



# REDEMPTORIST NORTH AMERICAN HISTORICAL BULLETIN

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*Note to readers: This double edition of the Bulletin continues belatedly the run from 2016. In the coming months we hope to publish additional issues to bring the Bulletin current.*

## THE REDEMPTORIST INNER CITY APOSTOLATE IN TUCSON, ARIZONA

By Ricardo Elford, CSSR

In the fall of 1967, fellow Redemptorist Alberto Carrillo and I began preaching week-long, Spanish-language, Vatican II-themed missions in Southern Arizona and northern Sonora, Mexico. Eventually we were joined by fellow Redemptorist Vicente Soriano.

At the time, the Phoenix area was part of the Diocese of Tucson, and we gave these missions from the farming areas northwest of Phoenix to Casa Grande, from Tucson to Ajo, from Douglas in southeast Arizona to Sásabe, Sonora. For part of this time, Alberto and I pulled a trailer behind our car; it was our home in the more remote areas where we were doing our mission work.

The people we gathered for a week of nightly Masses, many of them farmworkers and ranch hands, received us heartily. But in time we came to realize that we were lifting them up only to move on at the end of the week, often leaving them in the hands of a local pastor who did not speak Spanish and did not understand the Mexican and Mexican-American cultures.

By the spring of 1969, we came to the conclusion that we had more to offer if we

stayed in one area. Believing that we could make a difference on the south and west sides of Tucson, we approached Bishop Francis Green with a plan to work among “unchurched” people in the barrios. He was very receptive.

We needed a central place to live as an activist community. The former downtown All Saints church and rectory were in the process of closing. This church was just a few blocks from San Agustín cathedral; it served mainly Anglo parishioners while the cathedral served mainly Hispanic parishioners. Bishop Green told us we could move into the rectory.





All Saints Church, Tucson (now closed).

We asked for some modest funding from parishes of the barrios and beyond. Most of the pastors that we asked were glad to help.

The three of us were joined by another Redemptorist, John Shaughnessy. Soon a younger Redemptorist, Memo Grassman, who had just returned from work in Mexico, joined us, followed later by Joe Tobin and, for shorter periods, Bill Petersen and George Dawson.

The original four of us—Carillo, Shaughnessy, Soriano and myself—divided our overall area into four parts: the south side (principally around Santa Cruz and St. John's churches) to be covered by the four of us; the Kroeger Lane area at the foot of Sentinel Peak (A-Mountain) and the barrios around Santa Margarita church to be covered by Alberto and Vicente; the 39th Street area centered around the Yaqui chapel of San Martin de Porres to be covered by John; and Old Pascua Yaqui Village and barrios Adelanto and Blue Moon to be covered by me. These were not strict divisions; we often helped each other across all the barrio lines.

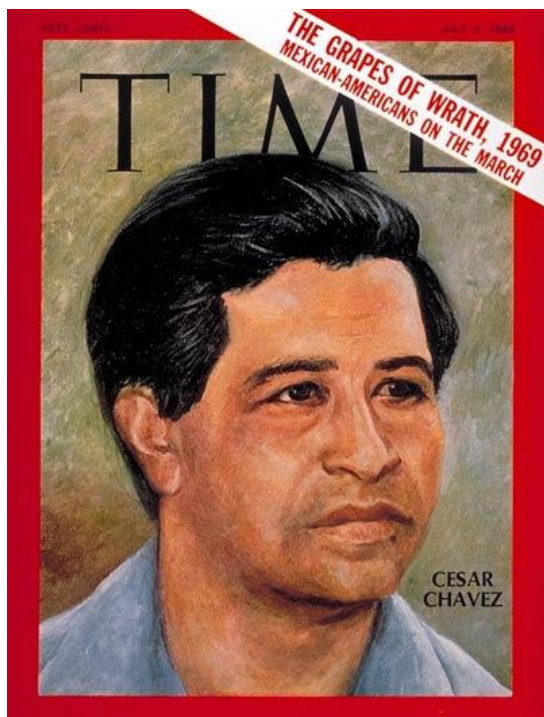
One of our approaches was to have Masses in yards, inviting everyone from nearby homes. In the parish churches, we did everything from giving large-group

Baptism preparation to parents and padrinos to leading Las Posadas through the streets during the nine days before Christmas.



A Los Posadas celebration in Tucson, c. 1968.

While doing all of this, we right away became involved in social justice issues all over the south and west sides of Tucson. Our house, the former All Saints rectory, became a gathering place for young Mexican-American activists. One of the first issues we took up was discrimination in the local school system, then called School District One. The biggest problem was at the high school level, specifically at Tucson High. In a short time, we had the supervisor of the whole school district at our house for negotiations. That was the beginning of struggles that continue to this day, most recently regarding state-level political resistance to classes and books centered on Chicano culture and history.



In 1969, César Chavez, the founder (along with Dolores Huerta) of the United Farm Workers, came from California to Tucson to stand up for farmworkers in Arizona (a “right-to-work,” anti-union state), he held meetings and a rally at our house and in the former church hall next door.

The PADRES organization (Padres Asociados Para Derechos Religiosos, Educativos y Sociales—Priests Associated for Religious, Educational and Social Rights) began when priests from Texas, including the future Archbishop Patricio Flores of San Antonio, gathered with us and other Arizona priests in our crowded front room.

Old Pascua Village, founded by Yaquis fleeing persecution in their ancient homeland in Mexico until the Yaqui wars ended in 1929, had been partially abandoned in order to move the community to new federal government-granted land southwest of Tucson. But many wanted to stay behind,

even though the old ceremonial church in the village plaza had been torn down. From the diocesan mission Santa Rosa de Lima, just a couple of blocks south of the plaza, we organized a work crew to clean the plaza and then build a large Ramada on the site of the old church. That Lent and Holy Week, the traditional Yaqui ceremonies were restored to Old Pascua, where they continue to the present.

This was the time of the federal Model Cities Project. The project boundary had been set just outside the Pascua-Adelanto-Blue Moon area. By then we had organized the three barrios into an activist group of all ages that we later named MAYO, and in short order we organized a big march on City Hall. We filled the council chambers and made the front page of the newspaper. The city council quickly included the whole area under Model Cities. In those days, many of the houses were shacks, some with no electricity. We were well within the Tucson city limits. There were some 80 outhouses. The first Model Cities help came in the form of bathrooms with hot water. The dusty streets got asphalt. It kept going forward from there.



The Tucson “Model Cities” program of urban renewal of inner-city neighborhoods beginning in 1966 included privy removal, sewer systems installation, and street surfacing. Photograph from Sharon Reynolds Maxwell Papers MS 589 (Box 7 folder 18) circa 1970. University of Arizona Special Collections.



In time, the City closed a street, expanding the space for the ceremonial plaza. As the whole plaza was for the people in perpetuity, the city began building it up. First, a solid Yaqui ceremonial church, then offices, then a dining hall and eventually a senior center. In the meantime, the people had been living for decades as squatters on land owned by the Marshall Foundation. I wrote an application from the village to obtain a grant from the new national Catholic Campaign for Human Development to buy the land from the Foundation. With the help of a Tucson priest working in D.C., we got the grant.

As the Inner City Apostolate, we also had regular Masses at the Pima County Jail. We did a lot of pastoral counseling at our house. John Shaughnessy and Joe Tobin shared a weekly Mass for Shut-Ins on KOLD TV. I did a weekly half-hour reflection on the Sunday Mass with music on KXEW Radio Fiesta, then the biggest Spanish language station in southern Arizona.

As a team, we were involved up to our ears in both pastoral and social work. The diocese wanted to sell the rectory we were using, but they offered us a small house off Speedway, across the street from St. Elizabeth clinic and Catholic Social Services. In late-1970, Alberto and Vicente decided to return to California (and eventually to marry, with Alberto and his wife becoming very active at our Whittier parish.) That left John Shaughnessy, Joe Tobin, Memo Grassman and myself. The house was rather tiny, so we rented a second small house across the street. When César Chávez came back to town, he stayed there

with Joe, along with his German Shepherds. Tucson police came to us to talk about security for César. We kept up the same inner-city work, principally at San Martín de Porres on 39th Street, around Santa Margarita and at Old Pascua. I continued the same work there till 1983, when the diocese brought in the Trinitarians to serve all urban Native Americans.

Then Memo moved on, and we were down to just John Shaughnessy, Joe Tobin and me. John then had to return to California for health reasons. Joe in the meantime was also “commuting” to the Coachella, California, area to help the farmworkers in their struggle there. So, he and I sat down and concluded that we would close our Redemptorist inner city project. Joe went to work full-time with the United Farm Workers in Coachella. When he suddenly died at St. Mary’s in Whittier in May of 2003, César’s successor Arturo Rodriguez and a large contingent from the United Farm Workers headquarters in Central California came down to his funeral. I continued to work in the same barrios and still am at it, mostly on the south side of Tucson.

Tucson’s Redemptorist Inner City Apostolate lasted only a few years, but many Tucsonans still remember it. It was a pretty dynamic outreach to the most abandoned. Some of our activist co-workers from those days went on to become influential leaders in the religious and political fields from Tucson to Washington, DC. Now in my fifty-second year in the Tucson barrios, I still see people who recall those days of sharing in Gospel activism with us Redemptorists.

*Editor’s note: for more on Father Elford’s more recent ministry at the US-Mexico border, see the write up in Scala: <http://www.cssr.news/oldnews-en/?p=424>.*

## ***A REDEMPTORIST VOCATION STORY***

### ***REDEMPTORISTS: THE HOUND OF HEAVEN DOWN THE COURSE OF TIME***

***By Rev. Norman S. Bennett, III, CSSR***

This is a personal walk down memory lane. It's an attempt to show how the hand of God guided me to embrace the Redemptorist vocation. Quite unbeknownst to me, a Southern Catholic from Virginia, who had never even heard of Redemptorists, I find that in fact there were Redemptorists all around me, pointing me to Redemptorist life.

I grew up in a Catholic family in the cities of Richmond, Norfolk, Portsmouth and Princess Anne Co., Virginia. Born April 22, 1945, I was the third of four children. My father, Norman S. Bennett, Jr. of Rocky Mount, North Carolina, married my mother, V. Pauline Roper of Richmond, Virginia in 1938. I can honestly say that I did not know of Redemptorists, nor of any consecrated religious in Richmond. The family belonged to diocesan-staffed parishes. There is one exception. Our family had a special friendship with a Father Eric Williams, a Missionary Servant of the Most Holy Trinity. Before Eric was ordained, he was George Williams, a Protestant, from Henderson, North Carolina. He and my father were Jazz musicians together. My father, as he was accustomed to do, evangelized his friend on the truth of Roman Catholicism. My father considered George his convert to the Catholic faith. At his baptism my father stood as Godfather. Soon after becoming a Roman Catholic, George entered the seminary to become a Trinitarian priest. I was perhaps in the fourth or fifth grade when our family drove up from

Richmond to Springfield, Virginia, to visit Eric in the Seminary. He insisted that we take a trip out to the Trappist Monastery, Our Lady of the Holy Cross, in Berryville, Virginia. I remember one incident on the road. All packed in the car and stopped at a service station for gas, I asked my mother to buy us some food. Eric told me: "Your eyes are bigger than your stomach."

We arrived at the monastery, and that evening we attended night prayers with the monks. I will never forget the deep religious feelings I experienced listening to the monks who, as one, chanted night prayer. The final hymn was the Gregorian *Salve Regina*. I recall a dark chapel with a solitary light shining on the statue of the Virgin Mary. The memories of the silence of the monks, their ritual of profound and reverent bows to the Blessed Sacrament, even a prostration on the floor, the tolling of the bell as monks filed out of chapel to bed, receiving an individual blessing with a sprinkle of holy water from the Abbot. All of this made a deep and lasting impression on me for years to come. Our Lady of the Holy Cross, the sacrifice of these young men to surrender their lives to God, planted a Redemptorist seed. Fr. Eric told us that the monks would begin their day at three in the morning with prayer in the chapel. Was the Redemptorist seed an echo of "Your eyes are bigger than your stomach?" I reflect now the Latin, "Meus cibus est ut faciam voluntatem ejus qui misit me" ("My food is to do the will of Him who sent me").



Did a Trappist seed prepare me early on for a Redemptorist vocation: a life-long struggle with body and soul? I do know that the visit to the Monastery gave me an unforgettable tangible sense and desire for holiness that took my breath away.

Enter the Redemptorists. As a minor seminarian with the Redemptorists at St. Mary's College, North East, Pennsylvania in 1959, the deep religious feelings, experienced less than ten years prior, would flush through me again and again each night following our night prayers. As the students filed, I often remained, and sat alone in the dark chapel. Father Larry Lover would pace up and down the aisles of pews praying the rosary. The moment of silence was an experience of an intimate presence of God and the invitation to prayer and sacrifice. How God anticipates our unfolding lives!

He leads each of us, royal sons and daughters, to embrace Him through our vocation. In my case, it was to the Redemptorists. Proverbs 21:1 says it:

*"Like a stream is the king's heart in the hand of the Lord; wherever it pleases him, he directs it."*

The Trappist Monastery in Berryville, Virginia, was built on Cool Springs Farm. Enter the Redemptorist and Confederate chaplain, Fr. James Sheeran. Chaplain Sheeran was present at the Civil War battle of Cool Springs, July 18, 1864. He ministered the sacraments to the wounded and fallen of North and South. He was a widow, a father, and a teacher. He joined the Confederate army as chaplain from his Redemptorist assignment in New Orleans.

During that infamous day of battle, the Confederates, under Lt. General Jubal Early, retreated west over the Shenandoah River, positioning themselves on the Cool Springs Farm in order to face off with the pursuing Union army. The Union was under Brigadier General George Crook and far outnumbered their adversaries. The Confederates held the line in an all-day battle that, by evening, had the Union soldiers retreating back east over the Shenandoah River. The Union soldiers suffered the majority of casualties. Victory that day went to the Confederates. There would be a different outcome a few days later when they met again in Winchester, Virginia. Chaplain and Redemptorist James Sheeran took notes of the battle in his handwritten diary. This very diary is preserved in the Redemptorist archives at St. Peter the Apostle in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

There was a monk at Holy Cross Abbey, Brother James Sommers. He died in 2011. He would take time following morning work in the Monastery Bakery to walk up and down the newly plowed fields, where the Civil War battle took place on the monastery grounds. He found many artifacts of the battle such as buttons, belt buckles and bullets, that he was able to recreate the positions of the Confederates and Union soldiers in the field of battle. His work is laid out on display in the Southern Mansion, off of which the monks built their monastery, Our Lady of Holy Cross, in 1949-50. The monks wanted to build, not the traditional monastery, but one that blended in with the Southern culture and landscape of the Virginia countryside. In a way, Redemptorists preceded me to the monastery at Cool Springs Farm. Perhaps another of the Lord's messages to me from that visit in the early 1950s is that living out a Redemptorist vocation surely demands a readiness and preparation for battle each day. It is the life-long struggle of good over

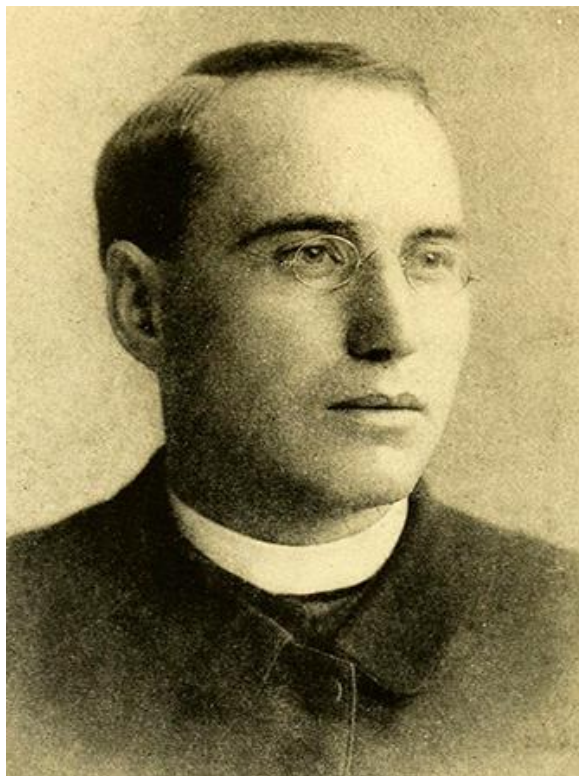
evil that every true Redemptorist faces for a lifetime.

Enter, yet again, the Redemptorists. Father Eric, the fine jazz musician that he was, would one day teach Gregorian chant to the Redemptorists of Mount St. Alphonsus Seminary on the Hudson, Esopus, N.Y. Several of my Redemptorist confreres, Frs. Arthur Wendel, John Travers, Paul Bryan, John Hamroque and Brendan Greany remembered him well and spoke of him fondly. Because some of the Redemptorist seminarians played musical instruments, and enjoyed their own jazz band, on occasion, Father Eric—"Have Trumpet Will Travel"—would jam with them. Through the legacy of Trinitarian Father Eric Williams, I grew in my love of music in the Redemptorist theologate,

My father, Norman S. Bennett, Jr., was born in Rocky Mount, N.C. in 1917. The family belonged to Our Lady of Perpetual Help parish. Here he was baptized, made his first Holy Communion, was confirmed and married. Because mother was a Southern Baptist, they had to marry in the rectory. My father showed up at the rectory one evening, with his young fiancé in tow, unannounced to the pastor. Fortunately, the bishop happened to be visiting. The dispensation for a mixed marriage was taken care of immediately. I have sometimes wondered how this parish received the title of Our Lady of Perpetual Help. Was a Redemptorist involved? If not directly, the Redemptorists may well have inspired someone to place the care of the parish under the title of Mary, Our Lady of Perpetual Help. The Redemptorists had long promoted this devotion, even in the bible belt in North Carolina, but I am unsure of their influence on the naming of the church.

The present pastor of Our Lady of Perpetual Help, Fr. Timothy Meares, told me that the picture of Our Lady of Perpetual Help hanging in a side room of his Church is





the original picture that the “Tar Heel Apostle,” Father Thomas Frederick Price (pictured above), placed in the Church. Price, whose canonization cause is underway, is a co-founder of the Maryknoll Missionaries. Did Fr. Price name the Church? Had he an acquaintance with a Redemptorist or been inspired by a Redemptorist sermon on Perpetual Help that he donated the icon to the parish? Fr. Price’s passion was to be the itinerant apostle especially to the many good Protestant souls of the “Tar Heel State” of North Carolina.

Father Price baptized my father’s mother, Ruth Dawson Bennett. He baptized all her brothers and sisters, my great aunts and uncles in Tarboro, North Carolina. There was no Catholic Church in Tarboro at the time. I found the Baptism certificates of some of them in the Catholic Church of St. Paul in New Bern, N.C. I have a cousin baptized “Thomas Frederick” Mallette, named after Fr. Price. My grandmother,

Ruth Dawson, was born in 1896 in Tarboro, N.C. and she was the daughter of Benjamin Franklin Dawson, (a twin of Christopher Columbus Dawson.) He married Mary Mehegan, born in 1875, the daughter of James Gregory Mehegan, born in 1805 in Co. Cork, Ireland. He was the Irish Catholic ancestor responsible for passing on the Catholic faith down through the Dawson and Bennett line. Mysteriously, the Catholic James Gregory Mehegan is buried in the churchyard of the Episcopal Church in Tarboro. Consulting with the pastor there, it is his opinion that James Gregory Mehegan would not be allowed to be buried in the church cemetery if he had not converted to the Episcopal faith. The family would not accept this. How could his descendants cling to the Catholic faith through the Dawsons and Bennetts if he did not first set the standard? He is buried beside his first wife, Mary, having deceased prior to his second wife, Emily Bond, the father and mother of Mary Mehegan Dawson. I have his citizenship papers. He became a citizen in 1829 in Princess Anne Co, Norfolk, Virginia. But he actually immigrated to the United States from Ireland a number of years prior. The Irish Catholic mother of Ruth Dawson, Mary Mehegan, married a Protestant, and she brought her children to Father Price for baptism.

Mary Mehegan had a brother, James Gregory Mehegan, Jr., who was my great-, great-uncle. I do not know if he ever met Fr. Price. It seems that James Mehegan, Jr. was a Redemptorist lay apostle in his own right. I say he was Redemptorist in the sense that He shared that passion to reach out and evangelize, as did Alphonsus and Thomas Frederick Price. I am a witness to the stories of his lay apostolate because he was known to travel throughout North Carolina as a lay missionary, passing out Catholic literature to either Catholics, the lapsed, or even open-minded Protestants who would listen. I



remember him sitting at our kitchen table in Richmond holding a handkerchief over his nose. Skin cancer, the “fair-skinned Irish disease,” had eaten away most of his nose. This man had two great influences on my father. James Mehegan, along with Father Thomas Frederick Price, passed on to my father the fire to work for converts to the Catholic faith. My father would engage anyone who took the time to listen to him sing the praises of the Catholic Church. My father fathered a Redemptorist. He used to introduce me to his friends, “My son is my father.”

My father came from a breed of Catholics dying out in the South. He was suspicious of all Protestants. He was aware that the bible belt Christians had strange prejudices against Catholics. My father could not stand to listen to a Protestant preaching on TV. My father built the second floor of his house at Sandbridge Beach, Virginia. When he was swinging the hammer and missed the nail for his thumb, his curse was “Ebenezer Baptist Church!” Father Price and my relatives lived in a world where Catholics were less than 1% of the population in North Carolina. Growing up in Richmond, Virginia, we did not have any Catholic neighbors at all. There was a new Catholic school in my parish, but fewer than a hundred attended. Compared to Brooklyn, N.Y., in that same time period, over 3,000 thousand students attended Our Lady of Perpetual Help School. In Brooklyn, the Protestant on the block was the exception. In Richmond, Virginia., it was just the opposite. In the South, there was ever the danger for Catholics rejecting the demands of Catholicism and surrendering to a majority rule of Protestants. Survival was their hallmark. With the exception of the Legion of Mary, which regularly knocked on doors to encourage Catholics to baptize their children or assist the fallen away to return to the Church, I would think most

northern Catholics take these things in stride.

James Mehegan’s other great influence on my father was giving my father his first musical instruments, a banjo and guitar, later the clarinet and saxophone. At twelve my father played rhythm guitar in the Rocky Mount Jazz Band. There is a picture of my father with the band, a small boy holding a guitar almost as big as he was, sitting among grown musicians. Going where angels feared to tread, my father both entertained with his music in night clubs, but he also exercised a spiritual vocation to teach the Catholic faith there as well. My father played a number of musical instruments, loved to paint water colors, he wrote poetry and composed and arranged music as a profession. Like St. Alphonsus, who had his own musical and artistic talents, he showed me the way to a Redemptorist vocation, the art of bringing the Word of God through art and music.

About 20 miles South of Our Lady of Perpetual Help Church, Rocky Mount, N.C., on Interstate 95, is the small town of Wilson, North Carolina. In 1942, the Redemptorists arrived in Wilson and founded St. Alphonsus Parish Church and School to minister to the African American community. They did so in the company of the Oblate Sisters of Providence. The Sisters taught in St. Alphonsus school in Wilson. In the beginning there were one hundred children, and only two of the children were Catholic. In just two years the Catholic population grew in the parish and school. But then came the Catholic Church’s forced integration of African American Catholics. This meant that the African-American Parishes in North Carolina were forced to close with little notice. African Americans were told to attend the white parishes. If the truth be told, the African-Americans loved their churches and many hearts were broken when their beloved

Redemptorists left and St. Alphonsus Parish had to shut her doors. When the people were forced to attend the white parishes they did not feel comfortable, nor welcome there. Their style of worship was gone. Many African-American Catholics left the Church. On a positive note, the seeds planted at St. Alphonsus bore much fruit. Father Glenn Parker, CSSR, was originally from St. Alphonsus Church in Wilson. He was a convert. His mother was a Pastor of a Protestant church in Wilson. He later went on to become Vice-Provincial of the Vice-Province of Richmond. St. Alphonsus parish officially closed in 1986 and became a diocesan outreach center. Today a group of Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament from Nigeria occupy the rectory.

Our family home always had an icon of Our Lady of Perpetual Help. It was a very old image. The colors were dull. And the family had no idea of the Redemptorist history in the promotion of the icon. We had this icon because my father's parish was under her patronage. The family never really prayed before the icon, nor paid any attention to it. I disliked the icon mainly for the sadness in the countenance of Mary's face, especially those deep, penetrating eyes. I did not understand it. I remember going to Confession one day after serving Mass at old St. Matthew's Church in Berkley, South

## New Colored Church, Wilson, N. C.



The Church of St. Alphonsus Liguori, Wilson, North Carolina, dedicated on March 29 by the Most Rev. Eugene J. McGuinness, D. D., Bishop of Raleigh. The new church, which will serve the Colored Catholics of Wilson, will be in charge of the Redemptorist Fathers.

## St. Alphonsus Rectory, Wilson



Pictured above is the rectory of the recently dedicated St. Alphonsus Mission for Colored in Wilson, N. C., where the Rev. Francis J. Walsh, C. SS. R., is pastor, and the Rev. Joseph Ellison, C. SS. R., is assistant.

## Bishop McGuinness Dedicates New Colored Church at Wilson, N. C.

(Special to The Bulletin)

WILSON, N. C. — On Palm Sunday, His Excellency the Most Rev. Eugene J. McGuinness, D. D., Bishop of Raleigh, dedicated the new St. Alphonsus Church, which will serve the Colored parish in Wilson.

The ceremony began with the laying of the corner-stone, the blessing of the church and rectory, and concluded with the celebration of a Solemn Pontifical Mass.

Assisting Bishop McGuinness in the celebration of the Mass and the dedication were the Very Rev. William T. McCarthy, C. SS. R., Provincial of the Redemptorist House, Brooklyn, archpriest; the Rev. Francis J. Walsh, C. SS. R., pastor of St. Alphonsus, and the Rev. Bernard Licking, C. SS. R., Provincial Consultor, Brooklyn, deacons of honor; the Rev. Thomas Maher, C. SS. R., Southern Pines, deacon of the Mass; the Rev. John A. Brown, of Pinehurst, master of ceremonies.

The sermon at the Mass was delivered by the Rev. William T. McCarthy, C. SS. R., and Bishop McGuinness spoke at the conclusion of the service.

A choir of forty-two voices, from Mother of Mercy Colored school, in Washington, N. C., sang during the Mass.

In the afternoon, Bishop McGuinness administered the Sacrament of Confirmation to twenty converts.

The Rev. Francis J. Walsh, C. SS. R., is pastor of the new church, which is named St. Alphonsus in honor of St. Alphonsus Liguori, founder of the Redemptorists, and the assistant pastor is the Rev. Joseph Ellison, C. SS. R., who is also establishing a Colored Mission at Rocky Mount, where the building of a new church has already begun.

JAMES T. McKENNA  
DIES IN SAVANNAH



Norfolk, Virginia. I asked the pastor, Fr. Findlay, why the icon of Mary seemed so sad. Had I done something to displease Mary? He explained that the icon comes from the Eastern culture of Catholicism, very much different from the images of Mary that we are accustomed to in our Western Roman Catholic Church. I think I get it better today.

My mother, V. Pauline Roper, was one of nine children. My mother was born in 1921 in Richmond, Virginia. Her father, Robert Leroy Roper, was a railroad man. Her mother, Martha Susan Snellings, was a homemaker. My mother's family attended the Clopton Street Baptist Church. Martha, the mother, did not attend services as she stayed home to prepare the Sunday dinner. On one occasion, my mother came home from church and shared with her mother that Pastor Bryant said that it was a sin to dance. Without blinking an eye, her mother declared, "Oh, he doesn't know what he is talking about." My mother's mother was a musician, from a family of musicians, and, in fact, had met her husband, Robert Leroy, at a dance where she played in the family band. Martha, a very tiny woman, played the cello as a stand-up base fiddle.

When the Redemptorists came to Richmond in 1940, at the invitation of Bishop Ireton, he asked them to work among the African-Americans out of the parish of St. Augustine. The Redemptorist *Chronicle* of 1953 states that the two missions of St. Augustine Parish were dedicated on March 8 by Auxiliary Bishop Joseph Hodges, the bishop who later confirmed me when I was in the 5<sup>th</sup> grade, at St. Elizabeth's Church in Richmond. The two missions were St. Gerard's Catholic Center, later St. Gerard's Church, a building purchased by the Diocese the year before, that is, 1952. It was formerly the Clopton Street Baptist Church where my mother and her family attended services. The other mission of St. Augustine

was Holy Rosary Church. Both missions of St. Augustine expanded the ministry to the African-American community in Richmond.

My mother and family all were baptized in the Clopton Street Baptist Church. The white Baptists in the Church Hill section of Richmond decided that because of "white flight" from the neighborhood, they would re-locate and build a new church elsewhere in Richmond. This afforded an opportunity for the Redemptorists to utilize the Clopton Street Church and grounds to expand their mission. It was here that the Redemptorists founded St. Gerard's Center and St. Gerard's Maternity Home. According to the Redemptorist *Chronicle* of February 1956, the Redemptorists built the Maternity Home of St. Gerard for African-American unwed mothers. It was the first such home for African-American women in the State of Virginia. The Sisters of Verona, an Italian order, staffed St. Gerard's Maternity Home. The Redemptorists payed the Sisters each \$840 a year. When my father died on March 20, 1983, my poor mother was beside herself with grief, but was consoled by these Verona Sisters. They continued to work at St. Gerard's Maternity Home, my mother's former Clopton Street Baptist Church property, long after the Redemptorists had left St. Augustine's.

Enter, once again, the Redemptorists. Father John Huston was pastor of the Redemptorist community of St. Augustine in 1952, and also the pastor of St. Gerard's. Father Huston was a classmate of my novice master in 1965, Fr. Leo Hennighan. He was a classmate as well of my future Bishop, Ronald Connors, in San Juan de la Maguana, Dominican Republic, when I served there between 1978 and 1983. As a boy in 1959, having graduated from St. Mary's Academy, Norfolk, Virginia, I had approached my pastor, Fr. Findlay, of St. Matthew's Parish in Berkley, South Norfolk, Virginia, about inquiring how I might attend



a Minor Seminary. He contacted Fr. Huston through the Redemptorist Retreat House in Hampton, Virginia. He invited Fr. Huston to interview me for the minor seminary of the Redemptorists, St. Mary's College in North East, Pennsylvania. I do not remember if he spoke to my mother at the time that he was the Pastor of St. Gerard's mission, her former Baptist Church in 1952, but I remember the day in August 1959, I left home for the minor seminary. Fr. Huston came in the car to drive me to Baltimore to catch the overnight train with the seminarians to the seminary, North East, PA. My father had made a comment earlier that he and mother might not ever see me again. It was my father's dramatic way to tell it like it was. My departure from home really had a definite seriousness and finality about it. The life I knew, my close-knit family together, the daily family routine, the family rosary, dinner together around the table, attending daily Mass together, friendship with my brother and sisters, all would never be the same again. As I said my good-byes, I uncontrollably flooded with tears. It was a great sacrifice God was asking from me that day. As Fr. John Huston drove me down the road I was wondering what on earth Father was thinking with all my sobbing in the car.

A memory comes to mind of fellow seminarian Fred "Spike" Consla in North East. He was tearfully playing his trumpet at the train station as the whole student body gathered to bid the graduating class farewell. Spike was later ordained and served in Puerto Rico. He died prematurely. He was a very loveable Redemptorist. That day at the train station, as Spike was always overweight, his blue and white band uniform seemed bursting at the seams. His face was puffed and beet-red as he tried to blow his trumpet.

Father John Huston years later left the Redemptorists and worked in the Diocese of

Raleigh, in Shelby, North Carolina. Following my ordination in 1971, he preached one of my first Masses at Our Lady of Perpetual Help Church in Rocky Mount, N.C. Redemptorist Father Jim McGonagle joined him. Fr. Huston died of cancer working as a pastor in Shelby.

When my oldest sister, Mary Alice, was preparing for her First Holy Communion, and concerned that my mother was not a Catholic, she asked her bluntly if she would like to make her First Holy Communion with her. Mother thought about it and quickly came to the conclusion that since she basically believed all that Catholics believed, she would also enter the Catholic Church. My sister, the little missionary, like her missionary father, reached out with love to welcome her Protestant mother into the Catholic Church. Mary Alice preceded and directed me toward my own missionary and Redemptorist vocation.

One day, before receiving Confirmation in St. Elizabeth's in 1955, my sister, Anne Daniel, asked me if I wanted to practice for Confirmation. I was pleased with the idea. All of a sudden, my sister slapped me across the face. It was a fierce and open-handed slap. She laughed and told me this is what the Bishop would do to me in the celebration. My sister was not accustomed to showing me a very real and tender side of herself. That would come later when her devotion to God, to his Church and family life would be obvious to all. Perhaps, as misguided as my sister's portrayal of the Bishop was, her action was certainly a lesson for what a Redemptorist expects from an unfriendly world that opposes the Catholic faith. As a Redemptorist I thank Anne Daniel for preparing me to welcome the sting of rejection when proclaiming the Gospel. A slap in the face, and worse, is often expected of the prophet called on to witness the Gospel truth in an unfriendly and secular world.

My brother, Michael Joseph, is someone who showed me another lesson in Redemptorist sacrifice in the mission. I do not know of anyone who was more willing to throw himself into a fight, even when outnumbered, in order to defend his honor or to protect me, his older brother. He knew he was tougher than I was when it came to a fight. Michael was also the one who could draw out the compassion in me when he suffered. Redemptorists are called to show mercy and compassion to all who suffer. But my brother also taught me the Redemptorist lesson to enter the fight. My brother showed me the Redemptorist that God expects, the disciple called to put up a good fight, even to the point of anger when God's truth and Church is made unfairly an object of ridicule. In this way, my brother, Michael, prepared me for what often goes into Redemptorist mission: not to be intimidated even before people who are more powerful than the messenger.

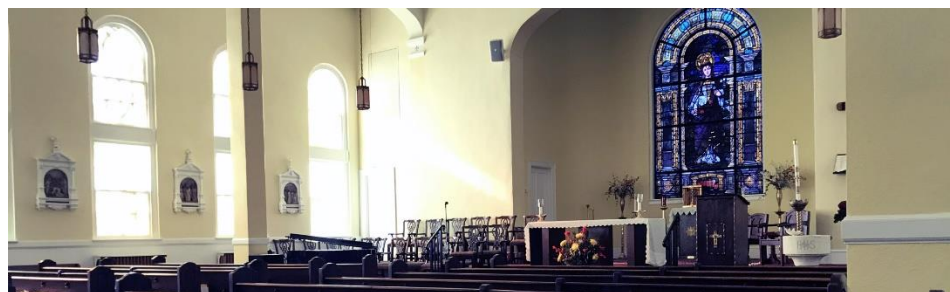
My Southern Baptist mother brought a great deal of Redemptorist grace and humility to the Catholic Church. Not long before she passed away in 2008, I remember her saying, by memory, the novena prayers to Our Mother of Perpetual Help at bedtime. From the beginning of their marriage, my father gave his young Baptist wife the novena to pray. He worried that, although only married two weeks, she was not yet pregnant. He had her make the novena for children. Following the four of us, my Protestant mother, and later as a Catholic, would continue to pray throughout her life the novena for her night prayer. As Redemptorists led the novena every week throughout the world in all our parishes, my mother, true Redemptorist that she was, prayed the novena by heart

daily. Mother was another example of a Redemptorist who preceded me and showed me the way to Redemptorist life.

My mother's brother, Thomas Roper, was never baptized. We all called him "Son." He told my mother that he just could not get out there in the river and receive baptism in front of the entire Baptist Congregation watching him. He was shy. However, he told my mother how much he loved to go into the Benedictine Monastery Church, across the street from where he lived in Richmond, Virginia. He loved simply sitting alone in the quiet, dark Church. It gave him a great deal of peace. On his death bed in the hospital my mother asked him if he did not want to receive Baptism and that she could call the priest to baptize him. He consented. "Son" died a Saint because of that Redemptorist fire in my mother's heart to reach out to him and invite him to embrace Our Lord and the Catholic Faith. Again, my mother, and Redemptorist at heart, showed me the path to my Redemptorist vocation.

I was baptized, received the Eucharist, and confirmed in the Parish of St. Elizabeth's Catholic Church in Highland Park, Richmond, Virginia (pictured below). In the early 1950s my family contributed to the building of the new St. Elizabeth's Catholic School. The school was staffed by the Sisters of Mercy, whose motherhouse was in Pennsylvania.

*Interior of St. Elizabeth Church, Richmond.*



The year after my family left Richmond to live in Norfolk, a Navy town where the family sought opportunities for marketing my father's band, Sister Virginia Brinkman came to teach in St. Elizabeth's School. She was the sister, by blood, of my Redemptorist confreres, Gerry, Herman and Charlie Brinkman. Again, Redemptorists were in my orbit. Sister Virginia grew up in the Redemptorist parish of St. Boniface in Philadelphia. The Brinkman family gave five vocations to the Church, two Sisters of Mercy and three Redemptorists. Such a marvel of grace how Redemptorists were before me and following me, God was showing me the way to Redemptorist priesthood.

in the infirmary under her tender, loving care. The stay was mostly because of a temporary fever. Sister would come in and dust, sweep the floor, perhaps have a little conversation with you. She was mostly serious and no giggling or fooling around. Two memories come to mind. One characteristic of seminary life was a very intense community life. There was really no privacy as you were constantly together with one another through the day. The time in the infirmary alone gave one an opportunity to think deeply, to contemplate. I remember vividly that morning sunshine was coming in through the windows. As Sister had dusted, you noted the thousands of particles of dust floating around the infirmary. I had a



*The Brinkmann family, including Gerry, Herman, and Charlie—assembled here for their parents' Golden Anniversary, 1971.*

One of the Sisters of St. Elizabeth from Germany, who fed us in the minor seminary, was Sister Hilaria, who was a nurse. The seminarians did not mind at all a day or two

meditation of God hovering over all that he has created in the universe, all of us floating through space and, yet, sustained by Him. The spiritual thought: How little is earth; how little am I in comparison to God. The other memory I have of the infirmary is how much I, and probably most of us, missed our



mothers. The Seminary was truly a man's world, no opportunity to enjoy a mother's care. One night, lying awake in the dormitory and feeling especially lonely, and missing mother, I got up from bed in the middle of the night, left the dormitory on the fifth floor and made my way down past the chapel into the hallway where there was a telephone. I called my mother. She was surprised to hear me and I was very nervous that I might be found out and caught. My mother asked me, "Why are you whispering?" After a sentence or two I hung up the phone and returned to my bed in the dormitory. The next day I got the horrifying thought that one of the priests in charge would find me out as a future telephone bill would have recorded a call to Norfolk, Virginia. I was the only seminarian from Norfolk. I bravely went to see the seminary secretary, a Catholic woman from the town, North East, PA. She would understand. I told her my story and practically pleaded for help. She completely understood and told me not to worry and assured me that she would take care of it. What a relief! The true Redemptorist knows how to bring relief to people who have very real problems. Sister Hilaria and the Seminary woman secretary gave me an early lesson of Redemptorist compassion for God's people who suffer very real moments of crisis.

Let me speak briefly of a Redemptorist rule and order of the day in our home growing up. Everyone sat down together as a family for dinner. We began with the blessing recited by my father. Before my parents went to work after supper, the family gathered for rosary. (My mother sang and played percussion, a stand-up cocktail drum that my father made from a porch column, stretching cowhide for the head and painting the drum with psychedelic colors. The Jeep Bennett Jazz Quartet had a piano, a singer and percussionist, my mother, a base and my father on clarinet, sax, guitar and

vibraphones.) We knelt down in front of the piano. On the top we placed the statue of Our Lady of Grace with a lit vigil candle. We knelt straight up. If there was any slouching, my father would remind you to kneel up straight. For the sorrowful mysteries we stretched our arms out straight, as Jesus held his arms out on the cross. The "stretch" was not new to me when this spiritual exercise was introduced to us in the Redemptorist novitiate. It was quite a penance. I am thinking now that at least Moses had his brother to help him hold his arms up in prayer. That was not the case at home. My mother was an exception; she would always lean over the chair as she knelt in prayer. As a boy I interpreted this, that since my mother was a convert to the Catholic faith, she was not a full Catholic, and not bound to the obligation. She was excused from the penance. My mother's sister shared with me, not long ago, that all the Roper girls were born with an unnatural curvature of the spine. My mother lived with the pain, but never shared that with the family. As a true Redemptorist she suffered silently. As a family travelling in the car we never missed praying short prayers for the souls in purgatory whenever we passed a cemetery. We always made the sign of the cross when we passed a Catholic Church, which was very rare in the South. My father would say how happy he was when he went to New Orleans to play jazz on Bourbon Street and on the Mississippi River boats. He loved playing Dixieland with the African-American musicians, but an even greater joy was making the sign of the cross seven times as he crossed the Mississippi River Bridge in New Orleans, passing seven parish churches. There was an abundance of Catholic churches in New Orleans.

My very first call to the priesthood occurred in St. Elizabeth's Church. Very often my father and I would make the Stations of the Cross after Mass. He

meditated aloud at each station. Afterwards, my father was alone making thanksgiving at the altar rail and I stood in the rear of the Church, my hand in the marble holy water font. I heard a voice and I jerked my hand from the holy water. It was distinct. I clearly heard a voice say, "Be a priest." I told my father and mother about it. The advice was that I should pray and be open to God's will for me. From that time, I felt the call to be a priest. It seems I always wanted to be a priest. In St. Elizabeth's Grammar School, when the priest came around to ask if any of us boys wanted to be an altar boy, he passed over me because I was too small. The next year when he came around again, I stood on the back of the heels of my shoes. I got accepted. I especially enjoyed the pious holy feelings in serving Mass, the profound bows at the altar, reciting the responses in Latin and wearing the cassock and surplice. It was an anticipation of putting on the Redemptorist habit and vesting one day as a true Redemptorist. God was fashioning me.

I mentioned that I attended St. Mary's Academy in Norfolk, Virginia. It was the school of St. Mary's Basilica. In 1958 the Basilica of the Immaculate Conception was celebrating its 100<sup>th</sup> Anniversary. I was attending the 8<sup>th</sup> grade at St. Mary's Academy at the time. I attended Mass and served as altar boy with my brother to the then pastor, Father Peter A. Scouten. I have the anniversary book that tells the history of the basilica and parish. The patroness, Immaculate Conception, was chosen because it was declared a doctrine of faith by Pope Pius IX when it was built in 1858.

However, the parish and Catholics of Norfolk go much further back in American

Catholic history. Catholics have been in that region since the Jesuits first arrived in 1570, but their presence began to be more stable when the Abbé Jean Dubois and his Vincentian companions fled persecution in

France and arrived in Norfolk in 1791. The date establishes the first foundation of Catholics in Virginia. The French Revolution was a blessing for the Catholic Church in Virginia. Father Dubois had the freedom to practice the Catholic faith because of France's help to the colonists in defeating England. He travelled throughout Richmond and the Tidewater area in building up the Church. The exact location of a Church or chapels are unknown. In 1794, Dubois transferred to Frederick, Maryland, and it is there that his Vincentian companions continued the mission in Virginia. In 1808, Dubois established St. Mary's College in Emmitsburg, Maryland. And in 1826, he was consecrated the third bishop of New York. This is the same man who ordained the first Redemptorist saint in America, John Neumann, the future bishop of Philadelphia.

We all have a vocation. It is a mystery; each call is unique. All are called to attain holiness of life and to serve the Church in some capacity according to God's plan. In my life as a Redemptorist, others have helped guide me toward God's will for me. They have made the prophet's word's true: "Before I formed you in the womb I knew you, before you were born I dedicated you, a prophet to the nations I appointed you." (Jeremiah 5:1)

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## ***A Plea for Help: Redemptorists in North Carolina During the Civil War***

By Robert L. Worden, Ph.D.  
St. Mary's Parish Archivist, Annapolis, Maryland

Four Redemptorists associated with St. Mary's Church in Annapolis, Maryland, served briefly in North Carolina toward the end of the Civil War. This is their story.

### **Prelude: Wartime in Maryland**

The Redemptorist community in Annapolis had a busy time during the American Civil War (1861–65). In addition to running St. Mary's College—first a novitiate (1853–62) and then a studentate (1862–68)—and administering St. Mary's Parish, war brought new and heavy burdens. The people of Maryland were divided between loyalty to the Union and maintaining traditional southern values. During the “secession spring” of 1861, when the deep south states were joining the Confederacy, four slave-owning border states—Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri—remained loyal to the Union. The Federal authorities made sure that the District of Columbia was surrounded by friendly Maryland and northern Virginia territories. But this came with a cost. The city of Annapolis and indeed, all of Maryland, came under martial law. Federal troops established provost marshal headquarters in towns and counties and soldiers guarded railroads and train depots, steamboat landings, roads, and polling places throughout the state. Passes and signed oaths of loyalty to the United States were required for citizens and slaves alike to travel within the county and state. At the onset of war, there were battles in nearby Virginia, and Maryland was under threat of invasion. As always, wartime brought shortages, high prices, divided families, and uncertainty. In April 1861, local southern sympathizers destroyed bridges, tore up railroad tracks, and threatened to attack the United States Naval Academy located in Annapolis, the state capital. St. Mary's parishioners included both slaves and slave owners, pro-Unionists and southern sympathizers, and men who joined either the Union or Confederate armies. Members of the Redemptorist communities in Annapolis and elsewhere were ordered to avoid talk of the war and politics. And that was just the tip of the iceberg for what confronted the Redemptorists.

The first Union soldiers arrived in Annapolis on April 22, 1861. This was just a fortnight after the bombardment of Fort Sumter on April 12 and a few days after rioting broke out when volunteer troops from Massachusetts attempted to pass through Baltimore on April 19. The faculty and students of the Naval Academy left Annapolis for Rhode Island and Annapolis became an army-occupied city. Father John De Dycker, the superior of Redemptorists' American Province, hurried from Baltimore to Annapolis to meet with novice master Father Michael Müller. They discussed the possible dispersal of the novices in Annapolis and the students in Cumberland (in western Maryland), to Redemptorist houses in the North or even Canada. That did not happen, but Müller ordered “all the more-valuable things in the church and house—books, religious articles, etc.—be hidden underground.”<sup>1</sup>

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1. *Chronica Domus C.Ss.Red. Annapoli* (hereinafter *Chronica Domus*) I:155 (April n.d., 1861), Redemptorist Archives in the Baltimore Province (RABP).



The war brought other new conditions to Annapolis and its environs. Most of the Federal regiments that occupied the city and surrounding areas moved on to Washington. Some stayed as provost guards. New regiments moved in and established camps of instruction for training the raw volunteers who would soon be sent to the warfront. Many of those who survived battles with only wounds or had contracted diseases in camp were sent to two large army hospitals in Annapolis for recovery and, sometimes, for burial in a new national cemetery just outside of town. Then, in 1862, a new onslaught of soldiers came to Annapolis, first a few hundred, then thousands. They were soldiers who had been captured in battle and then “paroled on their honor” with promises to not fight again until they were formally exchanged for similarly captured and paroled Confederate troops. At times Annapolis—with a pre-war population of 4,000, and nearby farms played unwilling host at times to as many as 30,000 to 50,000 trainees, patients, and parolees. This large influx of restless young men brought disorderly conduct of all sorts and even occasional homicides. Many soldiers were Catholic or just in need of spiritual consolation. The Redemptorists’ work was cut out for them.

Great anxiety descended on the Redemptorist community in 1862 when novices, students, priests, and brothers were registered for the draft. When a new Federal draft law was passed in early March 1863, Father De Dycker hastened again to Annapolis to meet with the new rector of St. Mary’s, Father Francis Xavier Seelos. With the hope that ordained priests would be less likely to be drafted, they decided to move up the ordination of the advanced theology students, which occurred March 19–21 in Annapolis. This action did not protect the young priests from being registered for the draft. Although none of them were ever drafted, the anxiety that they might be lasted for the duration of the war.

The Annapolis Redemptorists never served officially as military chaplains, but they performed as such while they ministered to troops in the camps, hospitals, and their own church. They baptized soldiers, officiated at marriages, prepared some for confirmation, and attended to the dead and dying. At the same time, they performed pastoral duties in outlying areas in surrounding Anne Arundel County and other nearby counties, as well as mission stations on the other side of Chesapeake Bay. Some Annapolis Redemptorists, including Fathers James Bradley, Joseph Henning, and Seelos, traveled as far south as Fort Monroe, Virginia, to minister to Union troops there in 1862 and 1863. In December 1864, Father De Dycker was asked by Archbishop Martin Spalding to provide priests to minister to Union troops in occupied New Bern, North Carolina. Three Redemptorists associated with Annapolis answered that call.

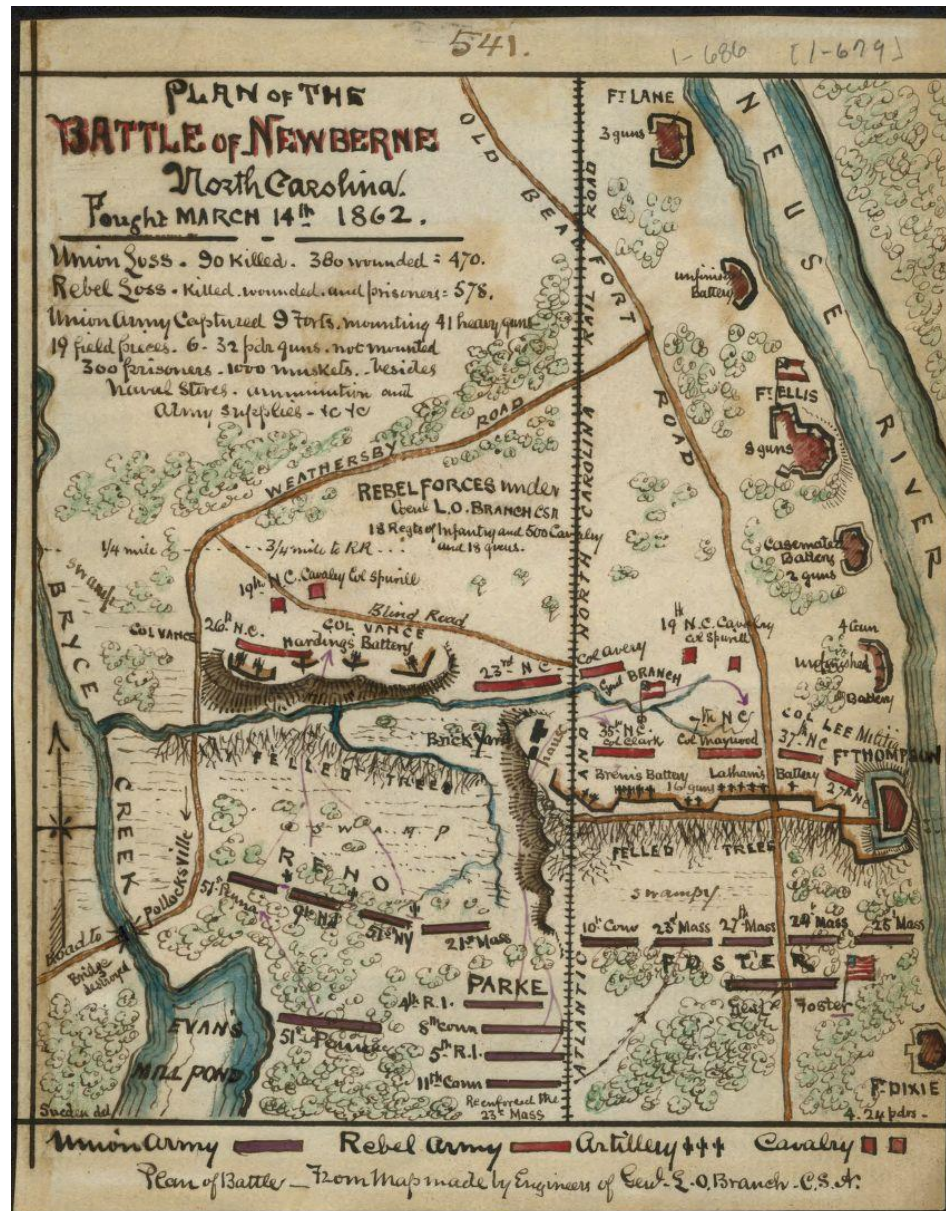
Archbishop Martin Spalding. Library of Congress photo.



## The Plea from North Carolina

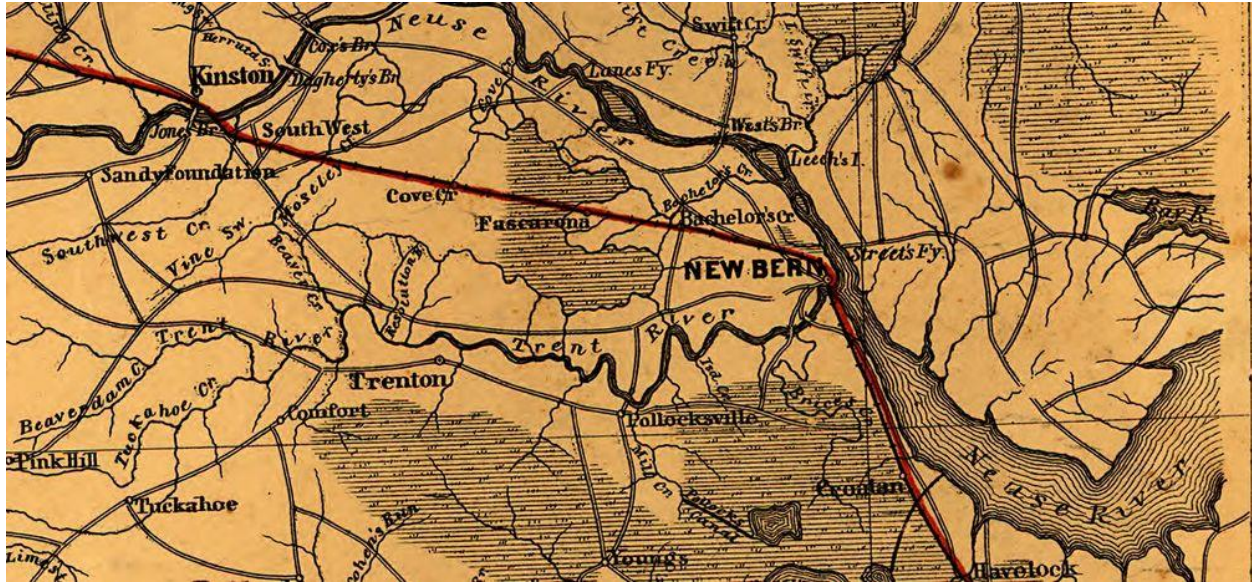
New Bern was North Carolina's former state capital and its second largest city, and the second leading seaport for foreign trade (Wilmington, further south, was first in size and trade). Situated near Pamlico Sound and the Outer Banks of North Carolina, New Bern was a strategic railroad hub that connected with ports to the south and inland cities to the north and into Virginia. As such, the city became a target of the General Ambrose Burnside's joint army-navy expedition that was launched from Annapolis in January 1862. Following the Battle of New Bern

on March 14, 1862, the city was occupied. Many residents fled inland before the battle and afterward "contraband" blacks—as runaway slaves who came into Union lines were called—flowed in. The city remained in Federal hands and was maintained as the Union army's base for coastal and inland operations for the duration of the war.<sup>2</sup>



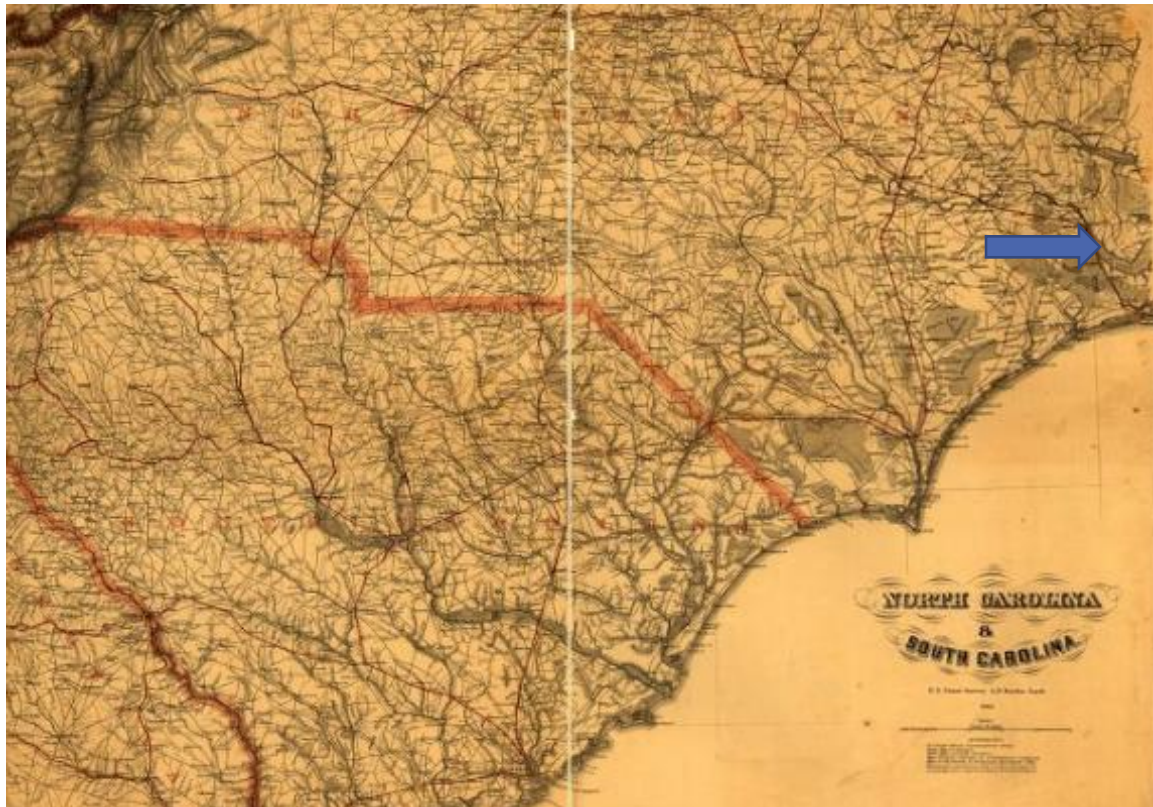
2. David C. Skaggs, "A Thorn, Not a Dagger: Strategic Implications of Ambrose Burnside's North Carolina Campaign," in Craig L. Symonds, ed., *Union Combined Operations in the Civil War* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2010), 28–29; John S. Carbone, *The Civil War in Coastal North Carolina* (Raleigh: Office of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 2001), xxiv, xxvi, 55; and James M. McPherson, *War on the Water: The Union and Confederate Navies, 1861–1865* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 52 (map).





*Detail from a map of the Carolinas, c. 1865, courtesy of the Library of Congress.*

The effects of war were always present in New Bern. As in Annapolis, occupying Union soldiers perpetrated depredations against private property and were seen inebriated in the streets. Public buildings believed to have fallen into disuse were seized by the Federal government. The Confederates tried but failed to recapture New Bern in March 1863 and February 1864.



*The Carolinas, showing the location of New Bern. Library of Congress map.*

Yellow fever broke out in the city in July 1864 and gradually spread throughout the city's civilian and military populations. It became epidemic in September and, by the middle of October, except for the provost guard and medical personnel, all Union garrison troops were moved to safer areas. The Fifteenth Connecticut Infantry Regiment remained to police the town and to provide sanitation services, water, coffins, and burial of the dead. They also burned buildings suspected as possible plague spots and maintained bonfires and barrels of burning turpentine on principal street corners to ward off the "miasma" thought to cause yellow fever as well as to combat the ferocious local mosquitoes and the odor of decaying bodies. Although many citizens fled, some families remained behind but perished for want of medical treatment. In the end, 303 soldiers and upward of 750 civilians died in the epidemic.<sup>3</sup>

The situation for local Catholics was not good during the occupation. Their parish church, St. Paul, had not had a resident diocesan priest since the war began and no visiting priest since 1863. The sacramental records were moved to a private home outside the city for safekeeping. Layman John Glenville was entrusted with a small library in the rectory. Seven Sisters of Mercy arrived from New York shortly after the Union occupation began to care for the wounded and sick soldiers. Brigadier General John Gray Foster, Union commander of the Department of North Carolina and a Catholic convert, had facilitated Burnside's request to have these nursing sisters sent to New Bern. Two Jesuits visited New Bern in 1862 and 1863 to minister to the numerous Catholic troops and Federal civilian employees. When no priest was available, Sunday prayer services were led by another layman, William Breen. By late September 1864, however, both Glenville and Breen had died from yellow fever. On the first Sunday after Breen's death, reportedly only children showed up for the prayer service. There was a continual fear by the Catholics that if their church went unused, both it and the rectory would be seized by the Federal authorities.<sup>4</sup>

In early October 1864, Catholic layman John Prime wrote two letters to Archbishop Spalding. His own bishop, Patrick Neison Lynch (pictured next page), was in Rome, on a mission for the Confederate government and Lynch had appointed Monsignor James Andrew

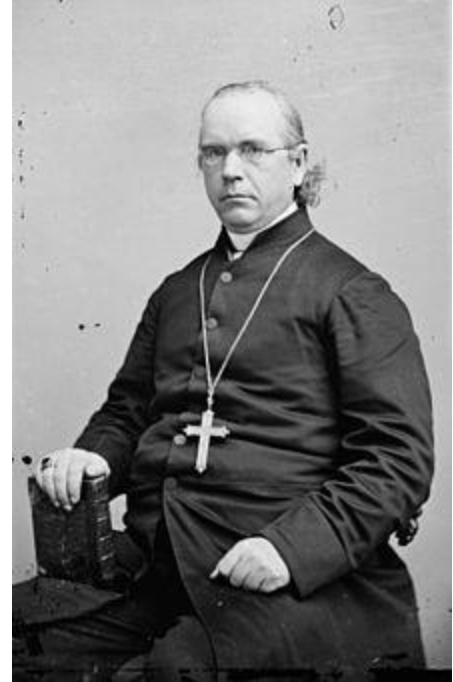
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3. Judkin Browning, *Shifting Loyalties: The Union Occupation of Eastern North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 55–57, 126; Thomas J. Farnham and Francis A. King, "The March of the Destroyer: The New Bern Yellow Fever Epidemic of 1864," *North Carolina Historical Review* 73, no. 4 (October 1996): 460, 468–69, 471; W. S. Benjamin, *The Great Epidemic in New Berne and Vicinity, September and October 1864, By One Who Passed Through It* (New Bern: George Mills Joy, 1865), 10; and Sheldon B. Thorpe, *The History of the Fifteenth Connecticut Volunteers in the War for the Defense of the Union, 1861–1865* (New Haven: Price, Lee, and Adkins, 1893) 75–79, 235.

4. Saint Paul Catholic Church, New Bern, "History of St. Paul," <<http://www.spcncb.org/uploads/4/3/3/4/43348967/historybook.pdf>> accessed September 12, 2016; John Prime, New Bern, to Martin Spalding, Baltimore, October 1 and 2, 1864, Box 35, Folder P5, Martin Spalding Papers, RG1.7, Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore (AAB); and Sister Mary Denis Maher, *To Bind Up the Wounds: Catholic Sister Nurses in the U.S. Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989), 73. The Sisters of Mercy established their convent in the elegant eighteenth-century John Wright Stanly House; it also had served as Ambrose Burnside's headquarters in 1862. See "Stanly House" <<https://www.tryonpalace.org/stanly-house>> accessed June 23, 2017. Regarding John Gray Foster (1823–74), see General Orders No. 1, July 18, 1863, Fort Monroe, Virginia, appointing him commander of the Department of Virginia "in addition to that of North Carolina," Generals Papers (Foster), Box 11, Entry 159GG, RG 94, NARA. Also see "John Gray Foster," in Edward E. Parker, ed., *History of the City of Nashua, N. H.* (Nashua: Telegraph Publishing Company, 1897), 262–63; and "St. Paul's Church, New Bern, N.C.," sacramental register, 1845–1896, St. Paul Church Office, 3005 Country Club Road, New Bern, North Carolina. There are entries made by Father G. C. Brüche, S.J., between October 24, 1862, and February 24, 1863, and by Father Thomas Willett, S.J., between April 26 and July 12, 1863.



Corcoran, pastor of St. Thomas Church in Wilmington, to serve as vicar general for all of the diocese except Charleston city during his absence. Since the Diocese of Charleston was part of the Metropolitan Province of Baltimore, Spalding had jurisdiction over North Carolina and other coastal southern dioceses. Prime was an English-born convert and gunsmith from Washington, Beaufort County, another Union-occupied town about forty miles north of New Bern. He and his family had evacuated Washington the previous April when occupying Union troops set fire to naval stores and cotton supplies to keep them out the hands of advancing Confederates. The flames got out of control and most of the town, including Prime's parish church—St. John the Evangelist—had inadvertently burned as Union troops retreated. When Prime arrived in New Bern, he met William Breen who told him that “a large number” of Union soldiers and sailors and civilians employed by the Federal government attended the weekly prayer services. When confronted with Breen's death from yellow fever on September 28, Prime wrote to Spalding to volunteer to take over the Sunday service. He had led such services in Washington when the priest there was absent. Prime also emphasized the importance of keeping the church in use so it would not be considered abandoned property and be “turned into a school house or perverted to other secular purposes.” Prime pleaded with the archbishop to send a priest and, in the meantime, to appoint him to lead Sunday prayer services. In the second letter, Prime explained that there had not been a priest in New Bern since December 1863. The priest who visited then had promised to send another priest, but one had never arrived. Another problem was that many soldiers and civilians had died from the yellow fever epidemic that “still rages.” Prime added that after Breen and Glenville died, he had obtained the key to the church but not one for the rectory. He had two concerns: that there was no Catholic individual in New Bern to whom he could entrust the property, and that soldiers and civilians were being buried without the rites of the Church.<sup>5</sup>



Spalding responded to Prime on October 11, appointing him as his agent for the New Bern church and rectory and directing him to continue teaching Christian doctrine until a priest

5. On Patrick Neison Lynch (1817–82), see David C. R. Heisser and Stephen J. White, Sr., *Patrick N. Lynch, 1817–1882, Third Catholic Bishop of Charleston* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2015), 99, 103, and 130. Lynch was commissioned on March 4, 1864, departed for Europe on April 10, 1864, and returned to Charleston on December 1, 1865. Prime to Spalding, October 1 and 2, 1864; 1850 and 1860 Federal censuses for Washington, North Carolina; “Washington, NC History” <<http://www.pamlico.com/washington-history.html>> accessed September 6, 2016, which quotes from Ursula Loy and Pauline Worthy, eds., *Washington and the Pamlico* (Washington: Beaufort County Bicentennial Commission, 1976), 591pp.; “History of St. Paul”; and Brother Thomas W. Spalding, C.F.X., *Martin John Spalding: American Churchman* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1973), 163. The visiting priest was Father Thomas Willet, S.J., chaplain of the Irish Brigade's Sixty-Ninth New York Infantry. The priest who did not come was Father Matthew O'Keefe, pastor of St. Mary's of the Immaculate Conception in Norfolk, Virginia. See “Willett, Thomas,” National Park Service, Soldiers and Sailors Database <<https://www.nps.gov/civilwar/search-soldiers-detail.htm?soldierId=498D4EDF-DC7A-DF11-BF36-B8AC6F5D926A>> accessed September 6, 2016; and *Sadlier's Catholic Almanac and Ordo for the Year of Our Lord, 1864* (New York: Sadlier, 1864), 80 and 232, for O'Keefe.



arrived. Spalding began the search for a priest, apparently inquiring as far north as Boston, but eventually he contacted Father De Dycker, the Redemptorist provincial in Baltimore. After agreeing to Spalding's request, De Dycker selected Fathers Henry Giesen and Timothy Enright to go south. Thirty-nine-year-old Giessen, who was born in Holland, had been assigned to St. Mary's in Annapolis since 1862 but was then on the road giving parish missions in Baltimore County and Harford County, Maryland. After his 1863 ordination and second novitiate, both in Annapolis, twenty-eight-year-old Irishman Enright was stationed at Most Holy Redeemer Church in New York City.<sup>6</sup>

### Redemptorists to the Rescue

On January 9, 1865, the Annapolis house annals noted that Giesen had "visited us before going to Newbern." The Baltimore *Sun* and the *Catholic Mirror* both reported that Giesen and Enright were set to leave Baltimore in late January for New Bern (the official

spelling), "being dispatched thither by the Most Rev. Bishop of Baltimore at the request of authorities in that place, where they will attend to the spiritual wants of the soldiers and citizens of Newbern and vicinity."<sup>7</sup>

The start of the Redemptorists' New Bern chaplaincy was delayed by bureaucracy and wartime transportation issues. Spalding asked Inspector General of the Army Colonel James Allen Hardie (pictured next page)—a Catholic in good standing—for assistance in getting the

6. *Literarum Registrum*, 1862–1869, 48, Spalding Papers, RG1.7, AAB; Spalding, *American Churchman*, 163 (for Spalding's appeal to the Redemptorists); John De Dycker, C.Ss.R., Baltimore, to Martin Spalding, Baltimore, [no date but circa late October/early November 1864], Box 33, Folder S15, Spalding Papers, RG1.7, AAB; Province Mission Book, 1864, RABP, 367 and 385 (for Giesen); and *Annals, H. Red., N.Y.C., 1844–1891*, 124 (January 22, 1865), RABP (for Enright).

7. *Chronica domus Studiorum Annapoli. Chronica Domus* (hereinafter *Chronica Domus II*) II:6 (January 9, 1865) for the Newbern [*sic*] note. *Chronica Domus* I:191 (May 5, 1862, visitor), I:219 (January 1, 1863, "Familia Domus" absent on missions), I:245 (January 1, 1864, "Familia Domus" absent on missions), I:264 (September 2–9, 1864, retreat for students), and I:265–66 (September 18–30, 1864, parish mission at Annapolis); and Province Mission Book, 1863–64, RABP, 367, 385. For Enright's transfer to New York City, see *Chronica Domus* I:250. For press reports, see "Local Matters," *Sun*, January 20, 1865, 1; and "Religious Affairs: Archdiocese of Baltimore," *Catholic Mirror*, January 21, 1865, 2.

priests to New Bern. Although Spalding and Hardie had not met personally—and it was not from the want of trying—there was mutual respect between the two men. On December 12, 1864, Hardie wrote to Spalding saying he had “done the best” to arrange transportation for Giesen and “his assistant” to travel to New Bern and “at half rates” cost. On December 21, Spalding issued—in true military style—Special Orders No. 1, granting Holy Cross Father Paul E. Gillen the unusual privilege of celebrating Mass in Hardie’s private home in Washington, DC. This was



done, according to the order, in consideration of Hardie’s “many good offices done to the Church.” In Hardie’s reply of thanks for this honor several days later, he also asked to be informed when Giesen was ready to go to New Bern. He said he would then make arrangements for travel to New Bern from New York City or Baltimore going by way of Fort Monroe, Norfolk, and the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal that connected Norfolk with North Carolina’s inland waterways.<sup>8</sup>

The trip finally took shape in January 1865. Spalding noted in his journal on January 16 that Giesen and Enright, “at the command of their Provincial . . . propose as soon as possible to set out for the city of Newberne, to perform their spiritual work among the Catholic soldiers and others in residence there.” On the twenty-third, the archbishop revealed the Redemptorists’ route, saying they had departed that day from Baltimore for Fort Monroe, and “from there they will go to the city of Newberne, enjoying all the faculties which I have to give them.”<sup>9</sup>

Shortly after arriving in New Bern, Giesen wrote to Spalding, describing the “long and tedious voyage by rivers, canals and sounds.” He reported too that besides “having endured many a hardship,” he suffered a two-inch-long wound on his head while onboard a canal boat. They reached New Bern on January 28 and found what looked like a “deserted village” because of the yellow fever epidemic. He said that 2,400 had died, 2,000 of them local people. Many of the wealthiest families had fled New Bern and “gone to Dixie and thus the Catholic Church has lost most of its members,” wrote Giesen. He listed a

8. Hardie to Spalding, December 12, 1864, Box 34, Folder D4, Spalding Papers, AAB; Special Orders No. 1, Episcopal Residence, Baltimore, December 21, 1864, James Allen Hardie Papers, MMC-630, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC. Also see Spalding to Hardie, December 26, 1864, Hardie Papers, which discusses further the honor conveyed, hints at future requests for favors, and mentions having not met; and Hardie to Spalding, December 23, 1864, Box 34, Folder D5, Spalding Papers, RG1.7, AAB, which mentions Giesen’s trip. Father Paul E. Gillen, C.S.C. (1810–82), a Notre Dame professor, although officially assigned to the 170th New York Infantry Regiment, served as a freelance chaplain in Washington and on the battlefield throughout the war. See Very Rev. William Corby, Corby, *Memoirs of Chaplain Life* (Chicago: La Monte, O’Donnell, 1893), 308–11.

9. “Acta Episcopalia a die 31 Julii 1864 Martini Joanne Spalding Archiepiscopus Sub. Baltimorensis, (Baltimore Journal of Martin John Spalding),” translated from Latin by Peter E. Hogan, S.S.J., no date, Spalding Papers RG1.7, AAB. There are no extant Federal pass registers for Baltimore for January 1865, when Giesen and Enright traveled south; see Records of United States Army Continental Commands, 1821–1920, Part 3, District of Baltimore, RG 393, NARA, records only from August 1865 to February 1866 are available.

number of families—"all good Catholics"—who had "retired into the interior of the state," leaving New Bern "swarming with soldiers and Negroes." He also reported that between 800 and 900 Union soldiers in New Bern were Catholics, a sure justification for this mission to the South. He then laid out the work before the two Redemptorists. In a few days hence, some 20,000 soldiers were expected to rendezvous in New Bern as part of the coming attack on Wilmington, about 100 miles to the south. There also were Union camps that "ought to be visited" at Morehead City and Beaufort (both about forty miles south of New Bern) and Plymouth (an important supply center seventy miles to the north). There also were eight or nine other camps "some distance from here" that had "plenty of soldiers and government employees . . . stationed there that are Catholics." One of the camps was near Edenton, a town in Chowan County on Albemarle Sound, 100 miles north of New Bern. A Captain McNamara, a Boston Catholic then in Plymouth, had promised to accompany Giesen to Edenton.<sup>10</sup>

Giesen also reported there were 5,000 run-away contrabands in New Bern and that "it is certain that some of them are Catholics." He was concerned though that the freed people were under the sway of the United States Christian Commission (USCC), an interdenominational Protestant organization established in 1861 to provide volunteer civilian chaplains and distribute Bibles and other Christian literature to soldiers. The USCC in New Bern was distributing food rations, which meant "the daily bread is their religion," according to Giesen. He also said that Union officers had told him that "A greater humbug never visited on God's earth" than the USCC and its companion organization, the United State Sanitary Commission (USSC, another Protestant-based support organization founded in 1861 to provide medical and material aid to Union volunteer forces and a sometimes rival of the USCC). He said New Bern's "bigots and freemasons" ruled over the black population and took advantage of them "in the name of Uncle Sam." He complained too that one could buy fresh meat only with a permit issued by the local Union commander and that anyone out in public after the 9:00 PM curfew was required to carry a pass issued by the provost marshal.<sup>11</sup>

On the positive side, Giesen reported that he and Enright had gone to see the local army commander, Brigadier General Innis Newton Palmer. The general "received us very kindly" and said he "would be glad to have one official Catholic chaplain appointed" for New Bern and not just have one that came once each month. He promised to sign a petition to get this done. Giesen picked up on this, suggesting to Spalding that he use his influence with Hardie or Secretary of War Edwin McMasters Stanton to "get a residing priest" in New Bern. Several evenings after their meeting with Palmer, the general visited the priests and gave them "papers and permits *gratis* (otherwise 1 \$ is to be paid for each one)," and the provost marshal visited them twice. As marks of success for the priests, Giesen reported that "some 100 have come to their duties" (meaning they had gone to confession), they baptized one person, and had four converts under instructions. They also were instructing five Seneca Indians who were serving onboard a Union gunboat, the USS *Reno*, and were soon to be baptized. He noted with bemusement the names of three of the Indians: Jim Cornplanter, Blue Eyes, and Big Cross. With the provost marshal's required permission, they had married two couples. Giesen granted a dispensation for one of the couples, a Catholic woman who had eloped with a Quaker who was now a major in the army.

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10. Giesen to Spalding, February 8, 1865. McNamara may have been Captain Michael C. McNamara, Company E, 17th Massachusetts Infantry, which was stationed at New Bern and other parts of North Carolina in 1862–65. National Park Service, Soldiers and Sailors Database, accessed January 20, 2017. Also see Carbone, *Civil War in Coastal North Carolina*, 112.

11. Giesen to Spalding, February 8, 1865.



After hearing the Sunday sermon, she resolved to return to the Church, go to confession, and then be properly married. Giesen reported that services were being held at St. Paul every evening and attended mostly by men but also ten to fifteen women each night. He was, perhaps, being modest. The Redemptorists' contemporaneous Province Mission Book records that Giesen and Enright conducted a standard Redemptorist mission attended by 3,000 persons and resulted in eight converts. In the week following the mission, they planned to visit army camps and hospitals and hold evening services on Wednesday and Friday. A side effect of the Redemptorists' presence was that "since we came here and stirred the people up," the Episcopalians repaired their badly damaged Christ Church "in order to compete with us." But all was not lost. "Thanks to God," wrote Giesen, "we had some Catholic books and papers to counteract the devil here." He also asked the archbishop that when the priests at his Baltimore residence were finished reading Catholic newspapers to send them to him to distribute to the soldiers in the hospital "who are so glad to get something Catholic to read."<sup>12</sup>

Despite these successes, there was a serious problem. During the wartime occupation of eastern North Carolina, the USCC established impromptu schools for freed people in former army barracks, abandoned plantation buildings, barns, churches, and even in the basements of deserted jails. According to Giesen, the USCC had started to convert St. Paul Church into a school for freed slaves. A commission official and "half a dozen of N. England ladies . . . were already moving the pews" when some Irishmen discovered them and reported it to Captain McNamara, who "immediately collared the gentleman out of the church, and send [*sic*] for men to lead the Ladies to the Provost Marshal's and had a sentinel placed before the church with order to arrest the first who would enter the place." Unfortunately, the first person who tried to enter the church was a parishioner who had come to say her prayers and was taken instead "for a few minutes" to the guard house. A "great fuss" was made over McNamara's having overstepped his authority but he was backed up by General Palmer and "the church was kept from profanation" but not before six candlesticks and a chalice went missing. In the face of this situation, Giesen asked the archbishop for authority to appoint a board of trustees to take charge of the church and rectory after he and Enright left their short-term assignment. John Prime's name came up as a possible candidate, but Giesen warned that the man was "a good convert but a little cracked." He observed that Mrs. Prime and their children were Protestants. The "cracked" comment evidently refers to an incident in which Prime, after having received Spalding's October 11 response to his plea, had "put on a surplice and preach[ed] to his flock," only to be driven out of the church by the congregants. Giesen allowed, however, that if prescribed rules were laid down, perhaps Prime could still be appointed. Worship could thus continue, otherwise the USCC "will again try to dislodge us." In closing his letter to Spalding, Giesen told the archbishop that as one of "the effects of the war" in New Bern was "plenty of abandoned souls" there. He also expressed the fear that if Wilmington, in the face of the Union attack, was evacuated, still another large congregation would be without a priest.<sup>13</sup>

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12. Giesen to Spalding, February 8, 1865; "Innis Newton Palmer"

<<http://www.arlingtoncemetery.net/inpalmer.htm>> accessed January 20, 2017; for the gunboat *Reno*, see "Sale of Government Steamers," *New York Times*, October 12, 1865, 3; and Province Mission Book, R-3 [no pagination], January 5-12 [*sic*], 1865, RABP. Some 20,000 Native Americans served in the armies and navies, both North and South, mostly in integrated units or on ships, during the Civil War, some achieving the rank of general. See Laurence M. Hauptman, ed., *A Seneca Indian in the Union Army: The Civil War Letters of Sergeant Isaac Newton Parker, 1861-1865* (Shippensburg, PA: Burd Street Press, 1995), 19-20, 29, and 70-71, which mention Seneca Indians in the Federal army at New Bern but not Seneca sailors.

13. Giesen to Spalding, February 8, 1865; and Browning, *Shifting Loyalties*, 102.

Giesen wrote again to Spalding on February 22. He hoped, God willing, to be in Baltimore by March 12. He also informed Spalding that more than 100,000 troops were soon expected to rendezvous in the New Bern area in preparation for another attack, this time on Richmond. The arrival of so many troops was a direct threat to local churches as they all were needed for military storehouses. After the Baptist church was seized on February 18, Giesen met with the local commander but could only obtain the promise that St. Paul Church “should be taken last of all.” Giesen believed that at least one-third of the Union troops were Catholic and thus in great need of a priest. A few days before, he told Spalding, he had visited the Union barracks at Newport, about thirty-five miles south of New Bern, where Captain McNamara’s Seventeenth Massachusetts Infantry Regiment was then bivouacked. There he found some 300 Catholics and heard confessions, using the officers’ mess room until midnight and again the next morning. He raised the issue again of the need for an official chaplaincy, saying that to understand the “poor soldiers” one must become a soldier, live in their tents, eat with them, “and preach from a temporary pulpit consisting of one board placed across two barrils [*sic*] of crackers.” He said the “generals and soldiers generally are disgusted with the Protestant chaplains.” One of them had recently been convicted of swindling soldiers and the Federal government. He was sentenced to two years of hard labor and fined \$2,000. Another, the chaplain of the Seventeenth Massachusetts, was dismissed for being continually drunk. Giesen said he had received a letter from Colonel Hardie saying that he favored “with all his might” the appointment of a Catholic chaplain for hospitals to be erected at Morehead City or Beaufort. Another positive situation was that General Foster had been promoted to major general and given command of the Department of the South, which included North Carolina. Coincidentally (but not mentioned in Giesen’s letter), Foster had been in Annapolis in November and December 1861 as part of Burnside’s joint army-navy expedition and likely attended Mass at St. Mary’s. Giesen wrote about Foster at length in his second letter, noting that the general was then in Baltimore, and suggested that the archbishop seek him out or that some of his priests might meet with Mrs. Foster, on the matter of a chaplaincy.<sup>14</sup>

Giesen revealed in his second letter to Spalding that, because of his imminent departure, he had not yet visited Edenton. He reported that the Catholic church there—St. Anne—had “been robbed of every article that was in it.” Toward the end of the letter, Giesen told Spalding that if he could secure a chaplain at New Bern, “I think that you will have done a most pleasing work in the sight of God because those souls around here are really abandoned.” He also said that Enright would “remain here for some time yet.”<sup>15</sup>

Although Giesen emphasized his service to the army in his reports to Spalding, he also ministered to the civilian congregants of St. Paul Church. During his time in New Bern, he baptized four adults and officiated at two weddings, one for the widow of William Breen, whom

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14. Giesen to Spalding, February 22, 1865, AAB. Giesen expected to be in Baltimore, *Deo volente*, on the second Sunday of Lent. Special Orders No. 168, May 5, 1864, War Department, appointing Foster commander of the Department of the South, and Special Orders No. 167, April 11, 1865, giving Foster permission to visit Washington, Generals Papers (Foster), Box 11, Entry 159GG, RG 94, NARA. George W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of Officers and Graduates of the United States Military Academy at West Point, N. Y., Since its Establishment, in 1802, to 1890*, 3d ed., vol. 2 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1891) 258–60; and “Class of 1846: 1275, John G. Foster” <[http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Gazetteer/Places/America/United\\_States/Army/USMA/Cullums\\_Register/1275\\*.html](http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Gazetteer/Places/America/United_States/Army/USMA/Cullums_Register/1275*.html)> accessed January 20, 2017, which mentions Foster in Annapolis. Also see Col. Frank G. Noyes, “Major-General John G. Foster, Son of New Hampshire, Soldier of the Republic,” *Proceedings of the New Hampshire Historical Society*, 3, part 2 (June 1897–June 1899), (Concord: The Society, 1902), 495.

15. Giesen to Spalding, February 22, 1865.

he also had baptized on his second day in town.<sup>16</sup>

Giesen returned to Baltimore by March 12 and met with Spalding. Spalding wrote the same day to Colonel Hardie asking that Giesen be appointed pastor or hospital chaplain in New Bern. Hardie replied on March 27 saying he had received the same request through General Foster, but that he “doubt[ed] very much whether the appointment will just be made.” He assured Spalding that he would give Giesen his “best services,” stating that he had no doubt “of the merits of the case.” By mid-April, Giesen was back at his home base in Annapolis, but the war ended before the chaplaincy commission was approved, and within days, Giesen was sent off on the mission band again. Father Thomas Quigley, a Charleston diocesan priest, visited New Bern in June 1865 and was posted there by March of the next year. Despite Giesen’s tales of woe in New Bern, Quigley wrote to Spalding that “this town rather benefitted from the war, there is not much distress here.” He thanked Spalding for the \$100 check he sent and said he would send “a few dollars to a poor old Catholic at Raleigh” (North Carolina). There was “much suffering” in the state capital and nearby Fayetteville, according to Quigley, and he said that the rest of the money would be used in those beleaguered cities. Quigley already had charge of the Catholic parishes in Raleigh and Fayetteville and now had responsibility for New Bern.<sup>17</sup>

In May 1865, Archbishop Spalding wrote to Monsignor Corcoran in Wilmington asking him “to invite [Enright] at once, giving him full powers.” Whether these powers were officially conferred is unclear, but Enright remained busy in his remaining months in North Carolina. Besides his ministry to the troops since his arrival in North Carolina, Enright also officiated at eight baptisms and two marriages and not just in New Bern but in nearby Bachelor Creek, Kinston, and Goldsboro, and further afield in Edenton, between February 12 and August 31. Mary Aloysius Jones later told Spalding that the “agreeable visit” by Enright had “spoiled” the members of St. Anne, the Catholic mission in Edenton. His had been the first visit there by a priest in four years. The Edenton baptismal record shows that Mary Jones served as godparent in May 1865 when Enright christened eighteen-month-old Ann McGuire. Jones, an acquaintance of the Spalding family, described herself as Edenton’s “Catechist, ‘Mother Superior,’ aye almost Priest for this poor little flock,” She also revealed that Enright’s “last injunction to her” had inspired her sister to make “solemn profession of the Catholic faith on her deathbed.” Writing to Spalding in January 1866 to thank him for a donation of fifty dollars, she referred to the parishioners as “‘my’ flock.” Spalding advised her to join the Third Order of St. Dominic and noted to Bishop Lynch that she was “very pious & very zealous.” Enright officiated in a marriage in Goldsboro on August 31, returned to New York City, and left immediately for his new assignment in Annapolis. He arrived there on September 4 and served as lector of the English language, algebra, secular history, and geography at St. Mary’s College.<sup>18</sup>

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16. “St. Paul’s Church, New Bern, N.C.,” sacramental register, 1845–1896, St. Paul Church, New Bern. Catherine Breen, the daughter, was baptized on January 29, 1865. Catherine Breen neé Kane, the widow, married John Gregg, a widower, on February 1, 1863.

17. A note by Father Thomas Quigley saying he visited New Bern in June 1865 is in “St. Paul’s Church, New Bern, N.C.,” sacramental register, 1845–1896, 56. Quigley also transcribed entries from the Jesuit and Redemptorist baptisms and marriages into St. Paul’s permanent record. Rev. Thomas Quigley, New Bern, to Rev. Thomas Foley, Baltimore, March 26, 1866, Spalding Papers, RG 1.7, Box 39B, Folder G18, AAB. Spalding, *American Churchman*, 181, identifies Foley as archdiocesan chancellor and secretary to Spalding. Also see *Sadlier’s Catholic Almanac and Ordo*, 1864, 62, and *Sadlier’s Catholic Almanac and Ordo*, 1867, 233; *Chronica Domus* II:16 (April 15, 1865); and Province Mission Book, April 17, 1865.

18. Giesen to Spalding, February 22, 1865; Spalding to Msgr. James A. Corcoran, [Wilmington, North Carolina], May 27, 1865, *Literarum Registrum*, 1862–1869, Spalding Papers. RG 1.7, Microfilm Reel 32, I–113; “St. Paul’s Church, New Bern, N.C.,” sacramental register, 1845–1896; and *Chronica Domus* II:23 (September 4, 1865), and

Giesen also had contact with the flock in Edenton. He wrote to Mary Jones with the encouraging news that Bishop Lynch was returning from Rome with four or five priests. He also sent her “a box of Church furniture.” After leaving North Carolina and taking up his Annapolis assignment in 1865, Enright survived the tragic boating accident of July 9–10, 1866, in which three Redemptorist priests and two students drowned. Enright was reassigned to St. Michael’s in Baltimore, but just before that he returned to Edenton in September 1877, ministering at St. Anne Church for nearly a month and baptizing five adult converts and two children. Among the adult converts were two former Episcopalians, thirty-one-year-old William Armistead Moore and his twenty-two-year-old sister, Mary Elizabeth Moore. Mary Elizabeth wrote to Archbishop Spalding the following year pleading with him to send a priest to Edenton, saying that none had visited since Enright had left. She also noted that it was through “the patient labors of kind Father Enright & the grace of God so bountifully lavished, I received the sacraments of baptism & Holy Eucharist last September.”<sup>19</sup>

### Father Anwander Arrives

A third Redemptorist made a brief appearance in New Bern in May 1865. Archbishop Spalding wrote in late May to Father John Moore, whom he had appointed provisional vicar general of the Diocese of Charleston (he later became the second bishop of St. Augustine, Florida), that “you may also soon expect Rev. F. Anwander, C.SS.R.” Moore wrote to Spalding in June that he had “heard nothing of Father Anwander.” Anwander was not mentioned again in any of the subsequent extant and usually detailed correspondence from Moore so it is assumed he did not make it to Charleston. Thirty-one-year-old Bavarian-born Father Thaddeus Anwander was the minister and prefect of St. James Church in Baltimore. He was noted as having departed for New Bern “immediately” after Easter (April 16 that year). He reached



II:24 (October 9, 1865). Father James Sheeran, C.Ss.R., mentioned Corcoran, whom he met in Wilmington in 1864, in his diary. See Patrick J. Hayes, ed., *The Civil War Diary of Father James Sheeran, Confederate Chaplain and Redemptorist* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 2016), 2–3, 299–300 (January 19–20, 1864). Also, Mary A. Jones, Edenton, to Archbishop Spalding, January 15, 1866, Lynch Administration, Box 34, Folder A4, Office of Archives and Records Management, Diocese of Charleston. Jones also mentioned she had heard from Giesen that Bishop Lynch had returned from Rome with “four or five Priests,” but she feared none would be assigned to North Carolina. Spalding to Lynch, January 25, 1866, Lynch Administration, Box 34, Folder E2. Also see Jones to Spalding, January 29, 1866, Spalding Papers, Box 39B, Folder I29, AAB. It is not clear exactly when Enright left North Carolina. St. Paul’s record has him performing a marriage in Goldsboro, North Carolina, on August 31, 1865. But the Most Holy Redeemer (New York City) annals give August 31 as the date he departed for a new assignment in Annapolis. The Annapolis annals give his arrival at St. Mary’s on September 4, 1865. It seems most likely that the St. Paul’s Goldsboro and Annapolis dates are correct and the Most Holy Redeemer date is an after-the-fact estimate.

19. Spalding to Lynch, January 25, 1866; and Enright, St. Michael’s, Baltimore, to Lynch, October 2, 1866, Lynch Administration, Box 37, Folder K7. For the September 9–23, 1866, Edenton baptisms, see page 3 of “St. Paul’s Church, New Bern, N.C.,” sacramental register, 1845–1896, for a transcription of a “memorandum Book of Record” for St. Anne and a note saying the book had been sent to St. Anne on December 6, 1949. Miss M. E. Moore, Edenton, to Spalding, April 5, 1867, Spalding Papers, Box 36A, Folder P11, AAB. For the boating accident, see Brother Barnabas Hipkins, C.Ss.R., “Annapolis Aquatic Tragedies,” *The Province Story: A Redemptorist Historical Review—Baltimore Province* 1, no. 1 (November 1, 1974), 10–13.



New Bern no later than May 17, the day he baptized Margaret Jackson and officiated at her marriage to Adam Zang, a Bavarian immigrant, at St. Paul Church. These two were the only entries made for Anwander in the St. Paul records. Presumably he spent the rest of his time ministering to troops or in other towns. He was back in Baltimore by August. At some point, the date yet to be determined (sometime perhaps in 1863 or 1864), Anwander had been granted a pass by the War Department to visit the Union prisoner-of-war camp for Confederate soldiers at Camp Hoffman, Point Lookout in St. Mary's County, Maryland. He traveled there on the steamer *Louisiana*, which had a regular route running between Baltimore and Fort Monroe. No additional information has been found about Anwander's proposed visit to Charleston or about being at Point Lookout.<sup>20</sup> Anwander visited Annapolis in July 1864 and again in April 1865, when Abraham Lincoln was assassinated. During the latter visit, he was unable to depart as planned because of urgent travel restrictions. He returned again to Annapolis in October 1866 as rector of St. Mary's, a position he held until July 1868.

### **Aegidius Smulders also in North Carolina**

Around the same time that Fathers Giesen and Enright first arrived in New Bern, their confrere Father Aegidius Smulders, chaplain of the Confederates' Eighth Louisiana Infantry, was preaching only 250 miles to the west. The previous October Smulders had asked President Jefferson Davis to allow him to carry out an experiment with the Irish Catholic prisoners of war "with the view of bringing them over to the Confederate cause." Davis approved Smulders' scheme and, after some delay, a special temporary prisoner-of-war camp for foreign-born Catholic Union soldiers was established near Salisbury, North Carolina. Smulders preached an eight-day retreat, heard confessions, celebrated Mass, distributed Communion, and encouraged some 700 to 900 prisoners (both Irish and German) to join the Confederate army. According to Smulders' own account "few availed themselves of the opportunity" and later the soldiers were paroled and sent north. Smulders had an earlier important but brief connection with Annapolis. In May 1858, he assisted St. John Neumann (then bishop of Philadelphia) with the blessing of the cornerstone of the new St. Mary's Church. Smulders also gave an "eloquent discourse . . . explanatory of the various forms and ceremonies on the occasion of the laying of a Corner Stone of a Catholic Church, which was listened to with marked attention."<sup>21</sup>

20. Spalding, [Baltimore], to Rev. John Moore, [Charleston, South Carolina], May 29, 1865, *Literarum Registrum*, Microfilm Reel 32, I-114, AAB; Moore to Spalding, June 23, 1865, Spalding Papers, RG 1.7, Box 35, Folder J7, AAB; and Spalding to Lynch, [Rome], June 27, 1865, Lynch Administration, Box 32, Folder Q6, Diocese of Charleston Archives. In the latter letter, Spalding said he had "sent two Redemptorist Fathers for a time to Newbern, & a Jesuit Father to Charleston." For John Moore (1834-1901), see "Most Reverend Bishop John Moore, D.D., Second Bishop of St. Augustine" <<http://www.saintmichaelarchangel.com/Moore.htm>> accessed May 25, 2018.

Also see "St. Paul's Church, New Bern, N.C.," sacramental register, 1845-1896; *Annals, St. Michael's, Baltimore, 1845-1891*, 46 (1865) (St. James was an adjunct of St. Michael's), RABP; *Chronicles of Convent St. James, Baltimore, 1868-1900*, 18-19 (1865), RABP; and Selected Records of the War Department Related to Confederate Prisoners of War, 1861-1865, vols. 276-78: Records Relating to Individual Prisoners or Stations, Point Lookout, Md., Military Prison, Lists of Money and Property of Prisoners, 1864-65, 126:103, M598, RG 109, NARA.

21. Summary of letter of Aegidius Smulders, [Lynchburg, Virginia], to Jefferson Davis, [Richmond], October 15, 1864, in Lynda Lasswell Crist, ed., *The Papers of Jefferson Davis* (2) *September 1864-May 1865* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2003), 109 (the original is in War Department Collection of Confederate Records, RG 109, NARA; typescript copy of letter of Aegidius Smulders, Fort Jennings, [Ohio], to John de Dycker, Baltimore, September 26, 1865, RABP; and Aegidius Smulders, Holy Redeemer Church, Detroit, to Judge Henry B. Kelly, [New Orleans?], March n.d., 1887, Box 55-C, Louisiana Historical Association Collection, Louisiana Research Collection, Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University, New Orleans. Henry Brooke Kelly (d.

## Conclusion

Although limited in time, the Annapolis Redemptorists' ministry in North Carolina was successful. It achieved Archbishop's Spalding's goal of providing temporary pastoral care until there was a return to normality. Although no record was kept—or at least none has been found—of the ministry to soldiers, sailors, Federal civilian employees, and freed people, presumably that represented most of their work in North Carolina. The report of 3,000 attendees at the mission Giesen and Enright held in New Bern in February 1865 attests to at least some of the volume of their work with the troops. Despite the large number of Catholic soldiers noted by Giesen in and around New Bern, the St. Paul Church records provide details only for the thirteen civilian baptisms and five civilian marriages performed by Giesen, Enright, and Anwander in New Bern and nearby towns of Bachelor Creek, Goldsboro, and Kinston, and further afield in Edenton. The Edenton sacraments were recorded at St. Paul Church in New Bern, as were the seven baptisms Enright performed in Edenton in 1866. They answered the call to help Catholics in war-torn North Carolina. Much of their work war-time went unrecorded and they returned to their more normal mission and parish work in post-war America.<sup>22</sup>

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1894), former colonel of the 8th Louisiana Infantry Regiment and in 1887 appointed judge of Louisiana Court of Appeals. Also see Rev. Carl Hoegerl, C.Ss.R., "Two Redemptorist Accounts During the American Civil War," *Redemptorist North America Historical Bulletin* no. 19 (June 2003): 8–15  
<[http://www.redemptorists.com/uploads/8/1/6/1/8161810/issue\\_19\\_-\\_2003\\_june.pdf](http://www.redemptorists.com/uploads/8/1/6/1/8161810/issue_19_-_2003_june.pdf)> accessed December 3, 2015, for the text of Smulders letter of September 26, 1865, and other related materials. Smulders' account also appears in "A Chaplain's Story," *Camp Moore News* 9: no. 1 (March 2007): 1–3, available on request from [www.campmoore.com](http://www.campmoore.com) in Tangipahoa, Louisiana. "Laying of a Corner Stone," *Maryland Republican*, May 15, 1858, 2, and "Laying of a Corner Stone," *Annapolis Gazette*, May 13, 1858, 2. Also see Robert L. Worden, *Saint Mary's Church in Annapolis, Maryland: A Sesquicentennial History, 1853–2003* (Annapolis: St. Mary's Parish, 2003), 48–49.

22. The author wishes to thank Father Carl Hoegerl, C.Ss.R., and Dr. Patrick Hayes for access to numerous records in the Redemptorist Archives in the Baltimore Province; Dr. Tricia Pyne, director, and Alison Foley, assistant archivist, Associated Archives at St. Mary's Seminary and University in Baltimore, Maryland, for access to the Martin Spalding Papers; Monsignor Gerald L. Lewis, Director of the Diocese of Raleigh Archives, and DeLesha Conway, Shirley Perun, and Mary Spano of St. Paul Church, New Bern, North Carolina, for on-site access to the 1865 sacramental registers and historical information about the parish; and Melissa Mabry, Associate Archivist, Office of Archives and Records Management, Diocese of Charleston, for materials from the Bishop Lynch Papers.

# ***American Redemptorists as Sustainers and Founders of Orders of Women Religious***

By Patrick J. Hayes, Ph.D.

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University College—Dublin, Ireland  
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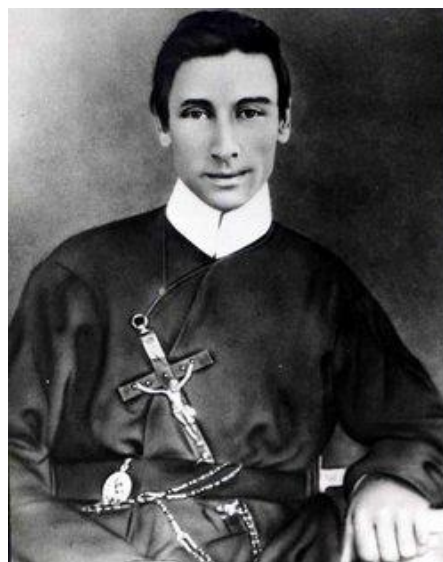
Since its foundation, about two dozen new communities of women religious have been founded by individual members of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer or Redemptorists, a community of male religious now in over seventy countries. In the Baltimore Province of the Redemptorists, individual priests and bishops have been instrumental in launching or sustaining these institutes. This paper elucidates the historical relationships between Redemptorists and these consecrated religious. I will discuss four collaborations with the Redemptorists: the Sisters Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, the School Sisters of Notre Dame, and the Franciscan Sisters of Philadelphia, and the Oblate Sisters of Providence.

## *Sisters Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary*

In 1844, Mother Theresa Maxis Duchemin—one of four original Oblate Sisters of Providence, a community of free women of color, about whom I will say more—left her order in Baltimore for a new religious congregation in Monroe, Michigan. She was joined by Sister Ann Constance and Therese Renauld to become foundresses of the Sisters Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary. The catalyst for their order and spiritual discipline was a Belgian-born Redemptorist named Louis Florent Gillet (shown below).

Gillet had crossed to America on April 18, 1843. Arriving in New York harbor on May 18, the group made their way to the Church of St. Nicholas in lower Manhattan, where the Redemptorists had charge. He then made his way to Baltimore, where he lived out the summer months with his fellow Redemptorists at St. James the Less.

While in Baltimore, a passing meeting with Bishop Peter Paul Lefevere of Detroit planted the idea of Gillet coming to Michigan. In the meantime, the priest had been able to celebrate the Eucharist at least twice in the house of the Oblate Sisters of Providence, where he would have met Mother Theresa Maxis. In July, he gave a lengthy instruction on religious life to the Oblates where again she would have been attentive to the priest's thought. The common language shared by both fixed their bond. By the end of the month, however, Gillet was dispatched to Detroit, where he was favored by Bishop Lefevere with the choice of any church in the diocese to establish a Redemptorist presence. In March, Gillet preached to a



French-speaking community at St. Antoine's in Monroe, Michigan. It is there that he chose to make a Redemptorist foothold. For the next year he used Monroe as his base while he rode the circuit. In July 1844, however, he returned to Baltimore where he preached the retreat for the Oblate Sisters between July 28 and August 3. It was on this occasion that Mother Theresa Maxis made her thoughts known that her community was in peril and that her own vocation was in doubt. He told her to consider all prospects but not to rush.

Gillet soon became convinced of a providential intersection of circumstances. He confided to a pastor in Toledo that "if I did not find the means of obtaining any religious, I would establish some."<sup>1</sup> The words had the ring of the prophetic. Within a few months, three sisters, led by Mother Theresa Maxis, would take the veil from Gillet's hands. On November 10, 1845, after Mass in St. Antoine's Church, the women knelt at the altar rail. There Gillet placed his stole on the shoulder of each to signify their "cooperation in the work of the Church."<sup>2</sup>

Father Gillet spared no detail in the construction of his new order—even selecting their new habit: a take on the one in use by the Ursulines. He developed their rule using texts borrowed from St. Alphonsus Liguori. On Fridays they would listen to Gillet give them a conference in their log cabin convent, furnishings for which consisted of a table and two chairs, a three-legged stool and a bench. One of the early sisters saw all things bright when she wrote: "We rejoiced in our poverty, knowing that God would provide for us who had no other desire than to love and serve Him."

### *School Sisters of Notre Dame*

With a promise of land and financial backing from the *Ludwig-Missionsverein*, and on the advice of the Archbishop of Munich, Mother Teresa Gerhardinger of the Poor School Sisters of Notre Dame made an ocean voyage to inspect a potential site for a motherhouse in the United States, at St. Mary's, Pennsylvania. In 1847, St. Mary's was to be a thriving metropolis and a haven for Catholics in an inhospitable country. It is an unfortunate aspect of the seeding of German Catholicism in America that a charlatan of the stature of the so-called Baron von Shroeder should have induced so many church and civic officials to believe that St. Mary's was the answer to their prayers. Stepping off the boat in New York harbor, it did not take Mother Teresa long to learn of this hopeless boondoggle. The Baron met the sisters at the dock and conveyed them to the Redemptorist church on East Third Street in Lower Manhattan. There, Mother Teresa was cautioned to keep her money close and not to trust the agent. She then sought out the vice-gerant of the Redemptorists, Father John Neumann, for advice. Neumann sympathized, and counseled her to avoid getting entangled with St. Mary's. There were already two Redemptorists there who were leaning toward abandoning their little mission. When Mother Teresa finally laid eyes on the site, she was shown nothing more than wilderness. The crestfallen superior had her grief compounded by the death of one of her companions only a few days later.

Mother Teresa instructed her sisters to remain at St. Mary's for the time being, while she herself returned to Baltimore and conferred again with Father Neumann. It was fortuitous. Neumann had a building in Baltimore adjacent to the Redemptorist parish of St. James. Would

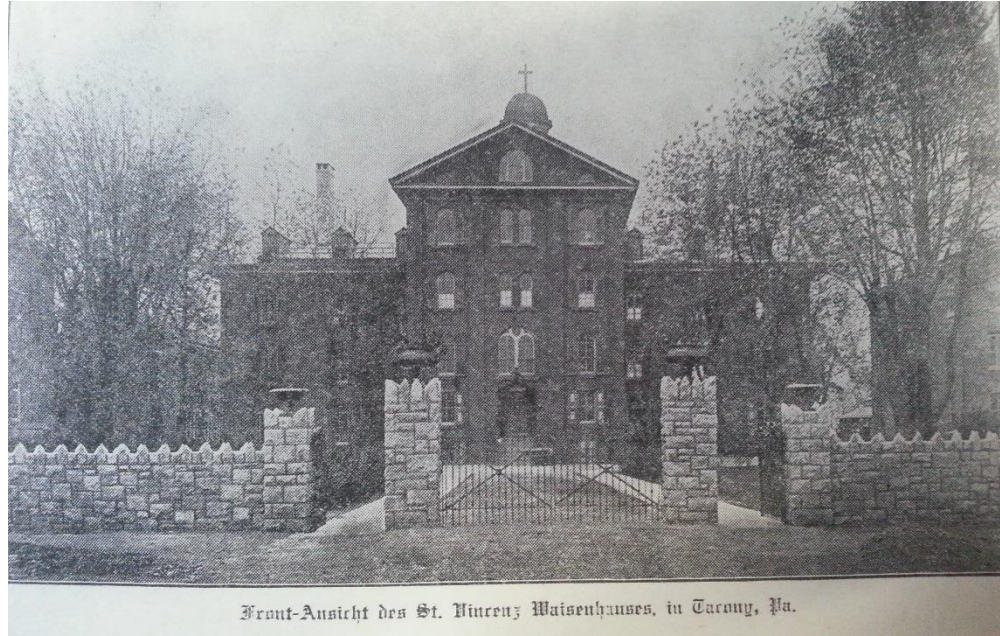
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<sup>1</sup> See Gilbert Ahr Enderle, *I Desire to Be Everywhere: Louis Florent Gillet, Frontier Missionary, Founder, Contemplative Monk* (Baltimore, Immaculata, Monroe, and Scranton: Oblate Sisters of Providence/Sisters Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, 2012), 195. See also Maria Alma, *Louis Florent Gillet: His Life, Letters and Conferences* (Philadelphia: Dolphin Press, 1940), 136.

<sup>2</sup> Enderle, *I Desire*, 203.



the sisters care to buy it and establish themselves by taking on the nearby school as well as linking with Redemptorist parish schools which were already in cities like Baltimore, New York and Philadelphia? Mother Teresa knew that by doing so, the



order might spread. An agreement was struck and the sisters were able to purchase two lots and a house for \$13,000, or about \$340,000 today. Application was made for further assistance from the *Ludwig-Missionsverein*, which reduced the debt on the purchase and enabled the sisters to meet expenses in their first year. The sisters made a healthy beginning. In addition to the first school at St. Mary's, which was always a temporary affair, the School Sisters took on five new schools in their first year in America—all attached to Redemptorist foundations.

Among these was St. Peter's in Philadelphia. Scores of School Sisters taught in the school from the mid-1800s and several of them were native to Philadelphia or graduates of the school itself. In the first seventy-five years of their ministry at St. Peter's, some 216 girls from the parish joined the School Sisters of Notre Dame (and dozens more joined other communities). Another ministry was the staffing of the nearby St. Vincent's Orphanage in Tacony (shown above), which was dedicated to German Catholic children. On December 6, 1859, three School Sisters of Notre Dame took charge of the children. Their house chronicle supplies a grim picture of the conditions they found when they arrived: "The number of orphans was ten girls and seventeen boys, of whom thirteen were suffering from a skin disease over the whole body. The furnishing was meager in every way. Cotton was used instead of linen on the altar. The children had no clothes for a change, only one suit which they wore. In school there were only three decent school benches; in the parlor, four simple green chairs, rough boards served as tables in the kitchen. Such was the situation."

From 1859 to 1932, a total of 2,946 children were admitted into St. Vincent's—1,602 boys and 1,344 girls.

#### *Franciscan Sisters of Philadelphia (Glen Riddle Sisters)*

In December 1854, during an audience with Pope Pius IX, Bishop John Neumann mentioned his interest in providing an orphan asylum for the Diocese of Philadelphia. The bishop wished to have Dominican sisters staff it. The pope had another idea. Why not gather together some women for the task, train them, and place them under the patronage of St. Francis?

Concurrent to his time in Rome, three women were attempting to form a new community under the guidance of Father John Hespelein, the Redemptorist pastor of St. Peter the Apostle in Philadelphia (shown at right). Father Hespelein wrote to Neumann in Europe about the matter and, seeing God's hand in the proposal, asked the Franciscan Minister General if he would grant permission to receive and profess members into the Third Order of St. Francis. Armed with the authority to incorporate the three postulants, Neumann returned to Philadelphia and informed the three women of the plan. They would be called the Franciscan Sisters of the Third Order, today known as the Franciscan Sisters of Philadelphia or their old name, the Glen Riddle Franciscans.



On April 9, 1855, three women—Marie Anna Bachmann, Anna Dorn, and Barbara Boll—were the first to receive the Franciscan habit in Philadelphia. They did so in the Redemptorist's Church of St. Peter the Apostle at the direction of Bishop Neumann, who allowed them to make their first vows in his private chapel. The nascent community established their first convent across the street from St. Peter's and were entrusted first to the care of the pastor, and after 1858, to the Franciscan brothers that were welcomed into the diocese by Bishop Neumann. Their first postulant came in September 1858. To help them find structure in their day, Bishop Neumann himself wrote out their rule and an hour-by-hour plan for their daily exercises.

The rule lays out qualifications of postulants, and these included legitimate birth by respectable parents, an unsullied reputation, a proper age, robust health, a becoming exterior (free of significant blemish or corporal defect), a mild disposition, love for the religious life in general, readiness for any kind of work, freedom from debt, and free from ever having worn the religious habit of another institute. What may be unique, however, are the types of mortifications observed. Coming late to choir for the recitation of the office, for instance, merits a punishment whereby the delinquent sister should "kneel down near the superior or sister presiding, kiss the floor and, by bowing the head towards her, ask permission to rise." The daily routine was by rote. No deviations were allowed, except for a just cause.

As their institutional experience grew, so did their numbers and the branches spread north, south, east, and west. In their first ninety years the little cluster of Philadelphia sisters eventually spawned five provinces, including one here in Ireland, covering about 121 foundations in a variety of ministerial settings. A century after their first postulant entered, the community had grown to nearly 1700 professed sisters and over 160 novices and postulants. From a mustard seed sprouted a community with deep, lasting roots.

### *Oblate Sisters of Providence*

The Oblate Sisters of Providence were assembled by a French-born priest, the Sulpician Jacques Marie Hector Nicholas Joubert, in 1829. When Joubert died, his community was at sixes and sevens. They no longer had their patron and protector, nor their principal intermediary with the bishop of Baltimore, whose advice to them was dire: disband. While Redemptorists had

had periodic contact with them for the previous two years, it was on October 15, 1847, that Redemptorist Father Thaddeus Anwander, at the direction of his Provincial, then-Father John Neumann, presented himself to Reverend Mother Louisa and Sister Ellen as their new confessor. He had been ordained less than a year. The group was small—only twelve sisters, including these two. What they had in abundance was debt and no prospect of paying it down. In the next five years, the sisters would see expansion in their numbers—essentially doubling the number of professed—as well as the growth of their school and finances. Anwander found the sisters with six boarders and twelve day scholars and he left them with sixty boarders and 100 day scholars.<sup>3</sup> It is thanks in part to his efforts to evangelize Baltimore that the sisters were able to fill their school.

Anwander's closeness to these sisters cannot be underestimated. On the occasion of Sister Martha's reception of the holy habit, the annals report on January 27, 1864, that she had been recommended to the Oblates by Anwander. The priest had also encouraged the sisters to open a boy's school, named for St. Francis, for all those boys "of color" living within the Redemptorist parish of St. Michael the Archangel in the Fell's Point section of Baltimore. This was likely the first such school for African-American children in America. Anwander had been stationed at St. Michael's between 1861 and 1865, serving both as a prison chaplain and confessor to the sisters. In 1852, he renovated the chapel of the boys' school to accommodate 500 and helped build an adjacent hall so that Black Catholic lay societies could meet. The debt on the hall was about \$2,500 and, he reported, "a colored girl (now a Sister) gave me the first money, a little gold dollar of which I put in the tabernacle and left it there will the church was paid for."

In addition to his assistance in obtaining for them corporate status in the state of Maryland (1867), between 1847 to 1855, Anwander supplied them with a road map for the spiritual life: fifteen meditations for growth as a religious, which the sisters read and adopted as a manner of life. Each meditation was accompanied by a prayer to aid in reflection. He began the meditations by developing a potent fear that salvation is an utterly elusive prospect and that the religious constantly teeters on the brink of hell. Only perseverance to the end is the surest way to attain heaven. The meditations defend the religious against having a lukewarm vocation and even a dull personality. When living in community, having a desire to conform oneself wholly to Christ could be a source of mutual sanctification. Holiness begets holiness. Perhaps through these meditations and more informally as their spiritual director from 1850 to 1855, Anwander received and professed ten sisters.<sup>4</sup>

### *Conclusion*

In each instance of the cooperation between these men and women religious, one can easily detect commonalities, such as the writing of rules, the provision of housing, the contracts made. What we don't see, however, is the spiritual benefits that accrue to each that come about because of their collaboration. These reinforce one another. It seems to me that their stories and histories are worth exploring more in tandem and can only be done through joint consultation of male and female religious archives. By comparing and contrasting the stories of each, a fuller picture of religious life in the United States can come into view.

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<sup>3</sup> See John Byrne, *Redemptorist Centenaries, 1732-1932* (Philadelphia: Dolphin Press, 1932), 97.

<sup>4</sup> See the letter of Anwander to Rev. E. J. Sourin, SJ, March 27, 1876, photocopy in Oblate Sisters of Providence Archive, Baltimore, Maryland and RABP, Philadelphia, Oblate Sisters of Providence Files.