by train as far as Gettysburg—where the sisters were still serving in the military hospitals—and then conveyed by carriage to Emmitsburg for the funeral.

"A good superior is a great grace, and great graces are granted to prayer,"³⁰ Burlando wrote to the sisters throughout the country in announcing Sister Ann Simeon's death and asking prayers for her successor. When Sister Euphemia Blenkinsop was chosen, he was heard to say, "There are many who are capable and worthy of filling the office of visitatrix in the province; but I feel justified in

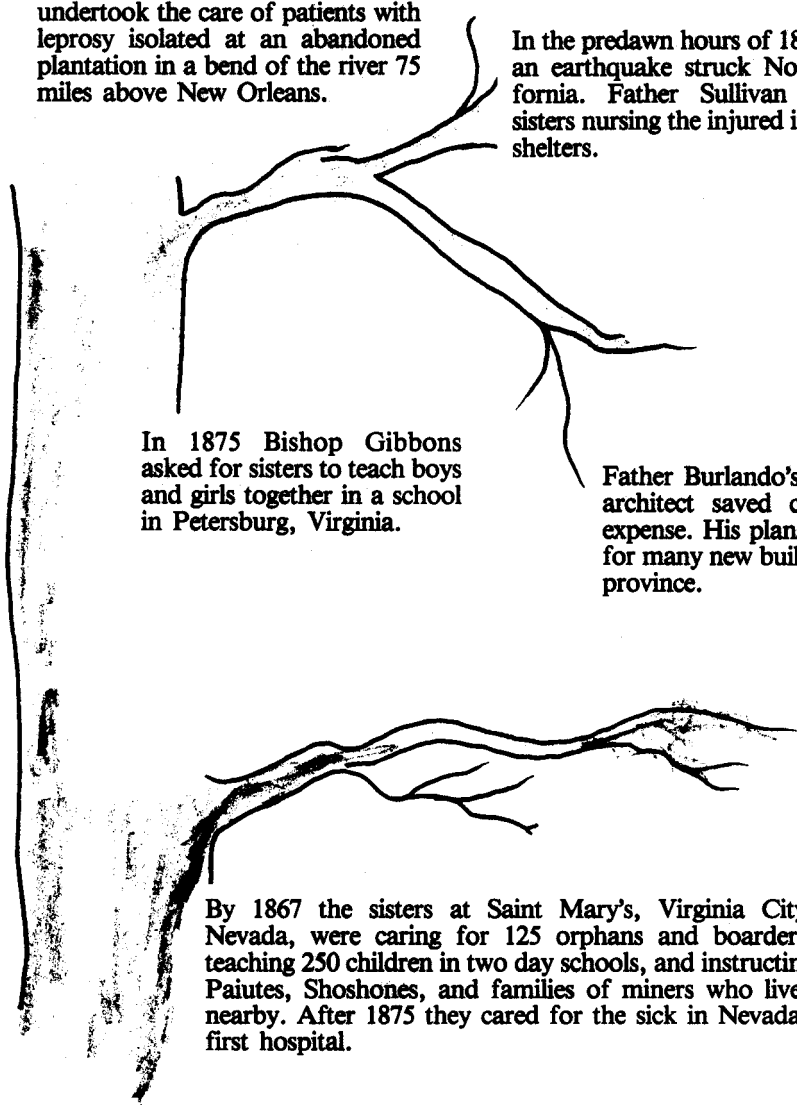
saying that Almighty God has chosen the most humble."³¹ For the next seven years Burlando and Sister Euphemia were to share the leadership of the American province in admirable harmony, ending only with Burlando's death in 1873. Both of them served the province twenty years in the respective leadership roles of director and visitatrix.

During the four war years (1861-1865) sixty-two sisters had died in the province; another ten died in 1866, most of them worn out by the unparalleled demands of their wartime service. Of the eight hundred sisters in the province in 1861, more than one-fourth—possibly as many as one-third—had nursed the wounded. Many who entered during the war were initiated into the service of the sick on the battlefields. The Community, with a generous offering of its resources, had responded to the greatest crisis the young nation had so far faced.

How quickly what had been offered was restored is evident from the annual report sent to Paris 31 December 1866, which shows a total membership in the province of 951 sisters. During the year 55 had entered, 25 had left, 10 had died, 67 had received the habit and been sent on mission. The Community was conducting 22 hospitals, 4 houses of charity, 32 orphanages, 49 schools and one academy—a total of 108 establishments in the United States.³²

The tree of the American Community was burgeoning with new life!





In 1894 the Daughters of Charity undertook the care of patients with leprosy isolated at an abandoned plantation in a bend of the river 75 miles above New Orleans.

In the predawn hours of 18 April 1906, an earthquake struck Northern California. Father Sullivan found the sisters nursing the injured in temporary shelters.

In 1875 Bishop Gibbons asked for sisters to teach boys and girls together in a school in Petersburg, Virginia.

Father Burlando's skill as an architect saved considerable expense. His plans were used for many new buildings in the province.

By 1867 the sisters at Saint Mary's, Virginia City, Nevada, were caring for 125 orphans and boarders, teaching 250 children in two day schools, and instructing Paiutes, Shoshones, and families of miners who lived nearby. After 1875 they cared for the sick in Nevada's first hospital.

5 BEARING FRUIT IN PATIENCE

Sheltering the Distressed

Mother Euphemia Blenkinsop: 1866-1887

For twenty-one years following the Civil War, the role of the visitatrix was ably and warmly filled by Mother Euphemia Blenkinsop. During this time three Vincentians served as provincial directors: Francis Burlando, 1853-1873; Felix Guidry, 1873-1877; and Alexis Mandine, 1877-1892. Each of them guided, supported, made recommendations, and directed the spiritual journey of the province. Nevertheless, it was Mother Euphemia who bore the responsibility for the province, which now extended from New England to California. Her effectiveness in rebuilding, unifying, deepening roots, expanding services and coping with social problems influenced the direction taken by the Community well into the twentieth century.

The first problems to be faced were the direct results of the war: a multitude of sick and disabled, widows and orphans, unemployed and homeless—particularly in the South, which lacked resources to help them; a bitter regionalist spirit which threatened to infiltrate even the Community; and the challenge to adapt, to meet crises with new services in new locales.

Serving in the War-Ravaged South

Reconstruction in the South stagnated because of the punitive policies of radicals in Congress. Experienced leaders were banned from office because of their known links to the Confederacy; government fell into the hands of unscrupulous carpetbaggers. Military occupation and repression led to violence and intimidation, to the masked terror of the Ku Klux Klan.

In Mississippi fifty thousand had died in the war; many of the veterans who returned were amputees, unable to farm the land. Former slaves were for the most part unemployed, untaught, rootless; no funds were available to set up the services they needed. There were ten thousand war orphans; Saint Mary's Home in Natchez was overcrowded.

Conditions were similar in Alabama and Louisiana. At this time when needs were greatest and thousands, both black and white, were unemployed, the sisters had all they could do to feed, clothe and educate the multitude of orphans in the bulging homes under their care. One sister wrote to Burlando that the house was in no condition to shelter so many older girls. He replied that she should make what repairs she could, but give up the idea of replacing the building; all debts must first be paid. This unusual advice from Burlando—who normally encouraged the timid to strike out boldly, relying on the bank of divine Providence—underlines the hopelessness of the South's destitution. The Archdiocese of New Orleans was so deeply in debt that by 1880 it was on the verge of bankruptcy.

From the end of the war until near the turn of the century, the sisters in the South opened only a few schools—no other missions. In Carrollton near New Orleans, Saint Mary's School housed the overflow from the girl's orphanage. Saint Joseph's in Natchez and Saint Vincent's in Mobile separated from the orphanages to allow more room for child care. Saint Vincent's in Whistler, Alabama, and Saint Mary's in Jefferson, Texas, had to be relinquished after five years because of lack of support. Saint Francis School in Natchez, opened in 1890 to educate the black children of Cathedral Parish, lasted less than a year, unable to survive the opposition engendered by the "Jim Crow" temper of the times.

Obviously other, and new, works were needed. Despite heroic efforts to meet the needs of the people, the sisters could only stretch the resources of existing institutions—like Sister Mathilde Comstock who, after teaching all week at Saint Simeon's, New Orleans, offered for black families on the weekends basic and religious education, job training, and help in finding jobs. The lack of resources prevented more than this.

Charity Hospital in the Reconstruction Era

In New Orleans the situation of Charity Hospital—a state institution for the poor, dependent upon appropriations from the Louisiana legislature—was critical indeed. The amount voted for its support in 1867 was only a fraction of the amount needed. When the Freedmen's Hospital for Negroes (the old Marine Hospital) was closed in 1869, the entire burden of the state's sick and homeless fell upon Charity. By 1871 the hospital was \$65,532 in debt. According to Stella O'Connor, historian of Charity Hospital:

There were no funds and no means of obtaining any. The buildings were in a most dilapidated condition, the beds were without mattresses, and the food supply entirely inadequate. Local dealers would no longer honor the hospital's credit. The institution would assuredly have been compelled to close its doors but for the Sisters. In this time of grave crisis they agreed to countersign all bills contracted by the hospital, and the Central House of the Community assumed the responsibility for their payment....¹

In 1874 a medical supply house refused to furnish further medications until its long overdue bill of \$13,000 was paid. For the first eleven months of that year only \$7,500 was received from the state by the hospital... The hospital at this time was operating on the pitifully small budget of thirty-six and a half cents per patient a day.²

The Community faced the difficult question of discontinuing the sisters' services at Charity Hospital, which had become a severe drain on the financial and personnel resources of the province. But Sister Agnes Slavin, who had replaced Sister Regina Smith in charge of Charity,* pleaded for the work to continue with the only argument that holds weight in Vincentian thinking: "The poor are here, and if we leave they will have no one to care for them." The Community continued to support the hospital until the state was again solvent and could resume its responsibility.

**For two brief periods Sister Avellina McDermott held this responsibility.*

Epidemics throughout the South

These decades of destitution in the South were punctuated by recurrent epidemics. The virulent black yellow fever—which had caused fourteen deaths among the sisters in 1853—struck again in September 1867, filling the wards with its victims and exposing the sisters to contagion through their care of the sick and children. New Orleans recorded deaths at the rate of one hundred fifty a day. Within two months, ten sisters had died in New Orleans and two in Mobile. Again in 1878 it raged from July to September, causing the deaths of ten sisters in New Orleans and one in Vicksburg, Mississippi. In response to the bishop's request, sisters had been nursing in several Mississippi cities during the epidemic: Natchez, Port Gibson, Vicksburg, and Yazoo City.

Rebuilding and Expanding Coast to Coast

It was not only the South that needed rebuilding after the war. From California to New England, institutions caring for increasing numbers needed to expand or to replace timeworn buildings. At the same time, requests for new services came from bishops, doctors and citizen groups who promised resources to help make their goals possible. A massive construction campaign was undertaken throughout the province. Burlando, who had considerable skill as an architect, drew the plans for buildings using iron pillars for support, some with the Parisian-style mansard roof. The use of his plans, with many variations, saved considerable expense and gave a sense of familiarity to institutions built at this time. The new administration building at Saint Joseph's in Emmitsburg was designed by him and named for him: the Burlando building.

California

The Market Street building housing the school and orphanage in San Francisco was destroyed by earthquake in 1868, rebuilt, then smothered by factories. In 1873 the sisters sold the property, moved the orphans to a new site overlooking San Francisco Bay, and constructed in 1875 a separate home for infants, the Mount Saint Joseph Infant Asylum. For girls who had formerly attended school

with the orphans, Saint Vincent's School was opened on Mission Street. After 1887 the boys had their own school, Saint Patrick's, also taught by the sisters. By 1893 enrollment in the two schools had climbed to eight hundred. Typing and other commercial subjects were offered in both schools, which were staffed by notable educators: Sisters Mary Vincent Collins, Mary Alice Maginnis, Alexis Kuhn, and Caroline Collins, among others.

Sister Stanislaus Roche, in charge of the Roman Catholic Orphanage after the death of Sister Francis Assisium McEnnis, discontinued keeping boarders. Still the number of girls grew, even as the application of state laws became stricter. Girls fourteen or over, no longer wards of the state, could not be lodged with the younger ones. In 1886 Saint Francis Technical School was opened to prepare them for jobs as dressmakers, seamstresses, housekeepers, shop girls, or in professional laundering and alterations. In order to prepare the girls in San Francisco and later in Santa Barbara as certified laundry operators, Sister Mary Bernard Cissell became California's first female licensed engineer and a member of the engineer's union.

Saint Vincent's Institution in Santa Barbara struggled for survival for many years—at first on the land at Las Cieneguitas four miles from the city, purchased from the government with the help of Judge F. J. Maguire. Here ranching was the main support of the school; but when prolonged drought caused the loss of nearly all their livestock, the sisters resorted to grain and orchard crops. For seventeen years they eked out a meager existence on the ranch; then in 1873 they bought land in town and built a brick school, which burned down before school began. Borrowing money, they built again and expanded their work to include boarding and day schools, an orphanage, and for a short time even a small infirmary. By the turn of the century the orphanage had become their principal work.

Sacred Heart in Hollister, the only Catholic school in San Benito County, was confided to the Daughters of Charity in 1891. The parish stretched for miles around the foothills as far as the New Idria mines forty miles away. The pastor was as generous as he could afford to be, but the sisters drew no salary. Tuition and even board were paid for with potatoes and vegetables left at the door on Sundays. The sisters kept chickens, a cow, and a horse named Diget, which pulled the old buggy for miles as the sisters sought out children to prepare for first Communion, visited poor families, or

made their weekly trips to the county almshouse. The more talented among the sisters taught music and painting for extra fees.

In Los Angeles the hospital moved first to an adobe house near the Plaza, then to a mansion—rich-looking but without water supply—near the railroad grounds. Incorporated in 1869 as the Los Angeles Infirmary, it became a separate mission under Sister Ann Gillen. In 1884 the hospital moved to a six-acre site in Beaudry Park near Sunset Boulevard; here Sister Eugenia Fealy set up the two-year nursing program in 1899. When smallpox struck Los Angeles in 1877 and again in 1886, sisters from the hospital, led by Sister Xavier Schauer, staffed the isolation hospital for all the city's victims of the epidemic. In 1918 the hospital was renamed Saint Vincent's.

The original Los Angeles Charitable Institution continued to house the orphanage for thirty-four years. In 1884 Sister Josephine Leddy, who replaced Sister Scholastica Logsdon as sister servant, purchased property on Boyle Avenue overlooking the city and planned the new building which, in the next sixty-two years, would be home to over nine thousand girls. The house was popularly known as "Boyle Heights."

In San Jose a new house of charity, built in 1889, combined several forms of care. Judge Myles P. O'Connor, a former Saint Louis lawyer who had come west and prospered in gold rush days, donated a two-story brick building in San Jose to be a home for the aged and needy, an orphanage, and a sanitarium or hospital. Sister Severina Brandel's letters describe the delight of the people in having the sisters, the progress of the building at Race and San Carlos Streets, the beauty of the fourteen acres against the backdrop of orchards, golden fields of mustard, the majestic Mount Hamilton to the east and the Santa Cruz range to the west. The south wing of the building housed women; the north wing, men. Above the store room and kitchen were apartments divided for families. The basement contained the engine room, furnace, and laundry.

Judge O'Connor wanted the home to be as self-sufficient as possible. The building had steam and was lighted by gas manufactured on the premises; an artesian well and pump house on the grounds provided water. Nuts, vegetables and fruits were raised in abundance. By September 1889 there were twelve guests, most of them boarders paying their own way. Those with no means of their own were supported by the O'Connors. Doctor J. Underwood

visited daily.

Gradually the purpose of the institution changed from a house of charity to a general hospital. A larger chapel was added in 1892, a school of nursing in 1898, and a surgical annex and X-ray department in 1902, making the San Jose Sanitarium an up-to-date hospital at the turn of the century. Among the last of the boarders living there were the O'Connors themselves, no longer wealthy: the judge blind for the last seven years of his life, and his tiny widow surviving him by seventeen years, lovingly cared for by Sister Aloysia Bowling, one of the pioneers.

Nevada

The sisters at Saint Mary's, Virginia City, were by 1867 caring for 125 boarders (orphans and others) and teaching 250 children in two day schools: Saint Mary's for girls and Saint Joseph's for boys. Among the pupils were the sister, and later a nephew, of Buffalo Bill Cody. New buildings were added in 1867 and 1874.

By 1875 Virginia City had a population of over 75,000. Through the generosity of John Mackay, co-owner of the Consolidated Virginia Mine, the Marie Louise Hospital (named for his wife) was built and confided to the sisters. It was the first hospital in Nevada, with three public wards for fifty patients each and a number of private rooms. Doctor J. Grant was the regular physician, Sister Ann Sebastian Warms the sister servant and administrator. One unusual feature of the hospital was a health insurance program, probably among the earliest in the nation. Over five hundred miners were enrolled, paying one dollar a month toward the support of the hospital—an amount secretly matched by Mackay. Each was guaranteed free hospital care when needed, including bed and board, medicine and surgery, services of the doctor and the sisters. Other miners joined the plan—at one time there were six thousand miners on the Comstock—but when owners of the Justice Mine tried to make it compulsory for all their workers, objections were raised in the press and the owners backed down.

In the fire of 1875 much of Virginia City was destroyed, thousands of families left homeless. For days rescuers searched for survivors; the classrooms and corridors of the school buildings were turned into relief shelters. Mackay and his partner distributed supplies generously and paid the fare of over two thousand who

fled to San Francisco. The city was rebuilt, but the bonanza lasted less than twenty years longer. Mines began to close; by 1894 the population had declined to under three thousand. In 1897 the school and orphanage were closed. The hospital, which had admitted only sixteen patients in the entire year, was sold to Storey County at the end of 1897.

Missouri

The Homestead Act of 1864 offered a settler up to eighty acres near a railroad or one hundred sixty away from it, on condition that he live on the land and farm it for five years. As the Union Pacific pushed its rails to the West Coast, feeder lines grew up along the way, opening new areas for settlement. As the land developed, so did the cities that supplied the farmers. Kansas City developed as a riverport and railroad center, thriving on the livestock trade. Saint Joseph, fifty miles to the north, was the starting point for wagon trains going west as it had been for the Wells Fargo Pony Express.

In 1869 a group of sisters arrived in Saint Joseph to begin a hospital on land donated for that purpose. The next year Bishop John J. Hogan asked them to open a school on the first floor of the hospital building. The school flourished; an academy for girls was added. The hospital, however, remained small and was discontinued in 1872. John Corby donated a block of land at Tenth and Powell to which the school was moved; a new two-story brick building was erected in 1883. In 1891 the school was discontinued and the hospital reopened in its place. Known as the Saint Joseph Corby Hospital, it grew rapidly, doubling its bed capacity within a dozen years, adding pharmacy, operating pavilion, and a school of nursing which became a three-year program in 1898.

Development in Kansas City came later, with a home for boys and, after the turn of the century, an infant home, both begun by groups of Catholic lay women. The sisters were asked to take over both institutions: the Kansas City Boys' Home in 1897 and the Saint Anthony Infant Home in 1909. A small maternity hospital called Saint Vincent's was conducted by the sisters who staffed the infant home.

The population of Saint Louis, which had multiplied tenfold between 1840 and 1860, doubled again by 1870, making it the

fourth largest city in the nation. No new works of the sisters were established in the next decades, but existing ones expanded and relocated. Saint Louis Hospital, begun in 1828 as Missouri's first and only hospital, moved from Fourth Street to a spacious location just east of Grand Avenue, the new city limits. To keep alive the memory of John Mullanphy, its first benefactor, it was renamed Saint Louis Mullanphy Hospital. Among its eminent physicians were Doctor Simon Pollack, an active member of the United States Sanitary Commission during the Civil War, who conducted an eye and ear clinic at the hospital for forty-five years; and Doctor Charles Bosliniere, a pioneer in the use of forceps to save the unborn child, who founded at Mullanphy the first gynecological clinic in America.

Saint Vincent Free School also moved from downtown to Grand Avenue, where it was known as Saint Vincent Seminary and patronized by all levels of society until its closing in 1909. Saint Philomena's, which began as the girls' section of Cathedral Orphanage and continued as the earliest of the technical schools, moved to a large new building in Saint Malachy's Parish. It housed older girls, working and unemployed; over one hundred older orphans; and three schools. These were: the industrial school, Saint Malachy's Parish school for girls, and a select school known as the "Isabella." The latter offered an academy-type education to a wealthier clientele during the twenty years it took to pay off the mortgage on the building. When the westward movement of industry reached Twenty-Ninth Street, this building near Saint Malachy's was sold, and Saint Philomena's moved in 1909 to its final location on Cabanne Avenue.

Other institutions in Saint Louis also moved to better and larger facilities. Saint Ann's Home for Infants and Widows purchased land in 1888, but had no funds to build. A dairy farm was maintained on the land until 1905, when a new building was finally completed. This building housed pregnant girls and a maternity hospital as well as infants and widows.

Saint Mary's Home for Girls had in 1897 two hundred sixty-seven girls in the house on Biddle Street and sixty tots in the cottage nearby. Overcrowding, partially due to an increased number of retarded children—difficult to place and so remaining at the home all their lives—led to increased danger of epidemics. An average of three hundred fifty children "passed through" Saint Mary's each year before being placed in adoptive or foster homes. Those

remaining at age twelve or fourteen were placed in a home or a job, or moved to Saint Philomena's to be made proficient as seamstresses or dressmakers. After 1870 a contract was signed between the institution and the family wishing to hire an adolescent girl as a live-in worker. The family guaranteed that the girl would receive food and clothing, good treatment, a Catholic education, and an outright gift of two hundred dollars when she reached eighteen years of age. The pastor of the parish recommended the family and was a witness to the contract. If an inspector sent from Saint Mary's found that the agreement was not being kept, the family lost all rights and the girl returned to Saint Mary's. Overcrowding at the home was greatly relieved by the move in 1900 to a large modern building on nine acres of land near Calvary Cemetery, donated by Father J. Hayes.

Saint Vincent's Institution for psychiatric care had expanded considerably in its Soulard location, adding another story and a wing for inebriates. During the Civil War the hospital absorbed sixty-seven patients from the state asylum at Fulton, temporarily closed. By the 1880s the choice of a new site was imperative. Sister Magdalen Malone selected a large farm in Saint Louis County; here a castle-like building was completed and occupied in 1895. Shortly after the move was completed, the vacated building in Soulard was destroyed completely by a tornado.

Damaged severely in the same tornado was the House of the Guardian Angel, where orphan and half-orphan girls were sheltered and taught industrial arts. The building was repaired and continued in use for another fifty years.

In 1907 sisters were sent to the parish school in Perryville, Missouri, site of the first Vincentian establishment in the United States. At first named for Felix de Andreis, leader of the Vincen-tians who came from Rome in 1818, the school was soon renamed Saint Vincent's.

Iowa

When in 1867 the sisters opened Saint Vincent's School in Keokuk, a Mississippi river town, Iowa was added to the number of states served by the Daughters of Charity. The school was for girls, but in 1874 a class for small boys was added. Saint Peter's Academy for girls developed; by the turn of the century it had

become a coeducational parish high school and was housed in a new building. Now known as Cardinal Stritch High School, it is the oldest permanent educational institution in the Davenport Diocese and the second oldest in the Northwest Territory.

Indiana

With expanding farm populations in Illinois and Indiana, boom times came to river cities along the Ohio and Wabash Rivers. By 1872 Evansville, Indiana, had a population of thirty thousand. Father Deydier's dream of bringing Sisters of Charity to Evansville was realized when Sister Marie Voelker and her companions arrived in the summer of 1872 to open Saint Mary's Hospital. This was the only hospital within a radius of one hundred miles. The sisters purchased the former marine hospital for rivermen; patients began to arrive immediately. In 1893 a new Saint Mary's was built in a better location; here Indiana's first school of nursing opened three years later.

Saint Vincent's Infirmary in Indianapolis was commenced in 1881 at the request of Bishop Silas M. Chatard. The hospital's first patients were an opium addict and an alcoholic. Since the three-story brick hospital had no furnace and no servants, the sisters carried coal up and ashes down the three flights of stairs, did the laundry, cooking and serving of meals, and other labor. A new building completed in 1889 was destroyed by fire in 1904; so the old one had to serve until it could be replaced in 1913. The school of nursing began in 1897.

Illinois

Chicago developed rapidly from a fort to a town to a flourishing rail-and industrial center. In 1861 the Daughters of Charity had opened their first mission in the city, the School of the Holy Name in Cathedral Parish. During the Civil War the school closed while the sisters served in ambulances and military hospitals, but after the war they returned to teach. In 1867 the Community accepted Saint Columba's School and opened the House of Providence to those who needed shelter: mothers with infants, the lonely aged, the unemployed, an assortment of afflicted humanity. Religious

instruction and home visiting in Cathedral Parish were part of the apostolate.

Bishop James Duggan had asked the sisters to begin a hospital for the north side of the city; but in his illness he seemed to have forgotten his request and his promise of aid. "Rent a house and make a beginning," Burlando told Sister Walburga Gehring. "You must make a beginning, even if you will be obliged to break it up."³ There was much opposition, but the sisters finally rented an old summer residence near what is now Diversey and Clark for fifty dollars a month. They renovated, put in beds for thirty patients, and opened Providence Hospital 30 June 1869. Two years later they purchased a lot on Garfield Avenue and began construction of a three-story hospital with two wings to be added later, at a total cost of fifty thousand dollars. The name was changed to Saint Joseph's Hospital.

Meanwhile the Community had accepted another school in Chicago, Saint Patrick's. It had been in session three weeks when there occurred the great fire which was to burn out the heart of Chicago, leaving at least ninety thousand homeless.

The fire which began Sunday evening in Pat O'Leary's barn spread rapidly, generating such heat that it built up its own seventy-mile-an-hour winds. By midnight the fire had leaped the river, exploding kerosene tank cars in the railroad yards, attacking the Gas and Light Works and the waterworks. By the time the rains came Monday night, over two thousand acres of the city were destroyed. Loss in assets was estimated to be two hundred million dollars; the death count is unknown to this day. Pestilence attacked the homeless survivors, already weakened by shock, hunger and exposure.

Holy Name Cathedral and School and the House of Providence, all in the direct path of the flames, were totally destroyed. Sister Mary McCarthy was given the Blessed Sacrament from the Cathedral to carry to safety. Some of the sisters formed a procession with residents of the house and school, reciting the rosary as they walked toward the hospital two miles away. At the hospital the sisters gave food and drink to hundreds of terrified refugees until their supplies were gone. The fearful crowd fled on; but the wind changed, rain fell, and the hospital was spared.

The Relief Committee gladly sent provisions and fuel to the old hospital and the finished part of the new, where the sisters had set up shelters for the homeless. As epidemic followed privation, the six

hospital sisters were divided, three staffing Saint Joseph's, three a barracks hospital two miles away launched by the Relief Committee.

Saint Joseph's had several famous doctors on its staff, including Alexis Carrel and Nicholas Senn. In 1884 the hospital added a clinic and outpatient department, and in 1893 a school of nursing which was for many years the principal training center for hospital sisters of the Community in the Midwest.

In the summer of 1891, Saint Vincent's Infant Asylum was opened in a rented house; adoptions began the following year. By 1898 the institution, housed in a four-story building on LaSalle and Superior Streets, included the infant asylum, a maternity hospital open to the general public as well as to single mothers, an orphanage for preschool children, and the work of visiting the poor and sick in their homes.

Holy Name School and the House of Providence were never reopened by the Daughters of Charity after the fire, but Saint Columba's continued to serve Chicago girls until 1907. High school classes were introduced there in 1902. Saint Patrick's also added grades nine and ten, specializing before 1910 in business subjects, instrumental music, and Irish history and literature.

Wisconsin

The new Saint Mary's Hospital in Milwaukee, overlooking Lake Michigan at North Point, had steam heat—a marvel to the sisters, who had nicknamed their previous building "The Crystal Palace" because of the frost and icicles which adorned its walls and windows in damp weather. The steam heat apparatus was the invention of a blind resident of the hospital, James Judge, who felt his way with his cane to get accurate dimensions, then whittled wooden models to be cast in metal. The system cost \$3500 and was so efficient and economical that it was later recommended for state institutions.

With no endowments and few donations, the hospital relied for support on government payments for its care of seamen. Other patients paid what they could; those who could not were called by the sisters "representatives of God." Deficits were common. In 1878, for example, the income from care of marine patients (at the rate of fifty cents per patient day) was \$3731.75. Income from paying

patients was \$2618.99. The deficit for the year was \$1542.45.⁴

In 1894 a nurses' training school was begun, and in 1899 the first medical/surgical staff prepared the hospital for a more sophisticated type of patient care. A new building was needed, but Sister Dolores Gillespie, administrator from 1904 to 1927, could not get a loan. Saint Mary's was considered a poor risk because it carried too many charity patients.

Across the street from the hospital Saint Vincent's Infant Asylum was begun in 1877 to care for mothers, newborn infants, foundlings, and dependent children up to the age of five. Two years later Saint Rose's Orphanage separated from Saint John's School and moved into a new building on North Point. In the additional space at Saint John's a high school was added, one grade at a time.

Michigan

Michigan Retreat for psychiatric patients moved in 1870 from Detroit to Dearborn, where it was renamed Saint Joseph's Retreat. Within the next decade three more buildings were added.

The new House of Providence in Detroit took over the care of destitute mothers and abandoned infants formerly shared between Saint Mary's Hospital and Saint Vincent's Orphanage. Providence also offered maternity care and some general hospital services to the public. When a new Providence was built in 1909, almost two hundred infants and preschool children were still being cared for there.

Saginaw, Michigan, was the site of a new mission accepted by the sisters in 1874. In the former Monitor Hotel they opened Saint Mary's Hospital, which was to become well-known among the lumberjacks and mill hands of northwest Michigan. Having undertaken the work, the sisters also took the responsibility of finding the means to support it. They visited lumber camps to sell five dollar tickets entitling the workers to total hospital care, including medicine and surgery. This health insurance, inaugurated in 1874 and among the first in the nation, was the main support of the hospital, enabling it to move to a better location in 1876.

In 1875 the Community accepted the care of Saint Vincent's Orphan Home in Saginaw, which had previously been conducted by Father Francis Van der Bom and the ladies of the parish. A new

building was constructed in 1877. Destroyed by fire, it was rebuilt and the work continued for more than fifty years.

West Virginia

In 1883 the sisters returned to Martinsburg in the new state of West Virginia to open Saint Joseph's School. Landowners were no longer rich and many families were in real need. Martinsburg became a strong Catholic center in an unchurched region of Appalachia.

Virginia

After the Civil War Saint Vincent's Hospital in Norfolk, housed in the Behan Mansion, was in dire need of repair and expansion. Between 1870 and 1881 three separate additions enlarged the facility. Damaged by fire, it was again rebuilt and modernized with surgical, X-ray, laboratory and pharmaceutical equipment. Later known as DePaul, it was for many years the only Catholic hospital in Virginia.

In Richmond Bishop John McGill wished an improved school for Saint Patrick's Parish. In 1867 Sister Innocent Cunningham opened a girls' school and academy in a rented house. The first year one hundred fifty girls attended. In 1868 the sisters purchased a nearby lot where a larger school was built to accommodate boys and girls in the parish school as well as the academy for older girls.

The pattern of Catholic education until well after the Civil War had called for separate schools for boys and girls, with the girls taught by sisters or laywomen and the boys by priests, brothers or laymen. In the spring of 1875 Bishop James Gibbons, who had succeeded McGill as Bishop of Richmond, made a trip to Emmitsburg to ask for sisters to teach in a parish school in Petersburg, Virginia. Because the parish was too small to support two schools, he asked Mother Euphemia to join him in an experiment of confiding both boys and girls to the sisters in the same parish school. The Council agreed; sisters were sent in 1876. The school, named Saint Joseph's, opened with ninety children, thirty-five of them boys. When decades later a name change was sought for the high school, it was appropriately named Gibbons High

School.

Twice more Gibbons visited Emmitsburg asking for sisters to staff parochial schools. By the end of the century the Daughters of Charity were conducting eight schools in Virginia, well in advance of public school development in the state at the time. Where public schools had a five-and-a-half-month school year, the sisters' schools had a nine-to-ten-month year. Secondary education was not, for the most part, a concern of the public schools until the twentieth century, while the four academies—Saint Joseph's and Saint Patrick's in Richmond, Holy Cross in Lynchburg, and Saint Joseph's in Portsmouth—offered a complete secondary course, emphasizing both cultural and practical subjects. Saint Joseph's in Petersburg and Saint Francis in Staunton offered a partial high school course.⁵

The experiment suggested by Gibbons had been extended. Both Petersburg and Lynchburg parish schools had boys and girls taught by the sisters in the same school but in separate classrooms, while at Saint Francis School in Staunton boys and girls were taught in the same classroom by the same teacher.

Maryland

In 1877 Gibbons was appointed coadjutor archbishop of Baltimore with the right of succession. Within a year he presided at the burial of his predecessor, Archbishop James Roosevelt Bayley, in the mortuary chapel at Emmitsburg built for Bayley's aunt, Elizabeth Seton. A few months later Gibbons officiated at the obsequies of Mother Seton's first biographer, Charles I. White, pastor of Saint Matthew's Church in Washington, who had baptized the infant Gibbons in Baltimore Cathedral forty-two years earlier.

As archbishop of Baltimore, Gibbons continued his interest in the concerns of the Daughters of Charity. In 1889 the sisters and children moved from the old Saint Mary's Asylum to a new facility in Roland Park. For boys who had outgrown the preschool program of Saint Vincent's Asylum, the sisters staffed Saint Vincent's Home from 1899 to 1911.

Baltimore was the scene of the Third Plenary Council in 1884. In preparing the agenda for the Council, Gibbons sought to extend to all dioceses the high standards of Catholic education that had been achieved in a few. The topics ranged from the establishment

of a national Catholic university (achieved in Washington, D.C. in 1889) to an education suitable for the children of immigrants. Legislation of the Council required the building of elementary schools in all parishes, placing the onus for their support upon pastors and parishioners rather than religious communities. While preservation of faith and morals was a primary purpose of the Catholic school, excellence in teaching was also to be pursued. Teacher preparation was stressed. Competent diocesan boards were to be set up to test and certify teachers, supervise curricula and textbook selection, maintain standards of excellence. A series of Baltimore Catechisms resulted from the Council, forming a standard for religious instruction in the parish school, in classes for public school children, or in the home.

The urgency for Catholic schools on the parish level marks the language of the pastoral letter accompanying the decrees of the Council:

No parish is complete till it has schools adequate to the needs of its children, and the pastor and people of such a parish will feel that they have not accomplished their entire duty until the want is supplied.⁶

In his own archdiocese of Baltimore, Gibbons continued to appeal to the Daughters of Charity for educational leadership. In 1882 Saint Martin's Academy separated from Saint Joseph's House of Industry to become Saint Martin's parish school. In Saint John's Parish in 1903, and again at Immaculate Conception in 1907, the sisters took over the education of the parish boys in classes separate from the girls.

Gibbons encouraged the relocation of Mother Seton's original free school to Saint Vincent's Hall in the town of Emmitsburg, where it became the parish school. It soon expanded to include boys; a school for black children was added in 1886. In 1903 the sisters accepted another coeducational parish school, Saint Anthony's, in the mountains not far from Emmitsburg.

The enrollment at Saint Joseph's Academy in Emmitsburg was considerably reduced by the removal of the day school into town. Father Mandine, as director of the province, brought to Archbishop Gibbons the concern of the Council with regard to the academy, and their thoughts about closing it. Gibbons responded with a strong request to keep the academy open and make efforts to

increase the enrollment.* The course of studies offered was far in advance of most curricula, including science, mathematics, philosophy and several languages: Latin, French, Spanish, Italian and German. Many gifted teachers were on the faculty: Sister Lucia May in the music department; Sister Victorine Petry who taught German, French and Spanish for twenty-eight years;** and Sister Felix McQuaid, an excellent Greek and Latin scholar whom Father John McCaffrey, president of Mount Saint Mary's, declared to be "the most brilliantly intellectual woman in the United States."

Sister Francis Lawler, directress of the academy, was the guiding spirit in the evolution from academy to college. Already students were taking advanced courses. The distinction between the four-year secondary course and a more advanced college curriculum was made, and in 1902 the charter which had given the academy legal existence in 1816 was amended, granting Saint Joseph's the power to conduct higher education for women and to confer degrees. Thus it became one of the first handful of Catholic four-year liberal arts colleges for women in the United States. Sister Francis Lawler became the college's first academic dean, while remaining directress of the academy. Scholarships were offered so discreetly that teachers never knew which of their students paid tuition. Enrollment gradually increased; boarders came from fifteen states as far west as California. Two decades after the college began conferring degrees, it became necessary to construct two residence halls.

Washington, D.C.

What was probably the first instance of a Congressional appropriation to help build a Catholic hospital occurred in Washington, D.C., just after the Civil War. Providence Hospital, as the only health care institution for civilians in the District of Columbia, had a unique relationship with the federal government. During the war Congress had appropriated six thousand dollars a year "for the support, care and medical treatment of forty transient paupers, medical and surgical patients." After the war the funding was

**In 1890 there were only fifty-one students. With the founding of the alumnae association in 1897, the picture began to change.*

***Sister Victorine was born in Rhenish Prussia and educated in Lorraine.*

renewed, the annual appropriation raised to twelve thousand dollars, the number of indigent patients to be cared for increased from forty to sixty, and an additional thirty thousand granted for an addition to the building. In 1868 another thirty thousand dollars was appropriated for the completion of the hospital building.

These authorized expenditures were under the direction of the Surgeon General of the Army, who made periodic reports to the Congressional Committee on Appropriations. In 1870 Surgeon General Joseph K. Barnes wrote:

I have every reason to be satisfied with the manner in which their contract with the government has been fulfilled by the Sisters in charge of Providence Hospital, and there is no similar institution in this city through which this most necessary and useful appropriation could be made to meet the intentions of Congress.⁷

In 1897 when it was proposed to erect an isolation building on the hospital grounds, some questioned funding services given in a Catholic hospital. Surgeon General George M. Sternberg testified before a joint committee of Congress, pointing out that the sisters and staff physicians cared for the indigent gratuitously, and that Providence usually hospitalized 110 to 140 destitute patients per month—considerably more than the 95 stipulated by Congress.

I will say in the first place that it amounts to 54 cents a day for patients cared for under this contract. That is all the government is paying, and I do not believe that there is another hospital in the District that can care for them at that cost.⁸

Congress authorized the funds, but the appropriation was challenged on the grounds of violating the First Amendment. The matter reached the Supreme Court as the case of *Bradfield v. Roberts*. The Court ruled that Providence was a charitable corporation fulfilling its purpose; religious affiliation of the incorporators or the auspices under which the hospital is conducted “are wholly immaterial. . . All that can be said of the corporation itself is that it has been incorporated by an Act of Congress and for its legal powers that act must be exclusively referred to.” According to its charter the hospital cared for the sick and injured without regard to race, color, or creed.⁹ This case proved to be a turning point, influencing subsequent appropriations made by Congress in favor of hospitals staffed by religious.

The isolation building was built in 1899, and a nurses' home and school added two years later with government help. The school of nursing, established in 1894 and extended to a three-year program in 1895, became a recognized leader in the education of nurses, including male nurses after 1909. Medical students from Georgetown and Columbia Universities observed operations in the surgical amphitheater, including bloodless surgery introduced in 1902 by Doctor Adolph Lorenz of Vienna. An outpatient department opened in 1904, a department of social service in 1907, and a day nursery in 1909. This day nursery served a dual purpose: to care for children of working mothers, and to provide a field of observation of the well child for medical and nursing students.

Providence also cared for sick and injured merchant seamen from the ports of Alexandria and Georgetown; these were sent by the Collector of the Ports under the care of surgeons of the Marine Hospital Service. When the United States Public Health Service evolved from the Marine Service, care at Providence under government contract was extended to all government employees with service-connected injuries or illnesses.

In 1903 the sisters were requested to serve another hospital in Washington—the United States Soldiers' Home and Hospital. Seven sisters were sent to replace the student nurses who had been caring for the veterans. This was the only military hospital staffed by the Daughters of Charity in peacetime.

Other apostolates in the city of Washington continued to develop. Immaculate Conception School, opened in 1865, had an addition built in 1886. By 1902 a four-year high school had developed.

Saint Ann's Infant Home acquired a summer house in Berwyn, Maryland. Saint Vincent's Orphanage moved to Edgewood, near Catholic University. Saint Rose's Asylum was an 1872 outgrowth of the dressmaking class begun in the orphanage in 1868. When Saint Vincent's moved, Saint Rose's continued in the old location, developing a program geared to prepare girls to be self-supporting and independent, and above all, strong in faith and Christian values. Saint Rose's also acquired a summer home, this one in Ocean City, Maryland; but it was sold in 1908 to finance a new Saint Rose's in the city. This was near the Apostolic Delegation, which provided chaplains for the school.

As the ready-to-wear clothing industry developed, it caused the gradual phasing out of industrial schools in the early twentieth

century. Some of the buildings continued to serve as homes for working girls. For the most part, the thrust to provide job training for women took two new trends beginning for the Daughters of Charity in the 1890s: schools of nursing in the hospitals, and commercial classes in the high schools. Saint Rose's in Washington had a longer and more influential existence than technical schools in other parts of the country, largely because of the vision of those sisters who planned its curriculum, which combined industrial and homemaking arts with commercial and standard academic high school subjects.

Pennsylvania

Saint Joseph's Orphanage at Seventh and Spruce in Philadelphia was the oldest Catholic child-care institution in the United States. In 1882 a summer home was purchased in Germantown; by 1892 both houses were filled to capacity year round. A new building was erected on the Germantown property and named Gonzaga Memorial Home, in honor of Sister Gonzaga Grace, who had given sixty-seven years of service to the children of Philadelphia. In 1898 it became a separate institution supplementing Saint Joseph's at Seventh and Spruce.

Saint Vincent's Home was started at mid-century to handle the overflow from Saint Joseph's. Both institutions were soon filled beyond capacity in spite of numerous additions; both were in industrialized areas. To relieve the situation, the infants from Saint Vincent's were moved in 1885 to the summer home in Paschalville; it became a separate institution known as the House of the Guardian Angel. As a maternity hospital developed, the name was changed to Saint Vincent's Hospital for Women and Children. Services were offered to the general public as well as to dependent mothers. By the turn of the century the Paschalville building proved inadequate; Sister Mary Joseph O'Brien dreamed of buying the property of the asylum for the blind, but had no money for such a purchase. Archbishop Patrick J. Ryan was aware of her hopes. When he received funds totaling one hundred fifty thousand dollars on the occasion of his jubilee in 1903, he bought the building at Twentieth and Race, financing renovations and improvements as well. The residence served for another generation, housing as many as six hundred children at a time.

For some time the bishops had been opposing the placement of Catholic children in non-sectarian houses of refuge or in non-Catholic homes. After 1890 the Saint Vincent de Paul Society in major cities became involved in this effort. The numbers of children in Catholic orphanages swelled as Catholic children formerly in other institutions were transferred to the care of the archdiocese. Juvenile courts after 1900 were established in the larger cities. Saint Vincent de Paul men kept in contact with the courts to make sure the Catholic homes were receiving the Catholic children. Ladies of Charity in Philadelphia and other cities not only assisted in the orphanages, but also were involved in aftercare for children discharged from the institutions, visiting them and evaluating the conditions under which they lived, and reporting to the sisters in charge of the homes.

The Ladies of Charity were also concerned with the day nursery which opened in 1903 at Saint Vincent's Asylum. The work grew; eventually it outgrew the space allotted, and became Cathedral Day Nursery.

Mrs. Catherine Medary left a legacy for a home in Reading, Pennsylvania, to remove Catholic girls from the poorhouse. In 1872 twelve children were gathered into Saint Catherine's Asylum, to which a new building was added in 1874, and a new wing just three years later.

Two schools in rural Pennsylvania, just over the state line from Emmitsburg, were accepted at this time: Saint Francis Xavier School in Gettysburg (1899) and Saint Aloysius School in Littlestown (1901). Both were transferred to the Sisters of Mercy in 1920.

Massachusetts

Two schools commenced in Massachusetts in this era were too far from Catholic population centers to be financially viable. Saint Mary's in Dedham began in 1866; Saint Mary's in Franklin in 1893. Both struggled for about twelve years before the sisters were withdrawn.

Saint Peter's House in Lowell, where textile mills were drawing immigrant workers, began in 1865 as a parish center offering Sunday classes, visits to the sick, and evening education for factory girls. An orphanage, started in 1870, was closed by the new pastor

in 1887.

Meanwhile, in 1867 five sisters had opened Saint John's Hospital in Lowell. The new building erected the following year was enlarged twice, and a school of nursing added in 1892.

Carney Hospital, founded in South Boston in 1863, added an ophthalmic department in 1869, famous for its work on color blindness. Doctor Hasket Derby, author of *The Modern Operation for Cataract*, was the consulting surgeon. An outpatient department opened in 1877; the fee was ten cents a visit. In 1882 the first abdominal surgery in Boston, an ovariectomy, was performed at Carney; in 1891 the city's first skin clinic was opened. The school of nursing, begun in 1892, was the first Catholic training school in New England.

The maternity and infant care wing of Carney had been incorporated in 1868 as Saint Ann's Infant and Lying-In Hospital. In 1874 it was removed to Dorchester, where it functioned as a founding home, maternity hospital, and shelter for dependent mothers under the auspices of the Saint Vincent de Paul Society. The name was changed to Saint Mary's Home and Saint Margaret's Hospital. The sisters withdrew in 1890, but returned three years later at the request of the board of trustees. In 1905 a day nursery was added to care for the children of working mothers.

In 1907 another day nursery—named "Columbus" to honor the Knights of Columbus who served on its board—was opened in the vicinity of Carney Hospital. A social service department served the needs of the neighborhood families. From these beginnings Laboure Center developed.

The Home for Destitute Catholic Children, founded in 1866 to care for children orphaned by cholera and the war, moved in 1871 to larger quarters on Harrison Avenue. The home was enlarged twice and was always crowded.

In 1902 Archbishop John J. Williams of Boston set up the Catholic Charitable Bureau to cooperate with state authorities in finding Catholic homes for Catholic children. One of the first of its kind, the bureau included family welfare work on a small scale and led to a diocesan childplacing program.

New York

The concern of the bishops of northern and western New York

for the care of immigrant children influenced the Daughters of Charity to take on six additional child-care institutions during the last decades of the nineteenth century.

In Albany six sisters took over Saint Joseph School, separated from Saint Vincent Asylum. An industrial school was begun after the Civil War and flourished until 1911. In 1886 during an epidemic of measles, sick children from Saint Vincent's Asylum were isolated in the old Schuyler Mansion. In 1889 this became a separate institution, known first as Saint Francis de Sales Infant Asylum, later as Saint Catherine's Infant Home. In 1880 a sister was assigned to visit the poor; the Saint Vincent de Paul Society paid her board at the orphanage.

Across the river in Troy, the parish school was separated from Saint Vincent's Asylum in 1872. Classes continued to be taught at the orphanage. Some of the Community's best educators were assigned to teach in child-care institutions in New York at this time in order to bring their schools up to the New York Regents' Standards. The orphan, having no one else on whom to depend for decision-making or support, had the most need of a good education.

In Utica in 1895 the sisters took charge of Saint Joseph's Infant Home, already organized by a group of ladies, and began a two-year nursing course there.

In Buffalo an emergency hospital was established in 1901 as a branch of Sisters Hospital, to extend crisis services to other parts of the city. The school of nursing, begun in 1889, became a part of the Emergency Hospital. Saint Vincent's Orphanage moved to larger quarters; a technical school for older orphans was opened as a separate mission.

The former poor house in Syracuse was purchased by the Saint Vincent de Paul Society in 1872 as a home for orphaned and dependent boys. Sister Francis DeSales Mingos kept the boys busy with baseball, hikes, berrying, nutting and other activities, in addition to school work. On the sixty-acre farm they learned about crops and farm animals. In 1899 she organized a drum and bugle corps with donated instruments. The boy who led the band followed parades in the city and came home whistling tunes, which a blind resident then picked out on the piano. The corps learned about forty catchy pieces this way. A new building acquired in 1890 included a nursery for two-to six year olds. Destroyed by fire in 1907, it was rebuilt in 1910.

In 1900 the sisters assumed charge of Saint Mary's Infant Asylum, Syracuse, then in its ninth year of service. A public maternity hospital and shelter for infants and mothers followed. From 1906 to 1913 a day nursery was housed there.

Saint Mary's Hospital in Rochester, New York, was destroyed by fire in 1891, but all three hundred patients were evacuated safely. To determine if funds could be raised to rebuild, the sisters called a meeting. Those present gave more than seven hundred dollars and went out to solicit from others. Before the year's end the hospital was rebuilt. In 1892 a nurses' training school began. The first six students graduated after two years, but the course soon became a three-year program, certified under the Nurse Practice Act in 1905. In 1898 a ten-room operating pavilion was erected; a year later, an isolation pavilion.

The outpatient department, incorporated in 1870 as Saint Mary's Dispensary, continued to function as an extension of the hospital, sharing in all the technological advances available at Saint Mary's. These were impressive: in 1896—one year after Roentgen discovered X-rays—Saint Mary's Clinic offered X-ray services to patients. In 1902 a newer X-ray machine was purchased by the medical staff. The radiologist explained:

We are now able to assist the surgeons in all their cases of fractures and bone diseases, to treat malignant conditions from our medical wards, and to aid in the diagnosis of many abnormal conditions of the softer parts.¹⁰

The X-ray machine truly was used to treat malignant conditions. In May 1902 Sister Anacaria Hoey, suffering from a cancer of the mouth and tongue so severely enlarged that she was unable to eat or even to receive the Eucharist, was sent from Emmitsburg to stay with the sisters in Rochester and receive X-ray treatments. Her biographer relates that the cancer responded to treatment, actually shrinking in size; but Sister Anacaria, still unable to eat, died before the course of treatment was completed.

Strengthening the Bonds of Unity

The first visit of a superior to the West occurred in 1875 when Sister Euphemia made a visitation of each of the missions of California and Nevada, met with bishops and pastors, and visited with

sisters individually. This journey was her opportunity to know the Western sisters, share their concerns, observe conditions of the apostolates, appreciate the work being accomplished, and settle some difficulties. In the next few years many sisters who had made their seminary in the West were missioned East and South, while those who had been too long in North or South were sent to other parts of the country. This deliberate blending preserved the sisters from the contagion of regional bitterness so rampant in the nation at that time, while reminding them of Saint Vincent's teaching that a Daughter of Charity is not for this place or that, but for wherever the will of God calls her.

During this journey Sister Euphemia officially welcomed into the province seventy-five Daughters of Charity from Mexico, exiled in 1875 by the more stringent local application of the anti-Catholic measures which had been written decades previously into the Mexican Constitution. A few came through New Orleans, but the majority arrived in California, possessing only the clothes they wore. Some went immediately to missions in Latin America—at least eight or ten to Peru, and two groups to Panama. Many were incorporated into the province and served with sisters of the United States in Emmitsburg and on California missions for a number of years. To the English-speaking sisters their companionship was enriching and challenging. To live with sisters who had endured persecution, who were accustomed to poverty and deprivation, gave the Americans an appreciation of their own privileges and a new understanding of how demanding the vows of a Daughter of Charity could be in other parts of the world. The painful joy of missionary departures was a new experience for companions who said good-bye to groups of sisters leaving for Panama in 1879, 1882, 1883; for Guayaquil, Ecuador, in 1880; and for San Salvador in 1882. The Mexican sisters had so long been a part of the province that bonds of affection were strengthened and the missionary zeal inherent in the Vincentian spirit enkindled. The universality of the Community was challenging the American Daughters to look beyond the shores of the United States.

The unity of the Community was important to Sister Euphemia. Also dear to her were its American roots. She requested that Sister Juliana Chatard spend some time in the seminary in Paris so as to learn her duties as directress of the seminary in the United States. Sister Alix Merceret was sent in 1867 to serve as American secretary in Paris, a service she rendered until her death in 1926. Sister

Euphemia enlarged the print shop at Saint Joseph's, which fulfilled Samuel Cooper's dream of providing a workshop to employ natives of Emmitsburg, while supplying the sisters of the United States with translations of Community biographies, conferences and letters—all the spiritual helps available to their sisters in Europe.

With Father Burlando Sister Euphemia encouraged the older sisters to write their memories of service during the Civil War and of pioneer days on the missions; others were to record memories of sisters who had lived in Mother Seton's time. She restored Mother Seton's White House, previously used as an orphanage and later as an emergency shelter; again it became a classroom—this time for domestic economy.

The secretariat in these years was the charge of Sister Marie Louise Caulfield, sent to the Community from New Orleans by Sister Regina Smith and received by Mother Rose White. After teaching in the Academy until 1850, she was sent as secretary to Paris to learn the work of the general secretariat; the year 1850 saw the union of the American Community with France (of which she compiled the first history). Sister Marie Louise returned in 1851 bringing models of Community registers kept at the Motherhouse. For fifty years (1844-1895) she served as provincial secretary. One of her assistants, Sister Martha Daddisman, had come as a student to Emmitsburg in 1811 and in 1814 entered the Community, almost seven years before the death of Mother Seton. After serving in several missions Sister Martha returned to Emmitsburg in 1857, and for thirty years helped in the secretariate, making copies of letters and documents, documenting from her accurate memory the store of Community tradition with tales or anecdotes of early days in the Valley.

After celebrating Mass at Saint Joseph's 3 August 1882, Archbishop Gibbons visited with the Community. Speaking of Mother Seton, he told the sisters he would like to introduce her Cause for canonization, and described the steps that would have to be taken to prepare for this. Her letters, journals, notebooks and many of the items she had used had already been carefully preserved at Emmitsburg as Community treasures. In the years following Gibbons' suggestion, the sisters of the secretariat collected these writings, and those of Bishop Simon Gabriel Bruté, her spiritual friend and confidant, into two small volumes printed in 1885 and 1886 for distribution within the Community. Charles I. White's biography of Mother Seton was already available to the sisters on

the missions. The publication of these pocket volumes made the Seton writings, as well as the letters and instructions of Bruté, accessible to all.

New Hope for a New Century

Mother Mariana Flynn 1877-1901

Mother Margaret O'Keefe 1901-1921

After the death of Mother Euphemia in 1877, Mother Mariana Flynn was chosen visitatrix. She directed the province until her death in 1901, when she was succeeded by Mother Margaret O'Keefe. The Vincentians who served as directors of the province during these years were: Alexis Mandine, 1877-1892; Sylvester Haire, 1892-1894; Robert A. Lennon, 1894-1907; and James J. Sullivan, 1907-1910.

Mother Mariana brought to her role a strong awareness of the need for professional preparation for the sisters; a concern for women who had to support themselves and their families; and a keen missionary zeal to make God and his Church known. During the Civil War in Richmond she had witnessed the effectiveness of hospital work in breaking down prejudice and opening paths to evangelization.

Sister Margaret was directress of the seminary under Mother Mariana, and succeeded her in 1901. During her early years in office Mother Margaret carried out many of the policies initiated by her predecessor.

Upgrading the Education of the Sisters

The preparation of sisters for their apostolic duties—according to prevailing practice—had consisted of basic education (obtained at Saint Joseph's Academy for sisters who had come without it) followed by on-the-job training in partnership with an experienced sister. By 1890, however, such apprenticeship was no longer sufficient. In the field of education New York was leading the way in requiring both teachers and students to pass the Board of Regents' examinations. Unless the sisters were sufficiently prepared, their role of teaching would have to be turned over to others.

The hospital field also had changed. Since 1865 when Joseph Lister introduced antiseptics, great advances had been made in surgery. The 1890s marked a real turning point in medical history. Most hospitals housed up-to-date operating theatres, well-equipped X-ray, pharmacy, laboratory and emergency departments. A different kind of nursing education was needed to prepare professionals for the modern hospital.

Summer Normal Schools

As early as 1818, records show, a normal school had been set up in Saint Joseph's Academy, Emmitsburg, to prepare sisters. They were freed to study by the hiring of lay help to do the laundry.

In 1886 Mother Mariana initiated a series of summer normal sessions, bringing back sisters from the missions for intensive study, to learn methods as well as content. At first these were non-credit courses, the emphasis on knowledge rather than certification or degrees. Subjects taught in the first session included elocution, stenography, penmanship, grammar, model drawing, geography, literature, composition, bookkeeping, physiology, phonetic spelling and reading, geometrical drawing, and directed teaching. Even Father Mandine taught methods of teaching religion; he presided with Mother Mariana at discussions of school administration and teacher qualification. In 1889 Sister Cecilia Clarke was made superintendent of the normals. She enlisted well-known professors for the next summer's sessions. Gradually a systematic program was arranged.

In 1892 several normals were held. Besides those at Emmitsburg, there were sessions at Point Pleasant, New Jersey, and Hollister, California. Later LaSalle, Illinois, and Saint Simeon's, New Orleans, were added. In this way sisters from more distant missions were able to participate without the expense of long travel. Sister Gertrude Hayes conducted the sessions at Emmitsburg, both in the summer and those during the year for young habit sisters preparing for teaching before actual responsibility for classes.

Other Assemblies

Summer sessions were not limited to teacher preparation. Housekeepers, bookkeepers, administrators, sisters in orphanages or

foundling homes were invited to their own sessions, often following a spiritual retreat. To sisters in child care Mother Mariana said, "Guard with jealous care the interests of the poor lest we be withdrawn from their service."¹¹ She told sisters of the 1895 session that diplomas were not to be framed or hung up on display. "Value them simply because they are, in a measure, necessary at this time."¹²

Two hospital assemblies were held at Emmitsburg in 1897. Doctor Harriet Turner of Rochester gave a series of lectures and Sister Lucia Bell taught the classes. In the December meeting small groups shared experiences and exchanged ideas. One hundred thirty-one sisters attended the meeting of 1898; Doctor Joseph M. Spellissy of Philadelphia lectured on surgical nursing. After Saint Joseph's had been granted the right to confer degrees, credit could be offered for these well-planned courses.

The Education of Sister Nurses

Mount Hope in Baltimore, the leading Catholic psychiatric hospital in the nation, was the preferred site of inservice education for hospital sisters. Records show that many sisters postulated there; it was for others a first mission before being sent to other hospitals. In the 1880s a special series of lectures was presented by the doctors of Mount Hope and other specialists. It was a diploma program open only to Daughters of Charity; those who completed it in 1892 became graduate nurses. But in many hospitals doctors were asking not only for professionally trained sisters, but for schools of nursing open to lay women.

In the hospitals of the nineteenth century the sisters did all the nursing, assisted only by male orderlies and few and rare dedicated women. Even military hospitals where the sisters nursed during the wars were staffed completely by sisters. This policy may have been a factor in the Community's initial resistance to the idea of training schools for lay nurses. The principal difficulty, however, was that early training schools were subject to a board independent of hospital administration. It was this dichotomy of authority, when student nurses worked in a hospital without being accountable to its administration, that the sisters were trying to avoid. Only when the control of schools passed from a school board to hospital administrators, with the schools an integral part of the hospital, did

it become feasible for Catholic hospitals to sponsor schools of nursing.

The Decision to Train Lay Women

The turning point came at a landmark meeting held 20 April 1892 at Mount Hope. Mother Mariana and Sister Angeline Davis, treasurer, had called together for consultation "some of the hospital sisters not too remote,"¹³ to discuss the establishment of schools where young lay women could receive instruction in the scientific care of the sick and, at the same time, be filled with the Christian spirit which should animate that service. The sisters present were administrators of hospitals in Baltimore, Washington, Boston, Buffalo, Rochester, Dearborn, Chicago, and Saint Louis. No minutes were kept of the meeting, but its results were evident in the policy changes put into practice: the involvement of lay nurses in the hospital apostolate, and the establishment within the next three years of nine schools of nursing in the hospitals administered by the Community.

Schools of Nursing

By 1910 the Daughters of Charity had twenty-seven schools of nursing in the hospitals they staffed. In addition to Charity, New Orleans—a state institution—there were schools in Community-sponsored hospitals in New Orleans, Chicago, Milwaukee, Norfolk, Baltimore, Washington, Troy, Buffalo, Rochester, Boston, Dorchester, Lowell, Evansville, Indianapolis, Birmingham, Mobile, Saint Louis, Saint Joseph, Los Angeles, San Jose, El Paso, Dallas, Waco, Nashville, Greensboro and Bridgeport. A few of these were the first in the state; others were the first under Catholic auspices. Several admitted male candidates.

Few of the schools charged tuition; the terms of the contract were education and board in exchange for service. In 1894 in Saint Louis the first students were on twenty-four hour duty, even sleeping in the ward, with one free half-day per week. By 1900 this had been reduced to twelve-hour duty, with the program lengthened from two to three years. In Lowell students on active duty after probation were paid eight dollars a month.

In most hospitals the evolution from a two-year to a three-year program was rapid, and the school became truly professional, an institution of learning rather than a service to the hospital. Affiliations in obstetrics, pediatrics, and long-term care were made available. By 1910 Providence in Washington had a university affiliation with Georgetown.

Some hospitals had training programs in other specialties: physical therapy at Emergency Hospital in Buffalo; training for dietitians at Saint Joseph Hospital in Philadelphia. A program in child care, preparing women for jobs as nursemaids, was offered in several of the infant homes. Job placement was part of the service offered in these programs.

Concern for the Working Woman

Immigrants who came after 1880 followed the lure of industry rather than of free land. Concentration of workers around mines, mills and factories, as well as their dependence on sometimes ruthless employers created a volatile situation—the birth of labor unions and clashes between equally violent strikers and strike-breakers. Journals kept by sisters on local missions describe the strikes witnessed, cracked heads tended, families of the unemployed fed and clothed. There is evidence that, while the bishops were concerned with the plight of the workingman and his family, the sisters were considering also the situation of the working woman.

Seventeen percent of women over sixteen, finding it necessary to support themselves and their children, were employed or looking for employment. The world had changed almost overnight because of numerous inventions: linotype, cash register, telephone, telegraph, typewriter, adding machine, trolley car, automobile, phonograph, and incandescent lamp, to name a few. Sisters struggled to master these innovations so that their students could be adept in their use and readily employable. Graduates of Saint Vincent's in San Francisco, Saint Rose's in Washington, Saint Patrick's in Chicago were in demand in the business world because of their knowledge of office and telephone equipment, shorthand, typing and bookkeeping, enhanced by character and integrity. In Norfolk Sister Genevieve Maher begged a typewriter from a benefactor of Saint Mary's Home so that she could equip the orphan girls with this skill. Sister Mary Peter Muth mastered three different systems

of shorthand in a dozen years as the preference of the business world changed from Perman to Pitman, and then to Gregg.

Working girls continued to board in some of the industrial schools; but not until 1900 was a house opened specifically for working women without families. This was Seton Home in Troy, which also included a day nursery for the children of working women. Other day nurseries were set up in Syracuse, Boston, and Washington. Besides day care they offered mothers' clubs where women made friends while they learned cooking, sewing, health care, and especially child care.

Missionary Outreach to the World

Until 1908, when Pope Pius X gave the Church in the United States equal status with the older Catholic countries of Europe, North America had been considered mission territory. Yet twenty years before that time, missionary zeal stirred the hearts of American Daughters of Charity.

The first American Daughter to realize her desire to carry the faith across the world was Sister Catherine Buschmann. Born Dora Thumel, married in 1890 and widowed less than a year later, she became an active promoter of the Holy Childhood Association. This interest was the seed of her vocation as a missionary and as a Daughter of Charity. A child inquired: "Who will make sure that our pennies are used to save the pagan babies in China?" In her heart she found the answer, "I will, Lord."

In 1896 she was called to the missions in China, where she served thirty years, mostly in Peking and Shanghai. She greatly encouraged the founders of Maryknoll with practical advice about formation for the Chinese missions; when her own niece entered Maryknoll she rejoiced. Before her death Sister Catherine joyously welcomed other American Daughters called to missionary work in China.

The Spanish American War

Soon after Sister Catherine's departure for China, other Daughters of Charity were embarking for foreign service—this time, to care for American soldiers in the Spanish American War.

After the explosion of the battleship *Maine* "from unknown causes" in a Cuban harbor, the nation's most unnecessary war was declared against Spain 25 April 1898. Within three months Americans had driven the Spaniards from Cuba, destroyed the Spanish fleet in the Philippine Islands, and invaded the Spanish colony, Puerto Rico. Peace came 12 August 1898: Spain granted independence to Cuba, ceded Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines to the United States. Hawaii, too, was annexed at this time. American battle casualties were few, but tropical diseases conquered the conquerors. Malaria, typhoid, dysentery, were rampant; even yellow fever and cholera were seen.

At the outset of the war Mother Mariana offered the services of the sisters to the president. During August and September requests came for sisters with various specialties: surgical nurses; those who could speak Spanish (to bring comfort to prisoners of war in Norfolk); sisters immune to typhoid and yellow fever for service in Cuba and Puerto Rico. The service was of brief duration; most sisters had returned to their missions by November, except those in Puerto Rico and a few in Portsmouth who remained until February 1899.

Sisters served in camps and tent hospitals in: Chickamauga, Georgia (62 sisters serving 60,000 men); Montauk Point, Long Island, New York (112 sisters, 20,000 patients); Jacksonville, Florida, Camp Cuba Libre (20 sisters, an unknown number of men); Knoxville, Tennessee (20 sisters, 150 patients); Huntsville, Alabama (35 sisters, 200 soldier patients); Camp Alger, Virginia (10 sisters, unknown number of men); Lexington, Kentucky (25 sisters, 600 patients); Newport, Kentucky, base hospital (20 sisters, 600 patients); Portsmouth Naval Hospital (5 sisters, unknown number of both troops and prisoners); Ponce General Hospital, Ponce, Puerto Rico (19 sisters, and unknown number of patients); and Santiago, Cuba (12 sisters, 200 patients). Sisters nursed on transports also, bringing the men home from Cuba and Puerto Rico. Altogether 190 Daughters of Charity served as army nurses in the Spanish American War, many serving in several camps or hospitals; four of them died from diseases contracted during their service.

Both Cuba and Puerto Rico had been served by large numbers of Vincentian priests and Daughters of Charity, Spanish and native. The parishes, schools, orphanages, military and state hospitals, refuges for the insane, the afflicted, the homeless in which they worked were supported by the government of Spain. In Havana,

for example, there were forty-six sisters in the civilian, sixteen in the military hospital, serving a total of four thousand patients. In the evacuation of these hospitals because of blockade and bombardment, many of the patients died. The sisters were not allowed to accompany the survivors, since the hospitals would no longer be supported by Spain, and neither would the new government support them. Sister Hedwiges Laquidain, vice-visitatrix of Havana, described the famine that prevailed: "Most of these poor people we meet look like dry roots." She then reported the conditions in the houses the sisters had been forced to abandon, including "our asylum for the insane at Mazorra, where five hundred of these poor people have perished from diseases contracted by insufficient food."¹⁴

The contact with Spanish sisters serving in Ponce and Santiago deepened in the American Daughters their appreciation of the missionary vocation within the vocation of a Daughter of Charity. Several of these sisters were soon to experience their own call to foreign missions.

The Call to Puerto Rico

Since Puerto Rico became, after the Spanish American War, a possession of the United States, American congregations replaced the Spanish missionaries. One of the earliest to establish missions in Puerto Rico was the Redemptorist community. In 1905 their provincial, Father William Licking, asked for six Daughters to open a parochial school in Mayaguez, Puerto Rico, in a Redemptorist parish. Sister Adelaide D'Aunoy, who had been in charge of the hospital at Montauk Point during the war, was chosen as first sister servant. One of her companions, Sister Fortunata Garvey, also had served during the war.

The pastor anticipated about two hundred pupils, so he prepared three classrooms. The first day of school seven hundred children came. Father removed the Blessed Sacrament from the church so that it too could be used as a classroom. There were no textbooks, no pictures or charts, no paper or pencils. Most of the sisters did not know Spanish. They did have a blackboard, and mutual learning took place when they drew pictures, named them in English, and got the children to give their Spanish names. Before long, both teachers and pupils were passably bilingual.

The need for education in Puerto Rico was so extensive that in 1906 the sisters took on a school in the La Playa section of Mayaguez in addition to the Immaculate Conception Academy and the parish free school. They were asked also to prepare and supervise lay teachers and catechists for country parishes. By 1910 there were fourteen hundred children enrolled in the three divisions of the two schools. In addition, hundreds of sick and destitute were visited; through soup kitchens the sisters provided meals for the children and their families. Mayaguez gradually grew in prominence as a Catholic center, a relatively prosperous city, and a source of Catholic leadership on the island.

Santo Tomas Hospital, Panama City

The first Daughters of Charity had gone to Panama in 1875. French sisters, assisted by those who had come from Mexico by way of the United States, had by the turn of the century built up a province enriched by many native vocations. Their works included government hospitals – which were, however, inadequate by American standards.

In 1902 the United States signed a treaty with Panama to build the Panama Canal. When the Americans took over the Canal Zone, Sister Goeury, visitatrix of Panama, asked the help of American sisters in modernizing the Santo Tomas Hospital in Panama City. The Ancon Hospital had already been taken from the sisters and staffed by lay nurses. The bishop seconded Sister Goeury's request, fearing that Santo Tomas also would have to be laicized if it could not be brought up to American standards.

Sisters Raphael Jones, Mary Joseph McEvoy, and Martha Lawlor were sent to Panama City in 1906. Though warmly received by the sisters there, they found the situation appalling: Santo Tomas Hospital was an ancient institution consisting of a number of cottages and two large wards (one for men and one for women) housing the most acute cases. In her first letter, dated 30 March 1906, Sister Raphael asked for five more sisters: a housekeeper and four to tend the sick. She revealed that since the older sisters staffing the hospital knew little about nursing and were not prepared to learn, it would take some time to train the younger native sisters, who were for the most part uneducated. Orderlies drawn from among the convalescents were the only hired help

available.

Sister Martha became the surgical nurse for the hospital; Sister Raphael nursed in the ward for women, and Sister Mary Joseph in that for men. The three had much to suffer from the intense heat, insects, dirt, communication problems resulting from their ignorance of Spanish, and, finally, tropical fevers to which they succumbed. Perhaps the hardest to bear was the lack of progress; moreover, they had to recognize that their presence had not lessened the prevalent immorality. A letter of 18 April 1906 reveals what may have been their only achievement: the isolation of tuberculous patients from others (into an isolation ward with separate dishes and supplies) and the introduction of disinfectants.

Mother Margaret, in the meantime, had been asked by superiors in Paris about the feasibility of accepting the hospital as a house of the United States Province. Sister Raphael was not encouraging. It was her belief that immorality was so rampant in the region that it would impede any good that could be done.¹⁵ In April 1907 superiors at Emmitsburg decided to withdraw the American sisters from Panama.

Apostolic Outreach through Hospitals

Mother Mariana shared the belief of many bishops that Catholic hospitals were the most effective instruments of evangelization in areas where the Church was little known. The record of hospitals opened during her fourteen years in office reflects this belief, which Mother Margaret, her successor, seemed to share. Most of the hospitals newly opened between 1892 and 1909 were in areas where Catholics were little known and less trusted—areas where a new version of the American Protective Association was finding fertile fields for anti-Catholic propaganda: Texas, Tennessee, and Alabama.

The Sisters Return to Texas

The first mission in Texas had been the short-lived school in Jefferson, opened in 1869 and closed five years later. In 1892 the Daughters of Charity were called to open the first hospital in the city of El Paso, Texas, on the Mexican border. Sisters Stella

Dempsey, Frances Hennessey and Dolores Eggert were the pioneers. By 1894 they had moved from temporary quarters into the newly built hospital, named Hotel Dieu after the large Parisian hospital served by the early Daughters of Vincent and Louise. In 1897 a new operating room was installed; in 1898 a school of nursing opened; and in 1903 the first X-ray machine in the Southwest was set up in the hospital. Arrangements with the Santa Fe and Mexican Railway Company to care for their patients were made in 1907; similar contracts with other companies followed. By 1910 thirteen sisters were serving in El Paso and a group of Ladies of Charity had been organized.

Mother Mariana had assigned Sister Stella to the El Paso foundation with these words:

Not very long ago I was regretting in my mind that our dear Lord did not ask the Community to go among people to whom He is not known and where He is not served. Now He asks this, and you, dear Sister, are the one chosen to lead the band.¹⁶

The same apostolic zeal expressed in this letter led Mother Mariana and her Council to accept other missions in Texas.

Saint Joseph's Orphanage in Oak Cliff, near Dallas, was offered to the Daughters of Charity in 1895. Discouraged by poverty and hardships, another community of sisters had given up the work. In agreeing to staff the orphanage, the Council made certain stipulations: separate quarters for boys and girls and, to begin with, certain minimal repairs to the building, particularly the roof, stairways, and other structural deficiencies. Sister Benedicta Roach and three companions took over the work 1 May 1895. About forty boys and girls, ages one to twelve, occupied the old three-story wooden structure. Sister Benedicta set to work painting, carpentering and, as she described it, "bedbug gathering."

Oak Cliff was then a rural area about an hour's drive from Dallas; a priest came on weekdays to offer Mass for the sisters and children, but never on Sundays. Most of the children were short of clothing, covered with sores, and not prepared for first confession and Communion. This was soon remedied; within the first year five children were baptized, two made their first Communion and were confirmed. The sisters had been at Oak Cliff twelve years when the Council decided to withdraw them. The two stipulations in the

original agreement had not yet been met; the sisters were frequently deprived of Sunday Mass; and the number of orphans remaining was very small.

A group of Dallas physicians approached Bishop Edward J. Dunne, desiring to obtain Daughters of Charity for a hospital and clinic in Dallas. Sister Stella Dempsey was again chosen to pioneer the foundation. She arrived in 1896 and stayed at the Oak Cliff orphanage, going by carriage into the city each day to confer with doctors, examine equipment, look for a site for the hospital. In spite of a broken arm and rapidly developing cancer, she succeeded in drawing up plans with the doctors before her death 23 August 1896. Sister Mary Bernard Reardon, her successor, opened the hospital in 1897 in a small cottage. The following year the new Saint Paul Hospital was completed. Nine sisters and their patients moved in. A school of nursing was opened in 1900; the first three nurses graduated in 1903.

Three other hospitals followed in rapid succession in other cities of Texas: Seton Infirmary in Austin in 1902; Saint Vincent's in Sherman in 1903; and Providence in Waco in 1904. Sister Mary Bernard Reardon and three companions opened the forty-bed hospital in Austin. Sister Lucia Smith, then sister servant in Dallas, supervised the erection of the hospitals in Sherman and Waco.

The Texas hospitals were a new experience for the sisters in those early days. Among many Texans of this time, Catholicism was not only misunderstood, but feared and despised, while the work of the sisters was, for the most part, unknown. They had to contend with mistrust, bigotry, and harassment, particularly in Waco, a cattle and cotton town on the Chisholm Trail where the Ku Klux Klan had a large following. A contract signed between Providence in Waco and the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad in 1909 filled the hospital with patients—in one year over three thousand of them. By the time the seven-year contract terminated, the sisters' work had given evidence of their good will and efficiency, and the hospital beds were filled with local patients.

New Hospitals in Alabama

In 1898 Bishop Edward P. Allen of Mobile, who as president of Mount Saint Mary's College in Emmitsburg had known the Daughters of Charity, requested four sisters to establish Saint

Vincent's Hospital in Birmingham. The five sisters appointed for this mission responded as soon as they were released from serving in the camps of the Spanish American War. Sister Chrysostom Moynahan, named sister servant and administrator of the hospital, was delayed in Portsmouth to nurse Spanish prisoners (severely burned when their ship went down). She joined the others in March 1899, and was the first registered nurse licensed to practice in the State of Alabama.

The first patients were received before repairs to the building were completed, and the first surgery performed on what should have been opening day. Before a year was completed, an epidemic of black smallpox caused the hospital to be quarantined. Three of the sisters fell victim to the disease; one died. Next, a portion of the hospital was badly damaged by a cyclone which killed or injured many in the city.

Since Saint Vincent's served as the city hospital in Birmingham, about half the patients were cared for without pay. When resources were stretched too thin, Sister Chrysostom would say, "If we don't have enough money to meet all the bills at the end of the month, we just wait and hope for the next month to pay for itself and clear the back debt as well."¹⁷ With what she called her "five-dollar nest egg" she opened Birmingham's first outpatient clinic that served all, regardless of ability to pay. The Ladies of Charity group she organized in Birmingham collaborated in the hospital's mission to serve the poor.

Four more Daughters of Charity came to Birmingham in 1903, to staff an orphanage in suburban East Lake. The home was called the Athenaeum, for the former college whose building it occupied. The journal kept at the hospital by Sister Placida, and later Sister Vincent, gives evidence of the close bond existing among the sisters of the two houses.

In 1901 Denis Savage, pastor of Saint Peter's Parish, Montgomery, asked Sister Chrysostom to come to the capital to see what could be done for the sick there. With the cooperation of the governor and business leaders, Sister set up a temporary asylum and clinic in the Watts mansion, and supervised the construction of Saint Margaret's Hospital. The people raised ten thousand dollars toward the cost of the building, and four sisters were sent to staff it. The Watts house, situated on five acres, was used as a hospital until the new building was ready in September 1903.

Sister Chrysostom organized Alabama's first school of nursing

also, in 1900, at Saint Vincent's Hospital in Birmingham. In 1982 she was inscribed in Alabama's Hall of Fame for her pioneering work in health care in the state.

Tennessee Beginnings

The first mission of the Daughters of Charity in Tennessee was Saint Thomas Hospital in Nashville, begun in 1898 at the request of Bishop Thomas Byrne. The sisters began service in the Dickinson Mansion and formed a group of Ladies of Charity to help them. In 1904 the new hospital was ready for occupancy; Sister Scholastica Kehoe replaced Sister Philomena Coupe as administrator. The five-story building featured sun parlors on each floor, a roof garden, six suites, six three-bed wards, and another fifty patient rooms. The surgical building had two operating rooms; an electro-therapy, an etherizing, a sterilizing, and an instrument room; and an amphitheatre with a seating capacity of fifty, used primarily as a classroom from which medical students observed various types of surgery. On one occasion a relative was permitted to observe a thyroidectomy performed on his brother. Standing to get a better view, the man fainted at the sight of his brother's blood and fell through the observation window into the surgery below, bringing with him a shower of glass and the need for immediate stitches. Never again were lay observers permitted in the amphitheatre.

Sister Scholastica, administrator for twenty-three years, set high standards of service which extended beyond the hospital walls. The sisters began religion classes in west Nashville which laid the foundation for Saint Ann's, the city's first black parish. They visited, counseled and taught in the tuberculosis hospital, the state penitentiary, the reformatory, the state school for the blind, the home for the feeble-minded, and the industrial school. Sister Austin Corbett, who had charge of the hospital kitchen for thirty-two years, spent her Sundays visiting the poor farm, the insane asylum, and primarily the penitentiary, where she took coffee and sandwiches to "her boys," prepared them for the sacraments, paved the way for a priest to offer Mass for them, and interceded effectively for them with governors and prison authorities. She asked for better-ventilated cells for men in solitary confinement. Reminded of their offenses, she retorted, "We have all offended God, but He gives us air." Her request was granted. She petitioned Governor Austin Peay to

pardon one old prisoner in the final stages of tuberculosis so that he could die at home among family members. "You know the Bible as well as I do," she told him. "You know what mercy means." "Yes," he replied; "it means Sister Austin." And he wrote the pardon.¹⁸

In a state where the Catholic population was less than 2 percent and many false stories about the Church circulated, the work of Saint Thomas Hospital and the charity the sisters and Ladies of Charity carried beyond it made Tennesseans see the Catholic Church as a compassionate and positive presence.

Two More Firsts: Connecticut and North Carolina

In 1905 Saint Vincent's Hospital in Bridgeport, Connecticut, was opened on a site overlooking Long Island Sound. The school of nursing trained male as well as female nurses. The hospital soon became an influential center of Catholic health care in the state.

Another new area of service for the Community opened in a poor part of North Carolina, where Catholic development was slow. In April 1906 the sisters began Saint Leo's Hospital in Greensboro, adding a school of nursing and outreach care to the poorer sections of the city. Besides health care, this outreach included adult basic education; help in finding jobs and qualifying for them; evangelization and religious education; and witnessing to God's love and the Church's concern for all. A town of fifteen thousand, Greensboro was a factory and railroad center. One of the methods used to provide health care for the working poor was to persuade factory owners and railroad officials to rent beds in the hospital to be used for sick and injured employees.

Responding to Natural Disasters

In times of crisis the sisters were always ready to serve. When a cyclone struck Mount Vernon, Illinois, in 1888, sisters from Mullanphy Hospital in Saint Louis nursed in an emergency hospital set up in the courthouse there. When a similar disaster struck Marshfield, Missouri, they nursed there too. The same care was extended to victims of smallpox epidemics in Dallas, Texas, and Rochester, New York.

In 1893 when gulf storms devastated offshore islands near New

Orleans, sisters from the city assisted the injured and provided for the homeless. When a few years later the last of the great epidemics, a disease resembling yellow fever, struck New Orleans, sisters nursed in the vacant Beauregard School set up by the Board of Health as a quarantine hospital. An isolation hospital was later built on the grounds of Charity Hospital.

Indian Camp Plantation

In 1894 the Louisiana State Legislature appointed a Leprosy Control Board as a public health measure, with the primary purpose of halting the spread of the disease in Louisiana. Doctor Isadore Dyer, a member of the board, subscribed to a second purpose: the care of those suffering from the disease. He later resigned from the board because other members did not seem to share this concern. But first he approached Sister Agnes Slavin, sister servant of Charity Hospital, New Orleans, to ask if Sisters of Charity would undertake the care of the patients gathered into isolation at the long-abandoned Indian Camp Plantation near Iberville, Louisiana. Sister Agnes forwarded his request to superiors at Emmitsburg, and four sisters were named to this unique apostolate. Sister Beatrice Hart had twenty years' experience in hospital administration. Her companions were Sisters Annie Costello, Mary Thomas Stockum and Cyril Coupe.

Hansen's Disease, as it is called today, is essentially a disease of the peripheral nerves, affecting also the eyes and skin. It is the least infectious of the communicable diseases; the majority of the population have a natural immunity to it. But a century ago these facts were not known. The public attitude towards the disease was characterized by ignorance, fear and horror; and even among doctors, the fight to control it was directed more against the patient than the disease. In Louisiana the regulations called for the absolute isolation of all leprosy patients, the prevention of marriage and procreation, the registration of all sufferers and members of their immediate families, all under the supervision of the Board of Control.

The place selected by the board for isolation of the patients was an abandoned plantation in a bend of the Mississippi River seventy-five miles above New Orleans. The mansion was not habitable except for two rooms hastily and superficially prepared for the use

of the sisters. More than twenty patients were scattered in dilapidated slave cabins. The peninsula was a snake-infested swamp lacking even the most necessary outhouses. In times of drought, water had to be hauled over the levee from the river; at other times paths to the cabins were flooded. Kept handy beside the sisters' beds were an axe and lantern—the axe for killing water moccasins which infested even the house, the lantern for finding their way by night to the cabin of the patient who had rung his handbell. All supplies had to be requisitioned, and sent by steamer from New Orleans.

The contract specified a resident physician and a resident chaplain. The doctor left shortly after the sisters arrived; the board decided that weekly visits from a New Orleans physician would suffice and save expenses. The chaplain died before the year was out, and for weeks at a time the sisters and patients were deprived of Mass and the sacraments. In July 1896 Sister Beatrice wrote to Mother Mariana about the negligence of the Board:

There are many little things they could do for us to lighten the burden that would not cost them anything except the time needed to come here and go over the place with me and allow me to point them out. But to think we have been here three months, nearly, and not one ever came to see how we were, or if we needed anything... They could not do worse than that.¹⁹

The board finally came 15 August and listened to Sister's requests, but the promised repairs and water supply were not provided. The condition of the patients deteriorated; some became incapacitated; some died; but always others were sent in to fill the cabins. Sickness occurred among the sisters too. Heat, exhaustion, attacks of malaria so regular that they came to expect them, were part of life in the bend of the Mississippi. During the summer of 1901 Sister Beatrice carried on in spite of illness and fatigue, finally going from the bedside of a dying patient to her own deathbed.

Her successor, Sister Benedicta Roach, was a believer in action rather than endurance. She went to New Orleans to face the board over the question of a water supply, refusing to accept the answer that they had no money. "I shall make a public appeal through the newspapers," she told them. "The people of New Orleans will not tolerate having the Sisters care for the lepers without even water to keep them clean."²⁰

The board borrowed money and installed a water plant. The

legislature appropriated \$10,000 for improvements. New cottages replaced the slave cabins; covered walkways were provided; clinics, laboratory, pharmacy and operating room were built. A heating plant replaced the old cabin fireplaces, but the appropriation to build it did not include an annual sum for its operation; Sister Benedicta was blamed for the resulting debts.

The report of 1906 listed forty-four patients (thirty-nine white and five black). By 1909, when a hurricane severely damaged the administration building and destroyed the stable and outhouses, the number had increased to seventy-six; before long it would pass the hundred mark.

Earthquakes!

Kate Smith, a San Francisco benefactor, left a legacy to build in the city a hospital for women, to include a maternity ward and a shelter for the sick poor. It was to be called Mary's Help Hospital. Archbishop Patrick Reardon entrusted the project to the Daughters of Charity; the building progressed as far as the foundation and frame.

Then in the predawn hours of Wednesday, 18 April 1906, disaster pounced upon northern California in the form of an earthquake, smashing through Humboldt County north of San Francisco, swallowing forests, biting off mountain bluffs and chewing up cliffs to spit tons of rock into the ocean. Death and destruction reached as far as San Jose. Mission San Juan Bautista was wrecked. In San Francisco pipelines snapped, the waterworks were destroyed, the reserve supply of water lost. Buildings buckled and cracked; streets undulated like ocean waves; crevices opened in solid earth. Fire followed the earthquake; but water mains were broken, hydrants useless. Men fought bravely without water and without leadership, for the fire chief was killed in the first devastation of the quake. Refugee camps were set up in parks and in the Presidio. Meals were served; but without water, medical care could be little more than first aid.

When the fires finally burned out and families were reunited, it was possible to count the toll. In San Francisco nearly 400 were dead, 5000 injured, 100,000 homeless. In San Jose 21 were dead, 8000 homeless. Property destruction exceeded \$500,000,000.

In Emmitsburg superiors waited anxiously for news. When it

came, the Daughters of Charity could view their losses with joy and thanksgiving, for no lives had been lost, either among the sisters or the children under their care. But property damage ran high. In San Francisco the beginnings of Mary's Help Hospital were totally destroyed; it would be necessary to clear the rubble and start again. Saint Vincent's School was destroyed by the fire; Saint Francis Technical School was badly damaged. In San Jose the hospital building was so badly damaged that patients had to be removed and housed in tents. In Hollister the School of the Sacred Heart was thrown off its foundation; in Santa Cruz the school was slightly damaged.

Mother Margaret was on her way to Puerto Rico; but Father James J. Sullivan, assistant director, hurried to San Francisco to help the sisters meet the emergency and rebuild. He was pleased to find the sisters nursing the wounded in temporary shelters, and the displaced orphans already distributed among the southern California houses.

Trial by Fire

The Roman Catholic Orphanage in San Francisco, spared in the earthquake, was destroyed by fire a few years later. Over four hundred girls were sleeping when a sister discovered the predawn fire and alerted the other sisters, who woke the children and got them out of the house in silent ranks. In less than five minutes seventeen bands of children, each in charge of a sister, were gathered on a large terrace. The sisters were calling roll by the light of the fire when the building collapsed. Sister Helena McGhan informed superiors that they had saved nothing but the children and \$600. Temporary accommodations were found for the children until the home could be rebuilt.

A Time for Rejoicing

There were times of trial and sadness in that era, but times for rejoicing also. In 1885 Saint Vincent de Paul was declared patron of all charitable societies. This was followed in 1890 by the beatification of John Gabriel Perboyre, a Vincentian martyred in China in 1840. The Cause of beatification of Louise de Marillac was intro-

duced in 1892, with much support among American bishops for the recognition of the saintliness of the Foundress of the Daughters of Charity. The effectiveness of her work was undeniable.

During the Holy Year of 1900, James Cardinal Gibbons introduced the cause of Mother Elizabeth Ann Seton. Father Antoine Fiat, superior general, had already written of it to the procurator general in Rome, and in December Patrick McHale, C.M., was named vice-postulator of the Cause. By March 1907 the judges of the Ecclesiastical Court had been named and the examination of witnesses and of Mother Seton's manuscripts had begun. Among the witnesses were Sister Gervase Pujol of the secretariat, who also edited and organized Mother Seton's correspondence, and Sister Juliana Chatard, who culled from her writings quotes suitable for distribution. In August 1908 the Community began the recitation of the prayer for the glorification of Mother Seton. In 1911 Joseph Cunnane, Notary of the Cause, sailed for Rome bearing copies of the letters and biographies of Mother Seton.

The Church in the United States had grown from one and a half million in 1850 to over twelve million in 1900. The Community too had grown. In 1905 the American Province numbered almost seven-hundred sisters.

A Time for Change

The diary kept by Sister Vincent Steward at Saint Vincent's Hospital, Birmingham, gives vignettes of the grass-roots reaction to events of the passing years: the assassination of President McKinley; the baptisms of a notable number of the hospital's employees and nurses; the thirty-seven pound tumor removed from a patient by Doctor Riggs; the missioning of sisters to and from Birmingham. In January 1908 she noted that Prohibition had gone into effect in Alabama; confiscated beer and whiskey were sent to the hospital for medicinal use. Later she recorded that Sister Baptista Lynch, sister servant of East Lake, was treated for a bad carbuncle on her neck. Doctor Whelan had donated skin from his arm, Sister Vincent herself cut it off and transplanted it onto Sister Baptista's neck. In 1909 she recorded that Sister Baptista was missioned home to Saint Joseph's, Emmitsburg, leaving the sisters at East Lake brokenhearted.

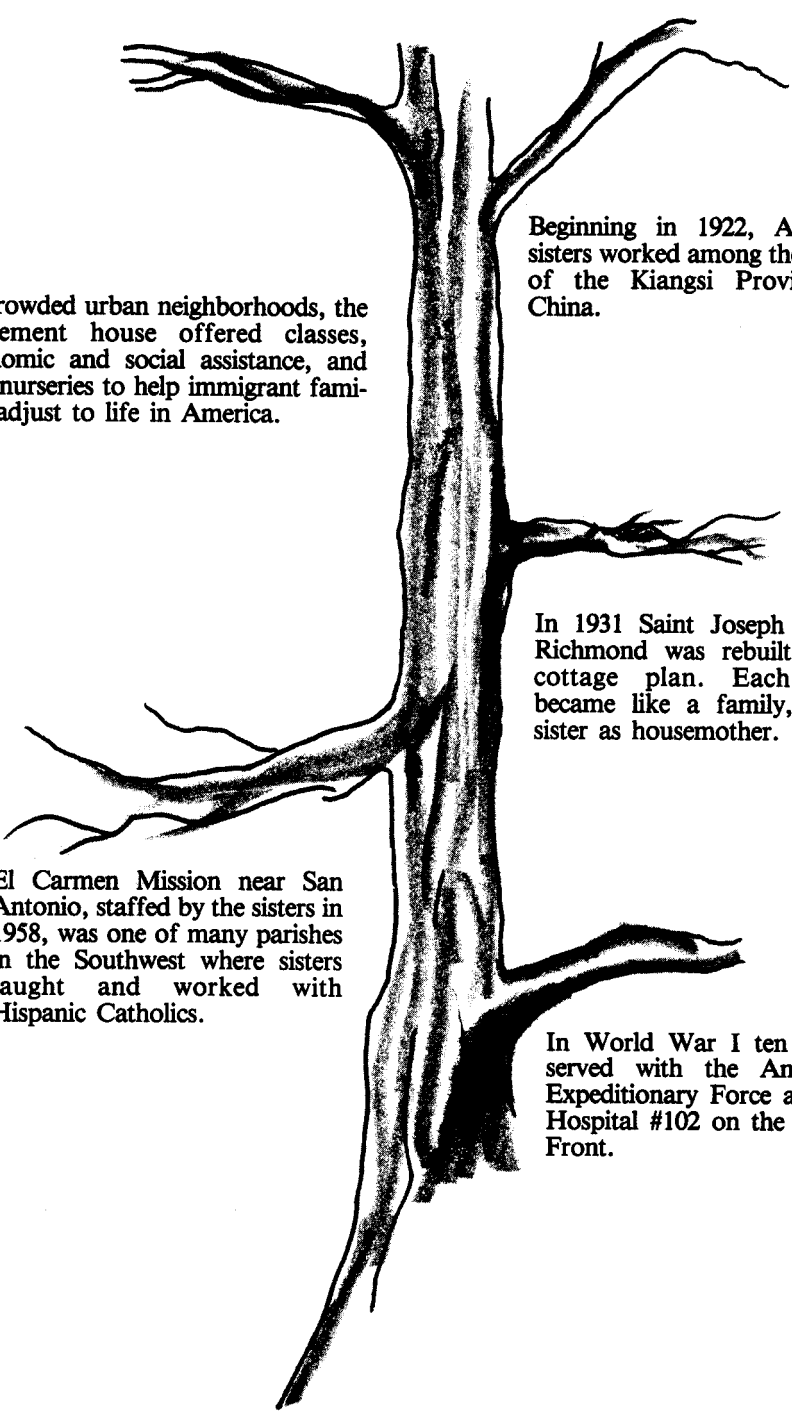
Sister Baptista was recalled to Emmitsburg to become seminary

directress there, replacing Sister Augustine Park, who had traveled to Saint Louis with several seminary sisters to establish the new seminary there. When Mother Margaret made her retreat in Paris in 1907, superiors had discussed with her their decision to divide the United States into two provinces. The second seminary, in Saint Louis, was a step in this direction; in effect, a vice-province in the United States was taking shape.

The earthquake of actual division would come—but when? Even sisters on remote missions were aware of this, as a January 1910 entry in the Birmingham diary shows: “Prevailing topic of conversation is on the Great Divide.” There are many digressions from this subject, including the announcement of 28 April: “Haley’s Comet seen by a large number at 4:00 a.m.” But the entry of 31 July returned to the prevailing topic:

Great Excitement. A circular from Saint Joseph’s saying that the much talked of division of the Province has really taken place, and to our great surprise, Alabama is in the Western Province.²¹





In crowded urban neighborhoods, the settlement house offered classes, economic and social assistance, and day nurseries to help immigrant families adjust to life in America.

Beginning in 1922, American sisters worked among the people of the Kiangsi Province of China.

In 1931 Saint Joseph Villa in Richmond was rebuilt on the cottage plan. Each group became like a family, with a sister as housemother.

El Carmen Mission near San Antonio, staffed by the sisters in 1958, was one of many parishes in the Southwest where sisters taught and worked with Hispanic Catholics.

In World War I ten sisters served with the American Expeditionary Force at Base Hospital #102 on the Italian Front.

6 CHARITY EAST AND WEST

A young tree sends out shoots in many directions, all bursting with life. One branch will flourish, thrust out new sprays, and spread. Another, equally promising, will dwindle and die. So as the tree matures, its form changes. The pattern of growth is so imperceptible that even the gardener is hardly aware when an early branch has become a vigorous limb, or at what point the tree has reached such symmetry that this limb actually forms a fork in the tree.

So it happened with the Community of the Daughters of Charity in America. Bishop Rosati had foretold it when he wrote:

It is probable that the establishment of the Sisters in Saint Louis will result in other foundations elsewhere. Let us follow Providence, and I am confident that in following it as did Saint Vincent, we will not fail to accomplish much good.¹

How much good had been accomplished was indicated in the report on the Daughters of Charity in the Catholic Directory for 1909. There were 1715 sisters serving in eight archdioceses, nineteen dioceses, and in the Vicariates Apostolic of North Carolina and Puerto Rico. The Community conducted "forty-three hospitals and five insane asylums; thirty-two orphanages and forty-four* infant asylums," besides six orphanages combined with schools; and five industrial schools, teaching a total of 9223 students.²

The Division of the Province: 1910

The way to follow Providence was indicated by Antoine Fiat, C.M., superior general of the Vincentians and the Daughters of

**The actual number was fourteen.*

Charity. His letter favoring division into two provinces was read at the Council meeting 5 September 1908 and debated at subsequent Council meetings. Fiat suggested division along the boundary line followed by the Vincentians. James J. Sullivan, director of the province, expressed his preference for a line to the east of it, so as to include the states of Alabama, Tennessee, and Indiana in the Western Province, resulting in a more balanced number of works and sisters. Patrick McHale and Thomas Finney, provincials of the two American Vincentian provinces, were also present at the Council meeting in December 1908 when it was decided to take the first step toward division: establishing in the West a second seminary of the Daughters of Charity.

The Seminary in Saint Louis

The temporary site chosen for the new seminary was Saint Vincent's Institution, Saint Louis. Advantages were: a central location, Vincentian presence in the city, and a secluded and beautiful setting. With providential foresight, Sister Magdalen Malone had planned the new psychiatric facility to house many more than the almost three hundred patients in residence. Thus the entire north wing of the fourth floor could be freed for the seminary.

Father Sullivan went to Saint Louis in mid-January 1909 to make the final arrangements. Sister Eugenia Fealy, assistant of the Emmitsburg province, was selected by the Council to preside over the new establishment; Sister Augustine Park, directress, was to organize the new seminary as an authentic duplicate of Emmitsburg's, which, in turn, was modeled on that of Paris. Sister Baptista Lynch replaced her as directress in Emmitsburg until June 1910, and then succeeded her as directress in Saint Louis.

Three seminary sisters originally from western states accompanied Sister Augustine from Emmitsburg.* Two Missourians postulating in Saint Louis were admitted to the seminary for its beginning, when Father Sullivan blessed and officially opened the

**Sister Vincentia Gatz (d. 1958) Sister Louise Quentin (d. 1961) and Sister Elizabeth Lewis (d. 1977) were the first three. Two were from New Orleans; Sister Elizabeth came from Canada by way of Hollister, California. Sister Zoe Donnelly (d. 1973) and Mary Laura Costello Pair were admitted in January.*

seminary, nucleus of the Western Province, 25 January 1909. A few weeks later two more postulants were admitted as seminary sisters.*

The Division Made Official: 1910

Sister Eugenia Fealy succeeded Sister Magdalen as sister servant of Saint Vincent's in Saint Louis; Sister Blanche Hooper was named assistant in Emmitsburg. Rumors about the division of the province circulated, but nothing official was heard until the summer of 1910.

Summer school was in full session in Emmitsburg in the third week of July, when Father Sullivan announced before the Community Mass at 5:30 one morning that the province had been divided; that he would go to the West and Father John Cribbins, president of Niagara University, was appointed director for the Eastern Province. He then read the historic letter of Father Fiat, superior general, dated Paris, 16 July 1910:

My dear Daughters:

The Grace of Our Lord be with you forever!

You have inferred from the opening of a Seminary at Saint Louis that we had some design of creating a new Province in the United States. We have been urged in the most pressing manner to take this step, and many reasons have been brought forward in its favor: among others, that the Province was too extended for the Provincial authority to exercise a sufficient influence on all the members of which the Province is composed; that we would have reason to hope the erection of another centre of formation and authority would give rise to numerous vocations; and that, in fine, it would be proper to imitate the Church, which does not hesitate to form new parishes and dioceses whenever the doing so is judged necessary and expedient for the good of souls.

Moved by all these reasons, encouraged besides by the disinterested devotedness of the Reverend Director, of the Visitatrix, Sister O'Keefe and her Council, we have in the Council of the Most Honored Mother, decided to divide your Province, and to form from

**Sister Andrea Neider (d. 1965) and Sister Catherine Sullivan (visitatrix of the Western Province 1952-1962, d. 1969) entered the seminary in February 1909.*

it a second, of which the centre, for the present will be at Saint Louis.

The first, or Eastern Province, will include the houses situated in the following states: Maryland - District of Columbia - Massachusetts - Connecticut - Michigan - New York - Pennsylvania - Delaware - Virginia - West Virginia - North Carolina.

The second, or Western Province, will comprise the houses in the following states: Missouri - Iowa - Wisconsin - Illinois - Indiana - Tennessee - Alabama - Mississippi - Texas - Louisiana - California - Porto Rico.

Rev. James Sullivan will be Director of the new Province and Rev. John Cribbins will replace him at Emmitsburg, as Director of the Eastern Province.

In making known to you these important measures, I solicit the aid of your prayers, that it may please God to bless them with His most abundant benedictions...³

Father Sullivan lost no time in taking up his residence at Saint Vincent's Institution, Saint Louis, and there on 22 July he announced in the chapel the names of the new visitatrix and her Council. Sister Eugenia Fealy was to remain in Saint Louis as first visitatrix of the Western Province. Her Council would be Sister Mary Barbara Regan, assistant, and Sister Isabella McCarthy, treasurer. While 31 July 1910 is listed as the official opening of the Western Province, the first Council meeting did not take place until 15 August.

Fifty-nine missions, served by about seven hundred sisters, were transferred to the Western Province. These included twenty-two hospitals, two psychiatric facilities, eighteen schools (one select, some technical, and some combined with orphanages), ten orphanages, and six infant homes (some including maternity hospitals, one housing widows as well.)

In the Eastern (Emmitsburg) Province, Mother Margaret O'Keefe* remained in office as visitatrix with the same Council. Sixty-nine missions staffed by about one thousand sisters were retained in the province: fifteen hospitals, three psychiatric institutions, twenty schools, two industrial schools, three combined

**Mother Margaret was the last to bear the unofficial title of "Mother"—a carry-over from the early days, perpetuated as much by hierarchy and clergy as by the students and sisters at Emmitsburg.*

school/orphanages, sixteen orphanages, and nine infant homes. Day nurseries were attached to five establishments. Saint Joseph's College and the Academy in Emmitsburg continued to thrive. As the alumnae association grew, it became the nucleus of the International Federation of Catholic Alumnae.

Although Puerto Rico is geographically closer to the states of the Eastern Province, it was assigned to the West at Father Sullivan's request. It was a work dear to his heart, opened in response to the directive he had received from Father Fiat to do everything possible for the Antilles. He feared that, without his encouragement, the mission at Mayaguez would too easily be abandoned; and he hoped that this missionary service would bring a blessing on the new province.

Dedication of Marillac Seminary

During its first five years the offices of the new province remained in the now cramped quarters of Saint Vincent's four north, which also housed the seminary. But when a large property adjoining Saint Vincent's was offered for sale in 1914, the choice of location for the permanent provincial house was quickly made. The land was purchased, plans were drawn and the ground broken 27 September 1914. Archbishop John J. Glennon laid the cornerstone of the chapel 14 December 1914.

By July 1916 the buildings were almost ready. Father Sullivan consecrated the side altars and offered the first Mass in the chapel 19 July. A month later the sisters had moved in: first those of the kitchen and laundry duties, then Sister Eugenia and her Council. Last to arrive were thirty-seven seminary sisters, walking in joyful procession over the hill, carrying their belongings.

Louise de Marillac, foundress of the Daughters of Charity, was chosen patroness of the provincial house, which was to be called Marillac Seminary.* Father Sullivan proudly pointed out that it was the first institution in the world to bear her name.

**The term "seminary" in the title was later replaced by "central house," and finally "provincial house"; but the name "Marillac" has been constant. Louise de Marillac had been declared Venerable in 1911 and the new province was under her patronage from its inception. Louise was declared Blessed in 1920 and canonized a saint in 1934.*

Growth Patterns in the Apostolates: 1910-1939

During the years following the division, works multiplied in both provinces. In many areas development seemed to run almost parallel, with regional variations responding to particular needs. The Church in America was still an immigrant church. National parishes were the norm; some sponsored schools in the language of the immigrants. Social life centered around the parish, punctuating the year with parish festivals, theatricals, school picnics, processions, choir practice, and the meetings and activities of various parish organizations. Many young people married fellow parishioners and settled down within a few blocks of home to raise another generation in Kerry Patch or Little Italy.

By 1910 the population of the United States had reached ninety million. Immigration peaked with an influx of Poles, Italians, Lithuanians, Portuguese, Ukrainians, Lowlanders from Belgium and Holland, as well as Greeks, Syrians, and other Mediterranean lands.

Social Services in the Early Twentieth Century

This new immigration presented a different problem. Neighborhoods evolved from tightly knit national enclaves to an agglomeration of cultural and language groups that in one generation changed the face of American cities. For these new dwellers in the old city tenements, settlement or neighborhood houses became important channels of adjustment to American ways.

Day Care and Neighborhood Houses

Many features of the settlement house program had long been seen in parishes and in outreach from institutions where the sisters were working: home visiting, classes in religion for young people and adults, clubs and sodalities, emergency relief for the poor, help in finding jobs, even homemaking classes for immigrants. The focus, however, had been on help to the individual family; relief sometimes took the form of receiving children into a half-orphanage or technical school to ease family pressures and overcrowding.

The new feature of the neighborhood house in the early twentieth century was its focus on cooperation among families to help them work out the social, economic, and moral problems that confronted them. One of the main features of the settlement house was day care for children, which enabled mothers to work, the family to stay together, older children to attend school instead of babysitting, while the younger ones were safe, cared for, and well-nourished. By 1909 the Eastern Province already had five day nurseries, operating in connection with infant homes or hospitals. The number continued to grow. Providence Hospital, Washington, sponsored a day care center from 1909-1955. Allegany (later Sacred Heart) Hospital in Cumberland, Maryland, opened a day nursery in 1915, which in 1928 became an independent institution known as Keating Day Nursery. At Gonzaga Memorial Home in Germantown, Pennsylvania, a day nursery was begun in 1915; at Saint Vincent's Home, Philadelphia, the number of children in day care increased so fast that the nursery moved to new quarters in 1917 and was renamed Cathedral Day Nursery. Most of these day nurseries involved Mothers' Clubs and religious instruction for neighborhood children. From Cathedral Day Nursery in Philadelphia, Sister Francis Finlay sponsored youth clubs for both boys and girls. Club members visited the city hospital each Sunday to bring Catholic patients to Mass and later write letters for them. Other clubs at the center featured sewing, dramatics, handicrafts, even vocation study.

The Western Province took up this new apostolate soon after the division of the province. Allen Memorial Home, opened in 1911 in Mobile, Alabama, provided day care for babies in addition to three other apostolates: a home for elderly women, prenatal care for single mothers, and full-time infant care. The House of the Guardian Angel in Saint Louis, originally an orphanage, then a technical school, evolved into a settlement house in response to population changes in the Soulard neighborhood, and in 1911 was renamed Guardian Angel Settlement. In Saint Patrick's Parish—whose dynamic pastor, Father Tim Dempsey, was a social work pioneer operating hotels for homeless men and women, soup kitchens, an employment agency, a clothing dispensary and other charities—a day nursery staffed by the sisters began in 1914.

In Chicago Catholic Social Center opened in 1914. Day care, religious instruction, clubs for youth and adults were featured. In 1916 a second settlement house named DePaul Settlement was opened

to serve Saint Vincent's Parish and the area around DePaul University, both staffed by Vincentians. The center offered a full program of activities, flexible enough to change with population shifts and differing needs of the times. By 1930, with Sister Mary Barbara Regan at the helm, DePaul's program included nursery, kindergarten, after-school playground (on the roof) for the older children, clubs for teens, a mothers' club, Ladies of Charity, religion classes for public school children, an employment bureau, a relief center—with the encouraging support of Catholic Charities and Community Chest membership.

In Evansville, Indiana, the Ladies of Charity of Saint Mary's Hospital began a day care center in 1918; a year later Daughters of Charity came to staff the nursery. As the program expanded, the Ladies contributed work in the nursery and neighborhood as well as constant fund-raising support.

In Santa Barbara, California, Sister Vincent Williams organized a day nursery at the new orphanage, built on the original ranch site and equipped by Mrs. C. H. Hopkins. Home visiting, parish religion classes, visits to patients in the general and tuberculosis hospitals were added. Sister Vincent also administered the orphanage, which in the 1920s housed two hundred girls; she was recognized among the foremost social workers in California.

Outreach Social Services

The vow of service of the poor makes every Daughter of Charity something of a social worker: teachers visited homes after school, hospital sisters followed up needs evident in the families of the sick. These services, where needs were overwhelming, sometimes developed into programs that later were separated from the institution where they began.

One such program began in Dallas in 1911. Sister Brendan O'Beirne, who served at Saint Paul Hospital in emergency and outpatient services, began home visits and emergency relief in the Dallas area known as "Little Mexico." With voluntary help from doctors on the staff, she began a clinic where the poor could receive health care free or at nominal fees. In 1924 a small frame house in West Dallas became Marillac Clinic and Social Center. Recreational programs, day care, and a food and clothing dispensary were gradually added.

A similar outreach evolved at Boyle Heights in Los Angeles in the 1920s under Sister Cecilia Craine. Visits to poor Mexican homes and supplies of food, clothing and bedding—brought to relieve flood victims during a severe rainy season—led to a program of systematic and effective almsgiving financed by the Ladies of Charity of Los Angeles.

For six years during the Depression era Sister Cecilia and Sister Leonide Bowling did Americanization work among Hispanics in Los Angeles, teaching English and citizenship, helping people understand legal documents, fill out forms, and prepare to become citizens. Sewing classes for mothers and religious instruction for the children were held at the orphanage.

Infant and Maternity Homes

The last two infant homes undertaken by the Daughters of Charity were accepted by the Community in 1921: the Home of the Holy Infancy in Austin, Texas, and Saint Elizabeth's in San Francisco, California.

The Home of the Holy Infancy had been opened by the diocese a few years previously and staffed by Ladies of Charity. The work focused on care of infants, adoptions, and short-term full-time care of babies during times of crisis in the family. When the home was rebuilt in 1932 under the direction of Sister Vincent Williams, living quarters and prenatal care for mothers, and infant day care were offered as well.

In San Francisco, Saint Vincent's Infant Hospital had been closed after the building of Mary's Help Hospital, which offered maternity services and infant care. As the need outgrew the space, Saint Elizabeth's Infant Hospital was opened, primarily to serve the unmarried mother and her child. By 1928 a new building afforded a more secluded environment and accommodated increasing numbers.

In addition to these new ones, Daughters of Charity continued to staff more than a dozen infant and maternity homes across the country. Some included a practical nursing course for mothers staying at the home and for others who wished to learn child care. During the depression years these homes were crowded. In 1936 Saint Vincent's Home in Philadelphia, to give one example, housed nearly five hundred children under age four and over one hundred

mothers-to-be. A ninety-bed maternity hospital was operated in conjunction with the home. The turnover was fairly rapid; Sister Rita Coyle, the graduate social worker who handled intake and adoptions, received more than one thousand babies a year. It was her belief that even the most abandoned infant would blossom if loved and cherished consistently.

Children's Orphanages

Before World War I departments of Catholic Charities were beginning to develop in larger cities. After the war this development became more widespread and better organized. Leading Catholic universities developed departments of sociology and social work based on Christian principles. John Ryan, author of the *Bishops' Program of Social Reconstruction*, published in 1919, and Monsignor John O'Grady, author of *Catholic Charities in the United States*, taught a generation of sociologists and social workers at Catholic University, shaping the Catholic social work theory which was to change the face of Catholic institutions by mid-century.

In most cities children's homes decreased in number and were centralized under Catholic Charities, whose program was threefold: family relief, child placement, and protective care. Institutions were still the backbone of the program, but adoptions were handled by graduate social workers. In-service training for child-care workers and foster parents, organized fund raising, systematic aftercare were part of the new program. By the early 1930s a number of sisters in both provinces had qualified as Masters of Social Work at Catholic University.

The most important trend in child care was the focus on keeping the family together when possible, looking beyond the child to the family and the problems which led to family break-up: child labor, lack of minimum health care, lack of guaranteed minimum wage, workmen's compensation, unemployment relief, and decent housing. For children of immigrants ill-fitted to urban life, the institution had been considered a ladder by which thousands of the younger generation could climb above the destitution in which their parents lived. The new theory of child care recognized the importance of family life—if not the child's own family, then an adoptive or foster family. But in all of this, theory was about twenty years

ahead of practice. The effects of World War I and the influenza epidemic, as well as the harsh realities of the depression, reduced the availability of foster and adoptive families, making institutional placement necessary for many children.

The Daughters of Charity opened no new homes for children after 1910, but moved several into larger and more modern facilities. The desire to create a more homelike atmosphere led to rebuilding homes on the cottage plan. The earliest of these was Saint Joseph's Villa in Richmond, Virginia, which in 1931 replaced the old Saint Joseph's Orphanage. Planned by Sister Thecla Tainter (the first Daughter of Charity to earn a Master's Degree in Social Work) Saint Joseph's Villa became a showplace where professional social workers studied the effects of the new experiment in group living. Each cottage housed twenty-four girls, with bedrooms, dining room, kitchen, study, and recreation rooms. The children attended the parish school, bringing their prize papers and report cards home to the sister housemother, who praised and scolded, signed report cards and attended parent-teacher conferences, planned parties and outings—like any mother of a family. The days of orphanage schools or of orphans' picnics attended by thousands of children from a dozen or more institutions were happily past.

Some of the rebuilding was necessitated by natural calamities; the preservation of sisters and children from injury seemed at times miraculous. For example, when an earthquake struck Santa Barbara, California, in 1925, badly damaging Saint Vincent's School and causing casualties elsewhere in the city, there were no injuries among the children. A similar deliverance occurred in Los Angeles in 1933, when an earthquake damaged the Boyle Heights orphanage. The girls customarily had early supper, followed by a final outdoor playtime until 6:00. When the angelus bell signaled that playtime was over, the girls would obey its summons by gathering before the garden shrine of Our Lady at the far corner of the yard to pray the Angelus together before going inside. On that day, shortly after 5:30 p.m. the first tremors of the earthquake caused the tower to sway so violently that the bells rang. Immediately the girls ran to Our Lady's shrine to pray the Angelus, not realizing it was an earthquake until part of the tower and adjoining wall fell into the yard where, seconds before, many of them had been playing. Although the building had to be evacuated and the tower demolished, there were no injuries.

When century-old institutions were rebuilt, they were given more

attractive names. Boyle Heights (the former Los Angeles Charitable Institution)—repaired and used for another twenty years—was eventually rebuilt in South San Gabriel (Rosemead) and renamed Maryvale. The Home for Destitute Catholic Orphans in Boston was rebuilt as Nazareth Hall; Saint Mary's Asylum in Baltimore became Saint Mary's Villa, Roland Park; and Saint Vincent's Female Orphan Asylum in Buffalo was renamed Saint Vincent's Manor, and later Labouré Hall for Girls.

Residences for Women

Another social concern was housing for women of limited income. During World War I Sister Rosalia Malone renovated an unused wing of Saint Vincent's Infant Home, Washington, in order to house female war workers from all over the country. Young girls who had no family were given special attention.

Similarly, the old orphanage building on Camp Street in New Orleans was in 1921 turned into a residence for working girls and renamed The Louise Home. A day nursery was also housed in the building.

In Baltimore another residence, this one for older ladies who wanted to give up the care of a home but not their independence, was begun in 1926. Social activities and transportation were available to the residents of Kirkleigh Villa.

Changing Patterns in Education

More and more the responsibility for Catholic education was assumed by parishes and dioceses. No further technical schools were opened after 1910; the few that remained evolved into high schools or became homes for working girls. The academy too was, for the most part, abandoned, although in some cases the name remained. Saint Vincent's in Saint Louis closed in 1901; the building was turned over to the archdiocese to become Rosati-Kain High School. Saint Simeon's in New Orleans closed in 1911. Even the academy founded by Mother Seton in Emmitsburg would eventually become a coeducational high school.

Sisters in the Parish Schools

Schools accepted in the next thirty years were all parochial and, for the most part, elementary. Some high schools grew out of parish schools as grades were added.

In the Eastern Province one diocesan high school and fourteen elementary schools were undertaken. Utica Catholic Academy (later merged into Notre Dame High School) opened in 1913 as a diocesan high school. Parish elementary schools accepted in New York State were: Saint Mary's, Syracuse (1918); Our Lady of Lourdes, Utica (1929); Saint Ambrose, Endicott (1934); and Saint James, Johnson City (1935). In Maryland were Saint Charles, Pikesville (1915); Saint Dominic's, Baltimore (1919); Saint Anthony's near Emmitsburg (1923); and Our Lady of Lourdes, Baltimore (1926). In Virginia sisters were sent to Sacred Heart School, Norfolk (1920); Saint Elizabeth, Richmond (1930); and Our Lady of Victory, Portsmouth (1930). Saint Benedict School in Greensboro, North Carolina, was accepted in 1926, with religious instruction at Saint Mary's Mission (a black parish) and in High Point, North Carolina, and Danville, Virginia. Two years later an elementary school was opened at Saint Mary's Mission in Greensboro. The school grew rapidly. In 1949 when the Vincentians assumed charge of the parish, the name was changed to Our Lady of the Miraculous Medal School. These two Greensboro schools—Saint Benedict and Our Lady of the Miraculous Medal—were later combined and integrated as Saint Pius X School; but Saint Mary's remained a distinct mission center staffed by Vincentians and Daughters of Charity. Saint Ann's School in Bridgeport, Connecticut, commenced in 1935; the Daughters of Charity would teach there fifty years before being replaced by a lay faculty.

The Western Province opened only eight schools in its first thirty years. Two were in Dallas, Texas (1914 and 1925). The first, Holy Trinity, was in a Vincentian parish; the second, Saint Ann's, served the Spanish-speaking refugees from Mexico who had settled near the Cathedral.

The first two missions in Utah were Catholic Grammar School in Salt Lake City (1920-1927) and Notre Dame in Price (1927), which by 1957 had developed to include a high school.

Our Lady of Mount Carmel School in Mayaguez, Puerto Rico, in the poor section of the city known as La Playa, was reopened in 1928, finally rebuilt after the earthquake ten years earlier. There

were fifteen hundred children present in the three schools conducted by the sisters on that 12 October 1918 when within thirty-two seconds all the buildings were destroyed. Not a child was lost, although walls and ceilings fell all around them. The School of the Immaculate Conception was the first one rebuilt, with the help of the Redemptorists who staffed the parish; but it took a decade to raise funds to rebuild Our Lady of Mount Carmel School.

Other early schools in the Western Province were Saint Patrick's, Saint Louis (1920); Saint Thomas, Long Beach, Mississippi (1922); and Saint Vincent de Paul, San Francisco (1924). The only school begun in the 1930s in the Western Province was at White Church, Missouri, in the Ozark region near the Arkansas border, where Catholics were few and the Church all but unknown. The school later moved to Saint Mary's, West Plains, a larger and more centrally located town.

Religious Vacation Schools

The Catholic Rural Life Conference, founded in 1904, drew the attention of bishops and faithful to the scattered and sometimes neglected Catholics in rural areas. These included minority groups as well as immigrants: the segregated blacks of the South and the Hispanics of the Southwest, whose numbers began to swell during the Mexican religious persecutions of the 1920s.

Where year-round Catholic schools were impossible, bishops and pastors tried to meet the needs of these small congregations with religious vacation schools. The records of the Eastern Province show that the sisters were bringing a Catholic presence to religious vacation schools in three locations near Cumberland, Maryland; in Aberdeen, Randallstown, Thurmont and Hancock, Maryland; in Winchester, Virginia; and in Westtown and Blue Ridge Summit in Pennsylvania—all before 1932. By 1938 the province was regularly staffing thirty-five religious vacation schools with about one hundred sisters during the summers.

The records of the Western Province, though not so well documented, show a similar trend. Hospital sisters in Nashville, Evansville, Birmingham, Saint Louis, and Dallas conducted religion classes in poor urban parishes, rural areas, and state institutions on Sundays or whatever time they could spare from hospital duties. School sisters taught Saturday and Sunday schools of religion in

addition to their weekday classes, often going in several directions. From Perryville, Missouri, for example, sisters went each week to Highland, Crosstown, Brewer, Silver Lake, and Sereno to instruct children in the Faith and prepare them for the sacraments.

The call for summer religious vacation schools took sisters into black parishes in the cities and into rural parts of many states from Alabama to the State of Wisconsin. In the Mother Lode country in the mountains of Calaveras County, California, sisters returned year after year to teach religious vacation schools in Angels' Camp, San Andreas, Murphys, West Point, and Mokelumne Hill, accepting the generous hospitality of ladies who offered the use of their summer homes. In the cities sisters gave summer classes in poor inner city parishes, teaching outdoors where facilities were lacking. Many new schools in both provinces were outgrowths of the parish school of religion staffed on a part-time basis.

Help for a Japanese School

Bishop Thomas Conaty of Los Angeles had charged Father B. Breton, a French missionary to Japan, with the care of the several hundred Japanese children of Southern California. Breton obtained ten volunteer sisters from Japan, formed them into the community of Japanese Sisters of the Visitation, and established Saint Francis Xavier School in Los Angeles for the children of Japanese immigrants. The parents, however, wanted their children to learn English and be taught in the American manner. Father Breton asked the Daughters of Charity for help.

Assignments had already been made for the school year of 1919, but the school in Salt Lake City was not ready for occupancy. Two of the sisters assigned there—Sisters Zoe Reid and Stephanie Lynch—were lent to help put Father Breton's school on its feet. The sisters stayed at Boyle Heights and rode to Saint Francis Xavier each morning on the school bus that picked up the children.

Of the first fifty students in the school, only fifteen were Catholic, so this was largely missionary work. The two Daughters taught English to the sisters, helped them with lesson plans, co-taught classes, helped put the school on a solid basis, and trained the teaching sisters in American methods of education and school administration. (Some non-teaching sisters cared for thirty Japanese orphans.) The Sisters of the Visitation learned quickly; after

a year they were ready to carry on alone. Sister Zoe was recalled to begin the school in Salt Lake City in 1920, but Sister Stephanie remained to help for another year.

Increasing Demands for Teacher Certification

The early summer normal schools had been non-credit, intended to teach subject matter and methods. After 1904 sisters taking courses in Emmitsburg worked towards their degrees at Saint Joseph's College. Courses in the Western Province continued to be non-credit, as there was no college affiliation for them. Sisters in small numbers were being sent to universities for degrees before World War I. After the war, when states began to look in earnest for teacher certification, the Catholic schools were multiplying and expanding; the demand was for more and more teachers rather than certified ones. Sisters were placed in classrooms to learn on the job, earning credits in summer sessions. In the Western Province, which had no college, the cost of educating sisters was prohibitive, particularly as the salary for a teaching sister, regardless of education or certification, was under \$350 a year.⁴

By 1925 only 15 percent of teachers in Catholic schools had college degrees; 15 percent had not yet finished high school. (The average American in the 1930s had seven years of schooling, and the educational level of public school teachers at the time was comparable.)⁵ While the preparation of Daughters of Charity was slightly higher in the West than the norm for Catholic schools—and higher yet in the East—the Councils of both provinces were looking for ways to give better direction and unity to the sisters' efforts to acquire an education.

In 1933 Sister Elizabeth Logue was named supervisor of the Daughter of Charity schools in the Baltimore Archdiocese. With the new superintendent of schools she pioneered in groundwork for standardized textbooks and tests in archdiocesan parochial schools. At the same time Sister Isabel Toohey, sister servant of Saint Dominic's in Baltimore, was pioneering in departmentalized teaching to relieve teaching loads in the elementary school, and building a central library in the school. In 1939, when Sister Isabel was appointed procuratrix and sister servant of the Saint Joseph College faculty, her first innovation was a guidance department to help the sisters and other students to plan wisely their educational

curriculum. While Sister Paula Dunn, both as visitatrix and college president, had done much to further the education of sisters, sending many on for graduate study, Sister Isabel brought to her role an interest in each sister's individual educational goals that provided needed direction and encouragement.

In the Western Province, Sister Isabella McCarthy had organized and presided over summer schools at several locations as early as 1911. When Marillac was built in 1916, normal sessions were held in the large retreat room below the chapel. In California Sister Caroline Collins presided at sessions held at Sacred Heart School, Hollister in the 1920s, and obtained permission to send sisters with special talents to Lone Mountain College and the University of San Francisco.

In 1936 Sister Caroline succeeded Sister Eugenia Fealy as visitatrix of the Western Province; in 1937 Marillac was recognized as an extension center of DePaul University, Chicago, and college credit was given for courses taught—some by Vincentians of the DePaul faculty—in summer school there. At the same time Sister Bertrande Meyers, who had received her doctorate in education from Saint Louis University, was assigned to plan curricula offered in the extension center and to direct the sisters in their choice of courses leading to a degree. Sister Bertrande also enrolled the sisters for Saturday classes in Fontbonne College, Saint Louis, and other colleges near the sisters' missions in other cities, and guided them in their selection of courses that would further their educational goals. It was a slow process—taking in some cases ten or twelve years—but gradually the number of teaching sisters with college degrees was reaching a more acceptable level. By the end of the 1930s it was an achievable goal for all sister teachers except, perhaps, those in foreign missions.

Health Care: Hospital Development and Special Services, 1910-1939

During these same thirty years following the 1910 division of the province, there were even more developments in the field of health care than in those of education and social service. Sisters were involved in hospital care, wartime service, nursing during epidemics and natural disasters, and efforts to meet the needs of the poor during the depression years.

New Hospitals before 1940

In the years between 1910 and World War I, the Western Province opened only one new hospital. This was Mary's Help in San Francisco—since moved to Daly City and renamed Seton Medical Center. Mary's Help had been planned, begun, and then destroyed in the 1906 earthquake. It took six years to raise funds again, rebuild and open its doors. Originally intended as a hospital for women and children, it opened in 1912 as a general hospital.

The Eastern Province accepted four hospitals in this decade. The first, in 1911, was Allegany Hospital in Cumberland, Maryland—known since 1952 as Sacred Heart Hospital. This hospital served several communities in the mountains and was kept busy with accident cases from the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, mines, and other industries. The sisters at Cumberland took on added responsibilities for religious instruction in neighboring towns in Maryland, as well as in Ridgeley and later Kitzmiller, West Virginia. The last two involved an eight-mile walk across the mountains, where roads were inadequate.

In 1913 the first mission in Maine was accepted: J.C. Libby Memorial Hospital—soon known as Sisters' Hospital—in Waterville. When rebuilt in the 1960s it was renamed Elizabeth Seton Hospital.

Two requests to take over existing hospitals brought the sisters to serve in Florida. The Pensacola Hospital, accepted by the Community in 1915 and later known as Sacred Heart Hospital, had from the beginning a school of nursing. The DeSoto Sanitarium in Jacksonville, taken over in 1916 from a private group who had been operating it, was incorporated the same year as Saint Vincent's Hospital, Jacksonville.

Two more hospitals were opened in the Eastern Province in the 1920s. Lourdes Hospital in Binghamton, New York, owned by the diocese but administered by the Daughters of Charity, served a cluster of small communities which had no other hospital. In Baltimore, Jenkins Memorial Hospital for Incurables was built in 1925 on the grounds of Saint Agnes Hospital. At first it was a long-term care annex or extension of Saint Agnes, utilizing many of its services; but in 1945 Jenkins became a separate corporation.

In 1938 the sisters of the Western Province agreed to supervise the nursing service of a second charity hospital owned by the State of Louisiana: the Lafayette Charity Hospital. This hospital in

Lafayette was the last new hospital in the United States of which the sisters of either province took charge before 1974.

Standardization of Hospitals

During these years both Emmitsburg and Marillac hosted meetings and training sessions for hospital administrators, bookkeepers, pharmacists, nursing supervisors, directors of nursing schools, and sisters serving in other hospital duties. These meetings were almost annual events as both provinces sought to standardize and improve services and procedures. Degrees were sought from universities with special training programs, so that the service given to the sick would be the best.

As a result of this concentration on excellence, the report published in 1929 by the Catholic Hospital Association indicated that, while 56 percent of Catholic hospitals met the standards for approval by the American College of Surgeons—as opposed to 25 percent for all hospitals—forty out of the forty-three general hospitals staffed by the Daughters of Charity were ACS-approved.

World War I: Services on the Home Front

When Congress declared war against Germany 2 April 1917, hospitals served by the Daughters of Charity were quick to join the war effort. Volunteers assisted with physical examinations of those joining the armed forces; in some cases, follow-up care was given. At Mullanphy Hospital in Saint Louis, for example, physicals were given to over eight thousand draftees, and twenty-five surgeries resulting from these physicals were performed in the hospital by doctors on the staff.

The winter of 1917-1918 was severe throughout the country, and new recruits were housed in inadequately heated tents. As a result, pneumonia was common. Both Carney Hospital in Boston and Saint Vincent's in Norfolk cared for many from nearby camps who contracted pneumonia that winter. In the army camps of Texas, smallpox broke out. From March to May 1917, two sisters from Seton Infirmary, Austin, nursed the victims in an isolation camp. In September 1917 Father Sullivan wrote to Sister Eugenia from

Dallas to inform her that they were again caring for smallpox victims:

Doubtless you know ere this that Sisters Lucine and Monica are again taking care of the small-pox camp at Austin; five nurses with them; about 45 patients, but 40 of them convalescing, the others new cases.⁶

Those injured in camp accidents and the wounded brought back from overseas were cared for in several of the Community's hospitals, particularly in the coastal cities. All hospitals bore with shortages of doctors and nurses because of the numbers who had volunteered to serve overseas with the Red Cross. The sisters at home multiplied themselves to the point of exhaustion to supply for those who had gone to war.

World War I: Sisters Serving in Italy

Only one group of sisters served with the American Expeditionary Forces in World War I. These were ten Daughters of Charity from the Western Province under the leadership of Sister Chrysostom Moynihan as Chief Nurse. With about one hundred nurses recruited all over the country from hospitals served by the Daughters, they formed the nursing staff of Base Hospital #102 in Vicenza, Italy, the most forward base hospital operating on the Italian Front.

The Loyola Unit which staffed Base Hospital #102 had been formed by Doctor Joseph A. Danna of the Loyola University Medical School, New Orleans, and was attached to the 332nd Regiment from Ohio, brigaded with the Italian Armies. Doctor Danna was a fitting director for the Unit because of his experience at Charity Hospital in New Orleans, his leadership among physicians and surgeons of Louisiana, and his fluency in Italian. Sister Chrysostom, though past the preferred Red Cross age limit of forty, was well-equipped for her leadership role. She was the first registered nurse to serve in Alabama; her nursing experience included service in Portsmouth, Virginia, and Fort Thomas, Kentucky, during the Spanish American War. She had also built and administered Saint Vincent's Hospital in Birmingham, Alabama, and laid the groundwork for Saint Margaret's in Montgomery.

Journals kept sporadically by the ten sisters describe boot camp training at Camp Sheridan, Alabama; drills with gas masks (worn with difficulty over the cornette); the rescue of survivors from a torpedoed tanker in mid-Atlantic; a fire in the supply room of the hospital, extinguished by the staff; and watching from the hospital rooftop, in rare off-duty hours, the bursts of shooting from the nearby battle. Several American volunteer ambulance drivers—who brought in more than sixty-six thousand Italian wounded from Caporetto, where there was heavy fighting under German and Austrian fire—were decorated as heroes by the Italian government. One of these, seriously wounded and a patient in the hospital, was Ernest Hemingway.

The Loyola Unit returned home to the States in May 1919. The sisters were permitted a privileged stop at Emmitsburg, on their way to be mustered out in the respective cities where they had enlisted.

The Spanish Influenza Epidemic

Meanwhile, on the home front a new enemy threatened. Spanish influenza swept across the country during the last quarter of 1918, affecting soldiers and civilians alike. Men who had survived the war, sent to be demobilized at Jackson Barracks, Louisiana, were stricken with influenza. Fifty soldiers and some of the sisters caring for them died, but hundreds recovered. Sisters were sent also to nurse at camp hospitals near Fort Niagara, New York; Camp Colt, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania; Camp Meade, Maryland; Camp McArthur, Texas; and Jefferson Barracks, Saint Louis.

Schools were closed. School sisters helped in the over-burdened hospitals or with home nursing among the stricken population. In Mayaguez, Puerto Rico, Sister Vincent Latus visited the reform school daily to care for ninety boys confined to bed—60 percent of the boys housed there. In Boston, Norfolk, Pensacola, and Washington D.C., the hospitals were swamped with the sick. Providence in Waco cared for almost nine hundred soldiers; Seton in Austin, which had cared for over one thousand enlisted men during the war, nursed another thousand during the flu epidemic. Mullanphy in Saint Louis had one whole wing devoted to flu patients. Saint Vincent's in Indianapolis set up a camp hospital for sixteen hundred stricken soldiers.

Hospitals overflowed into tents on the grounds. At Carney in

Boston, where four hundred were stricken at one time, and at Saint Paul in Dallas, flu patients were cared for in army tents that covered the lawns in all directions. At Charity Hospital in New Orleans, twenty-seven thousand influenza patients were cared for; four thousand died. Among the stricken were one hundred Hindu workers brought in by the government to labor in the shipyards, and 125 Puerto Rican government employees. The sisters succumbed one after another, but returned to nursing as soon as they recovered.

The epidemic was world-wide, causing twenty-two million deaths by 1920—more than twice the number of deaths caused by the war. In the United States the death toll was five hundred thousand, a high percentage of them young adults. Death struck everywhere: two boarders in the academy at Emmitsburg; a seminary sister in Saint Louis; doctors, nurses, and other hospital personnel; children in the orphanages. Among the sisters the obituary list shows seventeen deaths in the Eastern Province October to December 1918. In the Western Province, where the scourge lasted through the winter, there were sixteen deaths over a six-month period.

The census in infant homes and orphanages soared as young parents succumbed to the disease. At Saint Vincent's in Chicago, when all the cribs were filled, the sister servant ordered two dozen laundry baskets from a department store. At the home in Boston, Sister Mary Gabriel Fealy received as many as thirty children a day, whole families brought in orphaned by the epidemic. Even the joy occasioned by the armistice was overshadowed by the grief which touched almost every family.

The Leprosarium Made a National Health Care Service

The Louisiana State Leprosarium, located in the bend of the Mississippi that was to become identified as Carville, received frequent requests from other states to board and treat their citizens suffering from Hansen's Disease. In 1921 the property was transferred from state to federal ownership; the institution was classified as a United States Marine Hospital. From this time on, the Surgeon General's office provided the administrative and medical staff; but the Daughters of Charity were retained in charge of the nursing service. This purchase gave all citizens of the United States and its possessions who suffered from the disease the right to stay at the colony and be treated in the hospital there without

any cost, no matter what the treatment.

The old Indian Camp Plantation was soon transformed, with a new hospital, new residence halls for patients, a recreation building, a small golf course and a lake for fishing. An experimental farm was set up for animal research on transmission of the disease. Yet Hansen's remained a mystery, and the stigma attached to it kept the patients in unnecessary social isolation. To them the institution, however beautiful, was a prison.

The discovery of sulfone therapy in the 1940s brought new hope as patients responded to treatment and, if the disease became inactive, were given the option of living outside of Carville. For the first time the number of known cases of Hansen's in the United States began to diminish, and age-old fears were allayed. Sister Hilary Ross, by her extensive research, laboratory studies of tissue in various stages of treatment, and photographic records, helped medical personnel to distinguish between patients with active Hansen's bacilli and those merely disfigured by remaining effects of the disease.

Encouraged by Sister Catherine Sullivan, the patients themselves contributed to breaking down prejudices based on ignorance of Hansen's Disease by their publication, *The Star*, which soon became internationally known. Sister Catherine—who, like many of the sisters missioned to Carville, spent twenty-five years there—was an insistent advocate for patients' rights, helping them present their needs to the administrators. She personally conducted a battle against the ignorance and prejudice that wreaked painful isolation on Hansen's patients, using as weapons talks to groups and articles in national magazines.

Meeting Natural Disasters

The years immediately following "the war to end all wars" were a time of hope and prosperity for the United States. Homes were built; cars were purchased; investments on Wall Street promised, and sometimes yielded, high returns. The Nineteenth Amendment gave women the right to vote. The League of Nations convened in Switzerland and the World Court was set up in the Hague, fostering a hope for peace that culminated in the Kellogg-Briand Non-Aggression Pact signed by sixty-five nations, promising that they would never again use war to achieve their ends.

But the bright outlook of the 1920s was not without its shadows. Disasters occurred in several areas, calling forth a Vincentian response from the sisters. In 1926 a hurricane and tropical storms struck the Miami area. Sisters from Saint Vincent Hospital, Jacksonville, hurried to care for the homeless. In 1927 there were flood victims along the Mississippi needing medical care as well as food, clothing and shelter. Sisters in Saint Louis, Alton, Natchez, Donaldsonville, and New Orleans responded to calls for help. A tornado struck Saint Louis in 1929; the roof was torn from Mullanphy Hospital and the building damaged. After safely evacuating the patients, the sisters set up a first aid and relief station for others in the neighborhood whose homes had been devastated.

The final disaster of the 1920s was not a natural one. The day known in history as Black Friday—28 October 1929—brought about by ballooning speculation on the stock market, caused a world economic crisis and a loss in the United States of twenty-six billion dollars worth of securities. Millionaires became poor overnight; farm families lost everything and left the land in a tragically new westward migration; and by 1933 the nation counted thirteen million unemployed. Banks and businesses failed; bread lines and soup kitchens sprouted up to feed long lines of homeless and hopeless adults. Children were left in orphanages because their parents could not feed them. The nation had experienced nothing so severe as the depression of the 1930s.

Coping with Problems of the Depression Years

President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal legislation brought a measure of economic recovery to the nation. It included many of the reforms suggested in John Ryan's 1919 *Bishops' Program for Social Reconstruction*: social security, child labor laws, the Federal Housing Act, the Works Projects Administration and Civilian Conservation Corps—which put ten billion dollars in wages into circulation to employ the jobless on government projects. But recovery was slow and the poor had much to suffer.

The Daughters of Charity, accustomed to working with the poor, suffered with them. Teachers visited and gave discreet help to families. Sisters in institutions found room for more children, and were ingenious in feeding and clothing them. Sisters in hospitals coped in whatever way they could. When the city of Buffalo refused to

provide oxygen for welfare patients, Sister Vincent Watkins found the means to supply it without charge. In Greensboro Sister Marguerite Crotty used an old building on the hospital grounds to provide shelter for more than one hundred homeless people, using boards to partition off two or three rooms and a bath for each family. When a tornado struck the poorer section of Greensboro in 1936, killing eleven people, severely injuring over one hundred, and cracking the homes apart like pecan shells, all who came to the hospital were accepted and cared for. Rooms, corridors, wards, operating rooms were filled as the maimed and injured poured in. Only one died.

In Los Angeles the new Saint Vincent Hospital was occupied prematurely in 1929 when fire broke out in the old hospital. The patients were moved safely, but useful supplies and equipment were destroyed, adding to the indebtedness of the new facility. Two floors of the new building were closed for lack of patients. Many of those who did need the services of the hospital could not pay, and operating expenses could not be met. Unpaid bills accumulating over several years brought the hospital to the brink of bankruptcy. Its survival was due to the generosity of Mrs. Carrie Estelle Doheny, who paid water, light, meat and grocery bills for several years, and Mrs. D. Murphy, who donated money for equipment and other necessities.

Charity Hospital in New Orleans was caring for twenty-four hundred patients daily with only 756 beds available. More than six hundred patients, particularly in the black wards, were obliged to share beds. The century-old building was a fire hazard. For over a year Senator Huey P. Long, in his feud with President Roosevelt, kept all federal funds out of the state. After Long's death in 1935, a federal grant was approved under the National Recovery Act, affording Charity Hospital almost nine million dollars—one-third of it a direct grant, the rest loaned at 4 percent. Roosevelt, campaigning in New Orleans, stopped at Charity wishing to meet Sister Stanislaus Malone, whom the whole city referred to as God's gift to the poor. She so impressed upon him the needs of the poor that the new twelve-million-dollar hospital soon became a reality—the second largest hospital in the nation with over thirty-five hundred beds, twenty stories, and a fourteen-story school of nursing which housed five hundred students.

Sister Stanislaus served Charity Hospital for sixty-three years, founding a school of anesthesiology at the hospital and acquiring

qualified teachers for the nursing school, so that in 1937 it was affiliated with Louisiana State University, offering a Bachelor of Science degree in nursing.

Help for War-torn Provinces

During the years after World War I, a tradition of sisterly generosity toward poorer provinces of Eastern Europe was established. Regular contributions from Saint Louis and Emmitsburg helped keep alive the works of the Community in the provinces of Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Poland, and Austria until war again made communication with them impossible. Besides these provincial donations, contributions from individual houses, sisters, and parish schools or classes supported the work of the Holy Childhood Association in China and other mission countries.

The Call to China

In the autumn of 1922 Father Francis Verdier, superior general of the Vincentians and the Daughters of Charity, visited the provinces of the United States. He requested that American sisters volunteer to serve in the Kiangsi province of China, where American Vincentians were bishops and missionaries. His invitation was received with joy.

First invited to China in 1847 by the bishop of Macao, Daughters of Charity of several European nationalities were sent from the Motherhouse in Paris to Ning Po in 1852, the Jen T'se-Tang founding asylum, orphanage and school at Peking in 1862, and a similar work at Tien-Tsin,* where in 1870 ten sisters were massacred. By 1922 the number of missions had grown; they were staffed by Chinese as well as European sisters, and two Americans. The visitatrix of the Shanghai Province was Sister Marie Lebrun, who was to be in 1929 the first superioress general to visit the United States.

**Names given are latinized approximations of Chinese pronunciations. All place names in China have since undergone several major revisions.*

Kanchow, Kiangsi: 1924

From the Emmitsburg Province three sisters left for China in 1922: Sisters Emily Kolb, Eugenia Beggs and Louise Cush. These were followed by Sisters Pauline Strable and Helen Lucas in 1923, and Catherine O'Neil and Clara Groell in 1925. A prolonged stay with the sisters of the provincial house in Shanghai enabled them to learn something of the language and customs of the Chinese people before commencing their own mission. By 1924 they were ready to open Saint Margaret's Hospital, Kanchow, Kiangsi. Besides a primitive hospital (there was no doctor in the entire region) Saint Margaret's offered a home for the aged, morning dispensary for the sick, and afternoon excursions seeking out those too sick to come to the dispensary. In 1928 a second dispensary was built in the nearby town of Ta-Ho-Li.

Poyang, Kiangsi: 1923

From the Saint Louis Province, Sisters Catherine Finn, Anita Barnett and Mary David Ingram were named in 1923 to staff the House of the Miraculous Medal in Poyang, Kiangsi. This mission, already staffed by French and Chinese sisters, included a clinic, dispensary, orphanage, and home for the aged. The newcomers stayed briefly in Shanghai at the provincial house; their introduction to language, customs, and the works of the mission could all be accomplished in Poyang. In 1925 Sister Mary Barbara Regan, assistant of the Saint Louis Province, visited the mission, bringing with her three additional workers: Sisters Rosalia Racinowski, Pierina Roscini, and Esther Diaz. As these became adjusted to the work, the French sisters were transferred to other missions. Sister Pierina had learned exquisite lace-making in her native Italy before emigrating to the United States. Soon a workshop was opened where she taught this skill to the orphan girls and other women. Markets were found in the United States for their beautiful work.

But civil war was sweeping across the country. As the Red army neared the Poyang mission compound in 1927, Bishop Charles Quinn advised the sisters to return to Saint Louis. They left Shee-Coo, a reliable Chinese lady, in charge to keep the mission and dispensary open.

The sisters at Kanchow were not disturbed until 1930, when the

sudden approach of the Red army forced them to flee in disguise from place to place until they reached the safety of Shanghai. They returned to Emmitsburg in 1931.

Return to China: 1935-1936

The sisters from the Saint Louis Province were able to return to Poyang in 1935. Shee-Coo, then an old lady, greeted them with joy as they resumed their work with the old, the blind, the dispensary, the workroom, the children of two orphanages and a school. Other works were added: a catechumenate, the care of a few mentally ill patients, and the ransoming of infants (usually girls) left to die by parents too poor to nurture them. One old woman, who had in her pagan youth drowned five of her own children, made reparation by going each day in search of other infants exposed to die, baptizing them, and bringing those who survived back to the mission. Other bearers with less understanding of Christianity were encouraged, by a reward of thirty coppers for each child they brought—equal to about ten cents—to bring abandoned babies to the mission. These infants were baptized and assigned to Chinese nursing mothers, who brought them in to the clinic each month for inspection—and to be paid for their care. When old enough for school, the girls were received into the orphanage, educated, taught marketable skills, and trained to be good Christian mothers. Husbands were found for them among Catholic families, thus assuring—the sisters hoped—a new generation of good Catholic families.

Mr. Joseph Lo—Lo Pah Hong, sometimes called the Vincent de Paul of China—spoke Chinese, French, and English and was a great help to the sisters. He founded and maintained two hospitals, including Saint Joseph's Hospital, Shanghai, and other works of charity, among which was Saint Joseph's Mission, Pon Yon Dang, which sheltered two thousand dependents.

For seven years the sisters served peacefully at Poyang, until the Japanese invasion of China. When bombs began to fall regularly and several hit within the mission compound, Bishop Quinn again advised the sisters to leave. The United States was at war with the Japanese; Americans captured by them would be treated as enemies. On 29 September 1942 they began a six-month journey by sampan, bus, train, airplane, and several ships which brought them out of China to India, thence to Ceylon, Australia, Panama, and

finally Miami, where they entrained for Saint Louis. Sister Pierina had died a few years earlier and was buried in the mission compound in Poyang.

The sisters from the Emmitsburg Province returned to Kanchow and Ta-Ho-Li in 1936 and resumed the services previously offered there. When the Japanese armies invaded the country, they remained until forced to flee south before the advancing army. Some escaped to Kunming, Fourth Air Force headquarters. Here Sister Vincent Louise Delude persuaded the military authorities to hire the four who were nurses for the air force hospital. All six sisters were permitted to remain at Kunming until after the war.

The other sisters had, meanwhile, made their way to Kweilin, where they cared for refugees from Hong Kong, nursing them through a cholera epidemic in August 1943. By the spring of 1944 the war had penetrated to Kweilin, and nurses were desperately needed in the military hospital at the nearby air base. The head nurse there had trained at Charity Hospital; some doctors and nurses were familiar with Daughters of Charity at other hospitals in the States. They and the wounded Americans were delighted to have twelve Daughters of Charity and some other missionaries assisting in the hospital.

As soon as it was possible to return to their respective missions, the grateful Americans air-lifted the sisters to the closest airfields. They found the missions devastated, but courageously began to rebuild with American help, adding a nursery and a school of nursing to the former works.

Under Communist Power

Some of the sisters from the Saint Louis Province—who had fled before the Japanese invasion—returned to rebuild after the war, accompanied by Sisters Mary Fou and Philomena Shu, two Chinese companions who had escaped with them, and Sisters Jane Breidenbach and Veronica Sanchez, two younger recruits. They found Shanghai much changed, paralyzed by fear and unrest. Sister Cubitt, who welcomed them to the provincial house, had been more than two years in a concentration camp. The saintly Mr. Lo had been murdered; but his son, who owned a boat, helped them reach Poyang.

Here they found the mission in fairly good condition. Japanese

soldiers had beheaded all the patients unable to flee from the compound; but the Chinese Christians had cleaned and preserved all the buildings and furniture, and the needy had moved back in. Soon, in spite of great poverty, the dispensary and workroom were humming with activity while the other works were resumed. The sisters taught others to render all the services they were accustomed to give—from teaching religion classes and baptizing babies to pulling teeth and lancing infections—in case they were forced to leave again.

This third stay was to be a short one. The Chinese Communists took advantage of conditions following the Japanese War to advance their cause, conquering province after province. Bishop O'Shea advised the sisters to move out before the Communist advance, leaving the works in the hands of well-trained lay Catholics. The sisters had to leave Poyang 27 November 1948. From Nanchang, the capital of Kiangsi, they flew to Shanghai where they found passage on a boat leaving the country. Their two Chinese companions were not permitted to embark; but air passage was later arranged for them.

The sisters at Saint Margaret's in Kanchow had not sufficient warning to evacuate all the sisters. Those who remained were placed under house arrest when the Communists took control of the hospital. Still permitted to care for their patients, they were no longer in charge, but were the menial servants of the house for almost two years. Then in May 1952 three of the sisters were permitted to leave for Hong Kong. Sister Vincent Louise Delude, the sister servant, after months more of house arrest, abuse, and false trials, was expelled from the country. She arrived safely in Hong Kong with Bishop John O'Shea in September 1952.

Other Daughters of Charity serving in China were not so fortunate as the Americans. Among the Polish sisters several were imprisoned; Sister Helen Ginal was beaten so brutally during interrogations that doctors who later examined her marvelled that she had survived. When finally permitted to leave China, six of these sisters came to the United States. A few of them returned to Poland; the others chose to remain as members of the Saint Louis Province. Sisters Helen Ginal and Bernice Szewczyk shortly returned to the Orient to serve again the Chinese people exiled in Taiwan.

Community Joys and Sorrows

The visit of Mother Marie Lebrun, superioress general, gave joy to all the sisters, particularly those who had known her in China. She invited several sisters from each province to Paris for the sister servants' retreat in 1930, and three seminary sisters were invited to Paris also to complete their seminary at Rue du Bac.*

Celebrating Community Saints

The year of 1930 was a time of rejoicing throughout the Community, as it marked the centennial of the visits of Mary Immaculate to the chapel of the Motherhouse, where she gave to Sister Catherine Labouré, then a seminary sister, the message and design of the Miraculous Medal.

For fifty years Sister Catherine kept in her heart Mary's favors to her, while she worked in a hospice for old men, living her title "servant of the sick poor." The holiness of this humble service was recognized 28 May 1933 when Catherine was ranked among those the Church calls "Blessed."

This same honor had been accorded in 1920 to Louise de Marillac, foundress of the Daughters of Charity, as well as to four sisters martyred at Arras during the French Revolution. The solemn canonization of Saint Louise 11 March 1934 in Rome was attended by Daughters of Charity from many countries and celebrated everywhere. Similar rejoicing heralded the canonization of Saint Catherine Laboure 27 July 1947.

The Seton Cause: Charles Souvay, Notary

Meanwhile renewed activity in the Cause of Elizabeth Ann Seton had arisen in 1919 with the petition of the American Hierarchy addressed to the Holy See on behalf of the Seton Cause. Momentum was added in 1923 with the appointment of Charles Souvay, C.M., as Notary of the Cause. Souvay, a noted Scripture

**Those selected were Sisters Denise Simms and Yvonne Dagrone from the Eastern Province, Sister Emily O'Flaherty from the West.*

scholar, had been professor and then rector of Kenrick Seminary in Saint Louis, and was known to the sisters of the West—to whom he had introduced the Christmas Novena and taught Gregorian Chant. As Notary of the Cause he resided in Emmitsburg and cultivated the liturgical renewal there, while directing the collection of all Mother Seton's letters and other writings, having them copied and presented to the Ecclesiastical Court. After the final session of the Court in 1925, these autographs were sent to Rome. In March 1940 the Cause of Mother Seton was introduced at Rome.

In 1933 Souvay was elected superior general, in which post he served for six years. As superior general, he directed that copies of the letters of Archbishops Carroll, DuBourg, Cardinal Cheverus, Bishop Brute, and the Filicchi brothers be sent to Rome for study. He also addressed an eloquent letter of his own to the Holy See in 1936, emphasizing his belief in the sanctity of Elizabeth Seton. Souvay died in 1939, and another war interrupted work on the Seton Cause; but his work over sixteen years was no small contribution to the Community effort which led to the Clementine Hall in Rome, where the heroicity of her virtues was declared in 1958, and to her beatification in Saint Peter's in 1963.

Changes in Leadership

The direction of both provinces had been vested in strong partnerships. Sister Eugenia Fealy and Father James Sullivan had put the Western Province on a firm footing. Communication with the missions was frequent; the sisters benefited from strong support, wise counsel, and the challenge to live up to the ideals conceived by Vincent and Louise. Father Sullivan's death in 1927, after several years of paralysis, left a vacuum which his sub-director John J. Cronin, filled diligently and capably for thirty years. Sister Caroline Collins, named assistant in 1930, became visitatrix upon the death of Sister Eugenia in 1936. Sister Catherine Sullivan was recalled that year from her work in Carville to become assistant, a role she ably filled until Sister Caroline's death in 1952, when she became the third visitatrix of the province.

Mother Margaret O'Keefe, visitatrix in Emmitsburg from 1901 until her death in 1923, was followed in this office by Sister Paula Dunn, who had been her assistant since 1914. Father Cribbins worked closely with both in the leadership of the province. When

these two died within a year—Cribbins, 27 June 1943 and Sister Paula, 22 March 1944—Francis J. Dodd, sub-director since 1929, became director and Sister Gertrude Eisele, assistant, succeeded as temporary visitatrix. When communication with the Motherhouse in Paris was restored, Sister Isabel Toohey was installed as visitatrix 3 September 1944.

World War II: Beginning of a New Era

The march of Nazi armies across Europe, swallowing one nation after another into the craw of Hitler's Germany, filled American sisters with concern. As they empathized with the anguish of conquered and displaced millions of people, they prayed and waited in vain for news of their sisters in the devastated lands.

Foreseeing the probable fall of Paris, Father Souvay wrote 27 September 1938 to all the visitatrices, delegating certain powers and describing measures to be taken if correspondence with the Motherhouse should become impossible. What he feared became a reality with the surrender of Paris to the Nazis in June 1940. From this time until September 1944, correspondence with major superiors was cut off. Sister Madeleine Morris, American secretary in Paris, was persuaded to escape from France by way of Portugal, and eventually reached the United States. The news she brought with her was the last received about the Community in much of Europe until March 1943, when it was learned that the superioress general, Mother Laure Decq, had been arrested by the Nazis and detained in some unknown prison. Only after her release more than a month later—through the intervention of Pope Pius XII—did the American sisters hear rumors of her refusal to surrender a sister wanted by the Nazis for helping wounded resistance fighters escape capture.

"PARIS LIBERATED!" the headlines of 26 August 1944 proclaimed. The Daughters of Charity had more reason than most Americans to rejoice. To them Paris was more than a city of culture, charm, and fashion; it was the heart and nerve-center of the Community. Normal communication with the Motherhouse was resumed a few days after the liberation of Paris.

The war years were a turning point in twentieth century history. The map of Europe was drastically revised. Previously unheard-of islands and plains in Asia and Africa broke into headlines in Amer-

ican newspapers and haunted the nightmares of American servicemen. The world had become a troubled neighborhood in which there was no longer an "over there" that could be ignored. The horrors of concentration camps, extermination bunkers, and the atomic bomb stripped mankind of security and confidence in the future. Millions of displaced persons sought asylum wherever it could be found; many of them emigrated to the United States. The dread of Nazism and Fascism gave way to the specter of Communism as one nation after another was shrouded behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains.

Aftermath of the War

Inventions and discoveries developed for use during the war were to become part of the peacetime economy: jet planes, helicopters, radar, television, atomic energy, tape recorders, computers, synthetic quinine, penicillin, and the sulfa drugs. Wage and price controls, rationing, and wartime shortages gave way to an era of prosperity. Women remained an important part of the work force as returning veterans took advantage of educational benefits, thereby raising the level of education in the whole nation.

Changing Neighborhoods

The availability of housing loans for veterans caused housing tracts and new subdivisions to spring up all over America. In many cities this led to the building of a system of freeways to connect suburbs with the central city. Existing housing was condemned to clear the path for these superhighways; existing neighborhoods (and parishes) were destroyed or divided. Displaced families were relocated in public housing or forced to move away.

This pattern created new challenges for the Catholic Church. The displacement of settled ethnic parishes and the need to create new ones in suburban neighborhoods strained financial and personnel resources, as new churches and schools needed to be built and staffed in unprecedented numbers. The influx of rural southern blacks into the cities, where wartime jobs had been available, brought into focus problems of discrimination, the needs of inner city parishes, and their lack of resources. The freeways created a

new type of discrimination by separating the upper and middle class from the poor, to the extent that to many suburban Catholics the poor were invisible and forgotten. High-rise public housing overpopulated small areas, without providing the resources and services needed by so many people; public schools in some places went on double shifts to accommodate the influx of children into the neighborhood. Rural apostolates took a back seat as bishops took a new look at the former focus on Catholic immigrants, and the resultant failure to evangelize and help the black Americans already in the United States.

Renewal of Faith

Another effect of the war was a seriousness in the American people that focused thought and attention on eternal realities. Religious books were published and read in increased numbers; universities offered courses in religion. Church attendance increased. Religious vocations soared in the decade after the war, cresting to a new high in the early 1960s, then falling sharply. For a time sisters and priests were available to staff the numerous new parishes, or to evangelize and provide services in the inner cities.

Hospital Rebuilding

During the war most Catholic hospitals entered wholeheartedly into the Cadet Nurse program, an intensive accelerated curriculum to increase the number of nurses available for military and civilian service. New schools of nursing were built to accommodate larger numbers of students, using funds made available through the Lanham Act. In the twenty years following the war, significant changes took place in the administration of private hospitals as government entered into the health-care partnership through funding and new regulations, particularly after the Medicare program was enacted in 1964.

The dual system of hospitals serving the nation—public and voluntary—had long been recognized under American law. The Hill-Burton Act of 1946 continued to honor this dual system. In granting federal subsidies to religious institutions that raised matching funds, the law safeguarded their rights to keep their tradi-

tional ethics and principles, spiritual motivation, and tax-free status. These subsidies permitted much hospital expansion, renovation, replacement of buildings. Advances in nursing care and surgical techniques, new diagnostic procedures and treatment programs necessitated the complete revamping of surgical suites, X-ray departments, pharmacy and laboratory. Remodeling was often not enough. Power output, water and electrical supply, waste disposal, protection from radiation required such vast changes that these departments were like new wine that could not be put into old wineskins. Need for infection control made hospital wards obsolete; most new accommodations were single or double rooms. All these changes and improvements in care pushed the cost of the average hospital patient-care day to eighty dollars by 1970.

The Daughters of Charity accepted no new hospitals within the territorial United States between 1940 and 1970; but there was much expanding, modernizing, and development of services in the hospitals they did staff: twenty-six besides one government hospital in the Eastern Province, twenty-one in addition to four government hospitals in the West. These improvements were financed partly by Hill-Burton matching funds and Ford Foundation grants, partly by private donations and returns on invested income. Catholic hospitals are classified non-profit because they serve all classes of society, not without cost, but without profit, from a motive of charity. There are no stockholders to collect dividends; income is invested and used to provide improved and expanded services in the hospital and in the surrounding community. Fund-raising by auxiliaries, volunteers, and others extended the amount of charity care that could be given.

New Trends in the Apostolates: 1940-1968

Dependence on Lay Collaborators

From the days of Vincent and Louise, lay Catholics had always been involved in the apostolates of the Community. In the middle decades of the twentieth century this involvement took a new form: lay helpers became lay collaborators working side by side with the sisters as equals, taking over administrative positions, replacing sisters so they could take on new apostolates.

As early as 1952 the Conference of Major Superiors had pointed out to bishops and pastors that the educational work of the Church could be doubled if a proportionate number of lay teachers were hired, so that sisters could be present in more schools. This "Sharing the Sisters" plan was put into operation with qualified lay teachers forming at least 10 percent of the faculties of most schools.

In settlement houses and children's institutions Catholic lay social workers were already playing an important role. The trend for nursing education to take place at the university level prepared many good lay nurses and technicians for supervisory and administrative positions formerly held by sisters. In 1966 Anthony Bunker accepted the position of executive director of DePaul Hospital in Saint Louis, becoming the first of many superb lay administrators who preserve the Vincentian spirit in hospitals in which they hold key positions.

Trends in Schools Opened After 1940

The Daughters of Charity were part of the postwar boom in Catholic education. New schools close to the provincial houses enabled young sisters to continue their education and receive guidance from Community supervisors in their early teaching experience. Directed teaching could take place in these schools, providing needed experience for sister-students who attended evening and Saturday classes.

Thus in Maryland the sisters taught in Saint Dominic's, Our Lady of Lourdes, and Seton High School in Baltimore; Saint Michael's in Overlea (accepted in 1952), Saint Catherine Labouré, Wheaton (1953), and Saint Charles in Pikesville. Mother Seton Elementary School in Emmitsburg became a model school close to the campus of Saint Joseph's College.

In the Western Province three schools were accepted in Saint Louis in the 1940s: Saint Malachy's in a predominantly black parish of the inner city, Saint Louise de Marillac in suburban Jennings, and North Side Catholic High School (later renamed Labouré). In the next two decades four others in the Saint Louis Archdiocese, close to Marillac College, were accepted: Saint Catherine Labouré and Saint Matthias, both in suburbs south of the city; Elizabeth Ann Seton School in Brewer, Missouri; and Providence Junior High School, a remedial school for educationally deprived blacks

of the inner city. For a time Project Door provided individual instruction for youth too far behind to fit into the Providence program. In most of these schools student teachers could observe and gain experience under supervision.

Several of these schools illustrate a policy of withdrawing sisters from suburban or middle-class parishes able to support more lay teachers, thereby freeing sisters for inner-city schools or those in poor rural areas. An example of this policy is Our Lady Queen of Peace School in Washington, D.C., where in 1952 sisters not only staffed the school, but also began serving in other ways in this predominantly poor black neighborhood.

Collaboration with Vincentians

Another trend notable in these decades was increasing collaboration with the Congregation of the Mission. Several of the schools named above were in Vincentian parishes, as were other new schools: Our Lady of the Rosary of Talpa (1951) in a Mexican, predominantly Spanish-speaking parish in Los Angeles staffed by Vincentians from Spain; Marian School (1954) in the nearby suburb of Montebello, in a parish staffed by American Vincentians; Saint Vincent de Paul School, Phoenix (1959), the first mission of the Daughters of Charity in Arizona; and Most Precious Blood School, Denver, (1960), the first in Colorado.

Other schools accepted in these years marked a return to cities or states where the sisters had previously served: Harrisburg, Pennsylvania (1949) in the world's first parish to be named for Saint Catherine Labouré; Saint Theresa's in Carson City, Nevada (1957) near Virginia City, from which the sisters had departed sixty years earlier. After a century of absence, sisters returned to the state of Ohio to serve two schools in the Youngstown Diocese: Our Lady of Peace in Canton (1954) and Saint Christine's in Youngstown (1955). Saint Rose of Lima School in Ephrata (1959) was the first mission accepted in the distant state of Washington. Other schools were opened in Cambridge, Massachusetts (1948); Lake Zurich, Illinois (1956); Arabi, Louisiana (1964); Prichard, Alabama (1964); and the multicultural parish of Our Lady of the Visitacion in San Francisco (1964).

The Growth of Diocesan High Schools

The development of curricula for college-bound students after World War II demanded a level of staffing and equipment impossible for small academies and parish high schools to afford. A pooling of diocesan and community resources was necessary to maintain the quality of Catholic secondary education. Inter-community faculties developed, with sisters of two or more communities joining clergy and lay teachers to make up a full faculty. The earliest of these involving Daughters of Charity were Norfolk Catholic High School in Virginia (1950) and Bishop England High School in Charleston, South Carolina (1951). North Side Catholic High School in Saint Louis—later renamed Labouré—began as a co-instructional high school, as distinguished from coeducational; on opposite sides of the same school building, the girls were taught by Daughters of Charity and the boys by Brothers of Mary. In urban secondary education centralized diocesan high schools, most of them coeducational, with larger enrollments and expanded faculties were to become the norm. But there were still exceptions. Seton High School in Baltimore—begun in 1926 as an annex to Saint Joseph's House of Industry—was a large girls' high school owned and sponsored by the Daughters of Charity, as were two new girls' high schools: Elizabeth Seton in Bladensburg, Maryland, a suburb of Washington, and Saint Louise de Marillac in Northfield, Illinois, a suburb of Chicago.

Early Responses to Integration

"Separate but equal" had been the catch phrase justifying segregation since the Supreme Court decided the *Plessy v. Ferguson* case at the turn of the century. Through the Children of Mary Sodality, the Catholic Interracial Council, student councils and other groups, efforts were made to bridge the division between black and white for at least some students, and to promote understanding among cultures. In 1947 two archbishops—Patrick O'Boyle in Washington and Joseph E. Ritter in Saint Louis—ordered integration in the Catholic schools of their archdioceses. Other dioceses followed. Integration had been peacefully effected in Catholic schools in most dioceses before it was mandated by the Supreme Court for public schools in 1954. At first

it was only a token integration—a few black students in several schools. But a sense of solidarity was already in evidence by the spring of 1948, when the hotel manager who had accepted reservations for Labouré's prom called back to explain the hotel's "whites only" policy. The students unanimously supported the response of Sister Clotilda Landry, principal of the school: "If we're not all welcome, none of us will come." By the time other arrangements had been made for the prom, the whole city of Saint Louis was aware of the stand taken by the students, and which hotels supported it.

Trends in Social Work

With the return of prosperity, adoptive and foster homes were more readily available for children. The focus of social work turned from the institutional care of children outside the home to family counseling and emergency help, making it possible for children to remain with their families, or to return to them as soon as possible. Those placed in institutions were no longer the children of poverty, illness, and death. Rather, they were, for the most part, court placements, the children of disastrous marriages, victims of abuse or psychological malnutrition, damaged by the awareness of being unloved, and therefore considering themselves unlovable. For these a new kind of home was needed.

In 1952 the Astor Home in Rhinebeck, New York, came into being under the leadership of Sister Serena Branson. It was the first Catholic residential psychiatric treatment facility for emotionally disturbed children. While the child was being helped to grow whole in every aspect of living, psychiatrists and social workers counseled the family to help heal the wounds that had made the child's placement necessary.

In New York City the sisters were asked to staff the Archdiocesan Charities Home Bureau in 1958, and the Kennedy Child Study Center, a day treatment program for exceptional children and their families. When the orphanage in Boston became Nazareth Hall, similar programs were offered and an outpatient facility called Rosary Clinic was attached to it. Other older children's institutions took similar pathways to meet the needs of their new residents.

In the Western Province a similar program evolved at Saint Elizabeth's Home in New Orleans. Saint Mary's Home for Girls in Saint

Louis closed as an orphanage, and was deeded to the School Sisters of Notre Dame to become a residential school for the developmentally disabled. In Kansas City, Missouri, Marillac Home and School replaced the Kansas City Boys' Home and Pius X School, offering residential care and treatment as well as education for emotionally disturbed and educationally handicapped children. Saint Vincent's Institution in Santa Barbara, California, also changed its focus from an orphanage to a residential school for girls with learning problems. In Milwaukee the older girls were removed from Saint Rose's Orphanage into a smaller, more homelike setting called Saint Vincent Group Home.

The Child Center of Our Lady of Grace in Saint Louis, which had begun in 1947 in the former Saint Philomena's Technical School, initially offered outpatient services and classes for emotionally disturbed and educationally handicapped children. Under the auspices of Catholic Charities, the Center expanded its program and moved to new facilities in Normandy, Missouri, where it became a residential treatment center for emotionally disturbed children, while still offering testing and intensive help to non-resident students with developmental or learning disabilities.

Evacuation of Cuban Children

In April 1962 an arrangement was made between Cuban and American bishops to evacuate children whose parents did not want them to grow up under Communism. Taking advantage of this last opportunity, approximately thirteen thousand children were airlifted from Cuba to the United States, where offices of Catholic Charities hastily arranged foster homes or institutional placement for those who had no relatives in this country. Most of the girls knew no English. They brought their fears with them; many were angry, not understanding why their parents had suddenly sent them away, why the adults they loved could not come with them.

Sister Anna Marie Hayes received twenty-four teenage girls at Saint Joseph's Villa in Richmond. Others were received at Saint Vincent's in Washington, Saint Mary's in Mobile, and Maryvale near Los Angeles. Sister Frances McCarthy flew to Florida to welcome those who were assigned to Maryvale; she brought back with her fourteen children of six families, and later received four more girls.

A few of the parents eventually were able to leave Cuba and claim their children. The other girls received a good education and were prepared for work or marriage in their adopted country.

Parenting Programs

In 1964 Villa Saint Louise was opened in Timonium, Maryland, to provide shelter and guidance for thirty-four single mothers-to-be. The Villa staff, headed by Sister Celeste Cummings, offered ongoing support and counseling even after childbirth, drawing families into the circle of understanding. By improving the climate to which the young mother returned, the program helped prevent a recurrence of the problems that led to unmarried pregnancy.

Homes for single mothers in Austin, Texas, and in San Francisco introduced programs of outreach to unmarried fathers, in the realization that they too had needs and problems. As more single parents opted to keep their babies, parenting classes were added to existing programs.

Parenting classes were also part of the scene in settlement houses and day care centers. The term "day nursery" was relegated to places where infants were cared for. Programs for preschoolers were called "nursery schools" to emphasize the educational and developmental focus of their programs. Sessions for parents explained normal development and behavior at each level, suggested sound methods of discipline, and answered questions regarding health, nutrition, and other parental concerns. Emphasis was on the parent as the one whose love and consistent expectations would be the most important factor in the child's development.

The New Settlement House: Enabling Rather Than Serving

The 33-year-old Catholic Social Center in Chicago took on new life in 1947 when Sister Bertrande Meyers converted a former Episcopalian orphanage into a beehive of activity renamed Marillac Social Center, and familiarly known as Marillac House. Day care was provided for two-to five-year-olds and schoolage children six to thirteen. After-school play club and evening Teen Town offered classes in woodworking, crafts, dancing and sports to adolescents. Adult clubs attracted young and older adults, up to and including senior citizens who had a thriving Chess and Chatter Club. On weekends the house hosted days of recollection, retreats, and meet-

ings of various Catholic groups.

In 1947 the families using the center were primarily Irish and Italian, with a healthy mixture of other groups. In the 1950s black and Puerto Rican families moved into the neighborhood in greater numbers—a movement facilitated by the erection of a large public housing complex a few blocks away. Sister Mary William Sullivan obtained an apartment in Rockwell Gardens which she named Rendu House; from here she spearheaded a program of counseling and community organization for the residents of the complex. At the same time, Sister Jane Breidenbach was organizing block clubs among residents of the blocks closest to the center, and teaching them how to speak up with one voice for the needs of the neighborhood. By 1960 the composition of the area was 90% black and Hispanic. The focus of the house's program was less recreational and more attuned to the development of individuals to their full potential, job placement, skill and leadership development, and group action for neighborhood improvement.

Sisters in Catholic Charities

A trend which began in the 1950s was the employment of sisters at the diocesan level in offices of Catholic Charities. The trend began in 1954 when Sister Blanche Culligan became Director of Family Services for Catholic Charities in Washington, D.C. Her role included psychological counseling. Sister Benedicta Alton worked with her. In 1958 Sister Serena Branson began the New York Archdiocesan Catholic Charities Home Bureau. The trend continued when in 1961 three sisters opened Catholic Social Service Center in Covington, Kentucky; it culminated with the appointment of Sister Andrea Vaughan as the Director of Catholic Charities in Nashville, Tennessee, in 1977.

The last social service taken on by the Saint Louis Province before 1969, when the provinces were again divided, was a mobile service to Mexican migrant farm workers in the Diocese of Fresno, California, undertaken in 1968 at the request of Auxiliary Bishop Roger Mahony. The sisters planned to be as mobile as the people they wanted to serve, living in a trailer which moved from Del Rey to Earlimart, then Farmersville in the center of Tulare County. Sister Ursula Peternel set up a Catholic Social Services office in Visalia, from which she sought volunteers who provided for the

immediate needs of families, listened to the poor, and made known their real needs before judges and politicians.

Moving Health Care Out of the Hospitals

As hospitals became more complex and sophisticated, there was a marked trend among Daughters of Charity to bring health care to the poor where they were. During the early 1950s when Doctor Jonas Salk's polio vaccine became available, churches, neighborhood houses, and parish centers became scenes of massive immunization campaigns to prevent another widespread epidemic like the one of 1943. When Sabin's oral vaccine was approved and available, hospitals sponsored similar immunization clinics in schools and other outreach centers.

In Boston, Labouré Center (1948) and Saint Cecilia Center (1949) moved out of Carney Hospital to offer home nursing as well as day care in poor neighborhoods. In San Antonio, Texas, and its poorer outlying barrios, the sisters offered health care combined with catechesis and emergency relief at El Carmen Mission (1958) and later at Saint Leo's Center (1968).

Midwifery

Sister Justina Morgan, health councillor of the Saint Louis Province, obtained approval in 1956 for sisters to study midwifery. Sisters Mary Stella Simpson, Nathalie Elder, and Rita Zimmerman took this program and were thus enabled to bring health care to mothers and newborn babies in depressed areas. Sister Mary Stella was asked in the early 1960s to help organize a comprehensive health center in Bolivar County, Mississippi, where the mortality rate of newborns was about fifty-seven per thousand. In four years she delivered over fifteen hundred babies and brought the mortality rate down to seventeen per thousand. Sister Mary Stella worked alone for the first year, covering a 500-square-mile area. The second year another nurse midwife helped her, and gradually a staff was trained to keep the clinic in Mound Bayou functioning efficiently. Sister followed up those who missed appointments, teaching parents to sterilize baby bottles, use corn starch baths for prickly heat, protect infants from flies and

mosquitoes. She fought injustices: tenants without wells using bayou water; a postmistress who held back welfare checks; a hospital that refused unwed mothers "because it didn't want a bad reputation"; the lack of storm sewers in towns where the land was flat.

Taking Health Care to Latin America

One of the effects of World War II was to turn America's attention to its own neighbors southward. The Organization of American States, sponsored by the State Department, stressed and, to some degree, funded inter-American aid. The bishops of Latin America added their voices, requesting skilled practitioners to upgrade the quality of health services offered in their dioceses.

The Daughters of Charity, who have sisters in Mexico, all the countries of Central America, and all but one of the South American nations, were quick to accept the challenge. In 1945 nine Daughters of Charity were brought from Costa Rica, Peru, Ecuador, and Guatemala to study under inter-American aid grants. They were warmly welcomed by sisters of both provinces with whom they stayed while studying at Saint Louis University and receiving practical experience at various hospitals.

Nicaragua

In October 1944 the United States Minister to Nicaragua requested that two sisters be sent to help organize a training school for nurses in a government hospital staffed by religious. Sisters Inez Ohler from the Emmitsburg Province and Dolores Girault from the Saint Louis Province left in April 1945 for Managua, where they set up the training center and brought back some of the Sisters of Saint Joseph of the Managua staff to study and observe in the United States. At government request Sister Inez and Sister Pierre Casey returned for another year to help at the Managua hospital. During this year Sister Inez did a thorough study of hospital facilities in Nicaragua and made recommendations to the government.

Costa Rica, Guatemala

In 1946 Sisters Pierre Casey and Celeste Cummings were sent to help modernize a hospital in Costa Rica. They remained from June until January 1947 instructing the hospital staff and employees. That same year, two sisters were sent from Guatemala to the United States to study methods of nursing and hospital administration.

Peru

Realizing that language was a major barrier to participation in inter-American aid grants, the Daughters of Charity in Peru asked for a sister to teach English. Sister Delphine Steele fulfilled this role in Lima 1945-1947.

Bolivia

After the fall of China, Pope Pius XII asked for Daughters of Charity to go to either Bolivia or Japan. Sister Inez Ohler was given charge of the mission to Bolivia, which, on the advice of the Nuncio Apostolic, was located in Trinidad, Beni. With Sisters Clare Francis Stanton, Eugenia Beggs, Catherine O'Neill, and Florence Beas, Sister Inez organized and administered Colegio Madre Seton in this sequestered region, a thirty-day trip by ox-cart from the nearest city. The mission included a day school, religious instruction at all levels, religion and English classes taught by the sisters in the public high school, a dispensary, home visiting, and a workroom where young girls were employed and taught to manufacture clothing. This first group sailed for Bolivia 7 October 1952.

The home of the former German consul in Cochabamba, purchased as a house of retreat and study, became a separate mission in 1957, offering at first catechetical instruction and home visiting. Later a 50-bed hospital and a school of nursing were added. By 1960 there were twelve sisters from the Emmitsburg Province serving in Bolivia. When the decision was made to form a Bolivian Province, most of the sisters working there chose to remain and become a part of it. Their presence made it possible to expand the works with new missions in La Paz, Santa Cruz, and other parts of the country.

Ecuador

In 1953 Sister Christine Chiron, then visitatrix of Ecuador, asked for two sisters from the United States to help with a government hospital in that country. Sisters Virginia Kingsbury and Euphemia Baschnagel were sent. Besides teaching courses in nursing and dietetics, they visited hospitals in twenty-five cities and made recommendations for their modernization. In 1957 Sister Virginia returned for one year as a nursing education consultant under contract with the United States government. In 1962 the Jesuits of Saint Louis University sponsored the foundation of the Catholic University of Quito in Ecuador. The following year Sister Virginia returned to Ecuador to set up a nursing program at the university. A six-year contract was signed under which sisters from the United States would set up and teach in the department of nursing education in Quito; at the same time, Ecuadorian sisters were earning advanced degrees in the United States, preparing to replace them at the end of the six-year period. The sisters named for this project were from the Saint Louis Province: Sisters Mary Helen Doerr, dean; Patricia Geoghegan, psychiatry; Nathalie Elder, maternity; Mildred Mary Lambert, pediatrics; Maria Montes, administrative assistant and nursing instructor; and Hermine Regan, sister servant. Before the completion of the plan in 1970, Sisters Regina Triche, Isabel Fierro, and Mary Frances Doolan also had participated in it.

Other Consultations, Cooperation

For two years Sister Mary Helen Doerr taught in the nursing department of the Catholic University of Puerto Rico. Sister Virginia Kingsbury was sent for short-term consultations regarding nursing education programs to Tegucigalpa, Honduras; Bogotá and Cali, Colombia; Salta, Argentina; and to present a workshop and help in grant-writing in Guatemala.

In Texas, sisters in missions along the Mexican border have been able on a regular basis to extend help across the border. Sisters and Ladies of Charity in Los Angeles organized a system of collecting food and clothing, furniture and other necessities for the sisters in Ensenada, Baja California. From El Paso, Texas, even greater help has been extended to the poor of Juarez, Mexico. A hospital,

erected as a result of Sister Dolores Girault's fearless and energetic efforts to bring help to poor Mexican mothers, still cares for them.

Postwar Missions in Asia

Japan

Columban Father Arthur Friel wrote from Japan to Sister Catherine Sullivan requesting two or three sisters to open a dispensary, and later a general hospital. Sisters Mary Moran, Angela Sheehan, Baptista Casper, and Mary Patrick Collins left for Japan 24 September 1954. A year later they set up Saint Mary's Mission Center in Wakayama, beginning with care of the sick poor in their homes; later they assisted the nurses in the local hospital. By 1958 they had received four Japanese postulants and had been asked by the government to take over the care of physically handicapped children. In 1961 the Saint Louis Province financed the building of a modern hospital in Wakayama, equipped for surgery and physical therapy. Among the sisters who served in this hospital was Sister Hilary Ross, the world-renowned laboratory technician from Carville who had done much to advance the understanding of Hansen's Disease.

Other Daughters of Charity were serving in other parts of Japan—both European and native sisters. In 1963 all of the missions in Japan were united into a Japanese Province, with Sister Mary Moran as first visitatrix.

Taiwan

Since 1948 American Vincentians had worked on the island of Taiwan among the thousands of refugees from mainland China. They had achieved astonishing results among the Chinese refugees and, to a lesser degree, even among the native Taiwanese. These Vincentians asked for American sisters to work with them in southern Taiwan. In 1962 Sisters Agnes McPhee, Helen Ginal, Mary Fou, and Beatrice Broussard were sent to Taiwan. Father Leo Fox, pastor of Saint Joseph's Parish, and hundreds of his parishioners met them and escorted them to their new home with a

welcoming burst of firecrackers. Before long, volunteers from the parish were escorting the sisters on visits to the sick; trained catechists were assisting with religious instruction.

The sisters opened a clinic to give nursing care and practical instruction to the people. The clinic was soon extending its services to outlying parishes and even, on occasion, to the Chinese Air Force. Soon sisters were teaching English classes in high schools and the university. They began religious instruction classes at the American military base, training officers' wives to assist as catechists in the instruction of the American children there.

Sisters from the Philippines had been serving since 1960 with Dutch Vincentians in northern Taiwan. As new missions were added in both north and south and native vocations were formed, the houses of the Daughters of Charity in Taiwan became a blend of Filipino, American, Chinese, and Taiwanese sisters.

With American Service Personnel in Europe

On a visit to the Rue du Bac chapel in Paris in 1958, Father Joseph Casey, military chaplain at the United States Air Force Base in Evreux, France, met Sister Mary Basil Roarke, American councillor-general. He asked her to organize and train American women as catechists for the base. Sister agreed. Each Friday she went by train to Evreux, held classes for the adults on Friday evening and helped them teach the children on Saturday morning, returning to Paris by the afternoon train.

When Father Casey was transferred to Wiesbaden, Germany, he asked Sister Mary Basil to go there once a month for the same purpose. Again she agreed. When the Army Chief of Chaplains heard about religious instructions in the Air Force, he too wanted trained catechists. He organized a summer program during which Sister Mary Basil went to bases in France and Germany giving three-day workshops for would-be teachers. This program culminated in the request for Sister Mary Basil to address the annual meeting of all Catholic women in the National Council of Military Women, held in 1962 in Berchtesgaden, Germany.

Pre-Conciliar Steps to Adaptation and Renewal

The Calls of the Church

In 1950 Pope Pius XII summoned a world-wide Congress of Religious to consider the needs and problems of religious life in the light of modern circumstances. Following this, the first national congress of religious was held in the United States. Topics included secularism, qualifications for foreign missions, the preparation of sisters in theology, the role of the religious teacher in America, among others. In his closing remarks Most Reverend Arcadio Larraona, secretary of the Sacred Congregation of Religious, recommended that several trends found in Europe should be implemented in the Church of the United States: meetings of major superiors; national federations of religious engaged in the same works or sharing the same religious heritage; erection of colleges for the doctrinal and technical training of sisters; and encouragement of study groups and special congresses.

Implementing the Recommendations

Sister Isabel Toohey in the East and Sister Catherine Sullivan in the West were both keenly interested in the formation of sisters. Both were women whose warmth, poise, and gracious hospitality could make groups feel at home and as one. These qualities were to be well tested as the two visitatrixes accepted leadership roles in the foundation of the Leadership Conference of Women Religious and the Federation of Mother Seton's Daughters, hosted Marian Congresses and regional meetings of Ladies of Charity, and sponsored educational institutes of various kinds for sisters.

Federation of Mother Seton's Daughters

The first Conference of Mother Seton's Daughters took place at Emmitsburg 27-29 October 1947, attended by delegates from six communities of Sisters of Charity who trace their foundation to the community established by Mother Seton at Emmitsburg in 1809. Sister Isabel had laid the groundwork for the conference by visiting

or writing to superiors of each community, inviting them to the meeting. She had planned a restoration of the White House, so rich in memories for all Sisters of Charity, to be available as a small retreat house for any of Mother Seton's daughters who wished to come and stay at Emmitsburg for a time.

The Federation of Mother Seton's Daughters was formed in 1965 to promote unity and family spirit among the communities while strengthening the spirit of each; and to work together for Mother Seton's canonization. The Federation, which represented approximately ten thousand Sisters of Charity in the United States and Canada, agreed to meet annually.

Sister Formation

Sister Isabel's leadership in making the Federation of Mother Seton's Daughters a reality was paralleled by Sister Catherine's enthusiasm in furthering the Sister Formation Movement. She had helped plan the first National Congress of Major Superiors of Women's Institutes and served as its second national chairman.

Perhaps Sister Catherine's greatest contribution to the Sister Formation Movement was her founding with Sister Bertrande Meyers in 1955 of Marillac College in Saint Louis, a liberal arts college for sisters only—sisters of many communities. Marillac College was conceived as a true service to the poor by providing for them well-qualified nurses, teachers, and social workers. As Saint Joseph's in Emmitsburg had so long done, Marillac College provided a service to smaller communities and to the Church by making a solid program of formation and education available to those communities without the resources to provide a college for their own sisters. In the peak years of its service, the Marillac College faculty was culled from fifteen religious orders; the student body, numbering about five hundred, represented thirty-seven communities. Sisters from Third World countries were educated without charge at both Marillac and Saint Joseph's Colleges.

Within twenty years Marillac College had completed its mission: almost all the active sisters in the communities it served had obtained their degrees. The postwar floodtide of vocations had ebbed. As new options for service in the Church opened to the laity, the women entering communities were fewer in number and older in age; many had degrees or at least a few years of college. After

seventy years of quality education, Saint Joseph College in Emmitsburg was phased out in 1973; Marillac College in Saint Louis closed in 1974.

Living in the Light of Vatican II

In January 1959 Pope John XXIII summoned the Second Vatican Council, which opened at Rome in the fall of 1962. It was a time of renewal in the Church; *aggiornamento* was Pope John's word for it, signifying spiritual renewal as well as institutional reform. This renewal was vividly reflected in the life of the Community.

Modifications of the Habit

Even before the promulgation of *Perfectae Caritatis*, the Constitution on Renewal of Religious Life, the Community had initiated its renewal according to the principles contained in the document. One of the changes called for was the simplification of religious habits. On 20 September 1964 the familiar white-winged cornette and the gray-blue habit—which had been worn for centuries in Europe and since 1850 in the United States—were changed for a simpler modern habit of the same blue color and a coiffe somewhat resembling the headdress worn by the early Daughters of Charity in France. The style was not important; it could be and later was modified. What was significant was the unity with which sisters throughout the world responded in a spirit of prayerful obedience to the desires expressed by the Church through the pope and bishops in Council. All around the world the change was carried out on the same day, preceded by a day of prayer on the theme “In God's will is our peace.”

The First International Assembly of Daughters of Charity

In May 1965 a meeting of visitatrices from all provinces of the world was held in Rome. Concerned with affairs of the Community on its path to renewal, this assembly laid the groundwork for legislative assemblies to follow. In preparation for the revision of the

Constitutions, every sister was invited to join in discernment of the needs of the poor and what the response of the Community should be; the qualities of Vincentian presence; and the Christian values which animate the spiritual, fraternal, and apostolic life of the Community.

Pope Paul VI received the delegates of the assembly in private audience 19 May 1965. Congratulating the visitatrices on the progress in authentic renewal already made by the Community, he said:

This world has—more than ever—need to discover the true aspect of Our Lord's love and the evangelical message of the Church. In making God present to the poor, you bear a testimony of choice and you should stop at nothing to make this witness visible to all: therein lies your true fidelity, for this is what Saint Vincent de Paul and Saint Louise de Marillac desired. Continue, after their example, to serve the poor, to compassionate their sufferings and answer their appeals.⁷

Women Called to Greater Participation in Church Leadership

The third session of the Council in the autumn of 1964 had a unique feature: the presence of women for the first time in the history of the Church—some leaders of lay organizations and the major superiors of a few communities of religious women. One of these was Mother Suzanne Guillemin, spiritual leader of some forty thousand Daughters of Charity in seventy-two nations of the world. In her talks and letters she shared with the Community the directives and the inspirations of the Holy Spirit gleaned from her silent participation in the third and fourth sessions of the Council.

Religious life for women in its active form is traversing one of the most serious periods of its history...because of the evolution of Church and society...

In this new social and ecclesial context the religious life for women must be inscribed:

a more open insertion into the Church, especially the Church of the country;

a renunciation of certain privileges accorded to the religious state, in order to enter into the life of those who were formerly called the poor, but whom in reality, we must know as our brothers.

Participation in the life of people is, I think, one of the most important points of the renewal of religious life at the present time.⁸

On another occasion Mother Guillemin assured the sisters:

Now there is not so much question of turning toward the poor and those who surround us, but of being truly men among men. We are not superior persons, separated by our religious consecration, lowering ourselves with condescension towards those beside us. Not at all. We are people like others and we have to bear the burden of humanity with them in everyday problems.⁹

Although the participation of auditors at the Council was a silent presence, Mother Guillemin had opportunities to share her thoughts and experience with many of the bishops. Before the vote was taken on *Perfectae Caritatis*, on 26 October 1964, she was asked to give her opinion to all the French-speaking bishops about the problems of religious women of active life. Her words rang out as a pattern for renewal, calling for a conversion of mind on the part of both clergy and religious women:

Our adaptation should be shown, not only by exterior arrangements, but by the conversion of mind made necessary by the evolution of the Church and the world.

Religious women are directed to pass

- from a situation of possession to a situation of insertion;
- from a position of authority to one of collaboration;
- from a complex of religious superiority to a sentiment of fraternity;
- from a complex of human inferiority to a loyal participation in life;
- from an anxiety about a “moral conversion” to a missionary anxiety.¹⁰

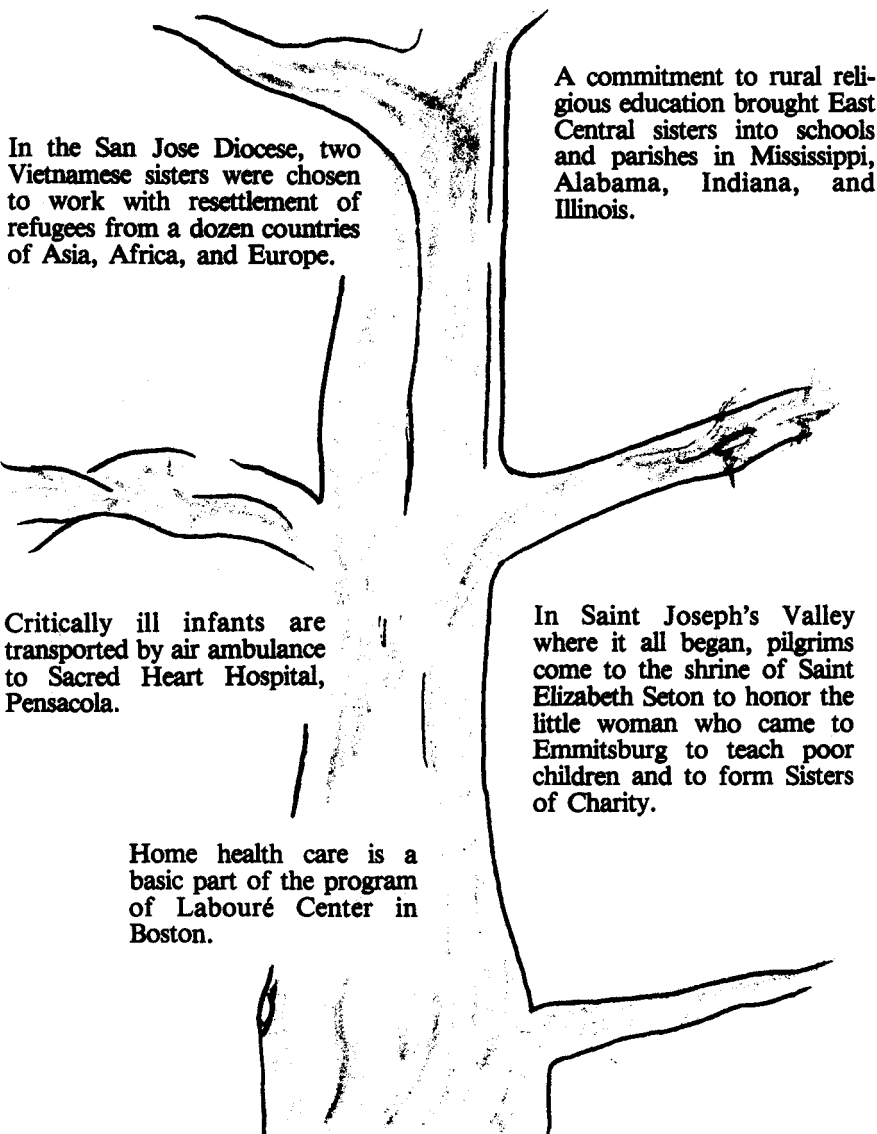
Divide and Grow

The fifty-eight years during which the United States was served by two provinces of Daughters of Charity were years of growth, challenges, and new directions. The bishops' calls to service of the Church and the poor were received generously, the responses leading the Community into ten additional states—Maine, Florida, Utah, South Carolina, Ohio, Nevada, Arizona, Washington, Colorado, and Kentucky—and six foreign countries: China, Nicaragua, Bolivia, Japan, Taiwan, and Ecuador.

“Divide and grow” is a principle of life. The one American province, divided into two, grew to spread its branches over much of the United States and into Latin America and several countries of Asia. By the close of 1968 this wide geographic spread and the administrative burdens it imposed led to still further division, which would hopefully stimulate still more new growth.



Maria Liebeck



In the San Jose Diocese, two Vietnamese sisters were chosen to work with resettlement of refugees from a dozen countries of Asia, Africa, and Europe.

A commitment to rural religious education brought East Central sisters into schools and parishes in Mississippi, Alabama, Indiana, and Illinois.

Critically ill infants are transported by air ambulance to Sacred Heart Hospital, Pensacola.

In Saint Joseph's Valley where it all began, pilgrims come to the shrine of Saint Elizabeth Seton to honor the little woman who came to Emmitsburg to teach poor children and to form Sisters of Charity.

Home health care is a basic part of the program of Labouré Center in Boston.

The senior nutrition program developed by Sister Alice Marie Quinn in Los Angeles is an outreach from Saint Vincent's Medical Center, staffed largely by volunteers. The meals are planned by a dietician and prepared in Saint Catherine's Kitchen.

IN TIMES OF DROUGHT, STILL GREEN

The growth of a tree is imperceptible. It sends out new shoots, produces leaves which absorb the sunlight and convert it into nourishment for the whole plant. Storms come, lightning strikes, ice breaks off branches, all seeming to diminish the tree. Yet year by year, ring by ring, the record of unrelenting growth is indelibly carved in the very substance of the trunk and branches.

The development of the Community is also gradual. It branches out into new paths, new methods of service, producing sisters who absorb the light of God's love through prayer that is at the heart of their service. The spirit of the Founders, embodied in the sisters of each generation, constantly replenishes the vitality of the Community. The rings which record its history are the choices discerned at provincial and general assemblies every six years, decisions faithfully lived in the time between assemblies.

The principal work of the General Assembly of 1968-1969 was to decide the content of the provisional Constitutions, based on the Rule of Saint Vincent and the prayerful recommendations of all the sisters throughout the world. The lived experience of these would enable each sister to respond in wise fidelity when the time came for revision six years later.

One of the decisions made early in the Assembly of 1968 was to study the numbers of sisters and provinces in the Company and to redivide, where indicated. This was to be effected immediately in order to provide a better balance of world representation at decision-making assemblies, while making provincial administration more proximate and accessible. In some countries new provinces had already been created several years earlier. This decision, implemented in the United States, called for five provinces to replace the Eastern and Western Provinces.

Erection of the New Provinces in the United States

Many factors determined the boundary lines of the new provinces: geographic size; population density; the people in terms of religious, ethnic, cultural, and economic factors. Even more important were the needs and goals seen by the bishops of the dioceses involved, balanced against the works, personnel, and resources of the Community already invested in some of these dioceses. Throughout the United States there were in 1968 over twenty-five hundred Daughters of Charity staffing seventy-nine elementary and secondary schools, forty-four hospitals, forty social agencies and other apostolic ministries. Some of these institutions were owned or sponsored by the Community; others were diocesan, while a few were under state or federal auspices.

After several plans for division had been proposed and discussed, the consensus of the superiors was to divide the country into these five provinces: Northeast, Southeast, East Central, West Central, and West.

Ten states composed the *Northeast Province*: Maine, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New York—where Daughters of Charity were serving—and New Hampshire, New Jersey, Rhode Island, and Vermont, where there were at that time no Daughters of Charity.

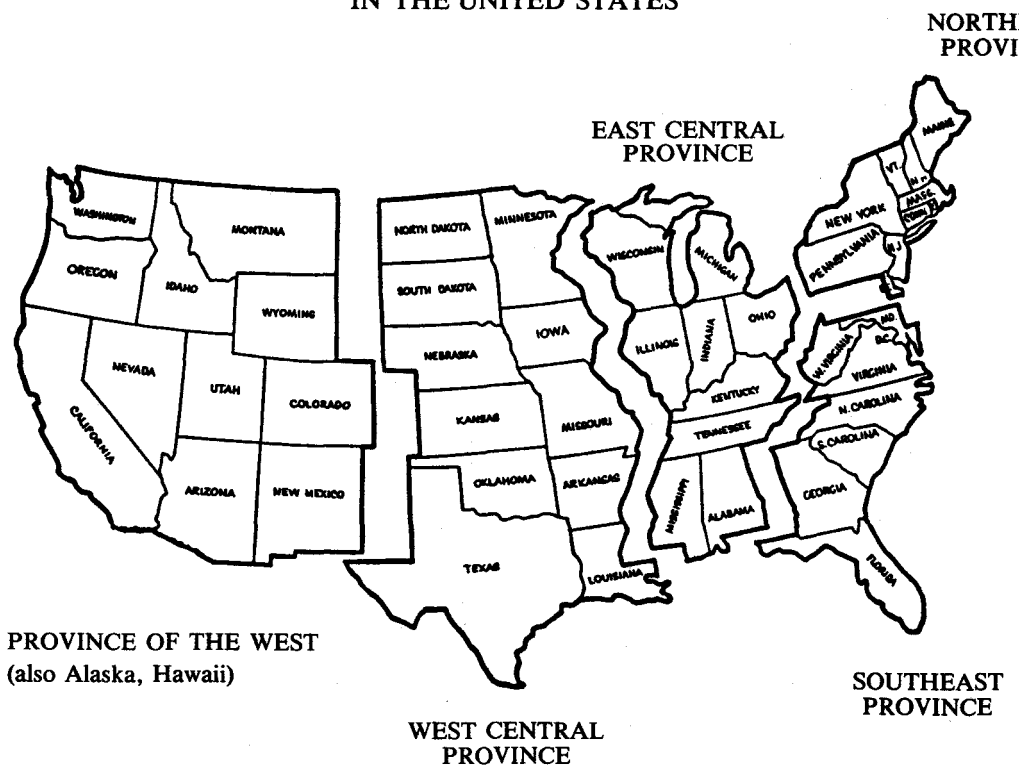
The *Southeast (Emmitsburg) Province* already served in Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, Florida, North and South Carolina, the District of Columbia, and missions in Bolivia. Only the state of Georgia had as yet no Daughters of Charity.

Nine states composed the new *East Central Province*: Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Ohio, and Michigan. Daughters were serving in all nine states.

In the *West Central (Saint Louis) Province*, sisters were serving in Missouri, Iowa, Louisiana, and Texas, as well as missions in Puerto Rico, Taiwan, Ecuador, and Japan. There was no Community presence in the other seven states of the province: Arkansas, Kansas, Nebraska, Oklahoma, Minnesota, North and South Dakota.

Alaska, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, New Mexico, Oregon, and Wyoming—where there were no Daughters of Charity—were named part of the *Province of the West*, as were California, Washington, Arizona, Colorado, Utah, and Nevada, where the sisters were already serving.

PROVINCES OF THE DAUGHTERS OF CHARITY IN THE UNITED STATES



The Planned Division Realized

The division into five provinces became official on the feast of Blessed Elizabeth Ann Seton, 4 January 1969. The formal ceremony, attended by all the sister servants of the United States, was held in Saint Joseph's Provincial House Chapel, Emmitsburg. Father William M. Slattery, former superior general, read the rescript from Rome giving the new provinces the official recognition of the Church, thus implementing the directives of Vatican II concerning decentralization. After installing the five visitatrices and their councillors, Mother Christine Chiron cited the day as a joyful, confident beginning of a new era in the life of the Community, an era that would be fruitful in holiness, both for the sisters personally and in their collaboration with the Church.

All divisions are painful, but in this one the human dimension had been taken into account. Sisters were consulted regarding the province to which they would prefer to belong. As a result, the pain of separation was less severe. Sisters were quick to see the advantages of the change: Smaller provinces freed provincial superiors from overwhelming administrative detail, and enabled individual sisters to participate more in the government of the province, to share in the concerns and decisions that affected them.

While each province began its distinct development immediately, provincial rosters remained fluid for several years, allowing for gradual relocation of sisters for professional, health, or family reasons. The Southeast, East Central, and West Central Provinces retained responsibility for the sick and elderly members of the Community, since facilities for them were already operative in these provinces. Formation programs remained for a time centralized in Emmitsburg and Saint Louis, where Saint Joseph's and Marillac Colleges were available. Gradually programs of formation were developed in the new provinces.

Constitutions Revised and Approved

Events and developments in the Community on the international level continued to be guided by the decisions of the general assemblies: that of 1974 which resulted in the 1975 edition of the Constitutions and Statutes; that of 1979-80 in which the international commissions, after synthesizing the prayerful responses from

sisters of all seventy-four provinces from all continents, compiled the final revision of the Constitutions and Statutes. These were submitted to the Holy See and approved 2 February 1983.

The World Mission Center

Vincentian spirituality is, by its very nature, missionary. Until the twentieth century missionary efforts came primarily from Europe, particularly France and Spain. After World War I provinces on several continents sponsored missions. In some cases Daughters of Charity from several nations were working in the same country, even in the same district, but sometimes in separate establishments.

Discussions of *Mission ad Gentes* at general assemblies brought out the need for Christian witness to be given by international houses of Daughters of Charity, manifesting the unity and universality of the Church and the Community. In such houses, the emphasis would be on the culture and advancement of the people being evangelized. Sisters would identify with the province or region to which they were assigned, rather than their province of origin.

The need for specialized language study, spiritual formation, and preparation for living an alien lifestyle led Mother Christine Chiron to set up an international Mission Center in Paris shortly after 1968. Here sisters who volunteered for the World Missions learn to depend totally on God while living with fewer conveniences among sisters from other cultures before departing for missions in Africa, the Near East, Latin America, or Asia. Since 1969 many sisters from the five provinces of the United States have served in Taiwan, Thailand, Burundi, Zaire, Egypt, Japan, Turkey, India, Israel, Lebanon, Madagascar, Ecuador, and Bolivia. International teams of missionaries are freer from political suspicion, able to build native leadership for the Church and the Community more expeditiously, working toward the time when each nation has its own self-sustaining, largely native province of Daughters of Charity.

Diversity in the New Provinces of the United States

While avenues of cooperation on the international level multiplied, decisions made on the provincial level were giving to each of the provinces of the United States a uniqueness—Vincen-

tian in essence, but diverse in the responses to specific needs of the Church and the poor. To express this uniqueness, each province appointed a sister to tell its own story of the first seventeen years: 1969-1985.

Northeast Province

by

Sister Mary Anne Brawley

The new province of the Northeast, although the smallest geographically, was the most urbanized. Here Catholicism was the majority religion with a membership five times greater than Judaism, the next largest faith. The region contained an ethnic mixture of persons; there were more Hispanics than in any other region except the Southwest, and more blacks than in any other region except the South.

To this province came Sister Mary Basil Roarke, who had spent more than twenty years in the secretariat and general administration in Paris. She brought with her a sense of the Company's charism and a vision for the new province of thirty-two houses in six states, with 368 sisters serving the needs of the poor.

Health Care Institutions

As might be expected, the health care institutions of the province had been developed in the cities of this Northeast corridor. Some dates of establishment—1848, 1857, 1863, 1868, 1913, 1925—allow one to study the path of Catholic migration moving westward from their Atlantic Coast point of entry. In 1985, no less than then, the Catholic hospital faced the needs of the poor and the signs of the times.

And how these signs bore upon the Church! It might be said that the greatest difficulty in the health care apostolate those years had been maintaining a role as a Catholic hospital adhering to religious, ethical, and moral standards while conforming to an ever increasing

number of state and government regulations. In addition, practical administrative problems such as the growing shortage of nursing and technical personnel, inadequate reimbursement, and lack of funding to meet the expense of operating a variety of services for a majority of the poor or near poor were constantly present.

Perhaps the most heavily regulated state in the Union was New York, where the Northeast Province staffed four hospitals. In each of these could be observed fidelity to the mission "servant of the poor" despite bureaucratic complications.

A dramatic example was found in Saint Mary's, Rochester. In 1979 the hospital was faced with a decision either to renovate the building on the site occupied since 1857 or to build at a new location. In choosing the former, the board gave witness to the commitment to care for the poor and underserved in their own neighborhood while working with local leaders to stabilize the area.

In Buffalo, Sisters' Hospital began in 1970 the first Methadone Maintenance Clinic in upstate New York. At its opening it served 113 clients and had a waiting list of 165! It continued to function with roughly fifty-five thousand clinic visits per year recorded.

Our Lady of Lourdes Hospital in Binghamton, an acute-care general hospital, developed a specialty in oncology. Since 1973 it has been the National Cancer Institute's designated treatment center for south central New York and northeast Pennsylvania.

The Health Center for Children and Adolescents at Saint Mary's Hospital, Troy, welcomed families with poor or no insurance coverage. By 1985 statistics showed an average of approximately fourteen thousand visits annually.

In Massachusetts the sisters of the province were staffing three hospitals in 1985; two of the three were archdiocesan health care facilities. Carney Hospital served the largest percentage of poor of any Catholic hospital in the state. A recognized leader in community health services, Carney operated six satellite clinics in neighborhoods most in need of ongoing health care.

Saint Margaret's Hospital for Women was an early center for Natural Family Planning Services. Members of Saint Margaret's staff have developed curricula for Family Life Education widely used by dioceses.

The remaining archdiocesan facility, Saint John of God Hospital, has engaged sisters of the province since 1974. This is a long-term care center for the disabled and chronically ill.

After Saint Vincent's Medical Center, Bridgeport, Connecticut, moved into its new building in 1976, its Board of Directors continued to search out ways to improve its service. As a result, the Board mandated an outreach program to the medically and financially underserved.

Since its inception in 1969, the province has relinquished one hospital—Elizabeth Ann Seton in Waterville, Maine—and assumed responsibility for another: Good Samaritan Hospital in Pottsville, Pennsylvania.

Other changes were apparent in the health care delivery of the Northeast Province. Of the nine hospital commitments, Daughters of Charity were by 1985 chief executive officers in only three. More frequently, qualified lay people had been appointed to this position. However, a Daughter of Charity continued to serve as president of the Board of Directors in each Community-sponsored institution.

Gone, too, were the schools of nursing. Only two of the hospitals continued to operate schools, and each of these had been restructured to a two-year associate degree program.

Consistent with a developing pattern within the province, many sisters with a health care background became employed outside Community facilities. Several sisters were doing home nursing within social agencies; one directed a collegiate program; one worked in an administrative position in a Sisters of Mercy health-care agency. All brought to their insertions the spirit of the Company to serve the sick poor with cordiality, compassion, respect and devotion.

Varied Educational Apostolates

This Northeast Province had ownership in 1985 of only one educational institution, Labouré College in Boston, which in 1972 replaced Catherine Labouré School of Nursing. Adjacent to Carney Hospital, Labouré College offered majors in health-related subject areas and enrolled approximately one thousand students in its regular and continuing education programs in the 1985 academic year. Many of Labouré's students were adults who had returned to school to increase their ability to secure steady employment.

In a number of houses of the Northeast Province there was effort expended in the broad area of adult education. The first and best known was the work of Saint John's in Brooklyn. Here in 1973 the

New Horizons Adult Education Program was initiated. A wide variety of instruction was provided from basic literacy to specialized job training. It was the hope that such training might help these adults break the poverty cycle into which they had been forced because of a lack of marketable skills.

Parish catechetical works, while still serving the needs of children in the early stages of faith development, were ever increasingly involved in meeting the needs of the adult in Christian growth. The province had six sisters who were directors of religious education in rural, suburban and urban settings. Three of these positions entailed bilingual skills.

Reaching the young adult was a special concentration of the six sisters assigned to positions at the Vincentian universities, Saint John's and Niagara. Whether professors, librarian or campus ministers, their presence was part of the broader collegiate community.

Several factors had great impact on elementary and secondary education in the Northeast. The publication of *Are Parochial Schools the Answer?** in the early 1960s, the unrest of many Catholics following Vatican II, the move of Catholics from the traditionally strong urban areas, the loss of large numbers of religious, and the broadening of services offered by the Church were among the reasons for such a large decrease in Catholic schools throughout this region.

Although the province, in the legal sense, has never owned a school, the sisters have traditionally referred to "our" schools. In 1969 the province had 121 sisters teaching in thirteen schools. In 1985 half that number were in seventeen schools. No longer were seven to fifteen sisters assigned to one school; one to five per school were present by the mid 1980s. Schools merged and were restructured, and the sisters necessarily became part of the process. Of the four high school commitments the province had in 1969, one had closed and the other three were merged by 1985. However, sisters of the province entered three additional secondary schools in that period. The same was true of elementary schools. Five of the ten staffed by the province in 1969 closed, but five new insertions were made. All of these were in city target areas for marginals: the

*Mary Perkins Ryan, *Are Parochial Schools the Answer?* Catholic Education in the Light of the Council, New York (Holt, Rinehart and Winston) 1964.

unchurched, the new immigrants, and the disadvantaged. Saint Catherine's in Elizabeth, New Jersey, had a multi-ethnic student body representing fourteen nations. Saint Joseph's and Saint Mark's in Harlem, New York, served 100 percent minority populations. In the diocese of Brooklyn, three sisters worked in two schools within the poverty pocket of Bedford-Stuyvesant.

In the province's educational apostolate the needs of special students were not neglected. New York City's Kennedy Child Study Center sponsored an Infant Stimulation Program for developmentally delayed children from six months to three years.

At Astor Home for Children, Rhinebeck, New York, and Saint Catherine's Center, Albany, special schools were maintained for emotionally disturbed children. Both facilities offered both residential and day treatment to these students with special needs.

Social Ministries

The Social Service apostolate of the province covered a multitude of varied activities aimed at the betterment of the human condition. A sizable number of sisters worked under the auspices of Catholic Charities. Two were diocesan directors of the agency: one in Albany, New York, and the other in Metuchen, New Jersey. In the Brooklyn Diocese, sisters served in numerous roles: as director of senior citizen housing management, coordinator of Golden Age Clubs, building manager, clinic director, day care director, and social worker. Other dioceses in which sisters worked under Catholic Charities in 1985 were: New York City as director of services to the handicapped; Metuchen as director of services to migrants and refugees; Buffalo as director of services in Niagara Falls; and Boston as social worker for child and family counseling.

Through the years since the Northeast became a separate province, social ministries underwent significant changes. Most notable was the closing of the traditional children's homes; often the agency retained its identity but changed its emphasis. A good example of this was Nazareth Child Center in Boston, Massachusetts. Established in 1864 as the Home for Destitute Catholic Children, it ceased operation as a residential facility in 1985. It did, however, maintain a day care program and sought to provide new and needed services to children and families.

Another institution which remained a primary care giver was

Saint Catherine's Children's Center, Albany. In 1971 the governing board discontinued the home for unwed mothers, the infant home program, and the training course for child-care technicians. In place of these were initiated an emergency shelter for abused, neglected, and abandoned children; three residential group homes for emotionally disturbed youth; and a short-term shelter for homeless families.

In 1984 the Community's oldest child-caring institution closed its doors. Saint Joseph's, Philadelphia, had been undertaken as a work by Elizabeth Ann Seton in 1814 and later relocated to Germantown, Pennsylvania. Sisters remain in the Germantown neighborhood to do parish ministry, outreach to the elderly, and nursing service for retired Vincentians at Saint Catherine's Infirmary.

Other social service apostolates were part of neighborhood or parish centers. At Labouré Center, South Boston, comprehensive programs met specific neighborhood needs: home nursing, mental health clinic, day care for children, and family counseling. Sisters and lay women, qualified public health care nurses, provided home care to the elderly, homebound, diabetics, terminally ill, and those recently discharged from hospitals. They also offered caring support and information to caregivers. At Saint John's Parish Center, Brooklyn, initiated in 1972, the work included a thrift shop serving two hundred persons a week and a soup kitchen called "Bread and Life," begun in 1982, which served an average of 8500 meals a month.

In Niagara Falls, New York, Rosalie Rendu* House offered shelter for women and their children who had been victims of domestic violence. Saint John's Center in Utica depended heavily on volunteers to assist the two sisters who coordinated services to the elderly and disadvantaged.

Saint Agatha's Parish in Canastota, New York, became actively involved in an ecumenical project to reach out to the needy of this rural community with food, clothing and advocacy. Quite aptly, the project was named Opportunity Shop.

Indeed, the opportunities for growth and development within the northeast corner of the United States were constantly changing

**Sister Rosalie Rendu was a Daughter of Charity who worked with the poor in Paris in the 1830s. Her influence on Frederic Ozanam led to the formation of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul according to the rule Vincent wrote for the Charity he had founded in 1619.*

from 1969 to 1985. Sister Mary Rose McGeady, second visitatrix of the province, initiated active apostolic advisory commissions for each service, with members elected by their peers. In addition, two other commissions—Peace and Justice, and Aging—offered assistance to the provincial council in planning for the future as a province.

Important to the province is the directive of the Constitutions, Article 2.9: "Praying for the poor and in their name remains the Sisters' primary obligation." For this reason, the sisters involved in the works came to rely heavily on Saint Louise House, where this directive is lived out in the reality of each day. These sick and elderly sisters have become the power behind the service of the poor in the Northeast.

Since 1979 Saint Louise House has been a wing of DePaul Provincial House. In 1971 the province purchased from the Canonesses of Saint Augustine their American provincial house, Mount Saint Augustine, on Route 378 just north of Albany in the village of Menands, New York. On 8 September 1971 Father Joseph Tinnelly, provincial director, celebrated Mass in the chapel for the first time. This became the center of the Northeast Province. From here sisters go forth for mission, return for renewal, and find the welcome which makes this their home.

Southeast Province

by
Sister Grace Dorr

Emmitsburg, the parent stem for all the branches and provinces of Mother Seton's Daughters in the United States, became the Southeast Province in 1969. Changes in apostolic service since then reflect two priorities: concern for and ministry to the poor, and a thrust toward service in areas where the unchurched are numerous or where Catholic presence is minimal. In 1970, under the leadership of Sister Eleanor McNabb, 725 sisters served in 39 apostolic works, most of them north of the Carolinas. By 1981, 511 sisters ministered in 55 apostolic works, many south of Virginia.

Health Care Facilities

Two acute-care hospitals, sponsored and staffed by the Community for more than seventy years, serve the people of Florida. At Sacred Heart Hospital, Pensacola, a special pediatric building houses the sixty-bed regional neonatal intensive care unit for parts of Florida and Alabama. Saint Vincent's Medical Center in Jacksonville is well known for its complete cardiac program, serving northeast Florida and southern Georgia. Saint Catherine Labouré Manor, a 232-bed long-term care facility near Saint Vincent's, became in 1979 the third health-care institution in Florida sponsored by the Community.

DePaul Hospital in Norfolk, Virginia, one of the few Catholic hospitals in the state, conducts its own diploma nursing program. Sacred Heart Hospital in Cumberland, Maryland, provides medical care for the people in mountainous Allegany County, offering medical day care for adults, in-house hospice, and hospice home-care as well.

In the Baltimore-Washington area the sisters withdrew from some institutions in order to strengthen in others their focus on pro-life programs and outreach to the poor. Sponsorship of Seton Institute, leader in Catholic psychiatric care for over a century, was relinquished in 1972. The trend was again to treat the whole person in a general hospital setting. Good Samaritan Hospital in Baltimore and the United States Soldiers Home Hospital in Washington were also turned over to others. Century-old Providence Hospital in Washington continued to introduce state-of-the-art programs, including a separate alcoholism rehabilitation unit. Saint Agnes Hospital in Baltimore added a comprehensive community education program for pregnant adolescents as well as married couples, and a center for neonatal intensive care. Nearby Jenkins Memorial Home, diocesan-owned but administered by Daughters of Charity, strengthened its program of care for the elderly by adding low-income units for aging singles and married couples.

Through the World Mission Center, sisters of the province have brought their expertise to Africa, India, Madagascar, Bolivia, and Taiwan—where some teach nursing skills, operate a hospice for the elderly, and staff other facilities. An inter-provincial disaster-response program brought sisters from the Southeast to assist flood victims in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, and in Keyser and later Williamson, West Virginia; to ease the distress of Vietnamese refu-

gees at Fort Indiantown Gap in Pennsylvania and at Eglin Air Force Base in Florida in 1975; and to give basic nursing care and medical treatment to Cambodian refugees in the primitive camps on the Thai-Cambodian border in Indochina in 1980.

Concern for the poor has customarily extended beyond the hospitals, beyond the hours on duty. In Jacksonville sisters offered their help in a soup kitchen for indigents; in Norfolk sisters followed up destitute patients discharged from DePaul to be sure they had the basics of food, clothing, and shelter. Sisters from Jenkins Memorial in Baltimore sponsored and aided "boat people" as well as refugees from Ethiopia and Poland. The Center for Life at Providence Hospital in Washington was established to assist expectant mothers from the poor Hispanic area of the city; one sister-midwife was assigned to work at a clinic in the barrio.

Continuing Commitment to Education

In an era marked by many closings of parochial schools, the Southeast Province has continued to educate in almost twenty schools. In the southern part of the province, Daughters of Charity accepted the administration of schools left by other communities: Saint Patrick's and Saint Ann's in Fayetteville, North Carolina, near Fort Bragg; Saint Mary's in Rome, Georgia, where in 1971 the sisters began their first work in that state, also participating in an ecumenical program to help the needy and in work with college students and instruction to children of other parishes.

Consolidation of schools led to better use of educational resources—including sisters—and the achievement of other goals. In Greensboro two schools staffed by the sisters integrated; Saint Mary's became a parish center in the black community. Decreasing enrollment led to closings in Staunton and Norfolk, Virginia, and in Martinsburg, West Virginia. In Baltimore two elementary schools and one small high school staffed by the Daughters closed, and became part of the archdiocesan cluster system.

Under the leadership of Sister Mary Clare Hughes, visitatrix from 1974-1983, the sisters created advisory boards and developed funding programs for Community-owned schools. Scholarships for poorer students and special attention to children with learning disabilities are part of the Seton tradition the province has always striven to uphold, together with the improvement of curricula in

order to give quality education in all subjects. By 1985 all elementary schools had kindergartens in operation; several had added before-school and after-school programs for children of working mothers.

In 1984 the sisters withdrew from a school in Pikesville, Maryland. Immaculate Conception Academy in Washington merged with Saint Anthony's to become All Saints High School for girls. The school cafeteria became involved in a program offering employment to handicapped youth from nearby Saint Elizabeth's School. In Petersburg, Virginia, Gibbons High School acquired a closing Episcopalian high school; many of its former students remained to increase the interfaith enrollment of Saint Vincent de Paul High School, as the school was renamed. Many other schools in the South have similarly ecumenical enrollments, since Catholics are a small percentage of the population. To meet this challenge, Saint Joseph's School in Petersburg, Virginia, began a religious education tracking system based on knowledge and experience of primary students. Many sisters also teach in weekend and summer schools of religion and sacramental preparation programs, in order to reach Catholic children not enrolled in the schools.

Religious education requires the support of a competent and visionary administrator. Saint Ann's School in Fayetteville, North Carolina, and Saint Michael's in Overlea, Maryland, each have one Daughter of Charity who serves as principal. The schools all educate students about the causes of poverty in the United States and in the world, and try to instill attitudes of service: visiting the elderly close to the school, or trying to help the poor. School sisters visit nearby hospitals, teach inmates of jails, serve food to the homeless, telephone shut-ins, tutor immigrants in their homes, and reflect in their teaching the values which inspire this service. Senior students at Holy Cross High School in Lynchburg, Virginia, deliver meals on wheels to the elderly as part of their school service program, delighting in the visits involved.

In 1985 the sisters of the Southeast Province administered or taught in fifteen elementary and seven high schools, working with their lay collaborators to keep tuition low. Costly maintenance, just wages for teachers, and increased costs of education indicate that some schools will merge in the future, or that the sisters will have to withdraw, leaving a Vincentian legacy of education behind them.

Expanding Social Ministry

As schools consolidated, works in social ministry expanded from eight in 1970 to seventeen in 1981. Many of these are parish outreach centers. At Our Lady of the Valley Parish in Gloverville, South Carolina, the parish center offers catechetical programs, courses in adult literacy, alcoholism counseling, assistance for abused persons, and emergency relief. In this economically depressed area the needs of millworkers and their families are many. A thrift store and food pantry are included, partly funded by Catholic Charities of South Carolina. Similar work has been done by sisters in parishes in Florida, Virginia, Maryland, and Washington, D.C.

In the diocesan office in Charleston, South Carolina, a sister social worker assesses needs throughout the state and aids parishes in beginning social ministry programs. In the Jacksonville and Fayetteville offices of Catholic Charities, sisters make other services available. Their work includes advocacy, aid to families, work for crime prevention, community development, ecumenical work, victim assistance, work with adolescents, and services to the elderly.

In some areas of North Carolina sisters minister in jails, work with migrants, do peace and justice work, develop parish social ministry, serve the elderly, advocate for jobs, give emergency relief, work with adoptions and in foster care, and do ecumenical outreach. One sister's job covers eight counties where she works in a multi-purpose social service agency—through which she coordinated relief after a tornado hit in 1984. Others work as pastoral associates and directors of religious education, as visitors to the elderly, and in direct services to provide food, clothing, and emergency funding.

Trends toward non-residential maternity programs and foster care for children led to the closing of some institutions, and program changes in others. Saint Joseph's Villa in Richmond was transferred to the Xaverian Brothers in 1977 for the care of emotionally disturbed children. Seton House—a home for single mothers in Richmond, Virginia—closed, as did Villa Louise in Timonium, Maryland, which had worked closely with Saint Vincent's Infant Home. The program at Saint Vincent's changed to residential and developmental treatment for abused, neglected, and handicapped children, expanding its services to families of abused and emotionally disturbed children as well.

The century-old Saint Ann's Infant and Maternity Home in the Washington suburb of Hyattsville, Maryland, retained its home for unwed mothers, staffing a school in which they could continue their high school education while at the home. Child-care services were expanded to include abused and abandoned children and an infant day care center for children of working mothers, the first to be licensed by the state of Maryland. Some of the sisters also help the homeless of Washington at a special shelter.

A day care program at Saint Vincent's in Washington was turned over to others, but one sister continued to work for Catholic Charities and to serve as moderator for the Ladies of Charity of the archdiocese.

Sister social workers have also become part of hospital staffs, counseling, consoling, and securing placement for those discharged from the hospital but in need of further care.

Changes at Emmitsburg

One trend, new since Mother Seton's time, has been the service of sisters on boards and committees in schools, parishes, dioceses, and institutions, resulting in more efficient stewardship. This sense of stewardship prompted the province to close Marian Retreat House in Baltimore and Seton House of Studies in Washington, and to utilize space at the provincial house (built in 1964) by relocating there the sick and elderly sisters from Villa Saint Michael in Baltimore. Each sister of the Villa (as it is still called) is commissioned to pray for one of the works of the province.

Other changes at Emmitsburg bear the mark of good stewardship. Saint Joseph College for Women closed in 1973 and was later sold to the federal government. The National Fire Academy and Emergency Management Institute now occupy the former college grounds. This sale necessitated moving Mother Seton's Stone House from its original site overlooking Tom's Creek to its present location nearer the provincial house. Construction of a new school on Creamery Road freed the former Mother Seton School building to house the services of Seton Center in 1969. Since that time these services have mushroomed: day care for children from ages two to twelve; information, counseling and referral services for parents; emergency assistance with food or clothing; and a thrift shop. The building is also used for basic adult education classes, sponsored

enrichment programs, and services to senior citizens. Home visiting is a regular part of the program. The day care program is recognized for excellence; students and trainees are brought to observe and tour the facility as a model for early childhood education.

By 1982 Saint Joseph High School had closed because of low enrollment, leaving only Mother Seton Elementary School to continue in unbroken line the school begun by Elizabeth Seton in Emmitsburg in 1810. The school has an excellent development program and serves students from many surrounding counties.

In 1983 Sister Genevieve Kureth and her councillors became the current successors to Mother Seton and her original advisors. Consulting with them, the sisters periodically adapt and revise their works. By the end of 1985, four hundred thirty-six sisters were working in thirty-two houses. Although the sisters have diminished in numbers, they have been supported and enriched by the work of many lay collaborators. This involvement of the laity will increase and intensify in the years ahead, as the sisters continue to search for new ways to adapt and serve while remaining faithful to their original inspirations of service.

East Central Province

by

Sister Catherine Madigan

Unique to the East Central Province in the 1969 division was the bringing together into one province seventy sisters who had entered and lived their community life in the Emmitsburg Province and three hundred thirty-one sisters who had belonged to the Saint Louis Province. Two states formerly associated with Emmitsburg joined seven states formerly with Saint Louis to form the new province.

Although the East Central Province is generally considered to be inland, it is almost surrounded by waterways: the Great Lakes, the Mississippi River, the Gulf of Mexico and smaller rivers to the east. In 1969 six archdioceses and twenty-eight dioceses coincided with the territory of these nine states, with community houses in four

archdioceses and in ten dioceses. The apostolic works were well established for the most part: four houses were founded in the 1840s, seventeen more before 1910, and thirteen more between 1910 and 1969.

Getting Established

Sister Elise Boudreaux became the first visitatrix. Four councilors were named to aid her: Sister Constance Dahinden, councillor for education and provincial secretary; Sister John Gabriel McPhee, councillor for health services; Sister Margaret Flynn, councillor for social ministry, and Sister Virginia Kingsbury, councillor in charge of formation and assistant. Sister Virginia May was appointed provincial treasurer and Father John F. Zimmerman, C.M., provincial director.

For two years the provincial headquarters were in Chicago in a residence owned by Mrs. Helen Kellogg. Sister Elise chose the name Mater Dei and placed the province under Mary's patronage. The statue of Mater Dei, now the symbol of the province, was designed after one seen in Rome by Sister Elise and Sister Margaret Flynn at the Church of Santa Maria del Miracoli in the Piazza del Popolo. The original statue had been especially designed for the community of priests of Betharram, a village ten miles from Lourdes in France.

During the first twelve years, efforts were directed toward activities which fell into five broad categories identified as concerns by Sister Elise and her Council: becoming acquainted with all the sisters of the province, establishing a provincial house, organizing formation opportunities and personnel services, promoting and developing all areas of ministry and continuing education for the sisters in their apostolic work, and lastly, encouraging the sisters to develop a life-style in their local houses according to principles of wholesome group living and the evolving provisions of the revised Constitutions and Statutes.

To begin a province without a permanent provincial house was a challenge. In 1971 the Community acquired property near Evansville for the building of a residence and administrative offices for the provincialate. Until the completion of the administration building in December 1972, the Council rented office space in downtown Evansville, living at Saint Mary's until 22 March 1974, when they moved to the Mater Dei Residence.

In the spring of 1969 a nine-member commission was formed to study the apostolic works: three from each of the areas of education, health and social ministry. Their work involved the participation of every sister to make recommendations for the future. After surveying pertinent literature, consulting the sisters, and addressing inquiries to the archbishops and bishops concerned, the commission published a summary in January 1971. Included in the report were twenty-eight recommendations. In her circular letter of 16 August 1971 Sister Elise wrote:

We have arrived at a significant moment in the history of our young province. After having reflected for two years on all the facets of our apostolic endeavors, we must now face ourselves and our works openly and honestly as we try to respond to the obligations that are ours in relation to Article 79 of our new Constitutions. Paraphrasing this article, we ask ourselves: How are we going to adapt ourselves and our works more and more to the needs of the times and approach more closely the least fortunate?

Mergers and Withdrawals

This adaptability in moving into new modes of service demanded much of the sisters. The first change occurred in 1970 with the merging of Saint Vincent Group Home in Milwaukee with Saint Mary's Hospital. Next Saint Patrick's High School, Chicago, was closed because of declining enrollment and the availability of education at nearby high schools. Some sisters remained in residence to serve other needs.

Spiraling costs of child care, policies which favored placing infants and children in foster homes, and the decreasing numbers of children in child-care institutions and sisters to care for them led to several hard decisions. Sisters were withdrawn from Saint Rose's in Milwaukee, and the administration relinquished to the director of Catholic Social Services of the archdiocese. Saint Vincent's Home in Saginaw, Michigan, was transferred to a lay board of directors. The sisters also withdrew from Saint Thomas on the Hill in Birmingham, and also from Saint Barnabas School, where sisters who staffed the home had been teaching.

Saint Vincent's Infant Hospital in Chicago, which had cared for more than sixty thousand infants in its ninety-year history, closed 15 March 1972. A residential maternity program was no longer

needed; other aspects of the program were continued by Catholic Charities and the State of Illinois Department of Children and Family Services. Although the historic Saint Vincent's on LaSalle Street was discontinued, its corporation was not dissolved, but rather merged with DePaul Settlement and Day Nursery; the name was officially changed to Saint Vincent de Paul Center.

Another merger took place in Farmington Hills, Michigan, when Saint Vincent-Sarah Fisher Center and Marillac Hall were legally merged 1 July 1979, thereby facilitating the administration of the single-parent program at Marillac Hall and making possible some financial advantages in its operation.

Allen Memorial Home in Mobile had operated two programs: one for single mothers and the other for the care of the aged. Catholic Charities of Mobile assumed the care of the unmarried mothers. The elderly moved into the former Martin de Porres Hospital, which became a licensed skilled-nursing-care facility, retaining the name Allen Memorial Home.

In 1974 the Community transferred the sponsorship of Saint Joseph Hospital in Alton, Illinois, to the Sisters of Saint Francis, thereby easing somewhat the province's burden of eleven hospitals. In June 1979 the sisters left Our Lady of Peace School in Canton, Ohio; Ursuline Sisters agreed to staff the school.

New Ministries

All these changes enabled the province to consider new ministries, new works to fill unmet needs. From 1972-1975 four pioneer sisters were part of the Appalachian project, Seton Home Health Services, in London, Kentucky, renting office space in Marymount hospital. One sister taught for a year in Saint William's School. When the Daughters withdrew, the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth at Marymount accepted the sponsorship of Seton under a corporation separate from that of the hospital.

From 1972-1977 the Community responded to the urgent need for sisters to care for the black population of Selma, Alabama, at Good Samaritan hospital. The sisters at Saint Margaret's in Montgomery continued to serve on this hospital's board until it closed in 1983.

The East Central Province made a major commitment to Mississippi, a state with great needs in many areas, by sending

sisters to Gulfport and Jackson in 1972 and to Charleston in 1973. In Gulfport six sisters were sent to staff Saint John's Inter-Parochial High School. Through their dedication the enrollment mushroomed. Sisters filled other roles in the area: pastoral associate in Saint Theresa's, a black parish; superintendent of schools and director of deaf ministry for the diocese of Biloxi; and principal at Our Lady of Victories High School in Pascagoula.

Sisters living in St. Joseph House in Jackson 1972-1978 worked in many ministries: nurse-midwifery at the University of Mississippi, deaf ministry, administrative assistance to the vicar general, coordinator of health-care services for the diocese, and coordinator of day care in Saint Jude's Parish in Pearl. When a sister was named to administer Holy Family School in 1974, Saint Joseph House relocated to the convent there. Holy Family was one of two integrated schools in Jackson at that time. One sister came as a practicing midwife and the supervisor of maternity services in the predominantly black areas around Mound Bayou, Mississippi.

Saint John's Mission in Charleston was the first of three missions opened to serve the rural people, to bring the message of Christ and the Church to this mission territory and to the poorest of the poor. In 1979 two sisters came to work in Hernando, and the following year two more began social services in Walls.

In Alabama two works specifically for the elderly were undertaken. In 1975 two sisters were requested for Cathedral Place in Mobile. Their gentle presence and warm relationships with the residents prompted Archbishop John May to request two more sisters to staff a similar facility he planned to erect for the elderly in Montgomery. When Seton Haven became a reality, two sisters served there. Two others taught in Saint Bede's School, Montgomery.

In Indiana and Illinois two rural missions were commenced. In 1978 three sisters were sent to Huntingburg, Indiana, to serve in Saint Mary's Parish, one of the largest of the Evansville Diocese, as religious education coordinator and parish visitors. Also in 1978 two sisters came to Saint Elizabeth's Parish in Robinson, Illinois, where Bishop Joseph A. McNicholas had asked for them to witness the love and concern of the Church in an area where the smallest number of Catholics lived.

Flexibility and adaptability were characteristics of this time. With so much happening, Sister Elise saw the need for another councillor-at-large, since her term and that of the entire Council would end in 1981. Sister Gertrude Bastnagel was installed 21 May

1978. Three years later she became the second visitatrix of the East Central Province. Her councillors were: Sister Dorothea Huber, assistant, social ministry; Sister Mary Frances Loftin, health; Sister Catherine Madigan, education; and Sister Priscilla Grimes, councillor-at-large. Father Carl Schulte was named provincial director and Sister Margaret Polheber, treasurer. These continued the work of the first Council with evaluation of works and expansion of ministries.

The balance between withdrawing and sending sisters was an ever-present concern. In 1981 sisters were withdrawn from Catholic Social Services in Covington, Kentucky. Two years later three sisters were sent to open a mission in Auburn, Alabama: one to direct the religious education program in the parish; the second to be a campus minister at Auburn University; and the third to be director of religious education in the parishes of Opelika, Lanett and Roanoke. In 1985 when the house at Long Beach, Mississippi, closed, the sisters joined those in Gulfport. The same year two houses opened in Illinois: Effingham and East Saint Louis. Effingham is a rural city in central Illinois; the four sisters there work in Saint Anthony's High School and Parish, Sacred Heart School, and Catholic Charities. In East Saint Louis the sisters teach in Saint Joseph School, minister in the parish, and work for the poor in social ministry programs.

The health care apostolate changed radically. All ten schools of nursing have closed since 1964, with the last, Saint Vincent's in Birmingham, being phased out by 1987. Hospitals expanded with additional facilities at Saint Mary's of Osaukee, Wisconsin, and Saint Vincent's in Carmel, Indiana. Hospice, home care, clinics, wellness centers and family birthing centers have sprung up in almost every hospital setting.

Insertions and Short-Term Ministries

More and more, sisters became involved in the governing boards of the ten hospitals, four social agencies and one high school sponsored by the Community. The trend of ministry away from the corporate community setting to individual positions of insertion into non-Community-sponsored institutions created a new relationship for the sisters in collaborating with members of the laity, clergy, or other religious communities, either as their peers or

working under their leadership.

In response to ever-changing needs, sisters were sent to serve in newer and sometimes short-term ministries. In addition to opening new missions, sisters worked in diocesan offices and Catholic Charities positions in Biloxi and Jackson, Mississippi; Evansville, Indiana; Mobile, Alabama; and Nashville, Tennessee. They served on university campuses in Chicago, Illinois; in parishes in Mobile, Alabama; Moss Point and Pass Christian, Mississippi; Evansville, Indiana; Nashville, Tennessee; and Chicago, Illinois. They taught in schools in Morrisonville, Illinois, and in Evansville and Rockport, Indiana. In 1979 each retired sister at Seton Manor was formally commissioned to pray for a specific local mission and for each ministry of the sisters in that house.

The Community has collaborated with the Ladies of Charity and the Saint Vincent de Paul Society in many places. One sister is on the staff of the Society in Evansville. The efforts of the sisters have been greatly supported by the collaboration of generous men and women; forty-five of them have become affiliates of the Daughters of Charity, sharing in the spiritual benefits of the Community.

In addition to service within the province, sisters have volunteered for service in Thailand, in a leprosarium in 1969 and working with the refugees who came there from Laos and Cambodia in 1979. Others responded to the call to World Missions and serve in Lebanon, Bolivia, Zaire and Taiwan. Since its foundation, the East Central Province has shared help in many forms with the Community in Venezuela.

West Central Province

by

Sister Daniel Hannefin

The Saint Louis Province became the West Central instead of the Western Province 4 January 1969. On the surface nothing had changed. Marillac's turreted facade still welcomed homecoming sisters to the hub of the province; sister students still hurried across to Marillac College; and Sister Mary Rose McPhee was to be visita-

trix for six more years. But a glance at the map of the province revealed how great the change was: from an area covering twenty-nine states extending from Canada to Mexico, from the Great Lakes to the Pacific, the province was suddenly reduced to eleven states, ranging from the Dakotas in the north to Louisiana and Texas in the south.

Putting aside the wide-angle lens with which the larger province had been studied, the sisters focused on each diocese to discern with a telephoto lens its unique needs and characteristics. All sisters participated in the Needs Study of 1970-1971 to locate pockets of poverty and underprivileged groups, to find the unchurched and the forgotten, to spot the places where the Church was understaffed and little known. Census figures and federal government statistics revealed where people fell below the meager income recognized as "the poverty level." A questionnaire went to bishops asking what they saw as the greatest needs of the Church and the poor, and how Daughters of Charity could help them.

Evaluation of Existing Works

At the same time, each institution conducted a self-study to determine how effective its services were. Interviews with co-workers and clients as well as pastors and community leaders were conducted. These self-studies became the basis for evaluations of each apostolate by visiting teams, who then recommended to the Council continuance, modification, or phasing out of the works.

At two provincial meetings ending in January and May 1972, criteria for discerning which works to retain and which to discontinue, or which new works to accept, were decided upon by a majority of the sisters and given to the Council for action. The choices made at this time traced the path the province was to follow for the next decade or more. Among the most significant of these were:

To deploy within the next three years a minimum of ten per cent of sister personnel in short-term assignments among disadvantaged people;

To give primary consideration to the needs of the least fortunate when deciding to open, continue or close works;

To give preference to geographic areas where the Church is not being represented— where missionary needs are greatest;

To form a review board of advisory committees elected from the various apostolates to assist the Council in keeping abreast of developments in the apostolates.

From this time on, evaluation of works became an ongoing process. This led to such decisions as merging high schools in both New Orleans and Saint Louis; merging or closing grade schools where enrollment was too small; gradually reducing the number of sisters in schools serving middle-class parishes or where the Church was strongly established. For instance, in Perryville, Missouri, the sisters withdrew from administration of the high school and reduced the number of sisters committed to it. In Donaldsonville, Louisiana, integration and the practice of brotherhood in the school were among conditions to be met if the sisters were to remain. In New Orleans the sisters relinquished sponsorship of a psychiatric hospital and a day care center. Sponsorship of two child-care institutions was turned over to Catholic Charities, with a sister continuing to work in administration. In Austin the Home of the Holy Infancy changed its focus from child care to maternity programs, and its name to Marywood. The sisters remained under a lay board.

In Saint Louis, DePaul Hospital, Saint Vincent's psychiatric hospital and Saint Ann's nursing home were combined into the new DePaul Health Center in Bridgeton. Marillac College was phased out, to close at the end of the 1973-1974 academic year; but the Theology for Today program, offered for sisters in active service, was retained for a few years and moved to the provincial house. DePaul School of Nursing moved to the Marillac College campus in 1973, and to Fontbonne College for its last year in 1976, when the 44-acre Marillac campus was sold to the University of Missouri.* In 1977 the 121-acre Saint Vincent Hospital farm was purchased by Saint Louis County and became Saint Vincent Park.

In Mayaguez, Puerto Rico, Catholic leadership was able to assume administration and fiscal responsibility for the schools.

**Proceeds from the sale of the college were allocated among the three provinces: West, West Central, and East Central.*

When Mayaguez was named a see city and a former student selected as its first bishop, he chose the parish church for his cathedral and the sisters' former home above the school to be his home and chancery office.

New Missions Opened

In 1969 Seton Neighborhood Services in Kansas City, Missouri, became West Central's first new work. The help of the Ladies of Charity made Seton's program of day care and emergency assistance possible.

As responses to the survey of bishops arrived, dialogues were set up with them regarding new short-term missions (two to six years) among the disadvantaged, preferably where missionary needs were greatest. While serving, the sisters would involve and train the laity to give permanence to the work. The resulting new missions brought the Community into five new states as well as new parts of the states already served.

In the Diocese of Springfield-Cape Girardeau, in the bootheel section of Missouri, Bishop Bernard Law asked for diocesan directors of social concerns and communications. These were sent in 1975, as well as others who taught at the state university, worked with the Vincentian evangelization team, served as principal for the Saint Agnes Cathedral School in Springfield and worked with refugee resettlement, even teaching English to a community of Vietnamese priests and brothers the Bishop had welcomed to his diocese. In Cape Girardeau the sisters initiated a house of vocation discernment for women, combined with parish service, transferring it to another community after three years. In West Plains where the sisters conducted a school serving five towns, others were sent who added outreach of health care and social service into the surrounding Ozarks, as well as team ministry with pastors serving six parishes around Willow Springs.

In Arkansas, only three percent Catholic, Bishop Andrew McDonald of Little Rock obtained sisters for several parishes. From 1973-1978 they worked in Fort Smith visiting, organizing, helping black Catholics become incorporated into a white parish. In Pine Bluff from 1978-1985 they initiated a Catholic Social Services outreach office called Helping Hands, and in 1984 sisters began a similar program in Little Rock called Neighbor to Neighbor. Parish

work and empowerment of the laity were carried on in all three cities.

In North Dakota sisters were asked to staff a nursing home for aging native Americans at Fort Yates. They returned in disappointment when the tribe was unable to purchase the home due to inadequate funding.

In the Rapid City Diocese of South Dakota sisters served the extensive All Saints Parish centered at Eagle Butte in the Sioux Cheyenne River Reservation, offering health and social services, teaching school in Cherry Creek, inviting children and adults to religious education classes in Dupree, Eagle Butte, White Horse, Ridgeview, Red Scaffold and Thunder Butte. From 1974-1977 sisters staffed an Office of Social Concerns in Rapid City, offering social services and training others to replace them.

In Aberdeen, South Dakota, two sisters taught nursing in a Catholic college from 1980-1985, while a third served in a nursing home.

In the Grand Island Diocese of Nebraska, three sisters served 1973-1978 in Saint Patrick's Parish in the railroad town of North Platte. Educating, visiting, developing parish organizations and leadership, integrating Hispanics and former migrant workers into parish life, they eventually worked themselves out of a job. From 1975-1982 a similar program was carried out in Scottsbluff and its two mission parishes of Gering and Minatore. The parishioners were largely farmworkers, including Hispanics. Religious education was offered at all levels and parish organizations and leadership developed. At Loup City, Nebraska, also in the Grand Island Diocese, three sisters were asked to help manage a 30-bed hospital and an 89-bed nursing home. The contract was signed in 1985.

In Lincoln, Nebraska, three sisters served from 1978-1983, initiating a Friendship House as a shelter for battered women and their children, working in prison ministry, and laying the groundwork for a possible home for retarded adults.

Southeast Oklahoma was almost 60 percent unchurched. Five priests served eight counties; there were no sisters in this part of the Tulsa Diocese, where Catholics were fewer than 1 percent. From 1974-1983 sisters served in Poteau, helping a pastor who ministered to three parishes: teaching religion classes, initiating parish programs, and preparing potential leaders. A similar service commenced in Sallisaw in 1983, while a third group of sisters served 1984-1985 at Pawhuska, also in the Tulsa Diocese, among a popula-

tion which included many native Americans of the Cherokee nation.

From old and new dioceses in Texas requests came for sisters to work among Hispanics, who make up one-fourth of the Church in the United States, but have less than one-tenth of its priests and sisters. While responding to these urgent requests, Sister Mary John Lindner, visitatrix of the province from 1974 to 1983, pointed out to the sisters the need for many to become fluent in Spanish in order to be ready to answer the calls of the Church, particularly in Texas.

In 1972 sisters were sent to Cotulla in south Texas for parish work in a disadvantaged area. Religious education programs were set up in nearby Encinal and Dilley as well as in Cotulla. From 1975 to 1978 sisters taught in Our Lady of the Valley School in El Paso, where the enrollment was largely Hispanic.

Marillac Social Center in Dallas, begun as outreach from Saint Paul Hospital to the Mexican community in West Dallas, became a separate mission in 1978. Day care, recreational activities, emergency assistance, and family counseling were among the programs offered. The range of services expanded to include elderly day care, home nursing, and supplementary services to aid families caring for older members at home.

In 1979 sisters went to work in the Brownsville Diocese of Texas, radiating out from Mercedes to offer health and social services and basic education in several nearby communities. In 1985 plans were made for sisters to work with the Vincentians in an apostolate among the poorest in Las Colonias, the barrios of the diocese.

Since 1981 the province has increased its commitment to education in Texas, with sisters teaching in Saint Philip's School, San Antonio; Saint Mary's, Odessa; Our Lady of Victory, Beeville; and Reicher Catholic High School in Waco. Sisters were sent for parish ministry to Pampa and to Alpine, from which they were able to reach out to vast areas of west Texas. In the Amarillo Diocese one sister was called to serve as diocesan superintendent of schools, another as principal, while a third initiated a teen pregnancy program for the diocese. The San Angelo Diocese asked for and obtained sisters to staff a branch office of Catholic Charities in Odessa. The three clinics operating in San Antonio have expanded to offer health care to the poor of three large sections of the city and its environs, including medical services to migrant workers, undocumented aliens, and the homeless. After seventeen years of

organization and advocacy by the sisters at El Carmen Mission in San Antonio, a potable water supply was piped into the adjacent communities of Losoya and Buena Vista.

In order to preserve the Christian uniqueness of hospitals and make health care available to the poor, mission affairs coordinators were appointed for each hospital. Christian leadership retreats were introduced, giving hospital personnel opportunities to imbibe Vincentian values.

In 1982 the Community assumed sponsorship of Holy Cross Hospital in a section of Austin, Texas, where the population is predominantly black and Hispanic. Among new programs offered in the hospital was respite care for the elderly, providing needed relief to family caretakers on a short-term basis. Saint Paul Hospital in Dallas purchased a nursing home and transformed it into Labouré Extended Care Center, the only Catholic skilled nursing facility in Dallas.

The province's concern for the health care of the poor can be measured in part by the total of charity and free care given in the seven hospitals sponsored by the province in the fiscal year ending 30 June 1985: over thirteen million dollars. Services given in DePaul Family Center and El Carmen Clinic in San Antonio are not included in this amount.

Associates in Mission

During the provincial assembly of 1978 the decision was made to establish a program for lay persons who wished to be associated in prayer and service with the Daughters of Charity. In 1979 an associate house was opened where women could live for a year while learning the Vincentian spirit. After evaluation this evolved into the DC-AIM program, where volunteers share community among themselves while serving with the sisters. During the program's first three years, twenty-six adults—men and women of various ages, a married couple, a single parent with her baby—each gave a year or more of voluntary service to the apostolates in which sisters of the province are involved.

The Saint Louis Province celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary 31 July 1985. As a panel of diamond jubilarians shared memories of the first years of the Saint Louis seminary, before Marillac was built, Sister Bernice Coreil, visitatrix, prepared a videotape to share

with the province the challenges of the General Assembly of 1985: "Do the impossible in order to go to the poorest of the poor." (Pope John Paul II) "Work for justice, respect human dignity." "Work toward a unified life of prayer and service." Among these challenges will be found, perhaps, the direction for the province's next decade.

Province of the West

by

Sister Mary William Vinet

The vast geographical area of the Province of the West embraces almost two million square miles in thirteen states, including Alaska and Hawaii. In 1969 its Catholic population numbered over six million. However, the 243 Daughters of Charity of the province resided in only six of the western states: California, Washington, Nevada, Utah, Arizona, and Colorado. The twenty houses in which they served comprised twelve schools, five social agencies, and three hospitals. It was to this province that Sister Rose Collins—former president of Marillac College, Saint Louis, with twenty-seven years of community leadership and administrative experience—was sent as first visitatrix.

Four provincial councillors and the treasurer also assumed office on 4 January 1969: Sister Frances McCarthy, social ministry councillor (later assistant); Sister Mary Genevieve Moonier, education councillor; Sister Teresa Piro, councillor for health care; Sister Mary William Vinet, councillor-at-large and provincial secretary; and Sister Emily Bourg, provincial treasurer. The director appointed by the superior general was Father James F. McOwen, C.M.

Establishing Provincial Identity

Sister Rose's first circular letter, dated 17 January 1969, established provincial identity:

Our new home will be called Seton Provincial House. I am happy we shall be under the patronage of a great American woman, a true Daughter of the Church.

The letter bore a Saint Louis postmark, for three visitatrices were still involved in "the innumerable details of our 'united division'"—so-called because West Central, East Central and West were to share the formation program at Marillac as well as the administration of the Daughters of Charity Shared Services Association and Marillac College.

"Do you know the way to San Jose?"¹ was the theme song of the new Council members on 8 February 1969 as they traveled from Saint Louis, Los Angeles, and Daly City to San Jose to set up their first provincial headquarters in the sisters' home of O'Connor Hospital. When in the summer of 1970 the nursing school closed, the O'Connor nurses' residence housed the Council and the provincial offices. In July 1972 the Council moved again to a recently vacated 23-room convent in Saint Lawrence Parish, Santa Clara.

Meanwhile, a new Seton Provincial House had been under construction in Los Altos Hills on the 53-acre Mount Helen property (gift of the B. P. Oliver family in 1923). By 11 June 1973 the buildings were sufficiently completed for the Council to make a final move into the permanent Seton Provincialate. Sister Mary Louis Maranta, first sister servant, and the staff sisters arrived a week later. An open house was held 29 July 1973, but delay in the arrival of the chapel furnishings postponed the dedication until 18 August 1974. This beautiful redwood complex was provided largely through the Carrie Estelle Doheny Foundation, headed by Father William G. Ward, C.M., a long-time friend of the Daughters.

During these years of growth the formation program had been steadily developing. The first postulants were received 7 September 1972 at Cathedral High School, San Francisco, where the sister servant, Sister Adelaide Kulhanek, had been appointed the first directress of formation. The seminary was officially opened at Seton Provincialate in Los Altos Hills 29 August 1973; Sister Stella Joseph Burns was installed as the first seminary directress. Four years later the postulants also moved into the provincialate.

Sister Mary Genevieve Moonier, the newly appointed councillor for formation, also served as seminary directress, a role she filled until 1984, when Sister Marjory Ann Baez was named seminary and formation directress.

Provincial directors were on the move too. By December 1977 Father McOwen had moved into his newly built home in Los Altos Hills. In May 1979, however, he left to prepare for an assignment in Burundi. On 24 June 1979 Father John J. Danagher, C.M., was installed as director.

The first priority of Sister Rose and her Council had been to establish the province on a firm spiritual foundation. Seton provided opportunities for days of recollection, weekend prayer institutes, renewals and workshops on spirituality as well as annual retreats. Community life was fostered by the Vincentian lecture series, heritage sessions, and joyful celebrations for jubilees, vow days, and sending on mission of young sisters.

In response to the new Constitutions and Statutes, an Apostolic Works Study was initiated in June 1971; twelve sisters were elected to study and evaluate the apostolates of the province. The commission submitted a comprehensive report with recommendations which highlighted the unmet needs of the poor in all dioceses of the West. This served as a guide in planning new fields of service. Another Apostolic Assessment Task Force updated this valuable research study in 1983.

New Apostolic Works

Lafayette, Colorado, was the scene of the first new apostolic work in 1970, when two Daughters commuted from Denver to teach Christian doctrine and do home visiting among Hispanic families. Catholic Community Center was established in Lafayette in 1971, and the Sister Carmen* Center, providing food, clothing, and classes in English, opened in 1976.

The next two ventures were in the San Francisco Bay area, insertions of one or several Daughters of Charity into institutions administered by others. One Daughter served as principal with a lay faculty at Saint Martin School, San Jose (1971-1983); and three sisters were sent in 1973 to work with elderly residents of Alexis Apartments, San Francisco, in twin fourteen-story towers named for Sister Alexis Kuhn, who had taught in old Saint Patrick School on that site for thirty-four years.

**Sister Carmen Ptacnik pioneered in the Lafayette work.*

The Council sent four sisters in 1974 to cook for the priests and novices at Saint Mary's Seminary, Santa Barbara, affording these young Vincentians an opportunity to know Daughters of Charity. After the novitiate was moved to Perryville, Missouri, the sisters withdrew in 1979.

An urgent request from the pastor in Bisbee, Arizona, brought three sisters to Saint Patrick's there in 1977. For the next seven years they provided pastoral ministry services, mostly to Mexican-Americans.

In 1979 two Daughters were assigned to serve the San Francisco Archdiocese for three years in the six-story residence for the elderly known as Francis of Assisi Community, built on the site of the old Mary's Help Hospital.

Two other short-term insertions lasted four years (1980-1984): one sister working with the hearing-impaired in the Denver Archdiocese; and two sisters serving in the Knights of Malta free clinics, Los Angeles.

The 1970s witnessed the beginning of health care expansion in the province. By March 1975 the new Saint Vincent Medical Center, Los Angeles, was completed; its physicians' office building opened in 1977. During 1981 the Daughters assumed sponsorship of two Catholic hospitals in southern California: Queen of Angels Medical Center, Los Angeles, and Saint Francis Medical Center, Lynwood.

In the San Francisco Bay Area, interprovincial aid enabled the sisters of Mary's Help Hospital, Daly City, to continue caring for patients during the 21-day nurses' strike in 1974. The hospital's first medical office building was completed in 1976; the Community built a new residence for the sisters the following year. In 1980 the Half Moon Bay Community Hospital, a long-term care facility, was acquired and later dedicated as Saint Catherine Hospital on Half Moon Bay. It operated under the administration of Mary's Help—which was renamed and rededicated as Seton Medical Center in 1983. One of the hospital's Mission Services corporations is Seton Institute for International Development, which helps the poor of Central and South America in missions served by the Daughters of Charity.

Down the peninsula in the Santa Clara Valley, a Center for Life clinic was opened by O'Connor Hospital, San Jose, in 1976. To provide alcohol/drug dependency programs and psychiatric care, O'Connor acquired two facilities: O'Connor Hospital at Campbell (1978) and Monte Villa Hospital in Morgan Hill (1982). Despite a

seven-month nurses' strike in 1982, the new O'Connor Hospital was completed and dedicated by 1983. It includes a model day-care center serving the children of employees.

The child-care agencies of the province also moved with the times. By 1977 the three-story San Francisco landmark which housed Mount Saint Joseph Home for Girls failed to meet fire regulations and was closed. Group homes were purchased, and the administrations of the Mount program and the residential program for unwed mothers at Saint Elizabeth Infant Hospital were consolidated as Mount Saint Joseph-Saint Elizabeth.

Maryvale—the original Los Angeles orphanage relocated in suburban Rosemead—opened a day care center as early as 1969. In 1970 the agency sponsored two hundred Cuban refugee families. Five years later its doors were open to provide shelter, medical care, and education for thirty-two Vietnamese children, most of them polio victims, who were airlifted with four Vietnamese Daughters of Charity from war-torn Saigon. The new Maryvale school building was dedicated in 1978.

Saint Vincent's, Santa Barbara, completed its new school in 1969. The children starred in a film documentary on special education, "Primal Windsong," produced by the institution in 1974. Earthquake damage in 1978 moved the corporate board to replace the facility. By September 1985, 105 children and seven sisters moved from one sixty-year-old residence to eight new cottages on the same campus. The Seton School for the Developmentally Disabled became a separate corporation in 1980 in order to secure state funds.

Enrollment in some schools of the province burgeoned in the 1980s. Preschools and kindergartens opened at Saint Rose of Lima, Ephrata; Notre Dame, Price; and Cosgriff Memorial, Salt Lake City. Saint Olaf in Bountiful acquired much-needed space when the parish church moved into a new edifice. An addition and large grant for Saint Teresa, Carson City, provided for library expansion, a tutoring section, and a computer room. In San Francisco, Our Lady of the Visitation introduced an all-school computer program. Saint Vincent de Paul, Phoenix, initiated "Hope for the Teens," a drug prevention program; while Marian School, Montebello, began a Marian youth group. Religious education classes and programs for family life flourished at Our Lady of the Rosary of Talpa in Los Angeles.

But scarcity of vocations took its toll. In 1984 the Daughters

withdrew from the intercommunity faculty at Judge Memorial High School, Salt Lake City; and by 1985 the Council announced its decision to remove the sisters from Saint Vincent de Paul School, San Francisco, and Most Precious Blood School, Denver, within the next two years. In 1984-85 a consultative/decision-making process was set up between the Daughters of Charity at Cathedral High School and the Christian Brothers at Sacred Heart High to consider merging to form the first Catholic coeducational high school in San Francisco.

New Personnel, New Priorities

At Seton Provincialate, the first visitatrix and her councillors had served two six-year terms by 1981. Meanwhile, Sister Kathleen O'Sullivan had been appointed provincial secretary in 1973 and Sister DePaul Massoni, councillor for education in 1977. Sister Teresa Piro, former councillor for health care, was installed as second visitatrix 28 February 1981.

Sister Julia Denton, councillor general, officiated 7 June 1981 at the installation of the three new council members: Sister Adelaide Kulhanek, councillor-at-large (later assistant); Sister Marilyn Emminger, health care; and Sister Linda Ann Cahill, social ministry. Sister Rosalie Larson was appointed provincial treasurer. In 1984 Sister Louise O'Neill became councillor for education and Sister Janet Barrett, provincial secretary.

Providing a new home for the sick and elderly sisters was a priority in long-term planning. The Carrie Estelle Doheny Foundation made the dream a reality during Sister Teresa's first term of office. Groundbreaking took place across from the provincialate 5 August 1983. By 18 November 1984 the new Labouré Residence was formally blessed as "a lasting witness to the Community's service of God and of the Church."² The initial Labouré community consisted of eight sister patients (five of whom had been moved from Seton Infirmary, Los Angeles) and six staff sisters. Labouré became a place of active prayer and prayerful activity for the whole province.

Daughters of Charity in special apostolates often serve as a bridge by which newcomers and the disadvantaged can cross into more stable conditions of life. Their own experiences become gifts to be used in the service of others. An example of this is Sister

Philomena Shu, who visits the homebound and elderly, helps with parish activities, and serves as a Eucharistic minister in Saint Francis Parish, Chinatown, San Francisco. Like the older generation, she grew up in mainland China and speaks the language fluently. Like the young, she is an American and can understand their bicultural difficulties.

In the San Jose Diocese, Sisters Nicole Thanh and Martine Hieu work with the United States Catholic Conference Migration and Refugee Resettlement Program in Santa Clara County. Serving refugees from a dozen countries of Asia, Africa, and Europe, they process people for status verification and help with counseling, referrals, translation, and interpretation.

In Los Angeles Sister Alice Marie Quinn, reaching out from Saint Vincent's Medical Center, has developed a senior nutrition program that is more than Meals on Wheels. Staffed largely by volunteers, the program offers a variety of nutritious meals prepared in Saint Catherine's Kitchen from computerized menus, providing visits with the meals for the needy elderly at home, companionship for those who are able to come to the parish center for dinner. At Our Lady of Talpa, Sister Minerva Rodriguez serves the Spanish-speaking poor of several parishes, including many Latin-American refugees, with clothing and groceries from the Charity Room. Ladies of Charity and parish volunteers assist in the service and fund-raising activities. Across the city in Rosemead, Sister Elizabeth Hurley works with Hispanic mothers who sew for the poor and meanwhile enjoy informal classes at Guadalupe Center. Sister Elizabeth has also encouraged and inspired the Ladies of Charity of Los Angeles since the time of their organization in 1948—when Carrie Estelle Doheny was among the charter members.

The Saint Vincent de Paul Society in the Oakland Diocese received similar encouragement in 1985 when Sister Patricia Geoghegan was sent to work in their Free Dining Room across the San Francisco Bay in Oakland. Many Daughters have served there, preparing nourishing meals for countless poor and homeless of every race and creed. In Visalia, California, Sister Kenneth Quinn, too, feeds the hungry and also provides bargains for needy Mexican-Americans at Sister Ursula's Kitchen and Thrift Store, named for pioneer Sister Ursula Peternel.

Years ago, at the groundbreaking for Seton Provincialate in Los Altos Hills and at the first provincial assembly, a large colorful

banner next to the podium read: "Which one in this Community accomplishes anything alone?" The symbol on the banner pictured circles or rings, each one joined to the next, presenting a strong unified chain. Such a chain is the Province of the West, of which each Daughter of Charity in the West is a link.

Collaboration Among the Five Provinces

Despite their diversity, the five provinces of the United States have manifested remarkable unity of purpose, especially where there is question of advocacy for the poor, an ethical stand, or intervention in times of disaster. Interprovincial meetings of visitatrices, directresses of formation, and sisters in the same kinds of services have kept open avenues for concerted action.

Nowhere is this cooperation more evident—or more necessary—than in the health care field. More than forty years ago central purchasing services were developed in both provinces. With the division into five provinces in 1969, these departments and other centralized services became one cooperative service for the two provinces of Northeast and Southeast, and another triprovincial shared services for the East Central, West Central and West. In 1982 a further step toward unity was taken when a national purchasing service for all Daughters of Charity health care institutions in the United States came into being.

National Health System

But more than centralized purchasing was desirable. As early as 1978, committees were appointed in the various provinces to explore the multi-hospital-system approach to hospital management. A few years later the systems approach was tried, with the hospitals of the Northeast and Southeast forming one system, and those of East Central, West Central, and West forming another. Finally, at a January 1985 meeting of visitatrices and health councillors in Chicago, all five provinces agreed to explore the feasibility of a national Daughters of Charity health system. A task force was named, with Sister Margaret John Kelly as chairperson. Reports were encouraging as various aspects of the formation and management of a national system were pursued.

The Daughters of Charity National Health System became a reality 18 July 1987, with Sister Irene Kraus—past president of the Catholic Hospital Association and former chairman of the Board of Trustees of the American Hospital Association—as its first president.

In the constant challenge to be cost-effective and state-of-the-art efficient without neglecting religious and ethical values and the health care needs of the poor, the five provinces have chosen to pursue a course of unity of action as harmoniously concurrent as five fingers of the hand of Providence, reaching out in strength and compassion to the most abandoned.

Seton Shrine Center, Emmitsburg

Elizabeth Ann Seton was proclaimed a saint by Pope Paul VI in Rome 14 September 1975. The canonization ceremonies were held outdoors because Saint Peter's could not hold all who had expressed the desire to be present. During the Eucharistic celebration the offertory gifts were carried by Mrs. Ann Hove and Carl Kalin, two recipients of miracles accepted in the process of her beatification and canonization,* and by six mothers general of communities descended from the little band she brought together at Emmitsburg in 1809. These communities numbered in 1975 more than ten thousand living sisters, in addition to the myriads already joined in heaven.

In Saint Joseph's Valley, where it all began, Mother Seton's remains had been enshrined beneath a marble side altar in the chapel of the provincial house. Already hundreds of pilgrims were coming each week to honor Saint Elizabeth Ann Seton, praying in the chapel and in the rooms where she prayed and taught, lived and died.

Seton Shrine Center, begun by the Southeast Province as a service to the pilgrims, soon became an interprovincial house, where sisters from all five provinces and from other communities belonging to the Federation of Mother Seton's Daughters share

**Sister Gertrude Korzendorfer, D.C., recipient of the first miracle, a cure of cancer forty years earlier, had since died of an unrelated illness. Ann had been healed of leukemia at age four; Kalin's cure was of a brain tumor.*

community life and the privilege of giving talks and tours to groups of pilgrims. The chapel, the Stone House, the White House, the cemetery are all places of pilgrimage, visited by an average in 1985 of three hundred a day, all coming to honor the little woman who came to Emmitsburg to teach poor children and to form Sisters of Charity. Among those who make the pilgrimage an annual event are many midshipmen from the United States Naval Academy, who celebrate Navy Day in Emmitsburg to honor their patroness, whose sons were in the Navy.

In July 1984 the 175th anniversary of Mother Seton's arrival in Emmitsburg was celebrated. Sisters from all the communities of the Federation gathered near an old conestoga wagon similar to the one that carried the Setons and the sisters down the Westminster Turnpike. It was a day of prayer, festival, and unity as sisters of the various communities and provinces enacted scenes from their mutual heritage and from their own histories, all rich in the spirit of Saint Vincent de Paul and the traditions handed down from Saint Elizabeth Ann Seton.

Beyond the mountains was a nation and a world still very much in need of Sisters of Charity: children, the aging, single parents, the sick, the afflicted, the addicted, the homeless, the hopeless—all children of God in search of their Father. Her Daughters struggling with these problems of the present could take heart from the advice written so long ago by Saint Elizabeth Ann Seton:

Look up! He is ever a witness of your struggles. Put all your trust in Him.³

The Challenge of Tomorrow

After serving as an auditor at Vatican II, Mother Suzanne Guillemin shared her reflections with the sisters and other Catholic women:

We are at a moment when women are preparing to play a very different role in the world. It was this that struck me many times during the Council, on hearing it recalled that if women did not give their opinion on certain subjects, a certain comprehension, flexibility, and depth would be lacking... Things are not complete, nor balanced, and are good only when both [men and women] have

given their opinions, when both have agreed, as it were, in judging things.⁴

The Daughters of Charity in the United States have a long history of collaboration with the clergy, particularly with Vincentians, who have often served as chaplains in hospitals and institutions sponsored by the Community. In many Vincentian parishes—Brooklyn, Donaldsonville, Long Beach, Perryville, LaSalle, New Orleans, Baltimore, Emmitsburg, Greensboro, Phoenix, Montebello and Los Angeles, to name a few—sisters taught in the parish schools and shared other parish apostolates with Vincentian priests and brothers.

This close collaboration continues; but in the newer forms of collaboration between Vincentians and Daughters of Charity, the balance described by Mother Guillemin is more in evidence. Sisters serve not only as parish helpers and teachers, but also as professors, counselors, and campus ministers in Vincentian-administered seminaries and universities. One is part of the Vincentian formation program; another serves on the Mission Band. Sisters in parish ministry, particularly in rural areas of Texas and Alabama or in inner-city parishes, serve as full-fledged members of the parish team, sharing responsibility and decision-making with the parish priests. On committees and projects there is evident an equality, a shared leadership marked by respectful support that is enriching to all involved.

The sisters have need of this brotherly support as they seek ways to meet the challenge communicated to their delegates to the General Assembly in Rome 20 June 1985 by Pope John Paul II:

Sisters, do the impossible in order to go to the poorest of the Poor. There are so many of them today. In the name of the Church, I bring to your attention—what am I saying?—to the charity of God which burns in your hearts, the refugees, the unemployed, the starving, the victims of drugs and of marginalization. The more available you are to the most unfortunate, the more you will feel the need to live in your own lives that material poverty of which Saint Vincent spoke so ardently: “You have a right only to food and clothing, the rest belongs to the Poor.” (Coste, X). The whole Church needs to remember that while evangelization cannot snap its fingers at modern means, evangelizers must be seen to be disciples of the poor Christ.

Go, dear Sisters, through the entire world! *The Church counts a great deal on you.* She knows that apostolic mobility is part of your consecration. The Church, in various ways, communicates to you the richness of Christ so that you may go still further in this eminent service of the Poor. The Church also offers you the teachings of its magisterium in order to enlighten the socio-political and ethical problems so many Daughters of Charity have to face in their love of the Poor. May the Sisters use all these sources to the full.⁵

NOTES

Chapter 1: A Tree Planted By the Waters

1. Journal of Elizabeth Seton to Rebecca Seton, 24 February 1804, as quoted in Madame DeBarbereg, *Elizabeth Seton*. Trans. and adapted by Reverend Joseph B. Code, with a Brief Sketch of the Community of Sisters of Charity Since the Death of Mother Seton. (New York: MacMillan, 1940) 88.
2. DuBourg to Eleves, Montauban 15 July 1828. Facsimile in Saint Joseph Provincialate Archives, Emmitsburg, Maryland (hereafter cited as ASJP), Letter Book II, 102.
3. Samuel Cooper himself recorded this as the amount given in the record of the disposition of his property which he signed before receiving tonsure. The record is preserved in the Sulpician Archives, Baltimore (hereafter cited as ASB).
4. Biographical data on early sisters is from journals kept by those who knew them—Sisters Margaret George, Rose White and Bernard Boyle—quoted as footnotes in *Reverend Simon Bruté* (Bishop of Vincennes) *in his Connection with the Community, 1812-1839*. (Emmitsburg, Maryland: Saint Joseph Central House 1886). This book (hereafter cited as *Bruté*) and its companion volume, *Mother Seton* were compiled from original sources under the direction of Sister Marie Louise Caulfield, provincial secretary for fifty years, who had known some of the sisters involved. Also working in the secretariate at the same time was Sister Martha Daddisman, a companion of the early days—she entered the Academy in 1811 and the Community in 1814—who could validate facts contained in the journals.
5. Elizabeth Seton to Julia Scott 1 December 1814 in *Memoir, Letters and Journal of Elizabeth Ann Seton, Convert to the Catholic Faith and Sister of Charity*. Ed. by Rt. Rev. Robert Seton. (New York: O'Shea, 1869) II 182-83.
6. This letter from P. Boutan to S.G. Bruté, October 1811, is preserved in the Archives of Saint Joseph Provincial House, letter Book II, 15. It is cited by Sister John Mary Crumlish in her *Union with France* (Emmitsburg: Saint Joseph Central House, 1950) 22.
7. Rules of the Sisters of Charity of St. Joseph adopted in 1812, trans-

- lated and adapted by John Dubois. Article 1. ASJP.
8. Rules, Art. 1.
 9. Rules, Art. 1.
 10. Constitutions of the Sisters of Charity of St. Joseph adopted in 1812, translated and expanded by John Dubois. Article 1. ASJP. The Constitutions received from Paris dealt briefly with vows, government, and temporalities of the Community. Dubois authored other parts of the Constitutions for the American Sisters of Charity.
 11. Constitutions, Art. 1.
 12. Constitutions, Art. 1.
 13. John Dubois to Antoine Garnier 18 April 1816, as quoted in Joseph I. Dirvin, *Mrs. Seton: Foundress of the American Sisters of Charity*. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1962) 387. (See footnote, p.15).
 14. Constitutions, Art. XXVIII. (See n. 10).
 15. Constitutions, Art. XXIX.
 16. Constitutions, Art. IV.
 17. *Bruté* (See n. 4) 125 n.
 18. Elizabeth Seton, as quoted in Rev. Charles I. White, D.D. *Life of Eliza. A. Seton, Foundress and First Superior of the Sisters or Daughters of Charity in the United States of America*. First Edition. (New York: Dunigan and Bros., 1853) 244.
 19. Sister Mary Regis Hoare, *Virgin Soil. Mother Seton From a Different Point of View*. (Boston: The Christopher Publishing House, 1942) 153. Also in J.A. Burns and Bernard J. Kohlbrenner, *A History of Catholic Education in the United States*. (New York: Benziger, 1937) 205.
 20. John Dubois to Archbishop John Carroll 23 August 1814. Cathedral Archives, Baltimore (hereafter cited as CAB) Document 8 B M4.
 21. Sister Rose White to Elizabeth Seton October 1814, as quoted in [Sister Josephine Craven] *Mother Rose White*. (Emmitsburg: St. Joseph Central House, 1936) 38.
 22. E.A. Seton to S.G. Bruté 1 August 1817. ASJP, Letter Book XII, 73, as quoted in Annabelle Melville, *Elizabeth Bayley Seton 1774-1821*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951) 256.
 23. Dubois to Robert Fox as quoted in *Mother Rose White* (see n. 21) 51.
 24. *Ibid.*, 56.
 25. Ambrose Marechal, "Archbishop Marechal's Report to Propaganda, 16 October 1818" in John Tracy Ellis, *Documents of American Catholic History*. (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1965) 207-225.
 26. Simon Gabriel Bruté in a retreat conference 15 July 1821, as cited in *Bruté* (see n. 4) 297.

27. Bruté to Elizabeth Seton, 1818. *Ibid.*, 149.
28. Elizabeth Seton to Julia Scott 23 March 1809. Letter Book VI, 77, as quoted in Ellin Kelly *Numerous Choirs. A Chronicle of Elizabeth Bayley Seton and Her Spiritual Daughters*. Volume I: The Seton Years 1774-1821. (Evansville: Mater Dei Provincialate, 1981) 126.
29. Account of Mother Seton's death by an unidentified sister, *Bruté* (see n. 4) 46.
30. Bruté's account of Mother Seton's death, *Ibid.*, 26.

Chapter 2: Rooted in the Church

1. Constitutions of the Sisters of Charity of Saint Joseph, Emmitsburg, 1812. Article XIII. ASJP.
2. John Carroll to Elizabeth Seton, 11 September 1811. CAB (3:155:7) as quoted in Ellin Kelly (see n. 28, ch. 1) 152-32.
3. John Dubois to Marianne (Mrs. Robert) Patterson, 10 May 1822, as quoted in Sister Bernadette Armiger, *History of the Hospital Work of the Daughters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul in the Eastern Province of the United States 1823-1860*. (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1947) 35.
4. Marc Anthony Frenaye to Francis Patrick Kenrick, Philadelphia 30 October 1836. *The Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence 1830-1862*. Selected arranged and annotated by F.E.T. (Lancaster, Pa.: Wickersham Printing Co., 1920) 1-2.
5. Diary and Visitation Record of the Right Reverend Francis Patrick Kenrick, *Administrator and Bishop of Philadelphia 1830-1851*. Ed. and trans. by Most Reverend Edmond F. Prendergast (Lancaster, Pa.: Wickersham Printing Co., 1916) 42-43 (4 November 1830).
6. *Ibid.*, 76 (2 September 1832).
7. *Ibid.*, 186 (29 September 1839).
8. Charles Smith to Mother Augustine Decount, Albany, May 1829, as quoted in [Sister Josephine Craven] *Mother Augustine Decount*. (Emmitsburg: St. Joseph Central House, 1938) 65.
9. Contract for Saint Louis Hospital, 1828, preserved in Archives of Marillac Provincialate, Saint Louis, Missouri (hereafter cited as AMP).
10. Patient Register of Saint Louis Hospital, preserved in Archives of DePaul Hospital, Saint Louis.
11. Joseph Rosati to Mother Augustine Decount, Saint Louis 27 November 1828, as quoted in *Mother Augustine Decount* (see n. 8) 56. Original in ASJP.
12. Sister Francis Xavier Love to Mother Augustine Decount, November 1832. *The Jesuit* (Boston, February 1833) as quoted

- partially in Sister M. Lilliana Owens, S.L. *The Saint Louis Hospital 1828* (Saint Louis: Saint Louis Medical Society, 1965) 20-21, and wholly in Sister Agnes McCann, S.C.C. *History of Mother Seton's Daughters, the Sisters of Charity of Cincinnati, Ohio 1809-1917* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1917) 184-87.
13. Saint Louis Hospital Register, Archives of DePaul Hospital, Saint Louis.
 14. *Bruté* (see n. 4, ch. 1) 547-48.
 15. Letter of Matthias Loras to his mother 10 November 1832 as quoted in "The Cholera Epidemic in the Diocese of Mobile" in Ellis (see n. 25, ch. 1) 237-38.
 16. Mother Philippine Duchesne to Elizabeth-Josephine Perier 23 June 1833, as quoted in Louise Callan, R.S.C.J. *Philippine Duchesne, Frontier Missionary of the Sacred Heart 1769-1852*. (Westminster: The Newman Press, 1957) 544.
 17. Philippine Duchesne to Elizabeth-Josephine Perier, January 1834, *Ibid.*, 558.
 18. Board of Administrators of Charity Hospital, New Orleans, to the Sisters of Charity, 6 May 1833. AMP, Charity Hospital Collection.
 19. Louis Regis Deluol to Sister Olympia McTaggart 19 September 1840, as quoted in Armiger (see n. 3) 53.
 20. *Ibid.*, 57.
 21. *Ibid.*, 58.
 22. *Ibid.*, 58.

Chapter 3: Weathering the Storms

1. "The Launching of the American Protestant Association Against the Catholic Church 22 November 1842," 269-271 in John Tracy Ellis, *Documents of American Catholic History*. (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1956) 270.
2. Letter of Sister Gonzaga Grace to Mother Xavier Clark, Philadelphia 9 May 1844, as quoted in Eleanor C. Donnelly, *Life of Sister Mary Gonzaga Grace of the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul. 1812-1897*. (Philadelphia: printed privately, 1900) 78-80.
3. Abraham Lincoln to Joshua Speed, August 1855, as quoted in Sister Evangeline Thomas, *Nativism in the Old Northwest 1850-1860*. (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1936) 195.
4. William H. Stokes, "Causes and Treatment of Lunacy. The Fifth Annual Report of the Mount Hope Institution near Baltimore for the year 1847" in *United States Catholic Magazine and Monthly Review*, ed. by Charles I. White. (Baltimore: John Murphy, Publisher. Official organ of the Archbishop of Baltimore and the

- Bishop of Richmond.) Vol. 7, 1848, 196-200.
5. *Ibid.*, 198.
 6. William H. Stokes, "Mount Hope: An Institution Belonging to and Conducted by the Sisters of Charity of St. Joseph's, and attended by William H. Stokes, M.D." *Ibid.*, Vol. 6, 1847, 486-92.
 7. A.H. Gandolfo, C.M. *Notes on Our Venerated and Beloved Father, Very Reverend Francis Burlando, C.M., Director of the Province of the United States*. (Emmitsburg: Saint Joseph's Central House, 1873) 47 (hereafter cited as *Burlando*).
 8. Armiger (see n. 3 ch. 2) 98.
 9. Resolution from minutes of meeting, Albany, 10 November 1844, signed by Owen Murray, Chairman, and Peter Morange, secretary. Original in Archives of DePaul Provincialate, Albany, New York (hereafter cited as ADPP).
 10. Letter of John Hughes to Louis R. Deluol, New York, 7 June 1846, as quoted in [Sister Josephine Craven] *Mother Etienne Hall*. (Emmitsburg: Saint Joseph's Central House, 1939) 25-26. Original letter in SAB.
 11. *Burlando* (See n. 7) 23.
 12. John Hughes to Samuel Eccleston, 5 December 1842. Original in CAB.
 13. Louis Regis Deluol to John Hughes, 17 June 1846. ASJP, Letter Book V, RHD #54, also quoted in Joseph B. Code, *Bishop John Hughes and the Sisters of Charity*. (Louvain: Catholic University: Reprint of Miscelanea Historica in honor of Leonis Van der Essen in his 35th year as professor) 17.
 14. Deluol to Sisters in New York. Baltimore, 18 June 1846, ASJP, Letter Book IV, RJD #57, as quoted in Code (see n. 13) 20.
 15. Code lists by name 33 Sisters who remained in New York, 29 who returned to Emmitsburg. Other sources give slightly different numbers—all in excess of the 52 listed in the *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory* as being in the diocese in 1845. Code names three not on mission in New York who later joined the sisters there, which accounts in part for the discrepancy in numbers. The apparently large increase in the number of sisters missioned to the diocese in one year is evidence of a reasonable effort on the part of the Community to satisfy the bishop's requests.
 16. Deluol to J.B. Etienne, Superior General, 22 June 1849, as quoted in [Sister John Mary Crumlish] *The Union of the American Sisters of Charity to the Daughters of Charity of Paris, 1850*. (Emmitsburg: St. Joseph's Central House, 1950) 58-59.
 17. Mariano Maller to Mother Etienne Hall, October 1849, as quoted in [Sister Marie Louise Caulfield] *Our Union with France 1849-1850*. (Emmitsburg: St. Joseph's Central House, 1882) 29.

18. [Crumlish] (see n. 16) 61-62.
19. Rene Laurentin, *The Life of Catherine Laboure 1806-1876*. (Paris: Desclee de Brouwer, 1980) 75.
20. Emmitsburg Council Book 1843-1853, for 25 March 1850, p. 60, as quoted in [Crumlish] (see n. 16) 66-67.
21. Circular of J.B. Etienne, Superior General, to the Sisters of the Province of the United States 1 November 1850. Copy in AMP. The official erection of the new province and the appointment of superiors to direct it is contained in this letter. On the same day Sulpician Father Louis L'Homme, Superior of Saint Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, signed a waiver of all rights of the Sulpician superiors to be guardians of the Constitutions of the Community, transferring this authority to the Superior General of the Vincen-tians. That is why this day is recognized as the official date of the affiliation.
22. J.B. Etienne to Mariano Maller 9 May 1850, as quoted in [Caulfield] (see n. 17) 34.
23. Elizabeth Ann Seton, as quoted in *Daily Thoughts from the Writings of Mother Seton*, selected by Rt. Rev. Msgr. Joseph B. Code. (Emmitsburg: Mother Seton Guild Press, 1957) under date of January 20.
24. Psalm 136.
25. Sister Scholastica Logsdon to Mother Regina Smith, May 1857. Original in Archives of Seton Provincialate, Los Altos Hills, California (hereafter cited as ASP).
26. Logsdon to Burlando, January 1859. Original in ASP.
27. Logsdon to Burlando, June 1859. Original in ASP.

Chapter 4: Strengthened in Unity

1. Letter of Francis Patrick Kenrick to Marc Anthony Frenaye 10 May 1861. *The Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence 1830-1862*. (see n. 4, ch. 2) 477.
2. *Letter of F.P. Kenrick to Peter Richard Kenrick 7 September 1860. Ibid.*, 463.
3. *Washington National Intelligencer* 5 June 1861, as quoted in Providence Hospital Centennial Papers (Washington, D.C., 1961).
4. Saint Vincent de Paul, X, 507, as quoted in Pierre Coste, *The Life and Works of Saint Vincent de Paul*, tr. by Joseph Leonard. (West-minster, Md.: Newman Press, 1952) II, 438.
5. Daughters of Charity, *Sister Euphemia Blenkinsop*. (Emmitsburg: Saint Joseph Central House, n.d.) 47 (hereafter cited as *Blenkin-sop*).
6. Letter of F.P. Kenrick to Francis Burlando, as quoted in

- Blenkinsop*, 36-37.
7. Letter of Francis Burlando, Sister Ann Simeon Norris and Council to Major John Adams Dix, 20 December 1861, as quoted in *Blenkinsop*, 37-39.
 8. Sister Angela Heath, "The Nursing Sisters in the Military Hospitals of Virginia," in Ellis, *Documents* (see n. 1, ch. 3) 376-379.
 9. Francis Burlando to Mother Gilberte-Elise Montcellet, as quoted in *Remarks on Deceased Sisters*, 1863, 22-23.
 10. Burlando to Montcellet 1 September 1862, *Remarks on Deceased Sisters*, 1863, 29.
 10. Sister Camilla Bowden to Montcellet, *Ibid.*, 1863, 31.
 12. *Sister Helen Ryan to Montcellet 22 September 1862*, *Ibid.*, 1863, 30.
 13. *New York Catholic News*, January 1961.
 14. Letter of Francis Burlando to Very Reverend J.B. Etienne 8 July 1863, as quoted in [Sister Josephine Craven] *Mother Ann Simeon Norris* (Emmitsburg: Saint Joseph Central House, 1939) 114-118.
 15. *Remarks on Deceased Sisters*. Notice of Sister Mary Jane Stokes, who died in 1918.
 16. Letter of Francis Burlando to Very Rev. J.B. Etienne 8 July 1863. (see n. 14.) The initials "U.P.o.t.M." stand for "Unworthy Priest of the mission."
 17. Eleanor C. Donnelly, *Life of Sister Mary Gonzaga Grace* (see n. 2 ch. 3) 109.
 18. *Ibid.*, 122.
 19. *Ibid.*, 124-125.
 20. *Ibid.*, 121.
 21. *Ibid.*, 202.
 22. *Ibid.*, 176-177.
 23. Letter of W.D. Van Alstyne to C.S. Wilson 7 January 1864. Copy in ADPP.
 24. John Francis Maguire, *The Irish in America*. (New York: D. & J. Sadlier, 1868) 478.
 25. Artifact preserved in AMP.
 26. Letter of General Benjamin Butler from Headquarters, Department of the Gulf, New Orleans, Louisiana, to the Superior of the Sisters of Charity, Donaldsonville, Louisiana, 2 September 1862. Copy preserved in AMP.
 27. Sister Regina Smith to Montcellet 11 August 1862, as quoted in *Remarks on Deceased Sisters*, 1863, 27-28.
 28. Sister Euphemia Blenkinsop to Montcellet, *Ibid.*, 24-25.
 29. *Burlando* (see n. 7, ch. 3) 197.
 30. *Blenkinsop* (see n. 5) 56.
 31. *Ibid.*
 32. Copy of report is preserved in SAB, RG 29, Box 1.

Chapter 5: Bearing Fruit in Patience

1. Stella O'Connor, *The Charity Hospital at New Orleans, an Administrative and Financial History. 1736-1941*. (New Orleans: Tulane University, 1947) 98.
2. *Ibid.*, 99.
3. *Remarks on Deceased Sisters*. Notice of Sister Walburga Gehring, who died in 1883.
4. Peter Leo Johnson, *The Daughters of Charity in Milwaukee. 1846-1946*. (Milwaukee: Saint Mary's Hospital, 1946) 94.
5. Sister Mary Agnes Yeakel, *Nineteenth Century Educational Contribution of the Sisters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul in Virginia*. (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1939).
6. Pastoral Letter, Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, 1884, as cited in Patrick J. Cormick, "Church Law and Certification of Catholic Teachers." *Catholic Education Review* (20 May 1922) 258.
7. Publication Committee of Providence Alumni Association, with the cooperation of Sister Eleanor McNabb, Administrator, *Providence Centennial Book*. (Washington, D.C.: Providence Hospital, 1961).
8. *Ibid.*
9. Judge Rufus W. Peckham, Decision in the Case of *Bradfield v. Roberts*, 175 U.S. 295.
10. C.A.G., "Our New X-ray Machine" in *Hospital News*. (Rochester, New York: St. Mary's Hospital, May 1902).
11. Daughters of Charity, *Notes on Our Beloved Mother Mariana Flynn, Visitatrix of the Province of the United States*. (Emmitsburg: St. Joseph Central House, 1901) 34.
12. *Ibid.*, 34.
13. ASJCH Annals as quoted in Sister Celeste Cummings, *History of the Hospital Work and Development of the Schools of Nursing of the Sisters of Charity of the Eastern Province 1860-1900*. (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1945) 53.
14. Letter of Sister Hedwiges Laquidain to Mother Marie Lamartinie, undated (probably, September 1898) as quoted in *Annals of the Congregation of the Mission*, 1899, 1106. AMP.
15. Letter of Sister Raphael Jones to Mother Margaret O'Keefe, Panama City, Panama, 5 October 1906. Sister Raphael Jones's Panama letters are preserved in AMP.
16. Letter of Mother Mariana Flynn to Sister Stella Dempsey, March 1892, as quoted in *Notes on Our Beloved Mother Mariana Flynn* (see n. 11) 65.
17. The Birmingham diary, a brief journal kept by the sisters on mission at Saint Vincent's Hospital, Birmingham, Alabama, from

its inception in 1898 until 1926. From internal evidence it appears that the diarists were Sister Placida Scott and later Sister Vincent Steward. This untitled journal is hereafter referred to as the Birmingham diary.

18. *Remarks on Deceased Sisters*. Notice of Sister Austin Corbitt, who died in 1937.
19. Letter of Sister Beatrice Hart to Mother Mariana Flynn 6 July 1896. AMP, Carville Collection.
20. Letter of Sister Benedicta Roach to Mother Margaret O'Keefe 13 July 1902, as quoted in the *Annals of Carville*, p. 56. Copy in AMP.
21. Birmingham diary, 31 July 1910.

Chapter 6: Charity East and West

1. Letter of Joseph Rosati to Simon Gabriel Bruté, Perry County, Missouri, 29 August 1828, written in French. The translation is Bruté's, as quoted in *Bruté* (see n. 4 ch. 1) 362.
2. *The Official Catholic Directory and Clergy List for the Year of Our Lord 1909*. Vol. XXIV. (New York: M.H. Wiltzius Co.) "Statistics of Religious Orders" 754.
3. Copies of the circular were sent to each house. The original, in French, is in the J.J. Sullivan correspondence collection, AMP.
4. Sister Bertrande Meyers, *The Education of Sisters*. (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1941) 42. The salary of \$20 to \$25 a month in the 1920s increased in most schools to \$35 in the 1930s.
5. J.A. Burns and Bernard J. Kohlbrenner, *A History of Catholic Education in the United States* (New York: Benziger, 1937) 224-25. Statistics in the study are based on thirty-four states. In public schools studied, 25% of teachers had degrees; 22% had not finished high school.
6. Letter of J.J. Sullivan to Sister Eugenia Fealy, Dallas, Texas, 25 September 1917. Original in J.J. Sullivan correspondence collection, AMP.
7. Pope Paul VI to delegates of the Daughters of Charity at the General Assembly, Rome, 19 May 1965, as quoted in circular of Mother Suzanne Guillemin, 1 January 1966.

Chapter 7: In Times of Drought, Still Green

1. Burt Bacharach (music) and Hal David (lyrics) Blue Seas Music, Inc. and Jac Music Co., 1967-68.
2. These words are engraved on a bronze plaque at the entrance of

Laboure Residence, Los Altos Hills, California.

3. Elizabeth Ann Seton, as quoted in *Daily Thoughts from the Writings of Mother Seton*, selected by Rt. Rev. Msgr. Joseph B. Code. (Emmitsburg: Mother Seton Guild Press, 1957) under date of May 8.
4. Pope John Paul II to delegates of the General Assembly of Daughters of Charity, received in private audience 20 June 1985, as quoted in *Echoes of the Company* June-July 1985 (General Assembly special issue) pp. 270-274.

Abbreviations

ADPP Archives, DePaul Provincialate, Albany, New York.
AMP Archives, Marillac Provincialate, Saint Louis, Missouri.
ASJP Archives, Saint Joseph Provincialate, Emmitsburg, Maryland.
ASP Archives, Seton Provincialate, Los Altos Hills, California.
CAB Cathedral Archives, Baltimore.
SAB Sulpician Archives, Baltimore.

Appendix A: Superiors of the Community

I. Superiors in the United States

a. Superiors of the Sisters of Charity of Saint Joseph's

Sulpician Superiors 1809-1849

William DuBourg	1809-1809
John B. David	1809-1811
John Dubois	1811-1826
Louis Regis Deluol	1826-1829
John Hickey	1829-1841
Louis Regis Deluol	1841-1849

Mothers 1809-1849

Elizabeth Ann Seton	1809-1821
Rose White	1821-1827
Augustine Decount	1827-1833
Rose White	1833-1839
Xavier Clark	1839-1845
Etienne Hall	1845-1850

b. Superiors after Affiliation with the Daughters of Charity

Vincentian Provincial Directors

Mariano Maller	1849-1853
Francis Burlando	1853-1873
Felix Guidry	1873-1877
Alexis Mandine	1877-1892
Sylvester Haire	1892-1894
Robert A. Lennon	1894-1907
James J. Sullivan	1907-1910

Visitatrixes of American Province

Etienne Hall	1850-1855
Regina Smith	1855-1859
Ann Simeon Norris	1859-1866
Euphemia Blenkinsop	1866-1887
Mariana Flynn	1887-1901
Margaret O'Keefe	1901-1910

c. One American Province Becomes Two: Eastern and Western

Eastern Province Directors

John P. Cribbins	1910-1943
Francis J. Dodd	1943-1962
Charles O'Connor	1962-1969

Eastern Province Visitatrixes

Margaret O'Keefe	1910-1923
Paula Dunn	1923-1944
Gertrude Eisele	1944-1944
Isabel Toohey	1944-1962
Eleanor McNabb	1962-1969

Western Province Directors

James J. Sullivan	1910-1927
John J. Cronin	1927-1957
George E. Dolan	1957-1969

Western Province Visitatrixes

Eugenia Fealy	1910-1936
Caroline Collins	1936-1952
Catherine Sullivan	1952-1962
Mary Rose McPhee	1962-1969

d. Two American Provinces Become Five

Provincial Directors

Joseph Tinnelly	1969-1981
John Hodnett	1981-

Visitatrixes

Northeast Province (Albany, N. Y.)

Mary Basil Roarke	1969-1981
Mary Rose McGeady	1981-1987
Margaret John Kelly	1987-

Southeast Province (Emmitsburg, Md.)

Charles O'Connor	1969-1974	Eleanor McNabb	1969-1974
John Cusak	1974-1984	Mary Clare Hughes	1974-1983
John Lawlor	1984-	Genevieve Kureth	1983-1989
		Virginia Ann Brooks	1989-

East Central Province (Evansville, Ind.)

John Zimmerman	1969-1981	Elise Boudreaux	1969-1981
Carl Schulte	1981-	Gertrude Bastnagel	1981-

West Central Province (St. Louis, Mo.)

George E. Dolan	1969-1970	Mary Rose McPhee	1969-1974
Arthur L. Trapp	1970-1976	Mary John Lindner	1974-1983
Ignatius Melito	1976-1985	Bernice Coreil	1983-1989
William A. Bogel	1985-	Nannette Gentile	1989-

Province of the West (Los Altos Hills, Cal.)

James McOwen	1969-1979	Rose Collins	1969-1981
John J. Danagher	1979-	Teresa Piro	1981-

II. General Superiors of the Daughters of Charity since 1850

Superiors General

Jean B. Etienne 1843-1874

Eugene Boré 1874-1878
Antoine Fiat 1878-1914

Emile Villette 1914-1916
Alfred Louwyck* 1916-1918
Francis Verdier 1918-1933

Charles Souvay 1933-1939
Edouard Robert* 1939-1947
William M. Slattery 1947-1968

James W. Richardson 1968-1980
Richard P. McCullen 1980-

Mothers General

Marie Mazin 1845-1851
Gilberte-Elise Montcellet 1851-1857
Augustine Devos 1857-1860
Gilberte-Elise Montcellet 1860-1866
Felicite Lequette 1866-1872
Louise Lequette 1872-1878
Marie Juhel 1878-1880
Marie Derieux 1880-1887
Leonide Havard 1887-1893
Marie Lamartinie 1893-1899
Julie Kieffer 1899-1910
Marie Mauche 1910-1912
Marie J. Maurice 1912-1918
Emilie Maurice 1918-1921
Mathilde Inchelin 1922-1928
Marie Lebrun 1928-1934
Marie Chaplain 1934-1940
Laure Decq 1940-1946
Marie Ant. Blanchot 1946-1953
Francine Lepicard 1953-1962
Suzanne Guillemin 1962-1968
Christine Chiron 1968-1974
Lucie Rogé 1974-1985
Anne Duzan 1985-

*Vicar General during wartime.

Appendix B.

Civil War: Where Daughters of Charity Nursed the Wounded (of Both Armies)

LOCATION	FIELD AMBULANCES, TRANSPORTS	MILITARY HOSPITALS	HOSP. ALREADY STAFFED BY THE SISTERS	IMPROV. HOSP./ TENT, CAMP, & BARRACKS HOSP.	
St. Louis		Marine Hospital	City Hospital		
Montgomery				Improved/Isolation Camp	
Washington		Lincoln Hosp. Eckington Hosp. Cliffburn Hosp. Washington Infirmary	Providence H.		
Acola				Improved	
Wilmington				Improved	
Atlanta				Tents	
Metta		Hospital (Confederate)			
St. Louis					
St. Moore				Camp Hospital (Conf.)	
St. roe				Camp Hospital (Conf.)	
Orleans		Marine Hosp.	Charity H., Hotel Dieu		
St. tam	Fields			Improved	
St. more			Baltimore Inf.		
St. sboro	Fields			Improved	
St. erick				Rev. War Barracks (Union)	
St. Lookout				Tent hosp., Isolation Camp	
St. sburg				Improved	
St. on			Carney Hosp.		
St. bit		mil. hosp. built by Srs.	St. Mary's Hosp. (Providence)		
St. nth				Improved	
St. y Springs		temporary (Confed.)			
St. hez				Improved	
St. sburg				Improved	

LOCATION	FIELD AMBULANCES, TRANSPORTS	MILITARY HOSPITALS	HOSP. ALREADY STAFFED BY THE SISTERS	IMPROV. HOSP./ TENT, CAMP, & BARRACKS HOSP.	
Louis	Mississippi R. Transports	House of Refuge Mil. Hosp. (Union)	St. Louis Sisters' (DePaul) Hospital	Benton Barracks (Union)	M
any chester yburg			St. Mary's Hospital St. Mary's Hospital	Improvise	C
	Fields & Farmhouses			The three largest improvised hosp. in Gettysburg	
delphia		Satterlee Mil. Hosp. (Union)	St. Joseph's Hosp.	Typhoid Isolation Camp at Satterlee	
ville onsville chburg assas Folk	field ambulance	Temporary Mil. Temporary Mil.		Improvise	
smouth mond		Naval Hospital General Hospital Stuart Hospital	St. Vincent Hosp. (DePaul)	Imp. in factory improvised	
te House ding chester per's Ferry waukee p Sigel	transports		St. Francis de Sales Infirmary	Several improvised	
		Mil. Hosp. (Confed.) Mil. Hosp. (Confed.)		Improvise hosp. in Lee Mansion	
			St. Mary's Hospital	Camp. hosp. and isolation camp.	

ESSAY ON SOURCES

PRIMARY SOURCES: ARCHIVAL

The archival holdings of the Daughters of Charity in the United States are in five locations, corresponding to the five provinces. (See map, p. 251). The earliest record books, journals, letters and catalogues of personnel are in the Archives of Saint Joseph's Provincialate, Emmitsburg, Maryland (hereafter cited as ASJP). In 1910 some original letters and manuscripts were transferred with the records and histories of missions in the then Western Province to Saint Louis, Missouri, where they became the basis of the Archives of Marillac Provincialate (AMP). In 1969 records of missions within their territories were similarly transferred to the new provinces and became the foundations of their archives: the Archives of DePaul Provincialate (ADPP) in Albany, New York; the Archives of Mater Dei Provincialate (AMDP) in Evansville, Indiana; and the Archives of Seton Provincialate (ASP) in Los Altos Hills, California.

Manuscript Sources

Among important archival manuscripts consulted for this history are the Constitutions and Rules adopted by the American Community, as translated and adapted by Father John Dubois, S.S.; early journals and catalogues of personnel; Sister Matilda Coskery's "Advices Concerning the Sick", all from ASJP; the J.J. Sullivan correspondence, the Panama letters, various diaries and first-person accounts, including those by sisters who served in Italy during World War I—all from AMP; letters from the Albany collection; hospital registers from Rochester and Buffalo; the Boston, Philadelphia, China and refugee collections from ADPP; the compilation of services in Latin America by Sister Virginia Kingsbury from AMDP; the collection of early California letters in ASP.

Other Archives

From the Sulpician Archives, Baltimore, copies of valuable letters and documents were obtained. Particularly helpful were those which brought into focus the roles played by Samuel Cooper and Father Louis Regis Deluol, S.S.

Pertinent letters to and from Archbishops Marechal and Eccleston surfaced in the Cathedral Archives, Baltimore.

Primary Sources; Printed

This history could not have been written without the painstaking research of Sister John Mary Crumlish, D.C., during her years as archivist of Saint Joseph's, Emmitsburg. Her *1809-1959*, thoroughly documented from primary archival sources, catalogues the apostolic history of the Community in the entire United States 1809-1909 and in the Eastern province 1910-1959. This accurate record of missions, supplemented by *Sing Joyfully to the Lord*, Sister Vincentine Lancaster's unpublished research on the missions of the Saint Louis Province 1910-1969, provided the skeletal framework upon which other aspects of the history were fleshed out. For the affiliation with the Daughters of Charity in 1850, the single most important source is Sister John Mary Crumlish's *The Union of the American Sisters of Charity with the Daughters of Charity in Paris* (Emmitsburg, 1950). In this and her monograph "Steps Leading to Our Union with France" (undated), Crumlish documents from archival sources (Council minutes, letters, etc.) the influences for change in the structure of the Community from the adoption of the Constitutions in 1812 until the affiliation with the Daughters of Charity in 1850. Another important source for details of the New York separation from the Emmitsburg Community in 1846 is Monsignor Joseph B. Code's *Bishop John Hughes and the Sisters of Charity* (Louvain: Catholic University, Reprint of Miscellanea Historica in honor of Leonis van der Essen in his 35th year as professor).

From the print shop at Saint Joseph's, Emmitsburg, many primary sources were privately distributed within the Community. Noteworthy among those researched for this history are: 1) *Mother Seton*, Notes by Rev. Simon Gabriel Brute (1884) and *Rev. Simon Gabriel Brute in His Connection with the Community 1812-1839* (1886). Sister John Mary Crumlish at-

tested to the authenticity of these compilations of early writings and biographical notes of early sisters. 2) A series of biographies of superiors of the Community in the United States, some undated, the first few named attributed to Sister Josephine Craven: *Mother Rose White* (1936), *Mother Augustine Decount and Mother Xavier Clark* (1938), *Mother Etienne Hall* (1939), *Mother Regina Smith and Mother Ann Simeon Norris* (1939), *Mother Euphemia Blenkinsop*, *Mother Mariana Flynn* (1902), *Mother Margaret O'Keefe*, *Sister Paula Dunn*, *Sister Isabel Toohey*. Significant among lives of Vincentian directors of the Community are those of *Very Reverend Francis Burlando* (1873), *John P. Cribbins* (1949) and *Francis Dodd* (1965). 3) *Remarks on Our Deceased Sisters*, an annual collection of biographical notes on selected Daughters of Charity (international in scope from 1852 to 1967) was translated and printed at Emmitsburg, as were the *Echo of the Motherhouse*—now known as *Echoes of the Company*—an almost-monthly magazine containing notices, conferences, news and articles of interest to the Daughters of Charity throughout the world—and *Genesis I* and *Genesis II*—history and documents relating to the establishment and development of the Community in France and its spread throughout the world.

Since 1969 the responsibility for translating and printing the *Echoes* has been shared by the five American provinces, and each has produced its own volumes of notes on deceased sisters. These too have been consulted.

For the history of the Saint Louis Province 1910-1968, biographies of Very Reverend J.J. Sullivan, C.M., and Sisters Eugenia Fealy, Mary Barbara Regan, Caroline Collins and Catherine Sullivan were most helpful.

Other Archival Sources

The archives of all five provinces contain mission histories; letters; newspaper articles; centennial booklets on the sisters' services in various cities (e.g. Milwaukee, Philadelphia, Boston, Troy, San Francisco, Los Angeles); histories of parishes, hospitals, schools of nursing; and unpublished theses dealing with the history and works of the Community. Many of these sources were made available through the work of the Popular History Committee.

Of fifty or more theses researched, the following were found

to be most useful: Sister Bernadette Armiger's *History of the Hospital Work of the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul in the Eastern Province of the United States 1823-1860* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America, 1947); Sister Anna Marie Branson's *A History of the General Hospitals Founded by the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul in the Emmitsburg Province since the Year 1900* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America, 1958); Sister Celeste Cummings' *History of Hospital Work and Development of the Schools of Nursing of the Sisters of Charity in the Eastern Province 1860-1900* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1948); Sister Zoe Glenski's *The Work of the Daughters of Charity in New Orleans: 1830-1900* (New Orleans: Xavier University, 1959); Stella O'Connor's *The Charity Hospital of New Orleans, an Administrative and Financial History 1736-1941* (New Orleans: Tulane University, 1947); and Sister Mary Agnes Yeakel's *Nineteenth Century Educational Contribution of the Sisters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul in Virginia* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1939).

Primary Sources: Oral

By tape and in person, individual sisters of all provinces shared memories of other sisters as well as personal apostolic experiences, particularly in the fields of child care, parish ministry, and social services to the poor in Appalachia, rural areas, and inner cities.

SECONDARY SOURCES AND REFERENCES

Seven biographies of Elizabeth Seton were consulted. Published biographies of other American Daughters of Charity are rare. Helpful ones were Eleanor C. Donnelly's *Life of Sister Mary Gonzaga Grace* (Philadelphia, 1900) Elizabeth Weber's *Celestial Honeymoon* (New York: Benziger, 1950) and *Sister Stella's Babies*, the collected letters of Sister Stella Simpson (American Journal of Nursing, 1978).

In the primary sources and biographies of sisters, the Community defines and describes itself. To obtain a true, balanced estimate of the Community within the Church, it was deemed necessary to consult many secondary sources: histories of

dioceses and other communities in or near which the Community grew; lives of bishops, priests, religious and laity who knew and worked with the sisters. Among those consulted were histories of the Church in Virginia, Louisiana, Maryland, Texas, and Nevada, and in the dioceses of Philadelphia, Boston, New York, Saint Louis, Richmond, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, Buffalo, Chicago, Mobile, Milwaukee and Natchez. Biographies of Bishops Carroll, Cheverus, Flaget, Bruté, Rosati, Dubois, Hughes, Timon, Neumann, Amat, McQuaid, Tyler, J.B. Purcell, S.V. Ryan, William Elder, Michael O'Connor and James Cardinal Gibbons were researched, as well as lives of Saint Philippine Duchesne, Margaret Haughey, Pierre Toussaint, Mother Emily Gamelin, Samuel Mazzuchelli's Memoirs, and the histories of many religious communities, including the Oblates, the Sisters of Mercy, of Providence, of Good Shepherd, and various branches of Sisters of Charity. Histories of the Church in the United States that were studied include those by Newman C. Eberhardt, Henry DeCourcy, John Tracy Ellis, Jay P. Dolan, and James Hennessey. S.J.

The Code Collection of Catholic Americana

A goldmine for both contextual material and contemporary impressions of the Community at most stages of its history is the thousand-volume Code* Collection of Catholic Americana housed in the Archives of Marillac Provincialate, Saint Louis. Among the hundreds of histories and biographies from the Code Collection which added to the background of this work, most noteworthy are:

the first edition of *The Life of Mrs. Elizabeth Seton* by Charles I. White, D.D. (New York: Edward Dunigan and Brother, 1853);

The Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence 1830-1862 (Philadelphia, 1920) and *The Diary and Visitation Record of the Right Reverend Francis Patrick Kenrick 1830-1851* (Philadelphia, 1916);

Charles Herberman's *The Sulpicians in the United States*

*Monsignor Joseph B. Code was formerly professor of history at The Catholic University of America. He authored several works dealing with Mother Seton and the history of the Community as well as other Catholic historical studies.

(New York, 1916) and Joseph Ruane's *Beginnings of the Society of Saint Sulpice in the United States* (Baltimore, 1935);

The Story of the Mountain by Mary Meline and Edward McSweeney (Emmitsburg, Mount Saint Mary's College, 1911);

Sister Mary de Lourdes Walsh's *Mother Elizabeth Boyle, Mother of Charity* (New York: Paulist, 1955) and *The Sisters of Charity of New York*, Vol. I (New York: Fordham, 1955) as well as Sister Mary Agnes McCann's *History of Mother Seton's Daughters, the Sisters of Charity of Cincinnati, Ohio* (New York: Longman's and Green, 1917)—copiously annotated by Monsignor Code himself;

Monsignor John O'Grady's *Catholic Charities in the United States: History and Problems* (Washington, D.C.: National Catholic Conference, 1930)—which begins with the early orphanages and hospitals of the Sisters of Charity;

The History of Nursing, by James J. Walsh, M.D. (New York: P.J. Kenedy, 1929)—which includes a graphic account of the sisters' service in the Philadelphia almshouse during the cholera epidemic of 1832-1833;

The Growth and Development of the Catholic School System in the United States by J.A. Burns, C.S.C. (New York: Benziger, 1912) and *A History of Catholic Education in the United States* by Burns and Bernard Kohlbrenner (New York: Benziger, 1957).

The periodical section of the collection has many treasures, such as United States Catholic History Society monographs, *Catholic Historical Review* and *Saint Louis Catholic Historical Review*. Most helpful for a contemporary's view of Emmitsburg, the motherhouse and the academy, the quality of psychiatric care at Mount Hope in Baltimore, and obituaries of individual sisters is the *United States Catholic Magazine and Monthly Review* edited by Charles I. White, Mother Seton's first biographer (Baltimore: John Murphy). Eight volumes were published, 1841-1848.

The sources mentioned in this essay are a sampling of those which have been consulted. These only scratch the surface of archival treasures remaining to be unearthed in Community archives in the United States and Europe as well as in diocesan and community archives of religious. Many questions remain to be pursued by the author of what will be the definitive history of the Daughters of Charity in the United States.

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BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

SISTER DANIEL HANNEFIN, D.C., has worked in the apostolates of teaching, social ministry, and hospital pastoral care in Missouri, Illinois, California, and Texas. Her educational preparation includes degrees from Fontbonne College, Saint Louis (BA in History/Philosophy) and Loyola University, Chicago (MA in English). Since 1980 Sister Daniel has been a heritage resource person for the West Central Province, working on various projects related to the history, works, and spirit of the Daughters of Charity.

SISTER MARIA LIEBECK, D.C., a member of the West Central Province, was an educator for twenty-five years in Missouri, Iowa, Texas, and Puerto Rico. She taught on all levels: preschool through high school, Marillac and Cardinal Glennon Colleges, senior citizens, and even in a medium security prison. Art is her specialty. Sister Maria studied at Fontbonne and Webster Colleges in Saint Louis and at the University of Dallas. Her art work, which includes a variety of media, has been in numerous art shows. Since 1979 she has been involved in parish ministry, specializing in training lay leaders for parish work in the Pine Lawn area of north Saint Louis County, Missouri, and in a 15,000-square-mile rural section of the El Paso Diocese in Texas. At present she is co-administrator of a parish composed largely of Mexican agricultural workers in a small town in southeast Arkansas, where she "teams" with another Daughter of Charity and two Glenmary Missioners in serving three counties of the Little Rock Diocese.

SISTER MARY ANNE BRAWLEY, D.C., a member of the Northeast Province, has served as a teacher at schools in Washington, D.C.; Bladensburg, Maryland; and Albany, New York; as assistant principal of Saint Catherine's School,

Elizabeth, New Jersey. Her experience as an educator also includes two years at Kennedy Center in New York City. Currently, Sister Mary Anne is Executive Director of Catholic School Administrators' Association of New York State. She serves approximately one thousand schools in New York by offering workshops, legislative updates, a monthly newsletter, and individual consultation services.

SISTER GRACE DORR entered the Daughters of Charity of the Southeast Province after completing her Bachelor of Science degree at St. Joseph College in Emmitsburg, Maryland. Since then she has received a Masters degree in English (1974) and another in Religious Education (1986)—both from The Catholic University of America in Washington, D.C. Sister Grace has taught in elementary and secondary schools in Virginia, Maryland, and Washington, D.C.; served as Hospice Volunteer Coordinator for St. Agnes Hospital in Baltimore; and worked as a graduate assistant in the School of Religious Education at The Catholic University. She has published poems and articles.

SISTER CATHERINE MADIGAN, D.C., became a Daughter of Charity in 1957. She studied at Marillac College in St. Louis, graduating with a Bachelor's degree in English; her graduate degree in English is from Xavier University in New Orleans. She has taught high school students in Louisiana, Missouri, and Illinois, and has served as a member of the provincial Council of the East Central Province.

SISTER MARY WILLIAM VINET, D.C., obtained her Bachelors degree in English through Ursuline College and Loyola University in her native city, New Orleans, and her Masters in Education and English at St. Louis University, St. Louis, Mo. A faculty member of Ursuline College, New Orleans, before her entrance into the Daughters of Charity, Sister Mary William has a teaching background which embraces elementary, secondary, and college levels in seven states: Louisiana, Missouri, Mississippi, California, Iowa, Illinois, and Utah. Sister also served as principal at Notre Dame High School in Price, Utah, and as administrative assistant and lecturer in Humanities at Marillac College, St. Louis. Sister Mary William has served

the Province of the West since its inception, as provincial secretary and member of the provincial Council, and presently as archivist of Seton Provincialate in Los Altos Hills, California.

SISTER ELAINE WHEELER, D.C. received her Bachelors degree from St. Joseph's College, Emmitsburg, Maryland, and a Masters degree from The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. During her long teaching career—at nine schools in six states—she received several local and state awards for outstanding work in education. Sister Elaine is currently the provincial Archivist of the Albany, New York, Province of the Daughters of Charity. In this capacity she continues to be active in various scientific and archival organizations, to present papers and workshops on archival organization and administration, and to share her expertise with beginning archivists and with those of other provinces, not only in the United States, but also in England and Australia.