DISSERTATION

"THE GOOD WORK": SAINT FRANCES ORPHAN ASYLUM AND SAINT ELIZABETH'S HOME, TWO BALTIMORE ORPHANAGES FOR AFRICAN AMERICANS"

Submitted by:

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School of Education

In partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in

Educational Leadership for Changing Populations

Notre Dame of Maryland University

Baltimore, Maryland

Fall 2016

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Abstract

Saint Frances Orphan Asylum and Saint Elizabeth Home were institutions in post-bellum Baltimore for African American orphans. Saint Frances Orphan Asylum was founded and managed by the Oblate Sisters of Providence, the first community of women religious of African origin. The Franciscan Sisters, whose order originated in England, directed Saint Elizabeth's Home. As Catholic institutions, the orphanages received support, albeit in differing levels, from the Archdiocese of Baltimore. This study investigated the two institutions and their place in the Catholic Church. Primary source documents from the Oblate Sisters of Providence Archive and the Franciscan Sisters of Baltimore Archive form the basis for this dissertation. An analysis of those documents, and others, reveals that race and gender were critical factors in Catholic support of the two institutions. Saint Elizabeth Home, run by a white order of nuns, received a great deal more backing, both financial and political, than did Saint Frances Orphan Asylum. Support for the Oblates and their institution varied depending upon the leadership of the church at a particular time and the personal beliefs.

DEDICATION

To my parents,

Ed and Linda Rosenkrans

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INTRODUCTION

A recent National Public Radio (NPR) broadcast declared that "Pope Francis Inspires Black Catholics, Despite Complicated Church History on Race."[1] In the program, Mary Curtis, an African American Catholic who grew up in Baltimore, Maryland, is quoted as saying "being *black* and Catholic…means inheriting a complicated legacy."[2] That legacy began in 1634 with the creation of the Maryland Colony, a place that was to be a safe haven for England's persecuted Catholics and continues, as evidenced in current discussion, to today. In discussing her experience as a black Catholic growing up in Baltimore during the Civil Rights era, Curtis retells a history of segregated Catholic schools and Catholic officials who openly expressed racial prejudice. She also, however, discusses the heroism of Cardinal Shehan, Archbishop of Baltimore, when he participated in the March on Washington and ordered desegregation of parochial schools in the archdiocese. If the dates and names were changed in her story, Curtis could have been describing Baltimore during the nineteenth century. African American Catholics in the nineteenth century were also faced with segregation and institutional prejudice. They were similarly, however, championed by a number of men and women who stood up for their rights within the church and who some might consider heroic.

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[1] "Pope Francis Inspires Black Catholics, Despite Complicated Church History On Race," September 22, 2015 2:03 PM ET, Commentary heard on *Morning Edition.* http://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2015/09/22/442509427/pope-francis-inspires-black-catholics-despite-complicated-church-history-on-race, accessed April 11, 2016.

[2] Ibid.

This dissertation will help fill the gaps that exist in the understanding of the complicated legacy of how the Catholic Church has interacted with and related to its African American members. It also will scrutinize the relationship between the male hierarchy of the Catholic Church and its female members. In doing this, two Baltimore orphanages will be studied: Saint Frances Orphan Asylum and Saint Elizabeth's Home. The Saint Frances Orphan Asylum was operated by the Oblate Sisters of Providence, an African American order of Catholic nuns, in Baltimore between 1866 and 1926. The Franciscan Sisters, an order of white nuns, operated Saint Elizabeth's Home from 1881-1960. By examining the two institutions and the differences in how the institutions were received and supported by the hierarchy of the American Catholic Church, a gap in the historical record detailing the complex and thorny legacy of both black and female Catholics will be filled. Moreover, this study will reveal that the actions of the American Catholic Church reflect the time period in which they took place and the status of the church within the greater American society.

Historiography

Orphanages

Prior to 1970, little research had been done around institutions that served the criminal, the insane, and the poor. By 1990, this had changed primarily due to the emergence of social history as a field of history, distinct from that of the more traditional areas of political and diplomatic history. David Rothman wrote in his 2001 work *Discovery of the Asylum*, "The underlying concerns of social history, its preoccupation with the relationships between social classes and the institutions that promoted or subverted social order, including the family, the church, and the workplace, helped bring

attention to formal institutions of social control, particularly the prison and the mental hospital."[3] In addition, the assumption that the organization of a society could not be analyzed only by looking at the ambitions and activities of the elite led to the need for an interpretive framework that included the roles of ordinary people such as the segments of the lower classes confined to prisons, reformatories, almshouses, and mental hospitals.

The second major stimulus to the growth of this particular field of social history was the work of Michel Foucault in the 1970s. A moral philosopher, Michel Foucault[4] imparted a special meaning to the history of incarceration. In his analysis, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of a Prison*, prisons and mental hospitals became the most perfect representations of the modern state. The confinement of individuals in those institutions represented nothing less than the victory of reason over unreason and the ultimate triumph of the bourgeois state. These institutions were used to form citizens who would make themselves positively useful and help them become members of what Foucault called "disciplinary society."[5] It was his work that moved the study of asylums into the forefront and led many, historians and sociologists alike, to study this institutional phenomenon.

The third reason for the surge in research about asylums is the beginning of the decline in the social legitimacy of the aforementioned institutions. The 1960s and 1970s heralded movements for prisoner and mental patient rights that led historians to question why asylums had ever been established. "The dynamic is apparent: let inherited

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[3] David Rothman, *Discovery of the Asylum* (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 2002), xviii.

[4] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage, 1979).

[5] Ibid.

procedures or organizations become suspect, and the curiosity of historians is immediately stimulated."[6] This research had serious policy implications and led to contentious debate around institutionalization. The perspective of declining legitimacy of such institutions challenged the perception that they were created under progressive and humane impulses—that their history might not be that of generous philanthropy by benevolent-minded individuals.

It was during this fertile time of the 1970s that David Rothman began his work. In his 1971 publication, *The Discovery of the Asylum*, he addressed the question of why Americans created prisons and other asylums for deviants and dependents in the 1820s and 1830s. His work on asylums focused mainly on deviant populations, but his framework on those asylums lends structure to the study of orphanages.[7]

Rothman refuted the original idea of historians that asylums represent the progress of mankind through both the advancement of science and benevolence of individuals. He argued that while humanitarian impulses played a part in the development of the institutions, they were not the sole reason for the creation of

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[6] Rothman, xxi.

[7] Ibid., 58. Rothman identified seven common features of asylums in the New Republic.

1. Confinement was the common and preferred response to deviance and dependency.
2. The institutions, regardless of their function, adopted the same pattern of organization.
3. The new institutions consciously and successfully separated inmates from society.
4. All institutional routines were carefully planned, maintained, and punctuated by bells.
5. At the root of the routines was a dedication to the principles of work and isolation. They promised to transform an inmate's character so that he would leave the institution a different person. Regimens were to alter not only behavior, but also personality.
6. Most institutions were able to translate their plans into actual practice.
7. Almost all of the institutions, except some private insane asylums, confined the lower orders of society.

institutions. Rothman stated, "Movement to cities, in and out of the territories, and up and down the social ladder, made it difficult for them [Americans] to believe that a sense of hierarchy or localism could now stabilize society."[8] This constant mobility was a threat to society and led reformers to create institutions that provided a "curative isolation and routine"[9] that would help to make struggling members of society into productive citizens. This analysis has been seminal in the study of institutions such as prisons and insane asylums—so seminal, that it still serves as the standard in this field.

While Rothman mentioned orphan asylums in his studies, his major areas of focus were prisons and mental institutions. Scholarship about orphan asylums did not really begin until the 1980s. The interest of historians in this field was piqued by the interest of society as a whole. While orphanages were no longer the status quo for dependent children, the number of children entering care and their length of stay in care significantly increased during the 1970s. Lawmakers became increasingly concerned that many children were being removed from their homes unnecessarily, and that, once they entered foster care, inadequate efforts were made to either reunite them with their biological families or place them with adoptive families.

Concerns also were raised about the lack of oversight within the foster care system. To address these concerns, Congress enacted the Adoption Assistance and Child Welfare Act of 1980.[10] The modern child welfare system is founded on this landmark legislation, which for the first time established a major federal role in the administration

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[8] Rothman, 58.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Adoption Assistance and Child Welfare Act of 1980 P.L. 96-272.

and oversight of child welfare services. Despite an initial decrease in both the number of children in foster care and their average length of stay, the mid-1980s saw a dramatic increase in the number of children in foster care.[11] Researchers pointed to the multiple effects of the economic slowdown, the crack cocaine epidemic, AIDS, and higher incarceration rates among women. In 1993, out of continuing concern that states were focusing too little attention on efforts to prevent foster care placement and reunite children with their families, Congress established the Family Preservation and Family Support Services Program. This program provided flexible funding for community-based services to (1) prevent child abuse and neglect from occurring and (2) help families whose children were at risk of being removed.[12] In 1997, President Clinton signed the Adoption and Safe Families Act (ASFA) of 1997.[13] The Act was the most significant piece of legislation dealing with child welfare in almost twenty years. It was passed in response to growing concerns that child welfare systems across the country were not providing for the safety, permanency, and well-being of affected children in an adequate and timely fashion. The ambitious new law aimed to reaffirm the focus on child safety in case decision making and to ensure that children did not languish in foster care but instead were connected with permanent families.

Into this atmosphere of declining legitimacy of the childcare system came an entire group of scholars—both sociologists and historians—interested in looking at the

[11] O'Neill, Murray, and Gesiriech, 2004. Between 1986 and 1995, the number of children in foster care increased by 76 percent, from 280,000 to nearly 500,000.

[12] Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1993, P. L. 103-66.

[13] Adoption and Safe Families Act of 1997, P.L. 105-109.

history of the system. Using Rothman's work as an example, Susan Whitelaw Downs and Michael Sherraden[14] spoke to the various theories that explained the expansion of institutional care in the nineteenth century in "The Orphan Asylum in the Nineteenth Century." The first theory is that institutions were viewed as an improvement over colonial forms of relief for the poor, such as almshouses, where they were kept with criminals and other unsavory sorts.[15] Another perspective was that asylums were created by the wealthy to exercise control over the poor in hopes that "punitive conditions and isolation from family made possible by institutionalization would coerce dependent children into obedient labor market behavior."[16] David Rothman hypothesized that institutions represented an effort to insure the cohesion of the community in new and changing circumstances, that it was used to train and rehabilitate young people and to provide a model for the moral reform of society.[17] Finally, Downs and Sherraden argued that the Industrial Revolution led to an oversupply of child labor and society was faced with the dilemma of what to do with all of the children: it asked how it would support, socialize, and control them. Compulsory Education was one response and institutionalization, another.[18] Downs and Sherraden, with their study of the Saint Louis Protestant Orphan Asylum, argued that perhaps none of the above was the reason, that maybe the real reason was a response to the transiency of the newly industrialized

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[14] Susan Whitelaw Downs and Michael Sherraden, "The Orphan Asylum in the Nineteenth Century," *Social Science Review* (1983): 273-290.

[15] Rothman, 58.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Downs and Sherraden, 273-290.

society. Child welfare problems were related as much to movement as to poverty. Many of the orphans were from boatmen, soldiers, drifters, pioneers, forty-niners, immigrants, and seekers of temporary refuge. Because they were transient, they had no friends or family on whom to rely. The nineteenth century orphanage was seen as a temporary refuge and/or an opportunity for a change of direction.

In *Saving the Waifs: Reformers and Dependent Children, 1890-1917*, LeRoy Ashby[19] argued that social control was an undeniable object of progressive reforms such as orphanages, but also said that many reformers were responding to genuinely tragic conditions and had a real desire to "do good." His book featured case studies of several examples of child-saving efforts in the Progressive Era in an attempt to understand the motives for their establishment and continuation. Ashby admitted that his case studies generally emphasized Protestant opinion and action mainly because of the strong legacy of Protestantism to the progressive reform era, but that other denominations were also important in the field.

The work of Brown and McKeown and Crenson addressed the importance of the Catholic Church in the development of American orphanages. In *Building the Invisible Orphanage: A Prehistory of the American Welfare System* (1998), Matthew Crenson[20] agreed with Ashby's theory that orphanages were used for social control. He argued that Catholics understood that use and employed orphanages (and parochial schools) as a vehicle of resistance against the Protestant vision of American society. The Catholic

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[19] Leroy Ashby, *Saving the Waifs: Reformers and Dependent Children, 1890-1917*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1984).

[20] Matthew Crenson, *Building the Invisible Orphanage: A Prehistory of the American Welfare System* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998).

effort was so strong that, until the 1880s, they led the way in founding orphan asylums.[21] This movement was not monolithic, however. Ethnic and regional diversity within the Catholic Church later led to the formation of German Catholic, Polish Catholic, and Irish Catholic asylums. Interestingly, Crenson makes no mention of the role of African Americans in this child-saving crusade or of orphanages for African American children in his discussion of the diversity within the Catholic Church.

Other researchers also have argued about the centrality of the Catholic Church in the foundation of the child-saving movement in the United States. Dorothy Brown and Elizabeth McKeown's 1997 study, *The Poor Belong to Us: Catholic Charities and American Welfare,* studied Catholic orphanages in New York City. In their study of the Catholic role in the "New York System" of welfare, Brown and McKeown[22] argued that the complex role of the Catholic Church needed to be more closely examined within the context of the discussion of American social welfare.

Timothy Hasci[23] found that the renewed interest in children's welfare in the 1980s and the criticism of the American Welfare System in the 1990s had led to the increased study of poverty, but that research on children in poverty had lagged behind. In *Second Home: Orphan Asylums and Poor Families in America*, he asserted that the research that did exist was limited, and that it focused on Jewish Orphanages and some regional

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[21] Crenson, *Building the Invisible Orphanage,* 41. This resistance by a nonconforming minority complicates that interpretation of the asylum as an instrument of social control or a device for the segregation of deviants and eccentrics.

[22] Dorothy Brown and Elizabeth McKeown, *The Poor Belong to Us: Catholic Charities and American Welfare* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997).

[23] Timothy Hacsi, *Second Home: Orphan Asylums and Poor Families in America*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997).

studies in certain time periods. Hasci argued that none discussed commonalities among orphanages, differences among orphanages, or how orphanages changed over time.

Several historians have begun to fill the void that Hasci described. Nurith Zmora's[24] work, *Orphanages Reconsidered: Child Care Institutions in Progressive Era Baltimore,* examined three different orphanages in Baltimore. Those orphanages, the Hebrew Orphan Asylum, the Samuel Ready School for Girls, and the Dolan's Children's Aid Society, served the Jewish, white Protestant, and Catholic communities, respectively. She found that orphanages were functioning parts of the communities in which they existed. As such, they were not a monolithic entity. Orphanages varied according to the needs of the community, their ethnic affiliation, whether they were privately or publicly funded, and the beliefs and skills of their managerial staff. Zmora made no mention of the Saint Frances Orphan Asylum or other orphanages for the African American children of Baltimore that operated at the same time.

Like Zmora, Marilyn Irvin Holt[25] examined a subset of orphanages. She studied American Indian orphanages from the 1850s to the 1940s in her 2001 book *Indian Orphanages,* and found that, like orphanages in the nontribal world, Indian orphanages cannot be considered monolithic. Each tribe/nation reacted to the presence of orphans and the movement of the "rise of the asylum" in different ways. Overall, though, she indicated that the story of Indian orphan asylums is much more positive than the acculturationist history of Indian Boarding Schools. Holt argued that because the orphan

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[24] Nurith Zmora, *Orphanages Reconsidered: Child Care Institutions in Progressive Era Baltimore* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994).

[25] Marilyn Holt, *Indian Orphanages* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2001).

asylums were located on reservations, they "offered a way for youngsters to maintain contact with their tribal groups"[26] and "provided a point of identity for both residents and the larger Indian community."[27] In her "Family and Nation: Cherokee Orphan Care, 1835-1903," Julie Reed agreed with Holt's encouraging view in her deeper examination of the care of Cherokee orphans. She found that the Cherokee nation, despite its beliefs in kinship networks and its responsibility for the care of orphans, established the Cherokee Orphan Asylum in Indian Territory in 1872. This institution, although administered by a white man who had arrived during the Trail of Tears and had been associated with the Methodist Episcopal Church, was completely under the control of the government of the Cherokee Nation. The Cherokee Nation made the asylum an extension of the family structure and made sure that the children in the asylum were educated in a manner that was consistent with their tribal beliefs. This meant that in addition to receiving formal education in English and manual labor training, Cherokee orphans were an integral part of the traditional ceremonies and activities of the tribe.[28]

There has been limited study of orphanages established for the care of African American children. William Seraile's *Angels of Mercy: White Women and The History of New York's Colored Orphan Asylum,*[29] published in 2011, assessed the New York Colored Orphans Asylum, the country's first orphanage in the United States dedicated to

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[26] Holt, *Indian Orphanages*, 258.

[27] Ibid., 258.

[28] Julie Reed, "Family and Nation: Cherokee Orphan Care, 1835-1903," *American Indian Quarterly*, (2010): 312-343.

[29] William Seraile, *Angels of Mercy: White Women and the History of New York's Colored Orphan Asylum* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2011).

the care of African American children. Founded by two white Quaker (Society of Friends) women, it was dedicated to uplifting black children and was often criticized for being paternalistic and for not seeking guidance from the African American community.

Thomas Cowger[30] examined the Indianapolis Asylum for Friendless Colored Children in his article "Custodians of Social Justice: The Indianapolis Asylum for Friendless Colored Children, 1870-1922." This asylum was founded in 1870 by Quaker women as a response to the increase in the number of African Americans in Indianapolis from the beginning of the Civil War and the perceived disruptive effects of such growth and change. They hoped to revitalize traditional values and ensure social cohesion for the African American children that they served. The founding Quaker women were following a path forged by earlier Friends who had been among the first to provide relief to African American "waifs." Like the New York Colored Asylum studied by Seraille, the Indianapolis institution was operated without the consultation of the area's African American community.

Minimal research has been conducted around orphanages established by and for African Americans. The Oblate Sisters of Providence (OSP), the first Roman Catholic sisterhood established by women of African descent, operated an orphanage in Baltimore from 1866 through 1928. This orphanage supported the Oblate mission of educating African Americans. Discussion of the orphanage is negligible in the historiography of the Oblates; it is often only mentioned as an aside to the educational accomplishments of

[30] Thomas Cowger, "Custodians of Social Justice: The Indianapolis Asylum for Friendless Colored Children." *Indiana Magazine of History*, (1992): 93-110.

the order.[31] There is some discussion, however, of the orphanage run by the Oblate Sisters of Providence in Saint Louis, Missouri, in Anne Butler's *Across God's Frontiers: Catholic Sisters in the American West, 1850-1920*. In her seminal work describing the importance of American nuns to the settlement of the American West, Butler discussed the Oblates' work with orphans in their western mission. She detailed the fiscal, equity, and spiritual handicaps the sisters faced due to the low priority given to African American nuns and children.

The study of orphanages is one that has slowly expanded over the past thirty years. Research has been conducted on institutions that served American Indians, Jews, and African Americans, but little to nothing has been initiated on asylums for African American children established and operated by African Americans. Perhaps because of that, there have been no studies that have compared orphanages for African American children run by African Americans to those for African American children run by white philanthropists. The study of the Saint Frances Orphan Asylum operated by the Oblate Sisters of Providence and Saint Elizabeth's Home run by the Franciscan Sisters will help to fill that void.

Women's History

The study of women's history, in general, began in the early 1970s. Since that time, scholars have begun generating scholarship that moves women beyond the objects of the narrative of history into the role of shapers of history.[32] With the exception of some

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[31] Anne Butler, *Across God's Frontiers: Catholic Sisters in the American West, 1850-1920* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2012).

[32] Carol Coburn, "An Overview of the Historiography of Women Religious: A Twenty-Five Year Retrospective," *U.S. Catholic Historian*, (2004): 1-26.

congregational histories, this scholarship had not extended into the study of women religious until fairly recently and had not dealt with the role of African American women religious until early in this century.

The first mention of African American nuns came in 1941 with John Gillard's *Colored Catholics of the US.*[33] This work spoke of the "colored nuns" in the church, but all of their work was done by the call and under the direction of white clergy. It was not until 1990 that Cyprian Davis[34] devoted an entire chapter of his book, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*, to African American women religious. In this chapter, he argued that African American women have been pivotal to the American Catholic religion; they were present at the beginning of American Catholicism and African American religious communities existed prior to the Civil War. He also posited that African American sisterhoods helped lay the faith foundation of the black Catholic community, and that pioneers such as Mother Mary Lange (one of the founding sisters of the Oblate Sisters of Providence) often worked without encouragement or support and often in the face of indifference and antipathy. Davis lamented that there was no adequate history of the black Catholic sisterhood that could support his assertions.

In "Recovering a History of Partnership: American Sisters in the Nineteenth Century," Janet Ruffing, R.S.M.[35] agreed with Davis that Catholic sisterhoods laid the

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[33] John Gillard, *Colored Catholics in the United States: An Investigation in Behalf of the Negroes in the US and a Survey of the Present Condition of the Colored Mission* (Baltimore: The Josephite Press, 1941). Gillard's book is the first book solely about Black Catholics in the United States.

[34] Cyprian Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States* (New York: Crossroad Publishing, 1998).

[35] Janet Ruffing, "Recovering a History of Partnership: American Sisters in the Nineteenth Century." *Where Can We Find Her? Searching for Women's Identity in the New Church*, ed. Marie-Eloise Rosenblatt, (New York: Paulist Press, 1991), 117-131.

foundation for the establishment, growth, and acceptance of the church in America. Her discussion made no distinction between black and white sisterhoods. She mentioned the accomplishments of the Oblate and the Sisters of the Holy Family in the same way that she mentions white sisterhoods such as Sisters of Charity and the Sisters of Mercy.

In "On the Margins: The State of American Catholic History," Leslie Tentler[36] argued that religious women were more influential than priests in setting the religious tone of a community. She said that the study of those women has been marginalized in a field that itself has been seen as lesser. Despite her criticism of a field that "marginalized" a religious group and the women within it, she does not mention African American sisterhoods at all. Instead, she spends a great deal of time discussing Hispanics within the Catholic Church.

Carol Coburn and Martha Smith[37] responded to Tentler's chastisement about the lack of interest in women religious in mainstream scholarship. Their 1996 article, "Creating Community and Identity: Exploring Religious and Gender Ideology in the Lives of American Women Religious, 1836-1920," expanded on the research in American women religious in 1996. They used the case study of the Sisters of Saint Joseph Carondelet (CSJ) to argue that the premise that women had no control over their institutions and activities is false, that the CSJ's worked in "women's roles" outside of the home. Despite their integration of women religious into the mainstream of American

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[36] Leslie Tentler, "On the Margins: The State of American Catholic History," *American Quarterl*y, (March 1993): 104-127.

[37] Carol Coburn & Martha Smith, "Creating Community and Identity: Exploring Religious and Gender Ideology in the Lives of Women Religious," *U.S. Catholic Historian*, (1996): 91-108.

women's history, there was no mention of the race of the sisters or how that may or may not have influenced their role.

Diane Batts Morrow[38] added to Coburn and Smith's response to the lack of study of American sisterhoods and enlarged that research to include African American orders. She specifically responded to Cyprian Davis' assertion that there was no adequate history of black Catholic sisterhood. In her 2002 study, *Persons of Color and Religious at the Same Time: The Oblate Sisters of Providence, 1820-1860*, she argued that the Oblate Sisters of Providence successfully challenged the racist and sexist attitudes of Antebellum America and played a vital role in the black community of Baltimore, Maryland.

In 2004, Carol Coburn[39] reviewed twenty-five years of the history of women religious in "An Overview of the Historiography of Women Religious: A Twenty-Five Year Retrospective." She argued that historians "have come a long way" in Catholic Women's History and that there had been a "flurry" of research after Tentler's article "On the Margins."[40] Tentler chastised historians for their continued marginalization of Catholic history and the fact that they had virtually ignored the important contributions of women religious in the United States. That research has only just begun to examine "otherness" in Catholic Women's History—meaning nonwhite sisterhoods. Research into the role of Hispanics and African Americans is in its infancy. She noted five trends

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[38] Diane Batts Morrow, *Persons of Color and Religious at the Same Time: The Oblate Sisters of Providence, 1820-1860*, 2002.

[39] Coburn, "An Overview of the Historiography of Women Religious: A Twenty-Five Year Retrospective," 1-26.

[40] Tentler, "On the Margins: The State of American Catholic History," 104-127.

in the research; 1) Americanization and Multiple Catholic Identities, 2) Apostolic Activities, 3) Professionalization and Women's Leadership, 4) Social Justice and Post-Vatican II, and 5) Religious Life and Spirituality. Of these five trends, it is the first—Americanization and Multiple Catholic Identities—that this dissertation will address.

The role of African American women in Catholic Church history is not the only area that has been devoid of research; the same is true of their role in education. Bettye Collier-Thomas[41] argued that while there is a large body of work that takes into account the educational experiences of African Americans, most research tends to focus on their role as victims and emphasizes their deficiencies and differences compared to whites. Apart from a few biographical sketches of a small number of black female educators, there is no general history of black women in American education. Collier-Thomas mentioned that black women shared with black men the discrimination and deprivation of education during their sojourn from slavery to freedom, and also shared with white women limited access to public institutions. However, Collier-Thomas pointed out that black women's experience has been very different in specific ways from that of black males and white females. Black women educators were limited in opportunities due to the fact that, at first, they competed with black males for the only jobs available. If they did get a job, it was usually in a rural school where they were paid less than black men or white females. Collier-Thomas did mention some institutions where black females could be educated prior to 1900, including Saint Frances Academy, the school founded by the Oblate Sisters of Providence. But often even those institutions were designed to meet the practical needs of the black community rather than providing a classical education. For

[41] Bettye Collier-Thomas, "The Impact of Black Women in Education: An Historical Overview," *Journal of Negro Education*, (1982): 173-180.

example, most schools provided training in housekeeping and other manual labor, rather than fine needlework and foreign languages. She argued that in order to determine more fully the impact of black women in education, we must know more about who they were and what they did and the time periods within which they worked. She listed a number of women to research, including Maria Becraft, OSP. Despite two mentions of Oblate Sisters of Providence, her focus was on public education with no mention of parochial education and its unique role in the history of American education.

In her 1982 "Black Nuns as Educators," Theresa Rector[42] asserted that Roman Catholic nuns contributed significantly to the education of blacks in the United States. In her article, she discussed the history of the three black orders of nuns: the Oblate Sisters of Providence, the Sisters of the Holy Family, and the Franciscan Handmaids of Mary. This article did not discuss the type of education that was offered by the three orders or how that education was the same or different from education led by their white counterparts—Catholic or not.

The Oblate Sisters of Providence have played a crucial role in the education of African American children. That role is one that has not been examined closely. This dissertation will take a closer look at the educational philosophy of the Oblates and how it pertained to the orphans in the orphan asylum that they founded.

Education for African Americans

A central theme in the African American struggle in the United States has been the fight for education. From colonial times through the present, African Americans have seen education as an essential component of freedom and equality. The struggle to obtain

[42] Theresa Rector, "Black Nuns as Educators," In *Journal of Negro Education*, (1982): 238-253.

a quality education has defined many communities, including that of Maryland in general and Baltimore City in particular. Little has been written on the history of black education in Maryland. Even less has been done on the role that Catholic African Americans played in that history.

In his 1976 dissertation, "The Education of Blacks in Maryland: An Historical Survey," Clarence Gregory[43] traced the development of the idea of education for blacks in the state of Maryland from 1700 until post 1954. He argued that it was segregated from its inception, that blacks were capable of educating their own. In the first and only discussion of schools for blacks in Maryland, Gregory claims that, due to limited financial resources, the movement took place mostly in the public sphere. He does mention early private efforts to educate African Americans by religious societies, both white and black. Gregory discussed the Quakers, the Methodist Episcopal Church, the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and the Oblate Sisters.

In his 2004 dissertation, "Opportunity and Opposition: The African American Struggle for Education in New Haven, Baltimore, and Boston," Hilary Moss[44] examined schools for African Americans in three cities, Baltimore, Boston, and New Haven, between 1825 and 1855. This time period saw the rise of the Common School and the movement that gave white children from all classes and ethnicities the opportunity to become a part of the larger American society. Moss argued that this movement made the

[43] Clarence Gregory, "The Education of Blacks in Maryland: An Historical Survey" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1976).

[44] Hilary Moss, "Opportunity and Opposition: The African American Struggle for Education in New Haven, Baltimore, and Boston, 1825-1855" (PhD diss., Brandeis University, 2004).

concept of citizenship synonymous with "whiteness," automatically making it impossible for black Americans to participate.

Brian Morrison's[45] 2008 dissertation titled "Selected African American Educational Efforts in Baltimore, Maryland During the Nineteenth Century" examined the educational opportunities that were available to African Americans in Baltimore during the Antebellum Era. Morrison explored the role that African Americans played in the educational process, and that they pursued education not only for the economic benefits, but because of the belief that it was the key to spiritual, physical, and political freedom. Morrison argued that the little that was written about African American education in this period was mostly to document white largess and sympathy, rather than black self-determination and independence. While his dissertation mentioned Mother Mary Lange and the Oblate Sisters of Providence, his primary focus was on public education for African Americans in Baltimore City and did not mention education in orphanages at all.

The Oblate Sisters of Providence, whose mission is the education of children of color, was founded in Baltimore in 1828 and still exists. The Oblates have operated a series of schools in Baltimore and have had missions in several states and countries. This long and storied history has not been a source of extensive historical investigation. Morrow,[46] who completed the only comprehensive study of the Oblates, only looked at the interaction of the sisters within their community, black and white. She did not

[45] Brian Morrison, "Selected African American Educational Efforts in Baltimore, Maryland During the Nineteenth Century" (PhD diss., Morgan State University, 2008).

[46] Batts Morrow, *Persons of Color and Religious at the Same Time: The Oblate Sisters of Providence, 1820-1860,* 2002.

investigate the work that occurred within the educational institutions that they founded and nurtured.

The Franciscan Sisters were invited to the United States in order to provide for the education and care of African American children. They started their work in Baltimore in 1881 at Saint Francis Xavier Parish School and Saint Elizabeth Home. Except for an unpublished congregational history, there is no official record of the work of these women.

The role of the Catholic Church in the care of African American orphans has not been thoroughly investigated. Some research has taken place around secular and Protestant efforts, but very little has been done on Catholic efforts. The lack of scholarship in this area means that there is nothing comparing the work of the leadership of African American Catholics versus that of white Catholics in institutions for dependent black children. A small piece of that history can be found in the study of the Saint Frances Orphan Asylum and Saint Elizabeth Home.

Conclusion of Historiography

The Oblate Sisters of Providence and the Franciscan Sisters of Baltimore were communities of women religious dedicated to educating and caring for African American children. Both groups of sisters operated institutions for orphans in Baltimore during the Antebellum and Progressive Eras. Both groups of sisters educated their children to be faithful and productive members of society. Both groups faced gender bias within the established Catholic Church. One group had its roots in Baltimore's black San Dominguan community. The other came to the United States from England. It is that difference that led to the way the separate institutions were supported by the established

Catholic Church. The Oblate Sisters of Providence, the first order of nuns of African origin, faced challenges that did not affect the Franciscan Sisters. This dissertation will examine the institutions run by the two communities of women religious in order to ascertain the differences in treatment of sisterhoods of different races. In so doing, it will add to the current research that has been completed around the orphanages that served African American children and supplement the history of African American Catholic women.

Methodology

The focus of this historical dissertation is Saint Frances Orphan Asylum and Saint Elizabeth Home in Baltimore. Specifically, it centers on the orphans served by the asylums. Research concentrated on how the orphans came to enter the institutions, what their experiences were while in the asylums, and what their lives were like after they left.

The primary source for this research was the archival material of the two sisterhoods. Canon law requires that every congregation maintain an archive. It does not, however, have specifications about the maintenance of that archive. This is reflected in the differences between the collections of the two congregations. It is rare that congregations have archivists trained in records conservation or with university degrees pertaining to archival procedures. The Oblate Sisters of Providence Archive is located at the Our Lady of Mount Providence Convent in Baltimore, Maryland. The Oblate Sisters of Providence had the vision to hire a trained archivist in 2003. Since that time, the archivist has organized 363 linear feet of organizational records, photographs, scrapbooks, and manuscripts of the Oblate Sisters of Providence.

The Motherhouse Record Group is the most important source for this dissertation. It contains forty-seven boxes of records pertaining to Saint Frances Convent and the missions directly under its control.[47] One of those missions, the Saint Frances Orphan Asylum, has a completely separate set of records[48] that are clearly designated as orphan asylum records. These records include the financial ledgers for 1868 to 1926, lists of orphans, commitment documents for orphans, fundraising programs, tickets, collecting cards, school reports, assorted correspondence concerning the asylum, correspondence between the New York Foundling Hospital and the Oblates, correspondence concerning the closing of the orphanage, and wills of former orphans. These items provided insight into how the orphanage was operated, the experience of the orphans, and how the institution interacted with both the African American and white communities in Baltimore. While many of these items are official documents and legal records, assorted ephemera also are present. Most notable among the ephemera are the nametags of foundlings that were sent to the Baltimore orphanage from the New York Foundling Hospital. The nametags provide the names and birthdates of the foundlings who were sent to the orphan asylum. Those details were important in researching the lives of individual orphans.

In addition to the Orphan Asylum Series, additional items in the archive were of prime importance. One of the most helpful resources is the Annals of the Oblates. All orders are required by their constitutions to keep a historical and chronological record

[47] Saint Frances Orphan Asylum, Saint Frances Academy, Mount Providence, Mount Providence Junior College, Reading Center, Child Development Center, and the Lange Center

[48] 800 items, 1.0 linear foot

that employs "simple and neutral language…that can be read aloud without embarrassment for speaker or audience."[49] Supplemental items such as newspaper clippings are often added to the annals. The Oblates kept annals from the date of their founding in 1866 until 1879. Included in this source are numerous references to the Orphan Asylum and activities and people with which it was associated. This source enabled the researcher to create a chronology of the asylum and to address how the public and other Catholic communities perceived the work of the Oblates.

The Franciscan Sisters do not have an official archive or an archivist. Their records are kept at the offices of the order on Ellerslie Avenue in Baltimore, Maryland. Sister Ellen Carr is in charge of the records that include an unpublished history of the congregation as well as assorted photographs, documents, and miscellaneous ephemera.

The Josephite Archives located in Baltimore was also useful. Its extensive holdings include records, books, bulletins, obituaries, programs, photos, memory books and other memorabilia generated in Baltimore parishes, schools and other institutions that are served by the Josephites. It has huge sections devoted to African American Catholic history, African American history, Mill Hill Missionaries (also known as The Society of Saint Joseph the Sacred Heart for the Foreign Missions) and the communities and civic municipalities in which are found the missions and ministries that they staff.

The Maryland Historical Society Archives, also located in Baltimore, were helpful in that their collection holds an assortment of Annual Reports from Saint Elizabeth Home.

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[49] Anne Butler, *Across God's Frontiers: Catholic Sisters in the American West, 1850-1920* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2012).

Conclusion

The history of the care of African American orphans in Baltimore is a confluence of histories. It is the history of the Oblate Sisters of Providence, the history of the Franciscan Sisters, the history of African American education, the history of African Americans in Baltimore, and perhaps most importantly, the history of how the Catholic Church interacted with its black and female members. This dissertation examined all of those histories in order to compile a narrative of the Saint Frances Orphan Asylum and Saint Elizabeth Home. No such narrative exists that compares a Catholic orphanage run by and for African Americans to that of one run by white Catholics for African Americans. Filling this gap in the historical record will help to document the self-efficacy of Baltimore's Catholic African American community and the importance of that self-efficacy to its members. It also serves to underscore the complicated legacy of being "black and Catholic," being "woman and Catholic," and being "black, woman and Catholic." Additionally, it shows that the Catholic Church's attitudes towards African Americans and women were not consistent; they changed according to the prevailing societal beliefs of the time period.

Chapter II

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE BALTIMORE AFRICAN AMERICAN COMMUNITY

The history of the relationship between Baltimore African Americans and the Catholic Church is both a national and a local story. As the Premier See of the American Catholic Church, Baltimore helped to shape the direction of the church from the very beginning, but as both the United States and the American Catholic Church matured, conditions peculiar to Baltimore shaped the way the Catholic Church and community of Baltimore interacted with its local African American congregants. Baltimore City's distinctive geography and demographics contributed to the development of a unique relationship between African American Catholics and the leadership, both lay and religious, of the Catholic Church. The ways in which the Church behaved toward its African American members was both charitable and patriarchal. The patriarchal nature of its treatment was grounded in the belief that African Americans needed white members of the church to help them in both the spiritual and temporal worlds. The church's creation of institutions for African American orphans in Baltimore provides an excellent example of the mixed motivations behind its treatment of the African American community.

The Foundations of the Archdiocese of Baltimore

The history of the Archdiocese of Baltimore is also the history of the American Catholic Church. That history can be traced back to the colonization of North America, primarily the establishment of the colony of Maryland. In 1632 King Charles I granted George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, proprietary rights to a region east of the Potomac River.

The land was called Maryland after Queen Henrietta Marie. George died before settlement could begin and was succeeded by his son Cecil Calvert. Cecil, the second Lord Baltimore, was left to establish the colony. The Calverts were Catholic. George had "returned to the faith in which he had been baptized"[50] in 1625. The "pious enterprise"[51] of the establishment of Maryland was to create a safe haven for persecuted Catholics. That sanctuary would be one that was based on religious toleration and separation of church and state. On March 25, 1634, a party of seventeen gentlemen, most of whom were younger sons of Catholic gentry, two-hundred laborers and servants, mostly Protestant, and three Jesuit priests landed on Saint Clement's Island.[52] Accompanying those Jesuit priests, most well-known of which was Father Andrew White, were nine indentured servants. At least one of those indentured servants, Mathias de Sousa, was of African and Portuguese descent.[53]

Cecil was not able to accompany the group, so he sent his brother Leonard to serve as governor. Leonard was to be assisted by Commissioners Jerome Hawley and Thomas Cornwallis. In his Instructions from November 13, 1633, Cecil implored them to

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[50] Thomas Spalding, *The Premier See: A History of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, 1789-1994* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 1.

[51] Spalding, *The Premier See: A History of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, 1789-1994*, 2.

[52] Robert Brugger, *Maryland: A Middle Temperament, 1634-1980* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), 5-9.

[53] Document listing de Sousa as being brought into the province, 1633, S 920-1 ff. 19, 20, and 37, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, MD.

be "very carefull [sic] to preserve unity and peace"[54] between Protestants and Catholics and to:

> suffer no scandal nor offence to be given to any of the Protestants, whereby any just complaint may hereafter be made, by them, in Virginea or in England, and that for that end, they cause all Acts of Romane Catholique Religion to be done as privately as may be and that they instruct all Romane Catholiques to be silent upon all occasion of discourse concerning matters of religion; and that the said Governor and Commissioners treete the Protestants with as much mildness and favor as Justice will permit.[55]

Governor Calvert treated the Instructions as if they had the full force of law. There was no religious test for voting or holding office. All male residents, except for servants and Jesuits, were able to fully participate in political society. In addition, he did nothing to establish religious institutions. Religion was considered to be a private matter; it only became a concern to government officials when it became disruptive.[56]

The political situation in England soon intruded on Maryland and the separation of church and state became threatened. In both the 1640s and 1650s, colonial supporters of the Puritan Revolution attempted to replicate the events that were taking place in the homeland. This caused Lord Baltimore to propose the Act Concerning Religion, also known as the Act of Toleration. Passed by a legislative body composed of both Catholics and Protestants on April 21, 1649, it was the first legislative grant of religious toleration in the New World.[57] It outlawed blasphemy and the calling of derogatory religious names and further stated:

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[54] John D. Krugler, "'With Promise of Liberty in Religion': The Catholic Lords Baltimore and Toleration in Seventeenth-Century Maryland, 1634-1692." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 79, no.1 (1984): 28.

[55] Krugler, "With Promise of Liberty in Religion," 28.

[56] Ibid., 29.

[57] Spalding, 4.

> Be it Therefore… enacted… that noe person or persons whatsoever in this Province…professing to believe in Jesus Christ, shall from henceforth bee any wais troubled, Molested, or discountenanced for or in respect of his or her religion nor in the free exercise of.[58]

With this act, Cecil Calvert hoped to remove religion from politics by imposing severe penalties with regard to what the residents of Maryland could do or say about another's religion. In addition, he ensured that Catholics would be protected in their religious worship by offering all inhabitants the free exercise of religion.[59]

That document ushered in what historian Thomas Spalding calls the "Golden Age of Catholic Aristocracy"[60] in Maryland. In addition to the Calverts, a number of Catholic families would become very wealthy and influential in Maryland society. Among those family names is that of Jenkins, a name that will be very important in the history of Catholic philanthropy in Baltimore City, particularly in regards to Saint Elizabeth's Home.[61]

The Golden Age was short lived. By 1654, Puritans overthrew Calvert's regime, repealed the Act of Toleration, and replaced it with the "Act Concerning Religion" of 1654. This act reversed Calvert's 1649 legislation by specifically dropping the provisions against blasphemy and explicitly excluding Catholics from protection in the practice of their faith.[62] Ten Catholics were condemned to death, four of whom were

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[58] John Tracy Ellis, *American Catholicism* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1969), 26.

[59] Krugler, 33.

[60] Spalding, 4.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Krugler, 35.

actually executed. In addition, the houses and estates of the Jesuits were plundered, forcing the priests to disguise themselves and flee to Virginia.[63] More troubles came in 1691 when Maryland became a royal colony under the leadership of William and Mary, and were now subject to the penal laws of England. Catholics were restricted from public worship. In addition, citizens were required to swear an oath of loyalty to the Crown that included acknowledging the supremacy of the Church of England in order to hold public office or serve on a jury. By 1692, the Church of England was firmly established as the official church of Maryland, and Catholics were compelled to pay taxes for its support. Catholics were completely disfranchised from 1718 until the beginning of the American Revolution.[64] Catholic historian Thomas Spalding argues that although during this time, Catholics were treated as second-class citizens, were branded disloyal and subversive, and were forced to pay double property tax,[65] many of them were still able to develop large fortunes and live productive lives. He argues that on the whole, Catholic aristocrats were wealthier and better educated than their Church of England counterparts. In fact, the first fortune in Maryland would be made and claimed by Charles Carroll of Annapolis.[66]

With the end of the French and Indian War and the Treaty of Paris of 1763, conditions improved for Catholics in Maryland. Bishop Richard Challoner, episcopal

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[63] Ellis, *American Catholicism*, 27.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Thomas Murphy, SJ. "'Negroes of Ours' Jesuit Slaveholding in Maryland, 1634-1838. (PhD diss., University of Connecticut, 1998), 62.

[66] Spalding, 5.

superior of Maryland, reported, "In Maryland, the laws are as opposed to [the Catholic Church] as in England; however, these laws are rarely put into execution and usually there is a sort of tacit toleration."[67] He believed that there were approximately sixteen-thousand Catholics in the state served by twelve Jesuits.[68] At that time, two thirds of Maryland's Catholics were living in the southern counties of St. Mary's, Charles, and Prince George's. The remaining population had begun to move west into Frederick County and north into Baltimore County and Harford County. In 1770 the Jesuits began construction of a church in Baltimore on land that had been purchased by Charles Carroll of Annapolis. Spalding said, "The future of the Catholic Church of Maryland lay in this budding port and in the counties to the north and west."[69]

Revolutionary events provided the opportunity for prominent Maryland Catholics to enter the political sphere. Chief among those men was Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the son of Charles Carroll of Annapolis. Using the moniker "First Citizen," he wrote a series of letters to the *Maryland Gazette* that challenged the existing political structure of Maryland and the arbitrary actions of its governor. Those letters established him as a "flaming Patriot" and temporarily lay to rest anti-Catholic prejudice.[70]

Charles Carroll was not the only person in his family to participate in the fight for independence from Great Britain. His cousin, Father John Carroll, was soon called to serve the independence movement. Together, John and Charles Carroll attended Jesuit

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[67] Spalding, 5.

[68] Ibid., 6.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Ibid., 7.

institutions the Old Bohemia Academy in Cecil County, Maryland,[71] and the College of Saint Omer's[72] in France.[73] In 1753, after completing his course of study in humanities at Saint Omer's, John Carroll transferred to the Jesuit novitiate in Watten.[74] After two years, at age 18, he completed his novitiate and transferred to the English College at Liege where he would study philosophy in the *scholasticate*. At the completion of the *scholasticate* in 1758, Carroll returned to Saint Omer's where he taught the classics.[75] John was ordained a Jesuit in 1761 and soon after returned to the United States. Father John Carroll reluctantly joined the work of the revolutionaries.

The American patriots believed that it was necessary to win Canada as an ally in their cause against the British. In February 1776, Congress organized a commission to visit Canada and personally appealed for its support. Since a great many Canadians were Catholic, leading patriots believed that it was important to send "some Jesuit or Religeuse of any Order"[76] on the mission. Charles Lee of Virginia noted that Charles Carroll had a

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[71] Joseph S. Rossi, SJ, "Jesuits, Slaves and Scholars at "Old Bohemia," 1704-1756, as found in the Woodstock Letters." *U.S. Catholic Historian*, 26, no. 2 (2008): 1-15. The Bohemia Academy was located in Cecil County, Maryland. It operated from approximately 1745 until the mid-1750s and provided the sons of Catholic aristocracy a rudimentary education prior to sending them to school in Europe. Other prominent early Maryland Catholics who attended the Academy were Daniel Carroll, John's brother, and Leonard Neale, the second Archbishop of Baltimore.

[72] Saint Omer. http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/13365c.htm accessed on April 5, 2016. The Jesuit college of Saint Omer was founded in 1592/3 by Father Parsons to educate the children of the English Catholic aristocracy. An English Catholic educational institution was necessary because all Catholic education had been prohibited in England. It also quickly became a favorite for American Catholics.

[73] Peter Guilday, *The Life and Times of John Carroll* (New York: The Encyclopedia Press, 1922), 38.

[74] Guilday, 48. Watten was the recognized novitiate for the English Jesuit province and was located several miles from Saint Omer's.

[75] Ibid., 54.

[76] Spalding, 8.

"relative who exactly answers that description."[77] Father Carroll did not immediately agree to join the mission. He stated, "I have observed that when the ministers of religion, leave the duties of their profession to take a busy part in political matters, they generally fall into contempt, and sometimes even bring discredit to the cause in whose service they are engaged."[78] Charles Carroll of Carrollton finally convinced him that his services were necessary and he joined the mission that included his cousin, Benjamin Franklin, and Samuel Chase.[79] The undertaking was not successful but it did help to better the image of American Catholics and their support of the patriot cause. It also cemented the view that Father John Carroll was one of the leaders in the national church.

After the return of the mission from Canada, Charles Carroll was elected to the Revolutionary Convention in Annapolis where a vote was taken that stated all differences concerning religion "cease and be forever buried in oblivion."[80] Similar pieces of legislation were passed in both Virginia and Pennsylvania. Once the legal barriers to their participation were removed, Catholics responded generously to the national crisis. Charles Carroll was elected to serve as a member of the Maryland delegation to the Continental Congress where he would be the only Catholic to sign the Declaration of Independence.[81] John Barry became one of the chief founders of the American Navy, and Stephen Moylan joined General Washington's staff.[82] Catholic convert Thomas Sim

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[77] Spalding, 8.

[78] Ellis, 36.

[79] Ibid.

[80] Spalding, 8.

[81] Ibid.

[82] Ellis, 37.

Lee ran for and won the office of Maryland governor before the Revolution was even over.[83] In addition, Maura Jane Farrelly found that average Maryland Catholics supported the Revolution in numbers that far exceeded that of their Protestant counterparts. In her examination of muster rolls, veteran pension applications, and supply records from Saint Mary's County, she discovered that 79 percent of the 145 married Catholic men between 1767 and 1784 swore their allegiance to the free state of Maryland, donated supplies or money to the American war effort, and served in the Continental Army or the Saint Mary's County Militia. This is in contrast to the at most 45 percent support of Protestants in all of the colonies, an average that includes Massachusetts and Virginia where it is thought that support was as high as 60 percent.[84]

Catholic historian John Tracy Ellis argues that the American Revolution was a turning point in the history of religious tolerance for the new nation.

> The patriotic part played by the Catholics during the war, the influence of the French alliance, and the growing consciousness of the extreme complexity of the American religious pattern- all helped to dilute the anti-Catholic bias. In fact, after the war was over and a number of states had acted on their own in granting full religious liberty, it became evident that toleration necessarily would be the ultimate policy of the national government.[85]

The war broke ecclesiastical as well as political ties with the Old World. Father John Carroll became concerned about what he saw as the "orphaned band of former Jesuits in America."[86] He took the initiative of drawing up a plan of organization for the

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[83] Maura Jane Farrelly, "American Slavery, American Freedom, American Catholicism" *Early American Studies* 10 (2012): 82.

[84] Farrelly, "American Slavery, American Freedom, American Catholicism," 82.

[85] Ellis, 37-38.

[86] Spalding, 8.

Catholic Church in the new United States. In a letter to a Roman curial official, he stated, "You are not ignorant that in these United States our Religious system has undergone a revolution, if possible, more extraordinary, than our political one."[87] He went on to say:

> A communication of all Civil rights, without distinction or diminution, is extended to those of our Religion. This is a blessing and an advantage, which is our duty to preserve & improve with the utmost prudence, by demeaning ourselves on all occasions as subjects zealously attached to our government & avoiding to give any jealousies on account of our dependence on foreign jurisdictions.[88]

In 1784, the Propaganda, after numerous correspondences with the American Congress, appointed John Carroll "Superior of the Mission in the thirteen United States."[89] In a report to that body immediately following his accession, Carroll reported,

> The Catholic population in Maryland is about 15,800. Of this number nine thousand are adult freeman, that is about twelve years of age; about three thousand are children, and the same number are slaves of all ages, come from Africa, who are called 'Negroes' because of their color. In Pennsylvania there are at least seven thousand but very few Africans.[90]

The rest were scattered throughout the nation, with perhaps 1,500 in New York and an unknown number of French-speaking Catholics in the West. Only the Catholics in Maryland and Pennsylvania benefited from the services of priests.[91] There were nineteen in Maryland and five in Pennsylvania.[92] At that time, he did not believe it was necessary

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[87] Spalding, 9.

[88] Ibid., 9-10.

[89] Ibid., 10.

[90] Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*, 35.

[91] Spalding, 11.

[92] Ibid.

for an American bishop. His opinion quickly changed after he encountered a number of instances across the young country where laypeople, as well as priests, attempted to either cause trouble within or break away from the church. In March 1788, Carroll, in petitioning Pope Pius VI, requested that a diocese "coextensive with the American mission be established immediately under the pope."[93] He further stated that the choice of a bishop for that diocese should be left to the American clergy.[94] In February 1789, Carroll received word that the Holy Father had agreed with his petition and asked Carroll and his colleagues to determine where the see should be located and to elect a bishop. Carroll had been living in Baltimore since 1786 and recommended that location for the See as it was "the principal town of Maryland" and "that the State being the oldest & still the most numerous residence of true Religion in America."[95] Once that was decided, the clergy voted on who should serve as the bishop. John Carroll was elected with twenty-four of the twenty-six votes.[96]

Baltimore: The Holy See of the American Catholic Church

When John Carroll became the Bishop of the Baltimore Diocese, the church, like the state of Maryland, was growing and changing. The early Catholic Church, like the early government in Maryland, had been centered in Southern Maryland. As the population of Maryland began to shift north, so did the leadership of the church and the

[93] Spalding,13.

[94] Ibid.

[95] Ibid., 13-14.

[96] Ibid., 14.

government. While the official seat of government was established in Annapolis in 1694, the economic power of the state found its way farther north in Baltimore. Baltimore Town was established by charter in 1729. Named after the Second Lord Baltimore, Cecilus Calvert, it quickly gained prominence due to its location at the mouth of the Patapsco River. The first shipment of cargo left Baltimore in the early 1750s, forever establishing the town as an important port and center of trade for the fledgling country. By 1780, Baltimore also became a port of entry for immigrants from Europe. By the time John Carroll was established as the Bishop of Baltimore, toll roads connected the port of Baltimore to Frederick, Westminster, Hanover, and York. Bishop Carroll purposefully selected Baltimore to be the location of the Holy See. Historian Reverend Michael Roach noted that while it pained Carroll to leave his family home and chapel in Southern Maryland, he knew that he needed a location that was more central for the vast area of the new diocese that spread from New England to Georgia.[97]

As a thriving port city in a location that was not quite North and was not quite South, Baltimore had a unique demographic for its time. It saw influxes of diverse groups entering and staying to create homes and make lives for themselves. One of those early groups was the French Acadians. As a result of the French and Indian War in 1755, the British exiled French-speaking Acadians from their homes in what are now Maine and the Canadian Maritime Provinces. Many of these people, who were practicing Catholics, chose to settle in Baltimore City. Several decades later they would be joined by another group of French-speaking Catholics.

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[97] Michael Roach, "Baltimore as the Jerusalem of the American Church." *Catholicism in America: Proceedings from the 33rd Annual Convention of the Fellowship of Catholic Scholars*, September 24-26, 2010, Baltimore, MD, 8.

As the Holy See of the Catholic Church and already home to a group of French-speaking Catholics, Baltimore was the ideal destination for Catholics escaping revolution in France. The extreme anti-clericism espoused by the leaders of the French Revolution caused a group of French priests, known as the Society of Saint Sulpice,[98] to look for a more hospitable home.

The Sulpicians came to Baltimore as a result of the tense situation in France during the French Revolution. Well aware of the rapidly deteriorating atmosphere for Catholics, Sulpician Superior James Emery decided that it was necessary to find a place of refuge for his society in a foreign country. After consultation with the papal nuncio, Archbishop Dugnani, he decided that the newly created See of Baltimore would be the ideal place. He was given permission from the Sulpician assembly to proceed with his plan. In a letter to Bishop John Carroll, Archbishop Dugnani introduced Emery and spoke of his plan:

> The Superior of the Seminary of St. Sulpice at Paris has informed me that some priests of his congregation who are on the verge of being deprived of occupation because of present circumstances here, intend to go to the United States of America in order to labor there for the education of young ministers of the gospel. This is the work with which they have always been occupied. You know without doubt the zeal, the wisdom and the principles of the house of St. Sulpice. You will also easily conceive the usefulness to religion of such a help. The first condition of their crossing would be that it would cost neither you nor the residents of the United States anything; they themselves will find the means from their own resources to defray the expense of the undertaking.[99]

Despite this growing population of Catholics, Bishop Carroll did not feel that the time was right to establish a seminary in the United States. In a letter to friend and

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[98] The Society of Saint Sulpice was founded by John James Olier in France in 1641.

[99] Joseph William Ruane, *The Beginnings of the Society of St. Sulpice in the United States (1791-1829)* (Baltimore: The Voice, 1935), 22.

confidant Father Plowden, he noted, "We are certainly not ripe for a seminary; it will take some years before we shall have scholars far enough advanced to profit by this generous offer."[100] He said much the same thing in his response to Father Emery and suggested that they consider establishing themselves on the frontier in Quebec.[101] Not deterred by Carroll's response, Emery sent Abbe Charles-Francois Nagot, vice president of the Grand Seminary of St. Sulpice, to negotiate with him. Nagot must have made a convincing argument because Carroll wrote to Cardinal Antonelli on September 27, 1790:

> These past few days, at the request of the illustrious Nuncio, there came from Paris, the learned and worthy priest, Father Nagot, the Superior of the Seminary of St. Sulpice; with whom, after our conference, I decided to establish the episcopal Seminary of Baltimore. Certainly this is a wonderful mark of divine providence in our regard, that such excellent priests should be incited to confer upon us such valuable assistance. From this institution we are filled with hope not only for the increase of divine workshop but also for supplying ministers of the sanctuary.[102]

The Sulpicians arrived in Baltimore in 1791[103] and established the country's first Roman Catholic Seminary,[104] the Seminary of Saint Sulpice, later known as Saint Mary's Seminary. By April 1792, Bishop Carroll was even more enthusiastic about the Sulpicians; "It is already known to the Sacred Congregation how singular a blessing has come to us from the disorders that threaten religion in France."[105]

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[100] Ruane, 25.

[101] Ibid., 31.

[102] Ibid.

[103] In 1791, there were only 35 priests ministering to the 30,000 Catholics in the United States. There were no sisterhoods, and no Catholic schools.

[104] William Francis Collopy, "Welfare and Conversion: The Catholic Church and African American Communities in the U.S. South." (PhD diss., Texas A& M University, 2011), 100. A seminary is an institution dedicated to preparing aspirants for priestly ordination.

[105] Ruane, 35.

In addition to the strong Catholic influence in Baltimore, there was a large population of free blacks in the city. By 1820, more than 10,000 city residents were free blacks. This number is attributed to the strong influence of the ideology of liberty from the American Revolution, the change in agriculture from tobacco to wheat cultivation, and the first wave of San Dominguan refugees.[106] Little is known about how many of those inhabitants were Catholic, but by 1865, there were 16,000 black Catholics in the state.[107]

San Dominguan refugees began arriving in Baltimore in 1793 and continued to do so for approximately twenty years. These exiles fled the Caribbean island of San Domingue. At that time San Domingue was France's most profitable overseas possession. The labor of African slaves on plantations profited French planters and the empire. Inspired by the French Revolution, Toussaint L'Ouverture led San Dominguan slaves in a revolt and conquered the island of Hispaniola. In 1804, Jean Jacques Dessaline declared himself ruler of the independent state that he named Haiti. At that time, anyone associated with the L'Ouverture and the former ruling classes or who had ties to France was in danger. Many chose to leave the country, some with the assistance of faithful slaves,[108] and fled to port cities in the United States accompanied by their former servants.[109]

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[106] Richard Paul Fuke, "Race and Public Policy in Post-Emancipation Baltimore," in *From Mobtown to Charm City: New Perspectives on Baltimore's Past*, ed. Jessica Elfenbein, John Breihan, and Thomas Hollowak, et al. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 2002), 133-134.

[107] There were 100,000 black Catholics in the United States.

[108] Charles George Herbermann, *The Sulpicians in the United States.* (New York: The Encyclopedia Press, 1916), 231.

[109] Diane Batts Morrow, *Persons of Color and Religious at the Same Time: The Oblate Sisters of Providence, 1828-1860* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 3.

Well-established relations between Maryland and Caribbean planters caused Baltimore to be a logical haven for many of those *émigrés*. Hundreds of black and mulatto refugees, many of whom belonged or identified with the Caribbean planter class in terms of sympathies, self-interest, education, and wealth, composed a significant portion of the San Dominguan refugees. Exact numbers of black San Dominguan refugees are also unknown, but it is thought that between 500 and 1,000 entered Baltimore between 1793 and 1810.[110]

Sympathetic Baltimore citizens were eager to assist the white émigrés. Appalled by the circumstances[111] that forced the San Dominguans to flee their homes, a committee of Baltimore merchants organized in 1793 to assist what would become the San Dominguan refugees. The committee provisioned the ships with fresh vegetables and declared that further aid would be made on "some regular system" until assistance could be obtained from the French Minister or the American government. It also resolved that subscriptions be opened immediately for the cause. Individuals were appointed to call upon the citizens of Baltimore requesting them to receive refugees in their houses. The response of the Baltimore community was immediate and overwhelming. Within two days of opening the subscriptions on July 10, $11,000 had been pledged.[112]

Donations for the effort came in from "every rank."[113] Wealthy donors provided substantial sums and even homes. Less wealthy Marylanders shared their houses,

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[110] Batts Morrow, *Persons of Color and Religious at the Same Time*, 6.

[111] Slave revolts

[112] Walter Charlton Hartridge, "The Refugees from the Island of St. Domingo in Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 38, no. 2 (June 1943): 105-101.

[113] Ashli White, "'A Flood of Impure Lava': Saint Dominguan Refugees in the United States, 1791-1820." (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2003), 80.

donated rags and fuel, and attended benefit performances such as one held in July 1793 at a theater managed by McGrath and Godwin. The *Baltimore Evening Post* noted that "as compassion for the unfortunate objects of this Benefit happily pervades every rank, 'tis thought expedient to do away with all distinction in the price of Tickets." Any seat in the house was available for a dollar.[114]

In December 1793, the plight of the refugees was brought to the Maryland General Assembly. It voted to provide $4,500 for the "temporary relief of the suffering French from St. Domingo."[115] Three prominent gentlemen from Baltimore were appointed to distribute the money.[116] In February 1794, Congress passed "an Act providing for the relief of such of the inhabitants of Saint Domingo, resident within the United States as may be found in want of support."[117] The legislation appropriated $15,000 for the relief of the exiles.[118] President George Washington was given the responsibility of overseeing the dispersal of funds, $2,000 of which went to Baltimore's efforts to support the refugees.[119] There is no mention of how much of this aid, if any,

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[114] White, "'A Flood of Impure Lava,'" 80.

[115] Hartridge, "The Refugees from the Island of St. Domingo in Maryland," 108.

[116] Ibid., 108. Messrs. Patterson, Scott and Sterret.

[117] Hartridge, 108.

[118] White, 96-98. This was the new nation's first act to provide charity and was not done without much debate. Legislators argued over whether it was the role of the federal government to provide direct charity. In 1793, Thomas Jefferson argued that Congress could not provide relief, "I deny the power of the general government to apply money to such a purpose but I deny it with a bleeding heart. It belongs to the state government." Eventually, Congress agreed to allocate funds but not on the issue of charity. They chose to provide the funds but deduct the amount from the balance owned on its debt to France from the American Revolution. Despite its logic for passing the legislation, the legislation would stand as a precedent for those seeking federal funds for charitable purposes.

[119] Ibid., 96.

was given to the black San Dominguans. Aid for the exiles was limited to white Americans giving to white Saint Dominguans. Historian Ashli White argues that "while appeals for relief for the 'unfortunates' from St. Domingo' did not explicitly exclude the *gens de couleur*[120] and black Saint Dominguans, American campaigns for support described only the experiences and needs of the white refugees."[121] Although no aid was specifically garnered in the name of black refugees, the aid most likely trickled down to some of them, such as those living with their masters or relying on white Saint Dominguans for support. White believes that local black organizations may have reached out to the incoming black refugees, but she has not been able to find any conclusive proof.[122]

Once in Baltimore, shared traditions attracted Sulpicians and San Dominguans to each other. Their French language, cultural heritage, Roman Catholic faith, and common experience of flight from radical revolutionaries bound the two groups. Since most of the refugees did not speak English, the center of religious activity for all of the *émigrés*, black and white, was Saint Mary's Seminary Chapel.[123]

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[120] John Davies, "Class, Culture, And Color: Black Saint-Dominguan Refugees and African-American Communities in the Early Republic" (PhD diss., University of Delaware, 2008), 18. Free Saint Dominguan of African Descent. Other terms include *affranchis, gens de couleur libre, homes de couleur, negres, or negresses libre, multares and mulatresses libres.*

[121] White, 70.

[122] Ibid.

[123] John Gillard, S.S.J., *Colored Catholics in the United States: An Investigation in Behalf of the Negroes in the US and a Survey of the Present Condition of the Colored Mission* (Baltimore: Josephite Press, 1941), 76-79. This is significant because prior to the influx of the black San Dominguan refugees, Baltimore's black Catholics were absorbed into the various parish churches, not concentrated in one.

Enslaved and free African Americans added an important dynamic to the demographics of Baltimore City and played an important role in the development of the thriving port city. Many Baltimoreans owned slaves. In addition, widespread employment opportunities made the city a refuge for fugitive slaves from surrounding Maryland counties. The growing free black population helped to provide shelter for those fugitives.[124]

From the beginning of his leadership of the American Catholic Church, Father John Carroll was faced with the challenge of the role of and treatment of black Catholics. This challenge was especially evident in the city of Baltimore. In his very first communication with Rome after his appointment as the prefect apostolic of the American mission, Carroll included details about the population. In including blacks, both slave and free, in his details about the composition of the American Catholic Church, Carroll acknowledged the fact that they were one of the main components of the young church. Twenty out of every one hundred Catholics in Maryland were black. In addition to discussing the number of black Catholics, Carroll lamented, "There is a lack of care in educating the children in religion, especially the African slaves."[125] Cyprian Davis argues that "the peculiar conditions of American slavery made this Catholic population a particular concern for Carroll."[126]

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[124] Maryland State Archives, *A Guide to the History of Slavery in Maryland*, 2007.

[125] Davis, 35.

[126] Ibid.

Carroll was well acquainted with the institution of slavery. Wealthy Catholic families such as his were slaveholders. Like many of his contemporaries, he was conflicted about the institution. In a correspondence with one of his priests, he admitted:

> I am as far, as you, from being easy in my mind at many things I see, and know, relating to the treatment & manners of the Negroes. I do the best I can to correct the evils I see; and then recur to those principles, which, I suppose influenced the many eminent & holy missioners in S. America & Asia, where slavery equally exits.[127]

That conflict did not prevent Carroll from personally owning slaves. Records show that he both sold and manumitted them. Alexis, his enslaved valet, was an alcoholic, something Carroll blamed on a deficiency in his moral character. Carroll did not feel that he had the time to guide Alexis in the right behavior, so he looked to sell him to someone he felt had the time and ability to do so. Carroll never recorded the price he received for Alexis. Historian Thomas Murphy believes that the reason for that oversight was because the Bishop was not interested in the monetary recompense for his servant, but only cared for the soul of his former slave.[128] In his will, Archbishop Carroll provided for the manumission of another slave, Charles. Once again, concerned more about the spiritual needs of his charge, he stipulated that Charles should live in or near the city of Washington, D.C., where he could remain closely associated with the Catholic friends Carroll had introduced to him.[129]

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[127] Thomas Murphy, SJ. "Negroes of Ours": Jesuit Slaveholding in Maryland, 1634-1838" (PhD diss., University of Connecticut, 1998), 143.

[128] Murphy, ""Negroes of Ours": Jesuit Slaveholding in Maryland, 1634-1838," 147.

[129] Ibid., 157.

As a former Jesuit, John Carroll was closely associated with the institution of slavery. The Jesuits, three of whom were with the first group of settlers to Maryland, received 12,000 acres in land grants from Lord Baltimore in 1636. Those acres made up estates in the four southern counties of Maryland and two on the Eastern Shore. At the beginning, labor was supplied by indentured servants. But, like other landowners in the Chesapeake colonies, the Jesuits turned to slaveholding as the supply of indentured servants from Great Britain grew smaller[130] and more expensive to import.[131] The Jesuits depended on their laborers to work the farms that provided the income necessary to cover household, mission, and educational expenses.[132] Like the rest of the country, the Jesuits were not all of one mind about the owning of people. On the one hand, from an economic perspective, the enslaved peoples were essential to the advancement of their missionary goals, and Jesuit ownership of them was in keeping with the accepted system of slavery in effect throughout the new nation.[133] Ethically, they justified the ownership of human beings because they were able to give them the truths of the Catholic faith, which they would not have been able to enjoy in Africa.[134] A Jesuit history recounts that

[130] Murphy, 4.

[131] Ibid., 57. The Maryland Assembly imposed an importation tax on "all Irish Papist Servants imported into the Province" in 1715. Two years later, it levied an additional fee on all Irish Servants being Papists.

[132] Joseph S. Rossi, SJ, ""Jesuits, Slaves and Scholars at "Old Bohemia,' 1704-1756, as found in the Woodstock Letters." *U.S. Catholic Historian* 26, no. 2 (2008): 6.

[133] Rossi, SJ, ""Jesuits, Slaves and Scholars at "Old Bohemia,"1704-1756, as found in the Woodstock Letters." 6.

[134] Ibid.

> the Jesuits, however, while accepting reluctantly the institution of slavery, strove to have their own slaves instructed and baptized and ordered Catholic Slave-owners to do likewise. Slaves were not to work on Sundays or holydays Except when absolutely necessary. They were to be allowed to go to Mass…[135]

The way that Archbishop Carroll chose to correct the evils that he saw in slavery was in the pastoral care of enslaved peoples. He asked the Pope for permission to have the liturgy of the church read in English as "the poor people, and the Negroes generally, not being able to read, have no technical help to confine their attention."[136] In addition, he expressed his concern over the care of the enslaved peoples on the Jesuit owned plantations.[137] The conflict that he felt over slavery and the evolving relationship between the church and its African American congregants would be felt during the administrations of his successors in the decades leading up to the Civil War.

Archbishop John Carroll's belief in caring for the less fortunate extended to orphans as well. In 1801 he joined with an interdenominational group of influential Baltimore City men to incorporate the Female Humane Association Charity School. This school had been in existence since 1799 under the leadership of a group of Baltimore City women that included a number of Catholics. Carroll served as president of the board of trustees. It was not unusual for Carroll or other wealthy Catholics to participate in supporting an institution that was not entirely for Catholics. During his time as the leader of the American Catholic Church, wealthy Catholics moved "fluidly among the

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[135] Rossi, 6.

[136] Davis, 41.

[137] Ibid.

Protestant upper class and the city's few established and wealthy Jewish families."[138] The school was founded because the women of the Female Humane Association (FHA) were horrified by the conditions they saw when they distributed food and clothing to the needy in Baltimore. They were resolved to open a day school where they would "snatch the child from a fate similar to that of its mother (and therefore) remedy the evil."[139] Children in the Female Humane Association Charity School were provided with a rudimentary education: reading, writing, ciphering, and training in domestic skills. After several years of school, they were bound out to work for local families where it was:

> recommended to the Directors that in all cases where the children are dismissed from said school, capacitated to maintain themselves, that in all such cases where it can conveniently be done, they bind them to persons of the same religious persuasion of the children; provided it be consistent with the will of the parents or the guardian of such children.[140]

Some of the children cared for by the school were boarders. By 1807 the number of boarders increased and the school transitioned to an orphanage and changed its name to the Orphaline Charity School of Baltimore.[141]

Archbishop Carroll's successor was his cousin Leonard Neale, S.J..[142] Neale was born in Port Tobacco, Maryland and had served as Carroll's co-adjutant. When he

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[138] Maryland Historical Society, "The Same Religious Persuasion of the Children": Catholics and the Female Humane Association Charity School of Baltimore 1800-1834" http://www.mdhs.org/underbelly/2015/04/02/the-same-religious-persuasion-of-the-children-catholics-and-the-female-humane-association-charity-school-of-baltimore-1800-1834/ Accessed March 4, 2016.

[139] Ibid.

[140] Ibid.

[141] Ibid.

[142] Michael Roach, "Baltimore as the Jerusalem of the American Church." *Catholicism in America: Proceedings from the 33rd Annual Convention of the Fellowship of Catholic Scholars*, September 24-26, 2010, Baltimore, MD, 10.

succeeded Carroll in 1815, he was a feeble 69 years old. During his short two-year term as Archbishop he strengthened the Jesuit order and encouraged the growth of religious sisterhoods. Neale increased the power of the slave-holding Jesuits by entrusting them with oversight of four-fifths of the Catholic missions of Maryland and the District of Columbia. On Archbishop Neale's watch, the Visitation Sisters of Georgetown[143] was officially recognized as a religious order[144] and the Sisters of Charity[145] expanded their work with the poor. In 1816, the Sisters of Charity established an orphanage at their motherhouse in Emmitsburg, Maryland, and in 1817 they sent Sisters to staff an orphanage in New York.[146]

Ambrose Marechal, PSS, the third Archbishop of Baltimore,[147] served as Archbishop Neale's coadjutor. Marechal was born in France where he received his

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[143] The Visitation Sisters of Georgetown had their beginnings in Philadelphia in 1794 when Father Leonard Neale was in Philadelphia. The women in the beginning stages of community were disrupted by the 1797-98 Yellow Fever outbreak in the city. Father Neale was appointed President of Georgetown University in 1789 and he invited them to move to Georgetown and found a school. He placed them in the Congregation of Pious Ladies and put them under the Rule of Saint Frances de Sales. It was not until 1816 that Archbishop Neale was able to receive permission from Pope Pius VII to raise the community to the rank of a monastery. It was at that time that solemn vows were taken.

[144] Spalding, 74.

[145] Dennis McGlinchey, Gonzaga Orphan Asylum, *Germantown Crier*, Spring 2010, Volume 60, Issue 1, 23; Roach, "Baltimore as the Jerusalem of the American Church," 10. Elizabeth Ann Seton founded the American Sisters of Charity (originally called the Sisters of Charity of Saint Joseph) in 1809. Seton, a Catholic convert, had originally moved to Baltimore at the behest of Archbishop John Carroll where she established a Catholic school for girls in 1810 where there was a separate free class for poor girls from the surrounding Baltimore neighborhood. She later moved the order to Emmitsburg, Maryland when former sea captain turned seminarian Samuel Sutherland Cooper the order free land on which to settle. In 1814 they were invited by the Philadelphia Bishop Michael Egan to manage Saint Joseph's Orphan Asylum.

[146] Mary J. Oates, *The Catholic Philanthropic Tradition in America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), 6. New York Bishop John Connolly heard of the success of the Philadelphia orphanage and wrote to Mother Elizabeth Seton "that many pious and zealous Catholics of this City are most anxious that we should have here for the relief and education of destitute Catholic children, such an Orphan Asylum as exists in Philadelphia, under the care of the Sisters of your Religious Society whom you were so kind as to grant for that purpose."

[147] 1817-1828

education and was ordained in 1792, amidst the fury of the French Revolution. Immediately after his ordination, he fled to the United States where he said his first mass in Baltimore.[148] At the beginning of his tenure, Archbishop Marechal submitted a detailed report on the status of the Archdiocese. In that report, he described the Catholic population that was at that time 100,000 strong, the majority of whom lived in Maryland. His 1818 report documented the shift in the Catholic population to Baltimore where the number of Catholics increased from 800 in 1792 to 10,000. He believed that the See city was well served by two seminaries, two colleges, and three sisterhoods.[149] During his administration, Marechal worked to build on that strong foundation. The Sisters of Charity expanded their work by taking charge of the Saint Mary's Orphaline Female School, opened an academy and free school in Frederick, Maryland, and a free school and orphanage near Saint Patrick's in Washington, D.C.[150]

Like his predecessors, Marechal's record shows contradictions in terms of the institution of slavery. From 1793-1799, during what is called the Sulpician Occupation of Bohemia, he was Superior of Old Bohemia in Cecil County, Maryland. As such he was not only responsible for the church and academy, but also the plantation and its enslaved people. Like his Jesuit predecessors, he had the Catholic view that slavery was a necessary evil but that enslaved people should be treated humanely and that their spiritual souls must be cared for. While the records show that he sold a number of the plantation's slaves, it seems that in some cases he made an effort to keep families

[148] Spalding, 79.

[149] Ibid., 79-80.

[150] Ibid., 97.

intact.[151] Additionally, Marechal allowed at least one enslaved person to purchase his own freedom. On August 17, 1797, Patrick Barnes, a blacksmith, paid Marechal $125 for his freedom. A stipulation in his purchase agreement stated that he could not move more than ten miles away from Bohemia. A short time after his emancipation, Patrick was jailed in Elkton, Maryland, for breaking that agreement. The only way that he could be released from jail was to sue Marechal. This suit was friendly and Marechal did everything in his power to help Patrick, who was eventually released.[152] Despite this occurrence, Marechal did not take lightly to runaway slaves. Later in 1797, an enslaved man by the name of Stephen ran away. Marechal worked to find him and even paid a Mr. Pulton $3 to look for him and a Mr. Barnes $15 for finding him and returning him to Bohemia.

As Archbishop of Baltimore, Marechal was intimately acquainted with the black community that was served by Saint Mary's Seminary Chapel in Baltimore. In 1827, that population, a great number of whom were a part of the wave of immigration from San Domingo, was under the care of Father James Joubert. Joubert was responsible for the catechetical classes for the children and found that the children's religious instruction would benefit from formal education. He approached Monsignor Tessier and Archbishop Marechal with the idea of founding a school for his black charges. Both gentlemen

[151] Thomas Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Colonial and Federal* (Longman, Greens and Company, 1910), 749-750.; Ruane, 79.

[152] Woodstock Letters, Volume 41.

thought that the school would be useful but that there was no way to obtain the necessary funding.[153]

Marechal's successor, James Whitfield,[154] felt differently about Joubert's idea to establish a school for the children of his congregation. Shortly after he became the fourth Archbishop of Baltimore, he authorized the project.[155] Later that year, after Joubert met Elizabeth Lange, Marie Madeleine Balas, and Rosine Boegue and began the school, Whitfield also gave Joubert permission to allow the women to form a religious community. In June 1829, Archbishop Whitfield approved the rules for the Oblate Sisters of Providence.[156]

Whitfield's acceptance of the new sisterhood and the school that they founded only added to the uniqueness of Baltimore, a place that he called a "superb" city.[157] In a report to the cardinal prefect in the spring of 1829, he described a city of 80,000 people, a fifth of whom were Catholic. In that city were five Catholic churches and a cathedral that was "the most beautiful religious monument in the United States."[158] He went on to report that there was "peace, unanimity, and prosperity" in Baltimore and that "[o]ur holy Religion in this City & throughout the Diocese becomes always more & more respectable

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[153] A Translation of the *Original Diary of the Oblate Sisters of Providence*, Archives of the Oblate Sisters of Providence [hereafter AOSP], Record Group II, Motherhouse, Box 34, Folder 1.

[154] Whitfield was the fourth Archbishop of Baltimore and served from 1828-1834.

[155] A Translation of the *Original Diary of the Oblate Sisters of Providence*, AOSP, Record Group II, Motherhouse, Box 34, Folder 1.

[156] Spalding, 108.

[157] Ibid.

[158] Ibid., 104.

in the eyes of the Protestants."[159] Whitfield's optimism would soon fail in the light of drastic shifts in Baltimore's population and political climate.

The 1830s were a time of great change for Baltimore City. During that decade it grew from 80,000 to more than 100,000 people. The demographics of the population also changed. The black population in Baltimore changed drastically from 1810-1830, the enslaved population declined from 4,700 to 4,100 while the free black population skyrocketed from 5,600 to over 14,000.[160] The situation of both groups was tenuous, at best. Free blacks, ignored by local government and organizations, were forced to care for themselves by forming beneficial societies and establishing schools.[161] The fragile situation was made even more so by the Nat Turner uprising in 1831. Like the rest of the country, Marylanders were frightened by the rebellion and moved to eliminate the possibility of similar events occurring in their state. In March 1832, the Maryland General Assembly passed a series of bills to further restrict the liberties of free blacks. In addition, it chartered the Maryland State Colonization Society, established a board to oversee "the removal of Coloured People" and set aside funds to "repatriate all free Negroes who were willing to return to Africa."[162] Free blacks in Baltimore were not happy with the new legislation or the idea of the Liberia colony. They refused to

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[159] Spalding, 104.

[160] Wilma King, "Out of Bounds: Emancipated and Enslaved Women in Antebellum America" in *Beyond Bondage: Free Women of Color in the Americas*, ed. Barry Gaspar and Darlene Clark Hine, et al. (Urbana: University of Chicago, 2004), 128.

[161] African Americans, like other Marylanders, paid the school tax, but were barred by state law from attending schools.

[162] Robert Brugger, *Maryland, A Middle Temperament: 1634-1980.* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), 212-213.

volunteer for resettlement stating, "We consider the land in which we were born our only 'true and appropriate home.'"[163] This activism did not bode well for them, and the 1830s saw greater numbers of false convictions and increased violence against the black community.[164]

In addition to larger numbers of African Americans, Baltimore also saw a surge in the number of immigrants. Fifty-thousand immigrants who disembarked at the Port of Baltimore decided to stay.[165] In response to the large numbers of immigrants, nativism saw a revival in the 1830s. At first, the antipopery movement seemed to miss Baltimore. This was partly due to the fact that the Oblate Sisters of Providence and the Sisters of Charity had willingly and ably served the city during the cholera epidemic in the summer and fall of 1832. The Oblates received little recognition for their service other than a letter of thanks from the secretary of the Trustees of the Bureau of the Poor, Archibald Stirling.[166] The Sisters of the Charity on the other hand, received official thanks from the Baltimore City Council[167] and acknowledgement in an 1833 newspaper article that "[i]t has become fashionable of late to applaud popery … no females can fearlessly nurse in the cholera but the Sisters of Charity."[168] One reason the Oblates did not receive the same amount of attention or appreciation for their work during the epidemic was because

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[163] Brugger, 212-213.

[164] Sherry Olson, *Baltimore: The Building of an American City* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 97-98.

[165] Spalding, 111.

[166] Batts Morrow, *Persons of Color and Religious at the Same Time,* 147-149.

[167] Ibid.

[168] Spalding, 113.

of the race of their patients. While not documented, it is almost certain that the Oblates nursed black victims of cholera and the Sisters of Charity tended to the white victims.[169] Baltimoreans at the time would have found it hard enough to recognize the work of a Catholic sisterhood, much less a black Catholic sisterhood ministering to free blacks.

The good will engendered during the cholera epidemic did not last long. Anti-Catholicism was on the rise in the United States. In August 1834, the Ursuline Convent in Charlestown, Massachusetts, was attacked and burnt down by a mob of sixty men. Seen as the opening episode in the eruption of the Nativist and Know-Nothing Movements, it is reported that a crowd of approximately 2,000 spectators watched the violence unfold.[170] That movement spread to Baltimore in October 1834 when rumors began to circulate that the Carmelite and Oblate convent schools were going to be burned by a mob. Father Joubert reported those rumors to the mayor of Baltimore, Jesse Hunt, and sought his protection. Furthermore, Joubert and two other priests slept in the Oblate convent parlor until the danger passed. The unrest continued into the spring when in May of 1835 guards had to be posted at the Carmelite convent when crowds gathered to taunt the nuns.[171]

Baltimore's fifth Archbishop Samuel Eccleston[172] succeeded Whitfield during this time of unrest and was the first archbishop of what Catholic historian Thomas Spalding

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[169] Batts Morrow, 147-149. The cholera outbreak was especially devastating to the free black population. This is probably due to the crowded and inadequate housing conditions and the city's negligence in maintaining minimum standards for public sanitation in predominately black areas.

[170] Emily Clark, *Masterless Mistresses: The New Orleans Ursulines and the Development of a New World Society, 1727-1834* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 258.

[171] Spalding, 115.

[172] Eccleston was Archbishop of Baltimore from 1834-1852.

calls the Immigrant Tradition.[173] The Catholic population of the United States in general, and Baltimore in particular, during Eccleston's administration changed dramatically. The greatest influx of immigrants in the history of the United States occurred between 1845 and 1855, adding three million people to a nation of twenty million. Maryland saw similar increases. By 1850, 19,000 Irish-born and 26,000 German-born people were living in the state; 19,000 of those German-born were living in Baltimore City itself. During that time the number of Catholics in the Baltimore Archdiocese grew from 80,000 to 120,000.[174] Large numbers of Catholic immigrants were seen as job competition to Protestant members of the laboring class. In 1835 that threat led to the creation of a Protestant Association that vowed to defend its people from the "inroads of popery." Its newspaper was a constant source of stories about popish crimes and plots. In August 1839, the anti-Catholic fervor led to three days of rioting in front of the Carmelite Convent. Mayor Sheppard Leakin and the City Guards under Columbus O'Donnell squelched the unrest. In a letter thanking the mayor for his support, Archbishop Eccleston stated:

> It is with deepest regret that I have witnessed those scenes of violence, which you were called upon to repel- scenes but little in accordance with the spirit of the Catholic pilgrims who first landed on our shores, and offered the open hand of fellowship to the persecuted of every creed and clime. In Baltimore especially, I was not prepared to expect them, where the very name of the city reminds us of

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[173] Spalding, 132-133. In his book, Spalding contends that the history of the Baltimore Archdiocese can be divided into two categories; the Maryland Tradition and the Immigrant Tradition. The Maryland Tradition began with John Carroll and is characterized as being open and engaged with the greater American society and culture, imbued with patriotic and republican ideals, and reliant on the separation of church and state. The Immigrant Tradition, on the other hand, was exclusive, not inclusive, and focused on a defensive strategy of "ghetto building"- carving out Catholic and ethnic organizations, institutions, and identities.

[174] Ibid.

> the Catholic founder of Maryland, one of the earliest and truest friends of civil and religious liberty.[175]

Because of the negative sentiment that immigrant Catholics faced, Eccleston encouraged the establishment of national parishes in Baltimore. He felt that the development of ethnic institutions and societies would help shield them from the antagonism of society and protect them from Protestantism.[176] Throughout the Archdiocese, he allowed churches that identified with specific ethnic groups to be established. Spalding stated that, "[t]his development coincided with the rise of neighborhood loyalties in Baltimore as the city grew beyond the ability of its citizenry to identify with the urban whole as well as it once had."[177] During this time, the two main groups that established footholds in Baltimore were the Germans and the Irish. Archbishop Eccleston wanted the Redemptorists to take charge of all of the Germans in the Archdiocese. The Redemptorists, or the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer, were founded in Naples in 1732 and had become entrenched in German-speaking European countries. In 1832 they sent representatives to America to minister to Native Americans. At the 1840 Fourth Provincial Council held in Baltimore, Joseph Prost, superior of the American Redemptorists, was approached by the pastor of Baltimore's German congregation of Saint John. Prost begged him to take over the congregation. Seeing this as the perfect opportunity to establish Baltimore as the headquarters for the congregation, he accepted. Eccleston heartily supported the idea and promised to build

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[175] Spalding, 134.

[176] Ibid., 153.

[177] Ibid., 136.

both a new church for German-speaking Catholics, but also a college to prepare German-speaking priests.[178] Eventually, Eccleston was able to convince the Redemptorists to take charge of all of the Germans in the archdiocese.

Even though they did not have a specific order of priests to work with to help organize their churches, the number of Irish parishes grew at much the same pace as the German ones. Chief among those parishes was Saint Patrick's, staffed by the legendary Father James Dolan who is noted for his work with Irish orphans. The Irish community of Baltimore was greatly affected by the large numbers of Irish fleeing from the 1847 famine. Three ships carrying Irish immigrants docked in Fells Point that year. The immigrants were suffering with sea fever and were starving. Some had died during the trip and others immediately upon arrival. This meant that there were about forty orphans who needed care. Father James Dolan[179] and other members of the Hibernian Society came to their rescue. Dolan borrowed money from Irish Protestants and president of the Hibernian Society Hugh Jenkins and purchased land in Govanstowne, four miles north of the city, and established an orphanage for the boys. The Brothers of Saint Patrick were placed in charge of the home where the children learned a trade or were taught how to farm.[180]

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[178] Spalding, 136.

[179] Dolan became known as the "the Apostle of the Point," a "sturdy shepherd with a wild flock," for his work in Fells Point. One of his assistants was the future Cardinal Gibbons.

[180] Upon his death 23 years later, Father Dolan left two-thirds of his estate to orphanages—the one for Irish boys that he had established in St. Patrick's parish and a new one for Irish boys and girls from all denominations from Baltimore City and the surrounding area. The parish orphanage was given to St. Patrick's Church to manage. The Irish orphanage was to be established and run by the Young Catholic's Friend Society. This group was made up of prominent members from all parishes in Baltimore City and the neighboring counties. They devoted their time to the education of poor children by organizing schools and supplying clothes and shoes. The Young Catholic's Friend Society was instructed to use Dolan's home for

An outgrowth of the establishment of national parishes was the parochial school system. Between the years 1834 and 1851, the number of Catholic schools grew from nine to nineteen.[181] That growth led to a need for more teachers. Three religious congregations filled that need: the Sisters of Charity of Emmitsburg,[182] the School Sisters of Notre Dame,[183] and the Christian Brothers.[184]

In addition to staffing parochial schools, the Sisters of Charity and the Christian Brothers also operated most of the archdiocese's orphan asylums. From the 1840s on, Catholic orphanages were designed primarily to prevent the children of immigrants from being placed in public or Protestant asylums, where they were rarely reared in the faith of their parents.[185]

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the new orphanage. This three-story row home at 1709 Gough Street was adjacent to the yard of St. Patrick's Church in East Baltimore. The entire East Baltimore block was owned by the parish and in addition to the church and orphanage also two Catholic schools. The Dolan Children's Aid Society, as the new orphanage was called, was to serve children of both sexes between the ages of 6-12. It was anticipated that it would shelter and educate thirty children. The Sisters of the Holy Cross were employed to run the orphanage. The order already ran the St. Patrick's Orphanage and an academy and normal school for young ladies. The orphanage opened in 1874. Day to day care was left in the hands of two sisters and helper, but the Trustees of the Dolan Home oversaw all aspects of the home. Members of the Hibernian Society, these Prominent Catholic laymen saw their responsibility as preserving the Irish heritage. These men did so on a volunteer basis and as at similar institutions, their chief responsibility was to place children in homes or schools upon their release at age 12.

[181] Spalding, 142.

[182] The Sisters of Charity chose to give up most of their pay schools and devote themselves to orphan asylums, schools for the poor, and hospitals.

[183] The Redemptorists brought the School Sisters of Notre Dame from Bavaria to staff schools in their parishes.

[184] Spalding, 142-143. Archbishop Eccleston had heard of the success of the Christian Brothers in Canada. In December 1843 he wrote to their superior general telling him that he was in need of brothers for his archdiocese. "Poor children had heretofore been neglected and greatly exposed in the Protestant public schools." In the fall of 1846, a brother was sent from France and a novitiate was opened at Calvert Hall, the first for the Christian Brothers in the United States.

[185] Spalding, 143.

During his time as archbishop, Eccleston was increasingly occupied with the challenges associated with a growing and increasingly diverse church. That diversity included not only waves of European immigrants, but also African Americans, both enslaved and free. Baltimore had become home to the largest free black population in the country, with more than 25,000 free blacks by 1850.[186]

The fact that Archbishop Eccleston was "born and bred into the ethos of slavery"[187] in Kent County, Maryland, more than likely contributed to his attitude toward his African American congregants. Census records indicate that his father owned fourteen slaves in 1800, the year before Eccleston's birth. In addition, his stepfather, William Stenson of Baltimore, owned six slaves in 1810, a substantial holding considering the average Baltimore slave-owner had three slaves. Eccleston himself may have owned a slave as the 1840 census documented the presence of a slave in the Archbishop's household.[188] His 1838 letter to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith articulated his belief on black evangelization. While he acknowledged that "the slaves present a vast and rich harvest to the apostolic laborer," Eccleston did not believe that "the salvation of the unhappy Negros" should be subordinated to "the wants of the thousands of whites who, equally deprived of the succor of religion, feel all the more keenly their spiritual abandonment."[189]

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[186] King, 130.

[187] Batts Morrow, 127.

[188] Ibid.

[189] Batts Morrow, 129.

This statement set the pattern that the church hierarchy would follow through the rest of the nineteenth century: ministry to European immigrants was more important than that to black Catholics. This disparity is observed in Eccleston's lack of interest in the plight of the Oblate Sisters of Providence. During his administration, the Oblate Sisters of Providence reached a nadir in which they were almost forced into extinction.

Francis Patrick Kenrick succeeded Eccleston as the Sixth Archbishop of Baltimore in 1851.[190] A native of Dublin, Ireland, Kenrick had served as a missionary priest and seminarian in Kentucky, Bishop of Philadelphia, and was a noted scholar who was fluent in four modern and three ancient languages. Much like his predecessors, Archbishop Kenrick's tenure was marked by growth in the Catholic population, especially immigrant Catholics. The Catholic population in the Archdiocese of Baltimore had grown to about 140,000 in the 1850s, almost 60,000 of which resided in Baltimore City.[191] The Catholic Church was becoming increasingly urban and continued to be split into national parishes. A number of new parishes were founded during Kenrick's administration including two for the "old" or nonimmigrant families of Baltimore. One of Kenrick's first acts as Archbishop was to give the Jesuits permission to open both a college and a parish. Saint Ignatius Loyola opened in September 1857 and served the "old" white families of Baltimore. The basement of Saint Ignatius was dedicated to Saint Peter Claver as a chapel for the black Catholics of Baltimore.[192] Several years later, at

[190] Kenrick served from 1851-1863.

[191] Spalding, 165.

[192] Spalding, 166. Black Catholics had been worshipping in the Saint Frances Chapel. With the dedication of Saint Peter Claver, the community, the Oblates and their spiritual director Father Peter Miller, SJ and switched places of worship.

the outbreak of the Civil War, tension between the whites in the upper church and the blacks in the basement chapel caused the Jesuits to look for a new place of worship for African Americans.[193] Father Michael O'Connor, S.J.[194] collected money throughout Baltimore and purchased a former Universalist Church that was located at Calvert and Pleasant Streets. On February 21, 1864, Saint Francis Xavier was dedicated and became the first parish church in the United States for the "exclusive use of the colored people."[195]

Kenrick also oversaw an expansion in the number of institutions for orphaned children in the city of Baltimore. Three new orphanages opened in the span of less than eight years: Saint Anthony's Orphan Asylum, operated by the School Sisters of Notre Dame, opened in 1852; Saint Vincent's Infant Asylum established in 1856 by the Sisters of Charity; and the Orphan's Home founded by the Sisters of the Holy Cross in 1860.[196] Each of the asylums was only open to white Catholic children.

Kenrick's administration was marked by political strife in the United States. Just as the resurgence of nativism by the Know Nothing Party receded, the country erupted into discord over the topic of slavery. Official Catholic doctrine held that slavery was not necessarily evil; it taught that slavery, thought of theoretically and apart from specific

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[193] Spalding, 166.

[194] "Origins of the American Josephites" *The Josephite Harvest* 95, no. 3 (Autumn, 1992): 3. Father Michael O'Connor, S.J. was the first and third Bishop of Pittsburgh. In that role, he started the Chapel of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, a parish for African Americans, in 1844. He resigned his bishopric in 1862 and became a Jesuit. He was known as a strong supporter of African American Catholics.

[195] Spalding, 166.

[196] U.S. Bureau of the Census, Benevolent Institutions Report, 1910.

abuses to human dignity, was not opposed to the divine or nature law.[197] Church leaders also still stood behind Archbishop Kenrick's 1841 statement on slavery and abolitionism in which he declared that "since such (slavery) is the state of things, nothing should be attempted against the laws nor anything be done or said that would make them bear their yoke unwillingly."[198]

In order to preserve their tenuous standing in American society, the American bishops elected to stay above the political fray. In a pastoral following the 1858 Ninth Provincial Council of Baltimore, the American bishops stated that the church "has never disturbed established order, or endangered the peace of society. …"[199] The 1861 Third Provincial Council of Cincinnati further stated that "[w]hile [the church's] ministers rightfully feel a deep and abiding interest in all that concerns the welfare of the country, they do not think it is their province to enter into the political arena."[200]

Like the rest of the country, Catholics were divided on the topic of slavery and the Civil War. Both lay and religious were on both sides of the conflict. Archbishop Kenrick, a Northern sympathizer, stated, "I do not interfere although from my heart I wish that secession had never been thought of. …"[201] No matter their sympathies, religious communities did whatever they could to alleviate the suffering of those affected by the war. More than forty priests served as chaplains for the Union and almost thirty

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[197] John Tracy Ellis, *American Catholicism* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1969), 89.

[198] Ellis, 90.

[199] Spalding, 175.

[200] Ellis, 94.

[201] Ibid., 96.

did the same for the Confederacy. Others, including future Cardinal James Gibbons, tended to the troops in unofficial capacities. Approximately 650 women religious from twenty-one religious communities from both the north and the south ministered to the wounded and dying.[202]

Martin John Spalding[203] succeeded Kenrick as Archbishop in 1864, just as the Civil War was winding down. His initial undertakings were directed to helping the disadvantaged, especially wayward children. One of his first acts as Archbishop was to convince the Sisters of the Good Shepherd to come to Baltimore and establish a home for wayward girls.[204] They were able to do so owing to Mrs. Emily McTavish's[205] generous donation of a residence. Once he had an institution for girls, Spalding looked to doing the same for boys. He believed that Baltimore needed an institution that would save:

> the poor Catholic boys of our City & vicinity from going astray & losing their faith & souls—as hundreds of them are now doing by being sent to the House of Refuge & other institutions, where they are either proselytized or reared up without faith.[206]

In working toward this goal, he persuaded the Xaverian Brothers to come to Baltimore to staff what would become Saint Mary's Industrial School. Staffing was not enough; he also needed land and a building. Once again, Mrs. Emily McTavish came to his aid, with a donation of 100 acres outside of Baltimore City. With that, all Spalding

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[202] Margaret McGuinness, *Called to Serve: A History of Nuns in America.* (New York: New York University Press, 2013), 290.

[203] Spalding was the Seventh Archbishop of Baltimore (1864-1872).

[204] Spalding, 180.

[205] Mrs. Emily McTavish was the granddaughter of Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

[206] Spalding, 185.

needed was the funding for a building. He held two gatherings of Baltimore's wealthiest Catholics and raised $32,000. Still not convinced that he had enough money, Spalding initiated a dollar campaign in which he reached out to every parish in the archdiocese. That fundraiser, along with funding from the city of Baltimore and state of Maryland, allowed him to build a five-story stone building that would serve many of Baltimore's immigrant youth, including the boy who would later be called Babe Ruth.[207]

Archbishop Spalding was also very concerned with the plight of the newly emancipated African Americans. He believed that they were of utmost importance to the growth of the American Catholic Church. Immediately after his consecration as Archbishop, he wrote to the Propaganda Fide[208] to recommend the convening of the previously postponed Second Plenary Council.[209] Spalding felt that the American Catholic Church and the American nation had undergone many changes since the First Plenary Council in 1852 and needed to revisit their decisions from that meeting. In addition, he advocated for "some well thought out and well planned measures be undertaken for the moral and religious betterment of the former slaves."[210] The Holy See

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[207] Spalding, 185-186.

[208] Propaganda Fide. http://www.fides.org/ita/index.html accessed April 5, 2016. The Propaganda Fide is the Department (Congregation) of the Holy See founded in 1622 by Pope Gregory XV with the double aim of spreading Christianity in the areas where the Christian message had still not arrived and of defending the patrimony of faith in those places where heresy had caused the genuineness of the faith to be questioned. Propaganda Fide was therefore, basically, the Congregation whose task it was to organize all the missionary activity of the Church. Through a provision of John Paul II (in order to better define its tasks), since 1988 the original Propaganda Fide has been called the "Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples."

[209] William Francis Collopy, "Welfare and Conversion: The Catholic Church and African American Communities in the U.S. South." (PhD diss., Texas A& M University, 2011), 117. A plenary council consisted of a meeting of bishops and archbishops from several provinces who were led by a senior bishop or archbishop commissioned by the pope to act as a president.

[210] Collopy, "Welfare and Conversion: The Catholic Church and African American Communities in the U.S. South." 117.

approved the convening. Cardinal Alessandro Barnabo, Prefect of the Propaganda Fide, agreed with Spalding. He wrote that it was the wish of the Sacred Congregation that the bishops of the United States:

> Should consult together respecting some uniform method of providing for the salvation and Christian education of the emancipated blacks. This question has been brought up, and it is one, indeed of the first necessity, and unless they speedily take action on it, and gather this great harvest into the Lord's granary, this people will suffer irreparable injury from the wiles and cupidity of the enemy.[211]

Archbishop Spalding was appointed the Apostolic Delegate to preside over the council. In his communications with fellow bishops prior to the meeting, he continued to advocate for the need to minister to African Americans.

> I think it is precisely the most urgent duty of all to discuss the future status of the negro. Four million of these unfortunates are thrown upon our charity, & they silently but eloquently appeal to us for help. It is a golden opportunity for reaping a harvest of souls, which neglected may not return.[212]

Once the council convened, he gave his instructions to the bishops. Included in those instructions he made specific mention of separate churches for African Americans and the preparation of young African American men for the priesthood. Spalding also made sure that his fellow bishops were aware of the work of the Oblate Sisters of Providence, to the point of arranging for a number of them to visit the Saint Frances Orphan Asylum and school.[213] Despite Spalding's best efforts, the bishops only gave a tacit nod to the need to minister to the African American population and even that was to be done at the

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[211] Collopy, 117.

[212] Spalding, 189-190.

[213] A Translation of the *Original Diary of the Oblate Sisters of Providence*, Archives of Oblate Sisters of Providence [hereafter AOSP], Record Group II, Motherhouse, Box 34, Folder 1.

local level. In their decree "On Attending to the Salvation of Negroes," while they acknowledged that "Christ's death on the cross … was for all men, regarding them without exception as equals"[214] they advocated the construction of separate churches for Negroes "if the local bishop deemed it practicable and expedient."[215] The decree continued by saying that "It would seem better that the decisions be left to the zeal and discretion of the ordinaries [bishops] in different places regarding what is best for the Negroes."[216] This lack of centralized policy on how to work with African Americans allowed many Catholic officials the leeway to focus on other groups or issues, often to the detriment of black Catholics.

The ambivalence of the American bishops toward the needs of the newly emancipated peoples was further expressed in the pastoral letter issued at the conclusion of the Second Plenary Council in 1866.

> We must all feel, beloved Brethren, that in some manner a new and most extensive field of charity and devotedness has been opened to us, by the emancipation of the immense slave population of the south. We could have wished, that in accordance with the action of the Catholic church in past ages, in regard to the serfs of Europe, a more gradual system of emancipation could have been adopted, so that they might have been in some measure prepared to make a better sue of their freedom, than they are likely to do now. Still the evils which must necessarily attend upon the sudden liberation of so large a multitude, with their peculiar dispositions and habits, only make the appeal to our Christian charity and zeal, presented by their forlorn condition, the more forcible and imperative.[217]

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[214] Collopy, 117.

[215] Ibid.

[216] Ibid.

[217] Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*, 121.

Unable to convince all American bishops to help African Americans, Spalding worked to better the conditions of those in his own province. He encouraged the establishment of Catholic schools and institutions for African Americans. He found African Americans "invariably liberal and generous, in proportion to their means, in aiding to the establishment of schools and churches for their benefit … The pastors who will determine to labor zealously in their behalf will always find them willing cooperators."[218] Educating African Americans was important because he believed that the "pastor is severely handicapped in teaching religion if the congregation is illiterate."[219] In 1869 at the Tenth Provincial Council,[220] Spalding was able to convince his fellow bishops to follow his example in the manner of special missions for blacks: separate schools and churches and special collections "as far as circumstances will permit."[221] Spalding also supported the Oblate Sisters of Providence. He encouraged them to spread their usefulness to other provinces in the United States and even participated in the 1870 ceremony to lay the cornerstone for their new orphanage. At that ceremony, he said, "I rejoice to see Germans, Irish, and Americans here today, carrying out the true spirit of the church. There are no parties in heaven. I want all my children—Irish, German, American, African—I want them all to get to heaven."[222]

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[218] Mary J. Oates. *The Catholic Philanthropic Tradition in America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), 60.

[219] Davis, 122.

[220] Collopy, 100. A provincial council was the meeting of all of the bishops in a province under the leadership of their archbishop.

[221] Davis, 122.

[222] Spalding, 196.

Notwithstanding all of his efforts, Archbishop Spalding believed that the spiritual needs of black Catholics were only being partially met. Both he and Father Michael O'Connor,[223] the priest almost singlehandedly responsible for the establishment of Saint Francis Xavier, and his unofficial agent in Rome, thought that it was necessary to establish separate churches and institutions for black Catholics. O'Connor thought that separation was necessary because "the general antipathy towards Blacks even among Catholics was evident in the churches" and "attempts to work with Negroes in mixed congregations often was 'detrimental to Blacks' because they were often neglected by the priest who preferred 'congenial relations with whites.'"[224] Father O'Connor recommended that Spalding reach out to the newly formed missionary society, Saint Joseph's Society of the Sacred Heart for Foreign Missions, later known as the Mill Hill Fathers. He thought that the Mill Hill Missionaries could be the answer to the American Catholic Church's need for a separate order of religious who was devoted solely to working with African Americans.

Father Herbert Albert Vaughan[225] founded Saint Joseph's Foreign Missionary College, also known as Mill Hill Missionaries, in England in 1866. The purpose of the group was to send missionaries to work in pagan lands. By 1871, he had four priests ready to participate in such an exercise and hoped to send them to India or some other

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[223] Spalding, 196.

[224] Jamie T. Phelps, "John T. Slattery's Missionary Strategies." *U.S. Catholic Historian* 7, no. 2/3 (Spring-Summer, 1998): 202.

[225] Herbert Albert Vaughan (1832–1903) was from an old English family that was traditionally Catholic. His uncle, William Vaughan, was the Bishop of Plymouth. He served as Archbishop of Westminster from 1892 until his death, and was elevated to cardinal in 1893.

country in Asia. Rome did not think that four priests were enough to be successful and would not grant permission for the mission.

Archbishop Spalding decided to contact Father Vaughan and ask for his assistance.[226] In an 1871 letter, Spalding stated, "Baltimore is the natural & most appropriate point for the mother house of any institution for the benefit of the colored people."[227] Convinced, Vaughan agreed to send a group of priests to the United States to minister to the newly freed African Americans.[228] Prior to leaving for the United States, the men were required to take the "Negro Vow" in which they pledged not to do any work that would cause them to neglect their mission of working with and for the black community.[229] In his send-off speech to the missionaries, Henry Manning, Archbishop of Westminster, affirmed the importance of that vow:

> We send forth today these good Fathers for work of converting the Negro population in the South of the American Union … They go not to labor for the white population of America- not to assist the pastors of America in laboring for the blacks within their parishes or districts. They go bound by the vow which they will make in your hearing to labor for the black population alone. You are about to take your Missionary vow, and that vow is this: that you give yourselves forever, not to labor for the white people, but for those black souls … black yet beautiful in the sight of Him who shed His blood for them … You are not to enter the house of the white man but to dwell in the huts of the black. They are to be your hosts and your spiritual children until death.[230]

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[226] "Origins of the American Josephites," *The Josephite Harvest*, 95, no. 3 (Autumn, 1992): 3.

[227] Spalding, 196.

[228] In 1893 the society reorganized to form the Saint Joseph Society of the Sacred Heart, also known as the Josephite Fathers.

[229] "Origins of the American Josephites," 5.

[230] Phelps, "John T. Slattery's Missionary Strategies," 202.

This insistence on keeping to the mission of only working with the African American community fit right in with Spalding and O'Connor's belief in separate institutions for black Catholics.

The Mill Hill Fathers were established at Saint Francis Xavier Church in Baltimore by Christmas 1871. Saint Francis Xavier Church had previously been established in 1864 as the first parish church in the United States "for the exclusive use of the colored people"[231] and was administered by the Jesuits.[232] In a letter to a confidante, Lady Herbert of Lee, Vaughan spoke of the mission at Saint Francis Xavier and the Octave Day service where Archbishop Spalding introduced him to the congregation. Spalding told the more than 1,500 attendees that the Josephite Priests had "come to be *their* fathers and servants and to live among them and for them till death … All were much pleased; the poor colored people have been going about ever since telling their friends that they have now got 'Priests of their own' and are in great joy."[233] Vaughan went on to discuss his plan for the work: "attend this Church and work it well and to get up a good School, open some school chapels in rooms in the localities of the City in which the coloured people are most numerous; when the weather becomes warm, Priests will go out into the country travelling among the neglected coloured people; eventually

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[231] Spalding, 166.

[232] John Thomas Scharf, *The History of Baltimore City and County from the Earliest Period to the Present Day: Including Biographical Sketches of their Representatives* (Baltimore: Lit Everts, 1881), 543-544. Saint Francis Xavier Church was purchased by the Archdiocese of Baltimore in 1863 for the use of Colored Catholics who had previously worshiped in the basement of St. Ignatius Church. This purchase was done under the leadership of Rev. Michael O'Conner, formerly Bishop of Pittsburgh, who was stationed at Loyola College. Rev. Peter Miller, SJ governed there until 1871 when the Mill Hill Fathers took over.

[233] Shane Leslie, ed., *Letters of Herbert Cardinal Vaughan to Lady Herbert of Lea, 1867-1903* (London: Burns Oates, 1942), 240.

set up a College for coloured boys."[234] But that plan was not without its challenges. He went on to say:

> I can give you no idea of the dislike of the Americans, Southerners as well as Northerners, to the Negroes. It far exceeds in intensity and subtlety anything I had expected. How can any race deserve to be blessed by God when they refuse to recognize as brethren those who have the same Father in Heaven, and the same Redeemer on earth? I assure you it makes my blood run cold. And I am in a state of chronic irritation. Priests and Religious look upon us with the same kind of wonder that we should entertain for an Order of men who had made a vow to live in the wards of a smallpox hospital. Poor Negro-race, has it come to this? Or rather, I should say, poor Christians, is this your state?[235]

The fledgling society had a difficult beginning. This was partly due to the fact that its sponsors in the United States, Archbishop Spalding and Father Michael O'Connor, died in 1872, before they could become firmly established. Also, their leader Herbert Vaughan was appointed bishop of Salford in 1872.[236] While he was still Superior of Mill Hill in name, he could no longer dedicate as much time to the group. To fill the leadership void, he appointed Canon Peter Benoit as his Vicar in the daily running of the society.[237]

Spalding's actions in the later years of his life marked the highpoint in the nineteenth century American church's effort to draw the races together. After his death in 1872, anti-black sentiment increased and exclusion won official sanction.[238] James

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[234] Leslie, 240.

[235] Ibid.

[236] Davis, 125-126.

[237] "Origins of the American Josephites," 6.

[238] Morris J. MacGregor. *The Emergence of a Black Catholic Community: St. Augustine's in Washington* (Washington, D.C.: American University Press, 1999), 73.

Roosevelt Bayley[239] succeeded Archbishop Spalding. He took a different path and chose not to fight the racist forces within the church. Bayley called the antipathy of whites toward blacks "eradicable" and believed that there was little hope of any "substantial good being done" among the African American population. Jesuit Missionary Francis X. Weninger confirmed Bayley's belief when he called the position of black Catholics "intolerable." His 1874 report to Bishops found that they were excluded from every white parochial school and that the adults "found no ready welcome among English-Speaking Catholics"[240] in the United States.

In 1875, Cannon Peter Benoit[241] found much the same situation when he made a tour throughout the South to examine the plight of African Americans and raise money for the mission of the Mill Hill Fathers. During that tour he kept an extensive diary that he used to update Bishop Vaughan. In that diary, he documented the racial prejudice throughout the country in general and the Catholic Church in specific. When discussing Archbishop James Bayley, he reported that the Archbishop "had but little hope of any substantial good being done among the negroes in America, that you had to cut the head

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[239] Bayley was the eighth Archbishop of Baltimore and served from 1872-1877. Like his aunt, Elizabeth Ann Bayley Seton, he was raised a Protestant. He converted to Catholicism in 1842 and was trained in the Sulpician Seminary.

[240] MacGregor, 73.

[241] Davis, 129. Canon Benoit typified the conflicted nature of the Catholic Church's relationship to its African American constituents. While he dedicated his life to the mission of evangelizing to black Catholics, his diary suggests that he shared some of the racist beliefs of many of his contemporaries, both Catholic and Protestant. For example, in one diary entry he noted "The Negroes … were at their emancipation like a boy of nine who is told that he may do as he likes. The Carpet-baggers and the "hollerin" religious sects got hold of them. They are naturally peaceful but lazy. The look on labor as a curse and they rendered the curse as soft as possibly by not working. Their laziness is the cause of their begging much less than the Irish." He also noted that blacks were intellectually inferior to whites. When discussing schooling for black children, he stated, "all agree … that colored children learn everything as sharp as the white, but stop at a certain point, as their intellect is unmistakably inferior."

off first of those whom you wished to instruct: that the antipathy was eradicable."[242] Because of that belief, Bayley chose to concentrate on separate facilities for African Americans like Saint Francis Xavier,[243] which was completely renovated in 1874-1875.[244] In 1875 he drew up regulations for the administration of sacraments to black Catholics and German-speaking Catholics. Despite the fact that seven short years before, Archbishop Spalding had ordered that black Catholics must be accepted in any church and by any priest they called upon, Bayley decreed that black Catholics and German-speaking Catholics could only receive the sacraments of baptism and marriage in churches designed especially for them. At the same time, Catholics of other races and ethnic groups were banned from receiving the sacraments in churches that specifically served black or German-speaking Catholics. Bayley further limited the responsibility of the pastors of white churches when it came to administering the last rites by stating that white churches must be available for "those requesting this sacred ministry" when "it is feared that their own pastor cannot be summoned at the needful moment."[245]

The only bright spot in Benoit's tour of the south was his interaction with the Bishop of Richmond, James Gibbons. Bishop Gibbons was open to the Mill Hill priests working with the blacks in his diocese, even committing to giving land for an African American mission.[246] Gibbons would continue his commitment to working with and for

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[242] Davis, 127.

[243] MacGregor, 73-74.

[244] John Thomas Scharf, *The History of Baltimore City and County from the Earliest Period to the Present Day: Including Biographical Sketches of their Representatives,* 544. Saint Francis Xavier was completely renovated in 1874-75.

[245] MacGregor, 75.

[246] Davis, 127.

African Americans, including orphaned African Americans, when he became the Archbishop and Cardinal of the Baltimore Archdiocese.

James Gibbons, a native Baltimorean, was ordained Archbishop of Baltimore in 1877. As Archbishop, Gibbons continued to support the African American mission. His biographer, Allen Will, avowed that Gibbons "felt and frequently expressed a deep and benevolent sympathy for the negro race in its unfortunate position of contiguity with the superior whites"[247] and that

> he was glad to see slavery abolished in the end; but he viewed with alarm the consequences of thrusting the ballot into the hands of millions of black men, unfitted by history or training to comprehend its meaning. The best solution of the negro question, he felt, was in diffusing among the race the gentle and uplifting influence of Christianity, training the character as a groundwork and building upon this as much of the superstructure of education as it might be found possible to add benefit. He felt that the whole problem in its aspects at that time was social rather than political; that the negro must be trained to habits of industry and thrift, to understand the sacred relations of family life and of duty as a member of the community, however humble.[248]

Gibbons believed, much like Archbishop Spalding, that the work for African Americans should take place in in separate institutions and with groups who were dedicated solely to that work.

Archbishop Gibbons promoted the African American Catholic community throughout his entire administration. The Mill Hill Fathers, originally brought to America by Archbishop Spalding, figured prominently in his strategy. With the help of that order, two communities of women religious began their work. The Franciscan Sisters came from England in 1882 to operate Saint Francis Xavier parish school and

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[247] Allen Will, *Life of James, Cardinal Gibbons*. (Baltimore: J. Murphy Company, 1911), 167.

[248] Will, *Life of James, Cardinal Gibbons.*, 167-168.

Saint Elizabeth's Home. The Mission Helpers, led by Ana Hartwell, was established in 1893 to work with the African American community and went on to found Saint Peter Claver's Industrial School for Girls and Saint Francis Xavier's School for the Deaf.[249] Gibbons also oversaw the establishment of three more African American parishes in the city of Baltimore; Saint Monica's in 1883, Saint Peter Claver in 1893, and Saint Barnabus in 1907. All of those churches were led by the Josephites, who also founded and administered Epiphany College, with the support of the Archbishop.

Gibbons, unlike Archbishop Spalding, was successful in getting the American Catholic Church to officially and formally support its African American population. During the Third Plenary Council of 1884, his colleagues agreed to form the Commission for Catholic Missions Among the Colored People and Indians. Cardinal Gibbons was appointed to the governing board of the commission. The purpose of the organization was to raise funds, gain converts, harness the potential political and social power of the southern black population, school African American children, and secure communities of sisters to teach at the African American schools.[250] In order to support that work, it was decided to hold a national, annual collection on the first Sunday of Lent in every parish. This victory was short-lived, however, because the collection was never fully supported by all American bishops and proceeds were small.[251]

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[249] Spalding, 301.

[250] Megan Sibbel, "Reaping the 'Colored Harvest': The Catholic Mission in the American South," (PhD diss., Loyola University Chicago, 2013), 52.

[251] Mary J. Oates, *The Catholic Philanthropic Tradition in America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), 6. $82,000 was raised in first collection in 1887, $76,000 in 1888, and $69,000 in 1889, $66,000 in 1890. This was embarrassing in contrast to the generosity of Protestants who gave $1.50 per capita while the Catholics gave $.01 per capita.

Toward the end of his administration, it was Gibbons' desire to establish an industrial school for African Americans. He had become quite familiar with the work of Booker T. Washington and felt that industrial education was the way to improve the lives of his African American constituents. In a letter addressed to the 1908 convening of the trustees of the Tuskegee Institute,[252] he stated:

> First, it is conceded that a large proportion of the colored people of the United States are uneducated, ignorant to a deplorable extent of the most fundamental truths of Christianity, and this, I cheerfully add, through no fault of theirs. What, then, is the first need of the colored people? A sound religious education; an education that will bring them to a practical knowledge of God; that will teach them their origin and the sublime destiny that awaits them in a better word; and education that will develop their superior being, that will inspire them with the love of wisdom and hatred for sin; that will make them honest, moral, God-fearing men. Such an education will elevate and ennoble them and place them on a religious footing with the white man.[253]

He went on to say:

> And secondly, it is a matter of observation that few colored people are mechanics. Now to be a factor in their country's prosperity; to make their presence felt, and to give any influence whatever to their attempts to better their status it is absolutely necessary that besides a sound religious training they should be taught to be useful citizens; they should be brought up from their childhood to habits of industry; they should be taught that to labor is honorable, and that the idler is a menace to the commonwealth. Institutions should be founded wherein young men may learn the trades best suited to their inclinations. Thus equipped—on the one hand well instructed Christians, on the other skilled workmen—our colored people may look forward hopefully to the future. …[254]

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[252] *The Churchman*, Volume 97. Churchman Company, 1908. https://books.google.com/books?id=rQJQAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA107&lpg=PA107&dq=cardinal+gibbons+letter+on+the+negro+problem&source=bl&ots=fK_cn0g5wk&sig=fbcRXzuAkn5ijSc_GHmtuIwjNUU&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwj9sLO58PnLAhWFQyYKHZo0DQMQ6AEITDAI#v=onepage&q=cardinal%20gibbons%20letter%20on%20the%20negro%20problem&f=false accessed on April 2, 2016.

[253] J.T. Reily, *Passing Events in the Life of Cardinal Gibbons.* (Martinsburg, W.V; 1890-1893), X. Digital Public Library.

[254] Reily, *Passing Events in the Life of Cardinal Gibbons,* X.

Cardinal Gibbons hoped to establish an institution in the Baltimore Archdiocese that would do exactly what he discussed in his letter, combine religious and industrial education. In May 1917, the Archdiocese acquired land in Ridge, Maryland, in Saint Mary's County to make that hope come true. Gibbons personally donated $8,000 to that purchase. Unfortunately, the school would not come to fruition in Gibbons' lifetime. It would be up to his successor, Michael Curley, to finish that job.

In 1921 Michael Curley[255] succeeded Cardinal Gibbons. Archbishop Michael Curley was an organizer and known for centralizing parochial schools and Catholic charity and missionary efforts, as well as his support of the African American Catholic Community. He merged his belief in parochial education with his desire to help the black community in February 1922. At that time, he asked the Catholic Daughters of America to help Father LaFarge fulfill Cardinal Gibbons' dream of a vocational school for blacks in Saint Mary's County, Maryland. His plans were for the school to be the "Catholic Tuskegee."[256] The Cardinal Gibbons Institute opened in October 1924 and was operated by Victor and Constance Daniel,[257] a black couple who were graduates of Tuskegee.[258] In addition to his support of Saint Mary's Industrial School, Curley also supported the work of Saint Elizabeth Home operated by the Franciscan Sisters and the institutions

[255] Curley was Archbishop from 1921-1947.

[256] Spalding, 334.

[257] Maryland State Archives, Cardinal Gibbons Institute Memorial, Capsule Summary, SM-729. http://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/stagsere/se1/se5/037000/037500/037508/pdf/msa_se5_37508.pdf accessed April 3, 2016. The Daniels both graduated from Tuskegee Institute and the Gibbons Institute curriculum closely mirrored the curriculum of that institution.

[258] The Institute closed its doors in 1933 due to financial difficulties but was reopened in 1936 by Father Horace McKenna in 1936. Instruction was taken over by the Oblate Sisters of Providence in 1952. The school finally closed in 1967 in response to new state laws regarding segregation.

administered by the Mission Helpers.[259] Curley first visited Saint Elizabeth's in May 1924. During that visit he confirmed 48 children and donated $200 to the cause.[260] *The Colored Harvest* reported that the work of the Mission Helpers enjoyed the special patronage of Archbishop Curley. On one of his visits to the congregation, he remarked, "I know of no women who are more deserving of our gratitude that these efficient, humble, self-sacrificing Mission Helpers. All they seek is God's glory. Their work for the most part is hidden from the eyes of the world but it is not hidden from the eyes of God." [261] The Mission Helpers, like the Oblate Sisters of Providence and the Franciscan Sisters, would see changes in their missions and work due to the reorganization of Catholic charities by Archbishop Curley.

In 1923, he formed the Bureau of Catholic Charities and appointed the Reverend Edwin L. Leonard as its priest-director.[262] Up to that time, "laity, religious, and clergy had worked in partnership to develop a large and diverse system of charities marked by considerable control and disproportionate reliance on female initiative and management."[263] Oates argues that that structure had been successful but that modern social values and needs were now challenging traditional views about charitable organizations and the place of voluntary service in religious philanthropy. She posits that

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[260] Sister Mary Gray, *Franciscan Sisters of Baltimore: A Brief History, 1868-1999* (Unpublished: Archives of the Franciscan Sisters of Baltimore, Baltimore), 236.

[261] *The Colored Harvest,* Vol. XV, No. 4, (September/October 1927): 14.

[262] Spalding, 336. This move was not without controversy. President Robert Biggs and many member groups protested vehemently. Despite their protests, the change occurred. After that time, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul became "little more than a volunteer force for the implementation of decisions made in the bureau's office."

[263] Oates, *The Catholic Philanthropic Tradition in America,* 71.

Catholic Church leaders wanted to be able to join the greater community of benevolent groups and help develop social policy. In order to do that, they had become convinced that without significant structural reform they would not be able to collaborate with the highly organized mainstream community agencies.[264] This collaboration would not be possible as long as the numerous independent Catholic charitable organizations continued to proliferate. They believed that a benefit of consolidation would be threefold: lower costs, provide higher quality service, and unify the American church by softening the internal ethnic antagonisms fostered by separate institutions. "They wanted to be able to articulate the Catholic position on social issues, and they could not easily do this while institutional charities functioned independently."[265] This "charity organization revolution" would provide the added benefit of easing the frustration of local bishops who were unable to develop policies governing the charitable institutions in their own dioceses.[266]

The Baltimore Sun reported that all Catholic charitable organizations would be placed under the control of the Bureau of Catholic Charities. Once in full operation, the Bureau would be in charge of raising funds for the organizations, substituting one single fundraising campaign for numerous ones. As well as controlling the budgets of the various institutions, the Bureau would also supervise the activities of the various charities. The principal organizations that were affected included the Saint Vincent de Paul Society, the Young Catholic Friends' Society, the Gibbons Guild, the Community

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[264] Oates, 71.

[265] Ibid., 71-72.

[266] Ibid, 71.

House on Broadway, all orphan asylums in Baltimore, Washington, and western Maryland, and all day nurseries.[267]

Like in the majority of dioceses where centralization occurred, the archbishop appointed members of a central charity board. Those members, all men, reflected the belief that wealthy professional and business laymen, when complemented by strong clerical representation, formed an effective board.[268] Once in place, and with help from the board and other lay financial advisors, the archbishop and his priest-director centralized the charities budget and consolidated fundraising efforts.[269] That consolidation would have a huge impact on the way charitable institutions in the Archdiocese functioned. Some, like Saint Frances Orphan Asylum, run by the Oblate Sisters of Providence, would find themselves closed. Others, like Saint Elizabeth Home, would find their work changed and expanded.

The story of the American Catholic Church's interactions with its African American constituents is a long and complicated one. Beginning with the enslaved peoples brought over with the Jesuits when they helped colonize Maryland and continuing through the dark days of slavery, the Civil War, and Reconstruction, the church struggled to come to terms with how to best serve the black population. One aspect of that struggle was the care and education of African American orphans. The histories of Saint Frances Orphan Asylum and Saint Elizabeth Home, Catholic

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[267] *The Baltimore Sun,* "Catholic Charities Have Reorganized." April 4, 1923.

[268] Oates, 90.

[269] Dorothy Brown & Elizabeth McKeown, *The Poor Belong to Us: Catholic Charities and American Welfare* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1997), 52.

orphanages for African Americans in Baltimore, help to further delineate the conflicts and contradictions in the relationship between the Church and African Americans.

Chapter III

HISTORY OF SAINT FRANCES ORPHAN ASYLUM

The African American community, both before and after the Civil War, has had a long history of self-help and self-improvement. The history of that movement within the Protestant community is well documented. Not as well-known is the parallel movement that took place within the Catholic Church. The Oblate Sisters of Providence (OSP), the first order of nuns of African descent, provide a piece of that missing history. In working to fulfill their mission of educating black girls, they established schools and orphanages that provided both a strong religious and educational foundation for individual girls and a service to the greater black community. This work was done within the confines of a society and a church that was at best unwelcoming and at worst racist. Saint Frances Orphan Asylum, which operated between 1866 and 1926, provides an excellent example of how the Oblate Sisters of Providence maneuvered within the strict boundaries that their race proscribed for them within the established Catholic Church.

The Founding of the Oblate Sisters of Providence

The black San Dominguan *émigrés* to Baltimore celebrated mass and attended catechism classes in the lower chapel (basement) of Saint Mary's Seminary.[270] In 1827 the catechism classes were under the supervision of Father James Joubert de la Muraille. Joubert,[271] a white refugee from San Domingo, found that it was difficult for his students

[270] The Upper Chapel was reserved for seminarians.

[271] Charles George Herbermann, *The Sulpicians in the United States.* (New York: The Encyclopedia Press, 1916), 232-223. Joubert was born on September 6, 1777 on the west coast of France. Although educated in a military school, he chose to work in the tax department. In 1800, he was sent to San Domingo where he worked until he was forced to leave as a result of the political situation. He met up with his uncle, a wealthy San Dominguan exile in Cuba and from there the two went to Baltimore. In 1805,

to comprehend their religious lessons. This was, in his opinion, because the students were "brought up for the most part, by poor parents who were scarcely ever at home to help them in learning their catechism."[272] He believed that if he could establish a school to teach them to read, they might be able to better recite their catechism lessons. He suggested the idea to Monsignor John Tessier, Superior of the Seminary and Vicar General of the Diocese of Baltimore. Tessier approved the idea but said that there were no funds to support it.[273]

At the same time that Joubert was beginning his work in Baltimore, Elizabeth Lange was operating a school in Fells Point. Lange, a free black Cuban, had arrived in Baltimore by 1813. An educated woman, she found that little was being done to educate black children, especially those from the French speaking community. To fill that need, she teamed with Haitian émigré Marie Magdalene Balas to open a school in their home. According to Sister Mary Theresa Catherine Willigman, black *émigré* parents "lost no time in placing their children in Miss Lange's school" and that it was quickly "filled with the children of the most intelligent families in Baltimore."[274] The sisters did not discriminate based on social class; "no distinction whatever was made among the pupils,

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he entered Saint Mary's Seminary. In 1810, he was ordained and became a member of the Society of St. Sulpice.

[272] A Translation of the *Original Diary of the Oblate Sisters of Providence*, RG I, Box 34, Folder 1, Archives of the Oblate Sisters of Providence [hereafter AOSP], Baltimore, MD.

[273] Ibid.

[274] Mary Teresa Willigman, *The First Foundress of the Oblates*, RG I, Box 1, Folder 1, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

and a very large number of the poorer class who had no means of paying for their tuition were admitted."[275]

With the support of Archbishop Whitfield,[276] Father John Mary Tessier, the Superior of Saint Mary's Seminary and former catechetical instruction in the lower chapel, suggested that Joubert meet with Lange and Balas, his former penitents. Joubert later recounted that he "imparted his plans on this subject to two excellent colored girls, well thought of and very capable of keeping this school."[277] Lange and Balas "promised to do everything that I [Joubert] should think of to further this work, and they put themselves and all they had entirely at my disposal, which necessitated their discontinuing a small free school which they had been having for a number of years at their home."[278] As well as promising their support for the school, the women told Joubert that they had been waiting for more than ten years to "consecrate themselves to God for this good work, waiting patiently that in His own infinite goodness He would show them a way of giving themselves to him."[279] In his diary, Joubert recounts that up until that time he had just been thinking about founding a school:

> [B]ut pondering for a while on the instability of such an establishment which rested only on the heads of these two persons, who were not able to do one without the other and if one should die the other would be left without any help, I thought of founding a kind of religious society; in fact, since the object of the

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[275] Mary Teresa Willigman, *The First Foundress of the Oblates*, RG I, Box 1, Folder 1, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

[276] Whitfield was the Fourth Archbishop of Baltimore (1828-1834) and the only native of England to hold the position.

[277] A Translation of the *Original Diary of the Oblate Sisters of Providence*, RG I, Box 34, Folder 1, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

[278] Ibid.

[279] Ibid.

> work we were to undertake was to teach religion, it would be more assured and promise far more good; hence it was then that I conceived the idea of founding the Sisters of Providence.[280]

Along with Lange and Balas, Joubert consulted with black and white Catholics on how to obtain the funding necessary for their new venture. On one of the days that they were meeting:

> These two good girls came to me with a Madame Charles, a colored woman, who after a long conversation on the means to take and the funds necessary to begin this work, we were convinced we should begin at once. But it was very important that they should find a third young girl of good reputation who wished to join them. We thought of opening a subscription and securing a certain number of pupils in advance for a kind of boarding school. I interested the charity of Madame Chatard and Madame Ducatel who wished to take charge of the subscription. I made known all that I had done to Monsignor Whitfield; he gave his approbation.[281]

The Mrs. Charles mentioned in Joubert's account was Elizabeth Charles Arieu, a wealthy, free mulatto woman from Baltimore's San Dominguan immigrant community.[282] Madames Chatard[283] and Ducatel[284] were wealthy white members of that

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[280] A Translation of the *Original Diary of the Oblate Sisters of Providence*, RG I, Box 34, Folder 1, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

[281] Ibid.

[282] Diane Batts Morrow, *Persons of Color and Religious at the Same Time: The Oblate Sisters of Providence, 1828-1860* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 100-103.

[283] Walter Charlton Hartridge, "The Refugees from the Island of St. Domingo in Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 38, 2 (June 1943): 112-114. Mrs. Chatard was the former Jeanne-Marie-Francoise-Adelaide Boisson, also a refugee from San Domingo. She married Dr. Peter Chatard (1767-1847) in 1801. Dr. Chatard, a San Dominguan refugee who had been educated in France, escaped to the United States in 1794. He arrived in Baltimore in 1797 and made a name for himself during the Yellow Fever epidemics in 1797 and 1800. Their son Frederick distinguished himself militarily with the Confederacy. Another son, Ferdinand-Edme, became a doctor. Two of Ferdinand's sons followed in their father and grandfather's footsteps in the field of medicine. One of them, however, Francis, chose to leave the medical profession and join the church. In 1898 he became the Bishop of Indianapolis.

[284] Hartridge, 114-115. Mrs. Ducatel was the former Anne-Catherine Pineau, born in France. She married Edme-Germain Ducatel (1757-1833) in Baltimore. Mr. Ducatel was a native of France, but had been a resident of San Domingo prior to the insurrection. He arrived in Baltimore in 1795 where he established himself as a druggist and chemist.

same community. All three women were vital in the establishment of both the Oblate Sisters and Saint Frances School for Colored Girls. Oblate Historian, Sister Mary Theresa Catherine Willigman further discussed their involvement.

> Want of funds prevented success, but Mde. Charles Arieu, a wealthy colored lady, opened a subscription among her friends which was eagerly taken up. The colored people of the city who had means were first to aid the work. Many of the poor refugees would offer their hard-earned savings with joy, and some would lend money with little or no interest. Madame Peter Chatard, also Madame Ducatel took an active part in soliciting subscriptions.[285]

The method of selling subscriptions first started in 1803 when Archbishop John Carroll needed to raise money to fund the building of Baltimore's Cathedral and it had become a popular way of raising funds.[286] Annual subscriptions provided parishioners on the low end of the wealth spectrum with a way to participate in the support of an institution or cause.[287]

With some of the newly raised funds, Father Joubert rented a house on Saint Mary's Court, across from the seminary. Saint Frances School for Colored Girls[288] opened on June 13, 1828 with eleven boarding students and nine day scholars.[289] During the first year, the number of pupils increased and subscriptions and tuition enabled the

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[285] Mary Teresa Willigman, *The First Foundress of the Oblates*, RG I, Box 1, Folder 1, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

[286] Mary J. Oates, *The Catholic Philanthropic Tradition in America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), 3. Archbishop Carroll asked Baltimoreans to subscribe one dollar for four successive years for the cause.

[287] Oates, *The Catholic Philanthropic Tradition in America*, 12.

[288] Saint Frances Academy is the oldest continuously operating school for black Catholic children in the United States and is still educating children in Baltimore.

[289] Herbermann, *The Sulpicians in the United States,* 234.

women to pay all of their expenses. That success was threatened in April 1829 when the owner of their building informed them that he wished to do something else with the property and they would need to move. Finding a new location was not easy. Available buildings were too expensive and several owners refused to rent their properties when they heard that it was to be used for a school for colored girls. Joubert decided that the only thing to do was to purchase a property. That idea itself was not without problems, as the ladies did not have enough money for such a venture. Into that void came Dr. Chatard, who offered to sell one of his buildings to the community at a reduced price.[290]

On the same day as the beginning of the school, Elizabeth Lange, Marie Balas,[291] and Marie Rose Boegue[292] began their novitiate into the fledgling religious community. Later that year, Aldmaide Duchemin, a former student of Lange and Balas, joined them. On June 5, 1829, Joubert applied to Archbishop Whitfield for the acceptance of the Oblates as a religious order and proposed the rules by which they would operate. The Archbishop gave his "entire approbation as to their being adopted by that religious society, and at the same time highly approve of so useful an institution which promises to be very beneficial to religion and to the community at large."[293] Furthermore, he

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[290] A Translation of the *Original Diary of the Oblate Sisters of Providence*, RG I, Box 34, Folder 1, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

[291] Grace H. Sherwood, *The Oblates' Hundred and One Years*, (New York: MacMillan Co., 1931), 11-12. Little is known of Marie Balas prior to her work with Lange. The 1840 Census states her origins as San Domingo. Beyond that, historian Grace Sherwood mentions, "The only Balas that appears [in Baltimore records] is a lone Paul Balas, a confectioner who lived some three squares south of the seminary in the year 1829. Was he colored, and did he have a daughter names Marie? No one can tell after a century. Marie Magdalene Balas may have fled from the horrors of San Domingo all by herself."

[292] The 1840 Census reports that Boegue was born in San Domingo in 1792. Little else is known of her background prior to helping found the Oblate Sisters of Providence.

[293] A Translation of the *Original Diary of the Oblate Sisters of Providence*, RG I, Box 34, Folder 1, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

appointed Joubert as the religious director of the order.

Despite Whitfield's endorsement, Lange and the other women were very uneasy about officially taking vows. They had heard rumors that some "narrow minded people declared the profession of the colored Sisters would be a profanation of the habit."[294] Joubert admitted in his diary that "I knew already that many persons who had approved the idea of a school for pupils disapproved very sternly that of forming a religious house, and could not think of the idea of seeing these poor girls (colored girls) wearing the religious habit, and constituting a religious community."[295] Joubert told the women that difficulties existed in the establishment of all new endeavors and to put their confidence in God, which "they must not stop because of the judgment of men who often judge things through their passions and prejudices."[296] Despite his assurances to the women, Joubert "was not without a certain fear"[297] himself. He took those concerns directly to Archbishop Whitfield. The Archbishop did not share Joubert's concerns and advised him not to be discouraged. Joubert recalled that Whitfield told him:

> It is not lightly but with reflection that I approved your project. I knew and saw the finger of God; let us not oppose his holy will. I have heard all that is being said. Besides, have I not the power to make foundations in my diocese, in my Episcopal City, any religious establishment whatsoever? Yours is unique in its kind, it should not have resentment from anyone. I engage you, I command you even, to continue the work you have undertaken. I promise to protect this new foundation…Go peacefully, humbly and do not pay any attention to anything that may be said.[298]

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[294] Herbermann, 234-235.

[295] A Translation of the *Original Diary of the Oblate Sisters of Providence*, RG I, Box 34, Folder 1, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

[296] Ibid.

[297] Ibid.

[298] Ibid.

On July 2, 1829, with Whitfield's support, Elizabeth Lange became Sister Mary, Marie Rose Boegue became Sister Mary Rose, Marie Magdaleine Balas became Sister Marie Frances, and Almaida Duchemin became Sister Mary Theresa as they professed their vows. The Oblate[299] Sisters of Providence was born.[300] Sulpician historian Hebermann stated that "As we hear no more opposition to the Sisterhood and as ladies of the highest rank, like Mrs. Chatard and Mrs. Ducatel and their friends, did not hesitate to become their patrons openly, we are justified in inferring that the good Sisters were frightened by idle rumors."[301]

Archbishop Whitfield continued his support of the new order. On October 21, 1829, he led the Bishops of Bardstown, Boston, and Saint Louis on a visit to the school.[302] Joubert reported, "they left, very satisfied with the establishment and strongly encouraged me to continue this good work. They told me they were certain that God would bless this foundation which promised to be very useful to religion and to society in general."[303] Whitfield also encouraged and supported Joubert in the acquisition of papal approval for the Oblates. In the nineteenth century, papal approval was not necessary. Validation of religious communities only needed the sanction of a diocesan bishop. Batts Morrow contends that Whitfield may have known that the racial identity of the Oblates

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[299] Oblate means "one offered" or "made over to God."

[300] Sherwood, *The Oblates' Hundred and One Years*, 26.

[301] Herbermann, 235.

[302] Ibid.

[303] A Translation of the *Original Diary of the Oblate Sisters of Providence*, RG I, Box 34, Folder 1, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

"would generate sufficient 'agitation and excitement' to necessitate some form of papal endorsement to reinforce his unprecedented approbation of a black religious community."[304] Pope Gregory XVI approved the congregation in 1831.[305] Father Joubert documented Archbishop Whitfield's reaction to the news:

> I permitted their establishment, but today they are confirmed by the Pope; the thing is indeed more serious. May these good girls whom I esteem very much, continue to render themselves more and more worthy of the graces of God.[306]

Papal recognition and approval would prove to be beneficial to the order during times when the hierarchy of the Baltimore Archdiocese was less inclined to support the work of and for African Americans.

The early success of the Oblates notwithstanding, mention must be made of the difference in how the white orders of religious women were treated during this same time period. The Carmelite nuns faced severe economic challenges in 1830 that forced them to move to Baltimore. Archbishop James Whitfield became personally involved in finding them new accommodations. In a letter to the Carmelite mother superior, he said, "After looking all over Baltimore, I have discovered a most beautiful garden, with a brick house in a very respectable part of the city."[307] The property was located within a half mile of the Archbishop's residence. When the Carmelites purchased the house for

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[304] Diane Batts Morrow, "The Oblate Sisters of Providence: Issues of Black and Female Agency in Their Antebellum Experience, 1828-1860." (PhD diss., University of Georgia, 1996), 77.

[305] Cyprian Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States* (New York: The Crossroad Publishing Company, 1990), 102.

[306] A Translation of the *Original Diary of the Oblate Sisters of Providence*, RG I, Box 34, Folder 1, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

[307] Batts Morrow, "The Oblate Sisters of Providence,"193.

$6,250, Whitfield personally contributed $100.[308] Even someone as sympathetic to the Oblate cause as Archbishop Whitfield fell prey to the belief in white superiority held by both American society and the Catholic Church. This is further evidenced in his will. He provided for a number of charities in his will. While the Oblates were bequeathed $100, that paled in comparison to the $500 left to the Saint Mary's Orphaline Asylum of Baltimore and the $1,000 he gave to the Baltimore Charitable Relief Society.[309]

Another difference can be seen in the support of Oblates and the Carmelites when both needed a new chapel in 1836. The Oblates borrowed money and held a fair, which raised $1,000, to finance their chapel. On the other hand, Father Matthew Herard[310] assisted the Carmelites in their pursuit of a new chapel. He engaged some "ladies of the city" to organize a fair that raised $3,500. In addition, he donated $3,000 of his own funds to the project.[311] The differing levels of support afforded to the two groups can only be explained by the racial bias of the Catholic hierarchy. The Oblates were forced to organize their own fundraising fair to solicit funds from their community, primarily African American, which was undoubtedly less financially stable, than that of "ladies of the city." Furthermore, they were compelled to borrow money to complete the construction. The Carmelites, through no work on their own part, were gifted with a chapel from a supportive priest and wealthy community. The differences in how the

[308] Batts Morrow, "The Oblate Sisters of Providence,"193.

[309] Ibid., 180.

[310] Ibid., 194. Herard was a French priest who had volunteered to be the resident chaplain for the Carmelites.

[311] Ibid.

Oblates were treated in comparison to white religious sisterhoods would only magnify in the ensuing decades.

Saint Frances School for Colored Girls

When Saint Frances opened there was no existing model for creating and operating a black Catholic school. Together the sisters and Joubert created what would become the model for all others to follow. Although the school was Catholic, it accepted both Catholic and non-Catholic girls regardless of their ability to pay tuition. From the beginning, they provided for orphaned children. The sisters took in washing, ironing, and mending to pay for non-paying students or the orphans who they called "children of the house."[312] The constitution of the Oblate Order contained the school's prospectus. It stated why the school was important:

> In fact, these girls will either become mothers of families, or be introduced as servants, into decent houses. In the first case, the solid virtue, the religious and moral principles, which they have acquired, when in this school, will be carefully transmitted to their children, and become hereditary in their families. As such are to become servants, they will be entrusted with menial offices, and the care of young children in the most respectable families.[313]

This belief was in keeping with the reason for the establishment of white female academies and convent schools.[314] Bishop John Carroll was especially in support of such schools that he believed were a tool to counter the promotion of Protestantism in public

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[312] A Translation of the *Original Diary of the Oblate Sisters of Providence*, RG I, Box 34, Folder 1, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

[313] Oblate Sisters of Providence Constitution, RG I, Box 1, Folder 1, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

[314] Saint Joseph's Academy and Free School was established in Emmitsburg, MD in 1810 by Mother Elizabeth Ann Seton. The Visitation Academy at Georgetown was founded by the Visitation Sisters in 1799.

schools.[315] In order to prepare the girls for those duties, they were instructed in religious doctrine, reading, writing, English, arithmetic, music, French, beadwork, gold work, sewing, and embroidery. This curriculum was comparable to that taught in white Catholic female academies in the Baltimore Diocese.[316] This is exceptional because blacks rarely received any education in the nineteenth century, much less one that was equivalent to that of white children.

The decade of the 1830s was a good one for the Oblates. School enrollments increased to the point that two expansions of the physical plant were necessary. During the second expansion in 1836, the Sisters constructed a building that served as additional school facilities and a new chapel. Financing for this project came through personal donations from individuals from the San Dominguan American community such as Elizabeth Charles Arieu[317] and Fanny Montpensier.[318] Simultaneously, loans were obtained from both the African American and white communities. The Holy Family Society lent money, interest free, to the cause. The new chapel was dedicated on December 18, 1836. It had an order of liturgical services that included weekly Sunday

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[315] Willa Young Banks, "A Contradiction in Antebellum Baltimore: A Competitive School for Girls of "Color" within a Slave State." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 99 (2004): 133-163.

[316] The Carmelite Sisters' Academy in Baltimore, a day school for girls from less prosperous families, offered bookkeeping, philosophy, and geography. Saint Joseph's Academy in Emmitsburg was a boarding school for the affluent. In addition to the same courses taught at Saint Frances and the Carmelite Academy, it also offered instrumental instruction, higher-level math, history, mythology and sciences.

[317] Diane Batts Morrow, "'Our Convent' The Oblate Sisters of Providence and Baltimore's Antebellum Black Community" in *Negotiating Boundaries of Southern Womanhood*, ed. Janet Coryell, Thomas Appleton, Jr., Anastatia Sims, and Sandra Gioia Treadway, et al. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2000), 33. Elizabeth Charles Arieu was a wealthy, free mulatto member of Baltimore's black San Dominguan *émigré* community.

[318] Ibid., 34. Fanny Montpensier was a servant in the Arieu household and a cousin of Juliette Noel Tousssaint.

Mass and Sunday catechetical classes for boys. Archbishop Eccleston, Baltimore's fifth archbishop,[319] who would later prove to be an adversary of the Oblates, transferred the Holy Family Society[320] from Saint Mary's Lower Chapel to the Saint Frances Chapel. Saint Frances Chapel had become the first black Roman Catholic Church and would serve as the City's unofficial black parish church for the next twenty years.[321]

Trying Times for the Oblate Sisters of Providence

Joubert would continue to be their greatest supporter until his death on November 5, 1843. His death precipitated a crisis within the OSP community. Father Louis Deluol, the superior of the Sulpicians, acted as the community's consultant, but no one replaced Joubert as priest-director. The reason for this at the time was that the Sulpician superior in France ordered all of his priests to forgo extraneous work in order to focus on their mission of seminary education. But preeminent African American Catholic historian, Cyprian Davis, argues that the Sulpicians began to distance themselves from the community primarily because of the lack of enthusiasm of many in Baltimore for the existence of a religious community of black women.[322] L.W. Reilly supports that belief. In 1900, he wrote, "the Sulpitians [sic] did not care to keep up the responsibility of the Sisterhood in view of the disfavor with the diocesan authorities into which it had fallen.

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[319] Eccleston was Archbishop of Baltimore from 1834-1852.

[320] Batts Morrow, *Persons of Color and Religious at the Same Time*, 57-58. Father Joubert established the Holy Family Society on December 25, 1827. The religious devotional society enrolled black members exclusively and met in Saint Mary's Lower Chapel. Archbishop Marechal approved its establishment.

[321] Batts Morrow, "Our Convent' The Oblate Sisters of Providence and Baltimore's Antebellum Black Community," 40-41.

[322] Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States,* 103.

They accordingly withdrew from its direction."[323] This is supported by the fact that the Sisters of Charity were also under the direction of the Sulpicians. When the Sulpicians attempted to withdraw themselves from that obligation, Archbishop Eccleston argued against it because the traditional Sulpician direction of the order obligated them to stay until a replacement could be found.[324] Mary J. Oates found that although "strong encouragement was given to white sisters, these women [Oblates], for the most part, were mainly ignored by clergy and bishops. Few lay parishioners gave them financial aid, and many challenged their right to wear the religious habit."[325] Although the Oblate Sisters of Providence had a number of supporters within the white Catholic community, those backers financed multiple charities within the Baltimore archdiocese and their donations were often greater for white-led charities. This will become evident in the discussion of Saint Elizabeth's Home. Because of this, the OSP had to rely on the benevolence of the African American community, one that was considerably less able to contribute to charitable causes.

Archbishop Samuel Eccleston was not supportive of the Oblate Sisters of Providence. While he never publicly stated that they did not have the right to wear the religious habit, there are many examples of his distinct aversion for the order throughout his tenure. For example, he refused Father Joubert's invitation to officiate mass at the Oblates during the Feast of the Visitation of the Virgin Mary on July 2, 1835. He did so,

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[323] Diane Batts Morrow, *Persons of Color and Religious at the Same Time,* 194.

[324] Diane Batts Morrow, "The Difficulty of Our Situation" in *Uncommon Faithfulness: The Black Catholic Experience*, ed. M. Shawn Copeland. (Mary Knell, Orbis Books, 2009), 38.

[325] Oates, *The Catholic Philanthropic Tradition in America,* 59.

according to Monsignor Louis Deluol, because he had not "not yet said Mass for the other religious communities."[326] The snub was doubly felt because the OSP observe that date as a major patronal feast of when they renew their annual vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience.[327] As a matter of fact, the Archbishop did not visit the Oblates until December 18, 1836 when he celebrated High Mass at the dedication of the new Saint Frances Chapel. He did not return again until 1849.[328]

Without support from the Archbishop, the Sisters found themselves "cut adrift from the white religious community." The annals report that they felt "abandoned or apparently so, if the world was consulted, but not by God, for since the establishment of the community not once has Almighty God ceased to bestow His gifts and graces, notwithstanding our unworthiness."[329] The recorder went on to say that "by degrees it appeared that everything was falling, the school decreased, sad was it to think on the future state of the community,"[330] but that the sisters were "willing to put up with all of their trials and it was far from their intention to give up."[331]

The community was dealt another blow when Sister Therese Duchemin,[332] a founding member, deserted the order in September 1845. Her departure to establish a

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[326] Batts Morrow, *Persons of Color and Religious at the Same Time*, 128.

[327] Ibid.

[328] Ibid.

[329] Annals: 1842-1860, RG I, Box 34, Folder 4, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

[330] Ibid.

[331] Ibid.

[332] Father Peter Edward Hogan, "Catholic Missionary Efforts for the Negro Before the Coming of the Josephites." Josephite Archives, 1947, 51. Marie Therese Duchemin was the daughter of an

white religious community was a shock to the Oblates. Duchemin, whose light skin allowed her to pass for white, was the daughter of Major Arthur Howard, an Englishman, and Marie Annette "Betsy" Maxis, a mulatto. Betsy Maxis, a ten-year-old orphan, accompanied the Duchemin family when they left San Domingo. A wealthy white family with connections to the Baltimore elite, the Duchemins raised Betsy, provided for her training as a nurse, and benefited from her work in their home. In 1810, Betsy gave birth to Marie Almaide Maxis Duchemin. Duchemin never had a relationship with her white father, a cousin to the prominent Baltimore Howard family. She recounted her one experience with the man in a conversation with Sister Mary James Sweeney, I.H.M.: "She was taken to the door of the drawing room in the Howard home outside of Baltimore and told that the visiting English major was her father. It seems that she did not speak to him, but went back again and again to look at him. She never mentioned whether he saw her or not, or even whether he knew of her existence."[333] Marie Duchemin boarded in the free school that was operated by Lange and Balas. As a result of her education there, she became fluent in French and English and skilled in disciplines from mathematics to fine needlework. Also thoroughly grounded in devotional life, she joined Lange, Balas, and Boegue in the establishment of the Oblate Sisters of Providence. In 1842 she was elected Superior General of the order. In 1843 Duchemin became acquainted with Fathers Peter Paul Lefevre and Louis Florent Gillet, CSsR. The two men

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Englishman, Major Arthur Howard, and a San Dominguan mulatto, Marie Anne Maxis Duchemin. Sister Therese was fair of complexion with blonde hair and blue eyes. She became the Oblate Superior in 1841.

[333] Marita-Constance Supan, I.H.M., "Dangerous Memory: Mother M. Theresa Maxis Duchemin and the Michigan Congregation of the Sisters, IHM" *Building Sisterhood: A Feminist History of the Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1997), 35.

spoke to her of the frontier in Southeast Michigan and the need to minister to the Catholic pioneers there. The men captured her interest and convinced her to go to Detroit where she and Gillet would found the Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, an order of white nuns.[334] Sisters Ann Constance and Stanislaus also left the Oblates with intentions of joining her later.[335] Sister Ann Constance, who could pass for white, was allowed to join Duchemin's new order. Sister Stanislaus' skin was too dark and was not offered an invitation. The denial of entrance to Sister Stanislaus is another example of how the Catholic Church was grappling with the idea of race and the role of African Americans in the church.

These events occurred in a time when the demographics of the Oblate Sisters of Providence and the population in their school were changing. "The wave of French immigration having subsided, new entrants were increasingly African American—some of them former slaves—rather than French mulatto, and students were poor African American children less acceptable to the white population and less likely to pay needed tuition than the monied immigrants of earlier years."[336] Furthermore, virulent anti-Catholicism had overtaken Baltimore City. In 1843, the Oblate Convent was attacked and the sisters had to huddle in the parlor to protect themselves. Because of this tense atmosphere, "friends avoided them and frightened parents withdrew children from the

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[334] From the minute she left Baltimore, Duchemin "passed" for white. No one except for two IHM sisters who had come with her to Detroit and Father Gillet knew that she was a mulatto. In 1859, she had a disagreement with the community's spiritual directors and left Detroit for Pennsylvania.

[335] Diane Batts Morrow, "The Difficulty of Our Situation" in *Uncommon Faithfulness: The Black Catholic Experience*, ed. M. Shawn Copeland, 37.

[336] Supan, "Dangerous Memory: Mother M. Theresa Maxis Duchemin and the Michigan Congregation of the Sisters, IHM," 37.

school."[337] As enrollment at Saint Frances School for Colored Girls plummeted, the sisters suffered such poverty that they had to turn away postulants. They supported themselves and the orphans for whom they cared on the small amount of money that they earned from washing, ironing, and mending. By 1847, only twelve sisters remained in the community.

Archbishop Eccleston did nothing to assist the Oblates. In fact, when confronted with news of their challenging situation, he is quoted as saying, "What's the use?"[338] Instead, he is reported to have suggested that there was no need for black religious and that they might do well to disband and become domestics.[339]

Despite what seemed to be the downward spiral of the order, the Sisters persisted. Monsignor Deluol reported that after a visit to the community where he had examined them for five hours, "I found them better disposed than I expected."[340] Redemptorist Priest Louis Gillet[341] recalled that although the Sisters were by 1844 "entirely abandoned" and "whose vows had not been renewed for a long time" were "living still in community."[342] Gillet was not the only Redemptorist who took an interest in the Oblate cause. In 1847, Redemptorist Superior Peter Czackert enjoined fellow Redemptorist

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[337] Supan, 37.

[338] Oates, *The Catholic Philanthropic Tradition in America*, 59.

[339] Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*, 103.

[340] Batts Morrow, *Persons of Color and Religious at the Same Time,* 197.

[341] In 1844, Gillet met Sister Therese Duchemin, OSP. He convinced her that there was a great need for sisters in Michigan. Sister Therese to left the OSP in November 1845, moved to Michigan, and with Father Gillet founded the Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary.

[342] Batts Morrow, *Persons of Color and Religious at the Same Time,* 197.

Thaddeus Anwander to assist the Oblates "for they were good, holy, simple souls and good religious."[343]

The Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer (CSsR), more commonly known as the Redemptorists, was founded in Naples in 1732 but found strength in the German speaking countries of Europe. In 1832 they branched out to the United States where they hoped to minister to the American Indians. During the Fourth Provincial Council, held in Baltimore in 1840, Redemptorists Superior Joseph Prost was approached by the pastor of the German Catholic Congregation of Saint John who asked Prost to take charge of the troublesome parish.[344] Father Benedict Bayer of Saint John's told Prost that German-speaking Catholics were in desperate need of priests who spoke their own language. Prost recognized the need and saw the advantage of establishing Baltimore as the Redemptorist headquarters in the United States. Archbishop Eccleston readily agreed and

[343] Batts Morrow, *Persons of Color and Religious at the Same Time,* 197.

[344] Thomas Spalding, *The Premier See: A History of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, 1789-1994* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 32-33. Relations between German-speaking Catholics and the established church in the Baltimore were tenuous from the beginning. They began when Archbishop Carroll first granted John Baptist Cause, a wandering friar, faculties in 1791 but almost immediately suspended them for insolence and insubordination. Father Cause ignored Carroll and in 1792 announced the worship of a German Catholic Church. Carroll excommunicated him and Cause left Baltimore. In 1797, Carroll employed German Franciscan Frederick Cesarius Reuter to minister to the German Catholic Community. Soon after his appointment, Reuter went to Rome where he lodged charges of discrimination against Carroll. The charges stated that Carroll scorned the Germans, did not allow sermons or instructions in their native tongue, and excommunicated those who violated his orders. Reuter returned to Baltimore with a letter from the propaganda critical of Carroll's treatment of the Germans. Carroll responded with a harsh letter to Rome, defending his actions. Reuter once again went to Rome with complaints, but returned with a stern rebuke from the Vatican. Despite Reuter's machinations, Carroll allowed him to continue his leadership of Baltimore's German Catholic community. In 1802, the Church of Saint John the Evangelist was dedicated. Later that year, Reuter was accused of inappropriate relations with a parishioner and Carroll suspended him for "scandalous conduct." Reverend Francis X. Brosius was appointed to replace Reuter, but Reuter refused to leave his post. In 1804, Carroll and Brosius sought a court order to remove him, but before the order could be served, a riot broke out between the supporters of the two men. In May 1805 the court sided with Brosius and Reuter left town. To calm the community, Carroll replaced Brosius with Reverend John Mertz, who was able to eventually calm the German Catholic community.

promised to build a new church for Baltimore's German speaking Catholics and a college to prepare priests to serve Germans throughout the United States.[345] Saint Alphonsus Church was one of the churches that the Redemptorists took under their responsibility. Only a few blocks from Saint Frances, it also happened to be the church where the Oblates attended mass and had their confessions heard in French when Father Joubert had been too ill to attend to them. It was there that the Oblates and the Redemptorists first crossed paths. The groups, both minorities within Baltimore's Catholic Church, would soon become allies.[346]

The Redemptorists seem to be the only members of the established Catholic Church who believed in the OSP and their mission. Even though Archbishop Eccleston withheld ministerial support from the community for four years, he had not called for their dissolution. Batts Morrow argues that he had thought that a policy of neglect would lead to their disintegration.[347]

Despite the fact that the Oblate Sisters of Providence persisted, many in the established church still felt that the order should be eliminated. On October 7, 1847, Monsignor Deluol told Father Alexander, a Redemptorist priest, that the Oblate Sisters' "purpose had failed, and we can't hope to preserve it."[348] The Redemptorists obviously did not want this to happen. This may be attributed to the fact that the Redemptorists had only arrived in Baltimore in 1840 and all of the priests were immigrants. "Redemptorist

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[345] Spalding, 137.

[346] Michael J. McNally, "A Minority of a Minority: The Witness of Black Women Religious in the Antebellum South." *Review for Religious*, Volume 40, (March 1981).

[347] Batts Morrow, *Persons of Color and Religious at the Same Time,* 202.

[348] Ibid.

lack of familiarity with United States culture from a racial perspective benefited the Oblate Sisters; not yet acculturated to racial influences, the newly immigrant priests perceived people of color as human beings fully deserving of pastoral care."[349] On October 10, 1847, Redemptorist Superior John Neumann[350] delegated Thaddeus Anwander "to take charge of the Oblate Sisters, then in a very bad condition of abandonment, for it was unfortunately the wish of high Ecclesiastical authority that the Sisters should dissolve and disband."[351]

Anwander went directly to Archbishop Eccleston and sought appointment as the spiritual director for the Oblates. Still wishing for the order to disappear, Eccleston refused Anwander's request with the statement *"Cui Bono?"* (To whose good?).[352] Anwander adamantly refused to go away. He dropped to his knees and pled for the archbishop's blessing and permission for a trial as the Oblates religious director. Eccleston relented and Anwander became the Oblate's new spiritual director.[353]

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[349] Diane Batts Morrow, "The Difficulty of Our Situation," 37.

[350] John Neumann was born on March 28, 1811 in Bohemia. He studies for the priesthood at the University of Prague. His ordination was postponed due to the fact that there were too many priests in his diocese. Having always been interested in being a missionary, he contacted several American bishops. His first post in the United States, when he arrived in 1836, was on the Niagara frontier in New York. After four years there, he decided to join the Redemptorists. In 1842 he became the first Redemptorist to profess in the United States. His first assignment was at St. James in Baltimore. In 1847 he helped the School Sisters of Notre Dame establish themselves in Baltimore where they began teaching in three German-speaking parish schools. Because of this, he is known as their secondary founder, their "Father in America." In 1851 he became rector of St. Alphonsus in Baltimore. In 1852, Pope Pius X appointed him Bishop of Philadelphia. While there he is credited with establishing the first system of parochial schools in the United States. From his earliest years, he recognized the importance of religious sisterhoods. In 1854 he founded the Third Order of St. Francis of Glen Riddle.

[351] Batts Morrow, *Persons of Color and Religious at the Same Time,* 203.

[352] Sherwood, 115.

[353] Batts Morrow, *Persons of Color and Religious at the Same Time,* 203.

Revitalization of the Oblate Sisters of Providence

Anwander[354] began his spiritual ministrations to the Oblates almost immediately. He found that:

> [t]here were but twelve Sisters all told. Of the twelve, two lived at the Seminary. There were but twenty children under their care, ten scholars and ten orphans. They had seven hundred dollars debt…and no income except taking in washing and mending for the Cathedral and Seminary. The ten scholars were taught free of charge, evidently."[355]

Despite these dreary circumstances, Anwander found that the Sisters had continued to keep their rule and that they were genuine religious.[356]

Anwander's first goal was "to get as many children into the school as I could get."[357] The black community saw Anwander's appointment as spiritual director as evidence of the revalidation of the Oblate community by the church hierarchy. Within a year student enrollment in Saint Frances School increased from fewer than twenty students to almost seventy.[358] Anwander was encouraged by the increase and the 1848 school year "commenced the scholastic year with a sufficient number of scholars, which gave hopes of future increase which has continued until now and which, trusting to Providence, we hope will not cease."[359]

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[354] Anwander was spiritual director of the Oblates from 1847-1855.

[355] Father Peter Edward Hogan, "Catholic Missionary Efforts for the Negro Before the Coming of the Josephites." (Josephite Archives [hereafter JA], 1947), 25.

[356] Sherwood, *The Oblates' Hundred and One Years*, 117.

[357] Batts Morrow, *Persons of Color and Religious at the Same Time,* 207.

[358] Ibid., 208.

[359] Ibid.

Anwander re-established the Saint Frances Chapel as a black Catholic church. His restoration of the celebration of the feast of Saint Benedict the Moor was important to both the Oblates and the greater African American Catholic community in Baltimore. Like Father Joubert, he felt that it was important for black Catholics to identify with a black saint. Throughout his tenure with the Oblates, he always celebrated Saint Benedict's Feast "very solemnly to attract the people."[360]

The Oblate community itself was also revitalized by the appointment of Anwander. Sister Catherine Rock reportedly commented on her deathbed, "His name is Wonder. May he do wonders for the poor Oblates."[361] Under his leadership, they received and professed nine new Oblate Sisters.[362]

When Anwander announced his transfer to New Orleans in 1855, the Sisters were justifiably upset. "There was no need of saying (it can be well understood) the great surprise and general feelings of sorrow of those present."[363] Sister Theresa Willigman, Oblate historian, wrote of his impact on the community.

> The day of his taking leave of the congregation, his dear Oblates, and the children was like a solemn funeral. He never lost his fatherly solicitude and love for the Sisters until his death, left nothing undone that was in his power to benefit the community. His memory will always be alive in the hearts of the Oblates.[364]

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[360] Batts Morrow, *Persons of Color and Religious at the Same Time,* 208.

[361] Ibid.

[362] Ibid., 209. Of those nine new Sisters, three where former "children of the house"- Sarah Willigman and siblings Franciette and Henriette Messonier.

[363] Ibid., 213.

[364] Ibid.

After Anwander left and until 1860, a series of Redemptorist priests took the role of spiritual director to the Oblates. In November of that year, the Oblates were notified that Father Kraus was going to vacate the role of Director and that the Redemptorists were turning over the directorship of the community to the Society of Jesus. In addition, the chapel at Saint Frances was to be closed to lay worship and that the community was to worship at Saint Ignatius Church.[365] A colored congregation had been meeting in the basement of Saint Ignatius since September 1857. The Oblates were allotted twelve pews for themselves and their scholars in what was called "Blessed Peter Claver's Chapel."[366] The Reverend Peter Miller was appointed the director of the Oblates.

Father Peter Louis Miller, a native of Belgium, came to the United States in 1845 where he finished his theological studies at Georgetown College and was ordained in 1848. From the beginning his work was with the black Catholic community. After ministering in Georgetown, Frederick, and Saint Mary's County, he was transferred to Baltimore, where according to his obituary:

> [H]ere at last, in this large and more extended field of labor he found an opportunity of giving full vent to that consuming zeal which prompted him, in the very beginning of his priestly coursed, to consecrate to the spiritual advancement of the colored people the ardent devotion of a generous heart, the untiring efforts of an enthusiastic nature.[367]

Father Miller had been in charge of services in the basement of Saint Ignatius since his arrival in Baltimore in 1850. By 1863, the basement had become too small for the colored congregation and Father Miller began to search for a larger location. With the

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[365] Sherwood, 127.

[366] Ibid., 131.

[367] Woodstock Letters, 1878, (7), 20.

support of Father Michael O'Connor, Miller encouraged the Archdiocese to purchase a location that would be solely for the use of African Americans. Eventually a former Unitarian church located at the corner of Calvert and Pleasant Streets was procured. After extensive renovations, it opened as Saint Francis Xavier in 1864.[368]

> Now Fr. Miller's heart expanded with joy, because he was in a position to labor successfully for the best interests of a congregation ardently attached to him. He instituted special service and by means of novenas, processions and other pious exercises he nourished the spirit and fervor in those who fittingly responded to the earnest, well-directed efforts of their pastor.[369]

The Oblates soon came to "look upon him as their devoted protector and best friend."[370]

The work of Anwander and Miller, and the OSP religious directors in between their tenures, was made easier by the support of Archbishop Kenrick. In stark contrast to his predecessor, Archbishop Eccleston, Kenrick soon proved himself to be a supporter of the Oblate cause. Kenrick had been aware of the Oblates since his visit to the community during the Fifth Provincial Council in 1843 when he said mass for the sisters. The Annals record that the sisters were quite impressed with Kenrick: "[H]e has lived up to all that he has said regarding his affection for our endeavor."[371] Once Archbishop, Kenrick consistently acknowledged their work and attended their events. The Annals report that he confirmed classes of black Catholics at least six times at the Oblate Saint Frances Chapel and that he attended every annual closing ceremony at Saint Frances School between the years 1853 and 1857. In 1853, he gave Thaddeus Anwander

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[368] Woodstock Letters, 1878, (7), 20.

[369] Ibid.

[370] Ibid.

[371] Annals: 1842-1843, RG I, Box 34, Folder 3, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

permission to solicit contributions to complete the construction of the Oblate's Saint Frances Male School. He himself made seven $10 dollar contributions to the community between the years 1852- 1858. Batts Morrow contends that "Kenrick's actions forcefully reminded the archdiocesan establishment of the status of the Oblate Sisters of Providence as a legitimate constituency within the Baltimore religious community. With the archbishop's patronage the Oblate community experienced the warmest reception accorded them by the Baltimore ecclesiastical establishment in the antebellum era."[372]

Post-Bellum Baltimore

Baltimore experienced a dramatic change in its demographics between 1860 and 1870. The United States Census reported that during those years, the city experienced a 42 percent growth in its black population. A great deal of this growth occurred after the emancipation of African American slaves by Maryland's Constitution of 1864. Historian Richard Paul Fuke noted:

> Migration into the city by several thousand rural blacks in the months immediately following emancipation strained the resources of charitable agencies and community services. Jobs, which were in the long run generally available, were often not readily so, and even under the best of circumstances the sudden arrival of new workers intensified the competition between whites and blacks, especially in semi-skilled trades. Increasingly crowded black neighborhoods experienced growing confrontation with whites who lived or worked in adjoining neighborhoods.[373]

The arrival of so many people in such a short time, severely challenged Baltimore's capacity to absorb them. Within a month after the emancipation

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[372] Batts Morrow, *Persons of Color and Religious at the Same Time,* 252-253.

[373] Richard Paul Fuke, "Blacks, Whites, and Guns: Interracial Violence in Post-Emancipation Maryland" *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Volume 92, No. 3 (Fall 1997): 334.

announcement, the Friends' Association reported "many calls from women with children … who have neither food nor shelter," and declared that they found more suffering than they were able to alleviate.[374] "They [are in] want of the most necessary food and clothing, and have crowded into alleys and cellars."[375] The *Baltimore Sun* was alarmed by the situation. "Many freedmen … are now loafing about the wharfs acquiring vicious habits, or obtaining the means of a precarious existence only by the few jobs they procure."[376]

Government institutions, specifically the almshouses and jails, were overwhelmed. Fuke found that the Baltimore City Council was shocked by the number of rural blacks seeking shelter in the Bayview Asylum almshouse. Between 1864 and 1870 the number of black inmates composed about 20 percent to 25 percent of Bayview's total population, which is a figure much higher than had ever been experienced. As early as 1865, the city council reported that "the increase is principally colored persons, who are daily admitted from the several counties of the state."[377] The City Jail was also crowded with freedmen. In July 1866 the *Gazette* claimed that "[t]he great influx of negroes in the city since emancipation has become a nuisance… They come into the city without means of support, and many of them—too indolent to work in the country where

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[374] Report of the Trustees of the Poor, January 1866. Contained in *Ordinances of the Mayor and City Council of Baltimore, Passed at the Session of 1866. To Which is Annexed the Mayor's Communication. Report of the City Officers, and a List of the Members of the City Council, and Officers of the Corporation* (Baltimore, 1866). 329.

[375] *Baltimore American*, February 7, 1865. Richard Paul Fuke, *Imperfect Equality: African Americans and the Confines of White Racial Attitudes in Post-Emancipation Maryland* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1999), 119.

[376] *Baltimore Sun*, "Local Matters." August 9, 1865.

[377] Fuke, "Blacks, Whites, and Guns: Interracial Violence in Post-Emancipation Maryland," 336.

their labor is needed—depend on what they can pick up to satisfy the demands of hunger."[378] The *Baltimore American* backed their claim several months later when it attributed an increase in larceny to "the vast numbers of idle or unemployed blacks who have been thrown upon the public by the events of the past two or three years."[379]

Eventually, the majority of Baltimore's black migrants found their way into the City's economy and community. This is reflected in the steady climb in the total population of the city, the growing number of black residents, and increased number of black householders. By 1868, *Wood's City Directory* recorded 8,000 employed black heads of households, a 100 percent increase from 1864.[380] As the rural migrants found jobs, they swelled the ranks of the Baltimore's unskilled workforce.

Housing for black migrants was difficult to obtain. While many female servants found homes with their white employers, others crowded in to the already cramped alleyway and apartment dwellings of the black community. In October 1866, a city health official described the conditions of the dwellings in Elbow Lane: "[They are] in a state of indescribable filth, there being as many as eighty persons in one and no adequate means of ventilation or cleanliness."[381]

The Friends Association in Aid of Freedmen helped to fill the void left by the city and state governments. They attempted "to provide homes and employment for them not

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[378] Fuke, "Blacks, Whites, and Guns: Interracial Violence in Post-Emancipation Maryland," 336.

[379] *Baltimore American*, February 21, 1867. Fuke, "Blacks, Whites, and Guns: Interracial Violence in Post-Emancipation Maryland," 336.

[380] Richard Paul Fuke*, Baltimore's Past*, ed. Jessica Elfenbein et al. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 2002), 133-134.

[381] *Baltimore Sun,* "Local Matters." October 15, 1866.

only in town, but in the country as fast as they come in, when they cannot get places through their own exertions." In addition, they hoped "to aid these helpless children of toil in their instruction, and to do everything else that good Samaritans ought to always be ready to do for the suffering and troubled."[382] Serving essentially as an employment agency with limited funds, the Association did the best it could. By December 1865, 1,660 migrants had been helped in some way, either by job placement or direct relief.

The federal government, in the form of the Freedmen's Bureau, provided a modicum of support for the newly freed people of Baltimore. Established in 1865, the original purpose of the Bureau was to care for "freedmen, refugees, and abandoned lands of the South; to issue food clothing, and fuel; and to administer to the medical needs of freedmen and refugees."[383] The powers of the bureau were expanded in 1866 to "make self-supporting citizens of all loyal refugees and freedmen as speedily as possible by using or selling Confederate property in order to provide for the education of the freed people."[384] The act further directed the Bureau:

> to cooperate with private benevolent association and with agents and teachers accredited by them to rent or to lease buildings whenever teachers could be obtained without cost to the Federal Government; to provide schoolhouses; to serve as a coordinating agency for the administration, direction, and supervision of education for freedmen.[385]

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[382] *Baltimore American*, November 11, 1864. Fuke, *Imperfect Equality: African Americans and the Confines of White Racial Attitudes in Post-Emancipation Maryland*, 118.

[383] W.A. Low, "The Freedmen's Bureau and Education in Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* Volume 48 (March 1952): 29.

[384] Low, "The Freedmen's Bureau and Education in Maryland," 29.

[385] Low, 29.

The Freedmen's Bureau worked with a number of private groups including the New England Freedmen's Aid Society, the American Missionary Association, the Freedmen's Union Association, and the Baltimore Association for the Moral and Educational Improvements of the Colored People (the Baltimore Association).[386] The Baltimore Association, the only local group, was established in November 1864. This organization of more than thirty Baltimore businessmen, lawyers, and clergymen gathered to determine what they could do to promote Negro education. Many of these men had already made names for themselves in the fight for the emancipation of Maryland slaves. Some would continue to work with and for the former enslaved people on the problems of apprenticeship and civil rights. All of them belonged to, or sympathized with, the radical minority of the Maryland Union League[387] and wanted more for the newly freed blacks than a simple declaration of their freedom.

The Freedmen's Bureau gave direct aid to the private organizations in their work to establish schools for African Americans. It provided materials, equipment and funds for the construction, rental, or repair of schoolhouse, and gave protection and transportation for the teachers supplied by the civic and religious organizations.[388]

Despite the work of the various government agencies and private white groups, the bulk of the responsibility of helping black migrants fell to Baltimore's black community. This community was vast and well established by the time of emancipation.

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[386] Low, 32.

[387] The Maryland Union League was a group who supported Lincoln and the Republican Party. Members of the League were divided over the extent of alignment with Lincoln's policies on emancipation. This division led to the creation of the Unconditional Union Party demanded action on slavery and the reform of Maryland's constitution.

[388] Low, 31.

Organizations included the Lincoln Zouaves,[389] the Colored Ladies Union Association, the State Fair Association (colored), and the First Colored Christian Commission of Baltimore. Religious groups from the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church, Sharp Street Methodist Episcopal Church, and the Catholic Church also aided the migrants. Those groups and others founded institutions such as the Shelter for Orphans of Colored Soldiers and Friendless Colored Children and the Gregory Aged Women's home responding to the needs of the poor, homeless, and orphaned in Baltimore.[390] The work that these groups did was funded entirely from donations from the established black community, who held lectures and fairs to raise needed funds.

The Oblate Sisters of Providence responded to the needs of the newly arrived members of Baltimore's black community by working with and within established white Catholic organizations. One of those needs was education. Large numbers of children had been made free, and parents were looking for schools. Public schools in Baltimore City[391] only served white residents. In 1864, the Oblates, under the leadership of Father Peter Miller, opened the Saint Frances Free School for Colored Girls. They did so because "[o]ur Rev. Director seeing the danger to which Catholic children are exposed to

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[389] Fuke, "Blacks, Whites, and Guns: Interracial Violence in Post-Emancipation Maryland," 336. Black veterans returning from war attempted to join the Maryland State Militia but were refused. In response, they formed their own militia using equipment purchased from the U.S. Army and established several regiments with Baltimore City. The first was the Lincoln Zouaves, Corps d'Afrique. Within a year, four other units had formed. By 1867, the Lincoln Zouaves and the Henry Winter Davis guards each had over 1,000 members. The smaller units had at least two hundred a piece.

[390] Fuke, *Imperfect Equality: African Americans and the Confines of White Racial Attitudes in Post-Emancipation Maryland,* 123.

[391] Bettye C. Thomas, "Public Education and Black Protest in Baltimore, 1865-1900," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* Vol.71, No. 3 (Fall 1976): 382. The Maryland General Assembly authorized the creation of public schools in Baltimore in 1827. The first schools opened in 1829. They were financed through property taxes. By 1866 there were eighty-eight day schools and five night schools, all for white students.

losing their faith, implored two of the sisters to take charge of a Free School so that they might come and learn their religion and at the same time their learning would be attended to."[392] The Free School ran in conjunction with Saint Frances Academy. It served sixty scholars in its first year of existence.[393] *The Catholic Mirror* reported in July of 1865:

> Attached to the school is a free school for girls, without distinction of religious beliefs. This school was begun on the 8th day of March and the room is already crowded with pupils who are taught the common branches of an English education together with plain sewing and marking. This school offers a rare chance to Colored girls of the city whose parents feel themselves unable to pay for their education.[394]

The Free School was a significant step for Baltimore's African Americans. Prior to this time, blacks were not allowed to attend Baltimore's public schools. Only private schools operated by religious organizations were available for them. This meant that only the children of families who could afford to pay tuition were able to attend school. The Saint Frances Free School for Colored Girls operated for almost a full year before those founded in part by the Freedmen's Bureau and the Baltimore Association for the Moral and Educational Improvement of the Colored People were up and running[395] and three years before leaders were able to force Baltimore's school board into establishing public schools for black children. Even then, the public schools were only primary schools. Officials did not create grammar or high schools because they thought it was

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[392] Annals: 1860-1869, RG I, Box 34, Folder 5, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

[393] Sherwood, *The Oblates' Hundred and One Years*,135.

[394] *The Catholic Mirror*, July 1865. Fuke, *Imperfect Equality: African Americans and the Confines of White Racial Attitudes in Post-Emancipation Maryland*, 127.

[395] Robert Brugger, *Maryland: A Middle Temperament, 1634-1980* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), 308-309.

"neither advisable nor practicable to provide such grades or schools for this class of people as are in use by the children of white parents."[396]

The community, both white and black, realized that schools were not enough to solve the problem of homeless and/or orphaned children. An October 1865 article in the *American* called the black community to "the necessity of taking care of the fatherless of their race"[397] and called for them to "still further vindicate the confidence reposed in them by their friends by establishing an Orphan Asylum for the colored children. A collection in each of the African churches on a Sunday, to be paid and given out beforehand would be a good way of starting an interest in the subject, and result in accumulating at least sufficient means for a nest egg."[398] In 1865, a group of concerned whites organized an orphanage for the children of black Civil War veterans. The orphanage resided in a building acquired from the Freedmen's Bureau. Blacks supported the institution through donations. This one orphanage was insufficient to house the large numbers of orphans and half orphans[399] in the City.

The Oblate Sisters of Providence acknowledged the need for additional institutions to care for African American orphans. The August 30, 1866 annals entry indicates that the Sisters were preparing to open an orphan asylum "that our good father [Father Miller] had for some time been seriously thinking on."[400] "A house at the rear of

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[396] Bettye C. Thomas, "Public Education and Black Protest in Baltimore, 1865-1900," 383.

[397] *Baltimore American*, October 18, 1865. Fuke, 127.

[398] Ibid.

[399] Half orphans are children who had one parent still living.

[400] Annals: 1860-1869, RG I, Box 34, Folder 5, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

the convent on Richmond Street was selected, as it was convenient for the sisters to go from one house to the other. … In a short time everything was arranged to open the asylum."[401] Saint Frances Orphan Asylum, as it was called, was created "to rescue from want and misery many young children left hopeless by the ravages of war and poverty."[402] They elected to receive black girls from infancy to age 16 and "depended upon the charitable collections of the colored people for the maintenance and clothing of these orphans."[403] While they accepted girls from all religions, Father Miller was especially concerned about those who were Catholic. His obituary relates that while he was very concerned about the adult portion of his flock, he was determined that the "helpless little orphan should not be snatched from the fold. He was resolved that it should not be brought up in the worship of strange gods and thus robbed of that princely boon, its Catholic faith"[404] Even though the asylum was not supposed to officially open until October 2, the first two orphans arrived on September 15.[405] By its official opening date, the asylum had six inmates. The presence of these first orphans even before the asylum officially opened shows the African American communities need for such an institution and the respect that it had for the work of the Oblates.

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[401] Annals: 1860-1869, RG I, Box 34, Folder 5, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

[402] Ibid.

[403] Ibid.

[404] Woodstock Letters, 1878, (7), 20.

[405] Annals 1860-1869, RG I, Box 34, Folder 5, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

Saint Frances Orphan Asylum

The Saint Frances Orphan Asylum accepted black orphaned and half-orphaned girls from Baltimore City and other areas throughout Maryland and the United States. Like other orphanages, girls who entered the asylum usually came through commitment by family members or governmental authorities.

Many of the girls admitted to Saint Frances were half-orphans, meaning that they had one surviving parent. It was common during the nineteenth century and early twentieth century for families to take children to orphanages when they were unable to properly care for them. Baltimore was not unusual. Poor and working class parents, both white and black, faced difficult choices when they were left widowed. Employment for African American women was almost usually that of domestic service or working at home by taking in laundry. Domestic service usually required the woman to live in the employer's house. Both jobs provided challenges to widowed mothers. Live-in domestic servants did not make enough money to pay for childcare or living expenses. Mothers who worked at home often found themselves barely making ends meet and were overworked and exhausted. Widowers often faced the same situation. Despite the fact that they were more likely to have better paying jobs than women, they did not earn enough to employ housekeepers or childcare and lacked time and training to run their households well. African American parents, like their immigrant counterparts, and unlike long-established white American parents, did not have extended family on which they could rely to help with childcare. Left with little choice, they often turned to orphanages to help them. Nurith Zmora, historian of several Baltimore orphanages, argues that "poor, single parents with several children, school-aged and younger, were the backbone

of orphanages and very often their raison d'etre."[406] Oblate records indicate that single parents did send their children to Saint Frances Orphan Asylum. Sisters Helen and Mary McGowan were left at the Asylum in September 1919 by their mother. Mrs. McGowan was able to make room and board payments occasionally until she withdrew the girls in September 1925.[407] In January 1920, Hunter Artist admitted his three daughters (nine, six, and two years of age) to the Asylum where they would remain until 1926 when he withdrew them.[408]

Full orphans were also admitted to Saint Frances Orphan Asylum, oftentimes by other family members. Mildred and Catherine Castor were placed in the asylum by their grandmother.[409] Elnora Dyson was placed by her aunt who paid board for her until she withdrew her in 1926.[410]

In other cases, government agencies from across the Baltimore area committed children to the orphanage. Several children were committed to Saint Frances from counties in western Maryland. In 1902, sisters Naomi and Pofelia Jackson were brought to the home from Frederick County because their mother Mollie was not a fit guardian as she got drunk and would leave the girls in a locked room for long periods of time.[411] Mamie and Nannie Heard were also from Frederick County. Ages five and eight, their

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[406] Nurith Zmora, *Orphanages Reconsidered: Child Care Institutions in Progressive Era Baltimore* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), 48.

[407] Ledger, RG I, Box 18, Folder 10, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.; Sacramental Documentation and Requests, RGII, Box 17, Folder 6, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

[408]Ledger, RG I, Box 18, Folder 10, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

[409] Ibid.

[410] Ibid.

[411] Ibid.

father Basil Heard, was unable to take care of them after the death of their mother.[412] Nine-year-old Dorothy Dixon was brought by the Washington County Sheriff in May 1912 after he found that she was not being cared for by her guardian, Della Jones. He reported that Jones lived with a man that she was not married to and that Dorothy, whose mother lived in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, often ran away and was found sleeping in stables and other outbuildings.[413] Children were also committed from Baltimore City. In 1894, fourteen-year-old Emma Johnson was sent to Saint Frances due to "neglect, bad habits, and vicious conduct" of her mother Eugenia Johnson.[414] In 1908, the Society for the Protection of Children placed twelve-year-old Irene Robinson with the Oblates.[415] The Baltimore Juvenile Court sent Lawray Williams, age nine, to Saint Frances in 1911.[416]

As well as working with state and local government agencies and organizations, Saint Frances also cooperated with the white Catholic establishment to care for black orphans. The Catholic establishment saw Saint Frances as an essential part of its work with African American orphans. This is evidenced by the numerous partnerships that the Asylum had with white Catholic institutions to accept girls who needed placement. The Oblates worked with the New York Foundling Hospital, the Holy Innocents Asylum, and

[412] Ledger, RG I, Box 18, Folder 10, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

[413] Ibid.

[414] Ledger, RG I, Box 18, Folder 2, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

[415] Ibid.

[416] Ibid.

Saint Vincent's Foundling Asylum, and Saint Vincent de Paul Foundling Asylum to care for African American girls.

The partnership with the New York Foundling Hospital lasted for several decades. Sister Mary Irene Fitzgibbon (Sister Irene), Sister Servant at Saint Peter's Convent of the Sisters of Charity of New York, became very concerned with the large number of infants that were left on her convent's[417] stoop and by the "lengthened record of infanticide"[418] At that time, there was no Catholic foundling asylum in the city and babies that were left at convents were turned over to public or Protestant asylums where their "chances of survival were slim and their chances of growing up Catholic even slimmer."[419] Sister Irene envisioned an institution for Catholic foundlings that would be a haven for "the innocent offspring of passion or poverty, for whom the door step, the street, the sink, the river, the string, and knife presented each a means of riddance."[420] With the blessing of Archbishop John McCloskey,[421] she applied to the New York State Board of Charities for a charter arguing that since there was a Protestant Foundling Asylum, "why should there not be a Catholic one?"[422] The State Board of Charities, evidently convinced by her argument, granted her a charter.

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[417] Sister Servant is another term for Superior.

[418] Dianne Creagh, "The Baby Trains: Catholic Foster Care and Western Migration, 1873-1929." *Journal of Social History* 46 (2012): 197-218.

[419] Ibid.

[420] Ibid., 199.

[421] John McCloskey became the Archbishop of New York in 1864. He was very good friends with Archbishop Spalding of Baltimore. The two men corresponded regularly.

[422] Creagh, 199.

After a year of research that included tours of similar institutions[423] in Baltimore,[424] Philadelphia, and Washington, D.C., Sister Irene, Sister Teresa Vincent McCrystal, and Sister Ann Aloysia Tierney opened the New York Foundling Asylum on October 11, 1869. In the French tradition, a bassinet was placed inside the asylum's door where babies could be left "without inquiry or observation." [425] The surrendering party had only to pull on a string that would ring a bell that alerted the nuns. The first foundling was left the very next day. Babies were "left faster than cribs, clothing, and nurses could be obtained for them."[426] In order to accommodate the number of babies that were being abandoned, the Foundling had to relocated several times until it could obtain a building that was large enough for all of its inmates. The exponential growth in the number of foundlings can be somewhat attributed to the large numbers of immigrants and freed blacks entering the city. Like Baltimore, New York was a northern port city and was an inviting destination for freedom seekers of all ethnicities and religions. Those freedom seekers were often devoid of familial connections. When tragedy or hardship occurred and they could not support their children, they often had to resort to institutions such as the New York Foundling.

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[423] Julie Miller, *Abandoned: Foundlings in Nineteenth-Century New York City.* (New York: New York University Press, 2008), 134. None of the institutions were devoted solely to the care of foundlings, but all of them took in infants.

[424] Miller, *Abandoned: Foundlings in Nineteenth-Century New York City*, 135. Visited Saint Vincent's Infant Asylum in Baltimore who also took in "poor unfortunate girls" who had fallen and provided them with "shelter from the scoffs of a (Fuke n.d.) wicked world."

[425] Creagh, 199.

[426] Ibid.

The Foundling could not accommodate school age children. In investigating possible placements in the Catholic community for the children, the Sisters found that New York's Catholic institutions could not accommodate the younger children and/or the extra staff that they required. In addition, there were not enough willing and stable urban Catholic foster homes to meet the need. So, Sister Irene looked to the orphan train movement[427] as inspiration in finding homes for the children.

Sister Irene believed that her young inmates needed family homes and agreed with other reformers that the city's poor neighborhoods were unsuitable for long-term fostering. Like the founder of the Orphan Train Movement, Charles Loring Brace, she placed her faith in "the lure of fresh air and fresh starts"[428] and launched her own migration program, sometimes called the "Mercy Trains,"[429] in 1873. Her program, which focused on children younger than age six, began by sending small groups of children to nearby Maryland[430] and Pennsylvania. Soon thereafter, the Sisters were escorting hundreds of children a year to destinations in the West.[431] This program was so successful, that in an 1885 report by the State Board of Charities, the Asylum only had

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[427] Creagh, 202. Protestant urban missionary Charles Loring Brace founded the Orphan Train movement. He established the Children's Aid Society (CAS) in 1853 in New York City. The CAS placed working age children with rural families who would employ them, provide shelter, education and Christian guidance and hopefully embrace them as sons and daughters.

[428] Ibid.

[429] Ann Carey, "Mercy Trains" Carried Catholic Orphans to New Homes in the West," *Catholic Heritage* (1999): 10.

[430]Carolee R. Inskeep, *The New York Foundling Hospital: An Index to Its Federal, State, and Local Census Records (1870-1925)*. (Baltimore: Clearfield Company, Inc., 1995), VII. In the mid 1870s, 200-300 children were placed with families in Maryland. One of those children, seven-year-old John Burke, was placed with Dr. Samuel Mudd and his family in Charles County.

[431] Creagh, 203. Including Louisiana, Texas, Illinois, Minnesota, and Nebraska.

twenty-three children older than age six living within the actual walls of the institution. By the end of the century, 12,000 foundlings were placed through the program.[432]

While the New York Foundling was successful in providing its white inmates with homes via the Mercy Trains, it was challenged by what to do with its African American charges. The Foundling found it almost impossible to place black children. Dianne Creagh argues the reason for this is that the Foundling relied on their Catholic networks to find qualified African American Catholic homes. "Given the reticence of Catholics to incorporate blacks into the Church after the Civil War,"[433] it was almost impossible for "African American couples to access foster parent recruitment channels."[434] Creagh found that they did try to place children in Louisiana but is unsure about the numbers of children placed because annual reports did not classify babies by race.[435] Due to this difficulty, black children were more likely to stay at the asylum well past their prime adoption years.[436] The Sisters of Charity had to look to alternative options for their African American charges. Creagh believes that at first, African American orphans were sent to New York's Colored Orphan Asylum.[437] This was probably not thought of as a long-term solution because the asylum was not a Catholic

[432] Creagh, 203.

[433] Ibid., 206.

[434] Ibid.

[435] Creagh, 206.

[436] Ibid.

[437] Ibid.

institution.[438] It is possible that Cardinal John McCloskey[439] recommended that Sister look to the Oblates and Saint Frances Orphan Asylum. McCloskey was a good friend and confidant of Baltimore's Archbishop Spalding. Prior to attending the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1866, he and Spalding exchanged correspondence in which the Archbishop of Baltimore expounded on the need to help emancipated blacks. "I think it is precisely the most urgent duty of all to discuss the future status of the negro. Four million of these unfortunates are thrown upon our charity, & they silently but eloquently appeal to us for help."[440] McCloskey was also a part of the delegation that visited Saint Frances Academy during the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1866.[441] Sister Irene may have also come into contact with the OSP on her 1868 visit to Baltimore's Saint Vincent Orphan Asylum.[442] Regardless of how she knew of them, in November 1875, Sister Irene contacted the Oblates and proposed that they "receive and care for the children born in the maternity ward who on growing out of babyhood proved to be of the colored race."[443] The proposal was that Saint Frances would receive eight or ten girls and that the Founding Asylum would pay $8 per month for each child's board and clothing.[444]

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[438] William Seraile, *Angels of Mercy: White Women and the History of New York's Colored Orphan Asylum* (New York: Fordham University Press, 211), 8. The New York Colored Orphan Asylum was founded in 1834 by two Quaker women, Anna Shotwell and her niece Mary Murray.

[439] John McCloskey was Archbishop of New York from 1864 until 1875 when he became America's first Cardinal. He served until his death in 1885. He visited Saint Frances Academy on April 18, 1866 with a contingent from the Second Plenary Council. That contingent included Archbishop Spalding, Bishop Wood, Reverend Father O'Brien and Father Miller.

[440] Spalding, 190.

[441] Annals 1860-1869, RG I, Box 34, Folder 5, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

[442] Miller, 135.

[443] Sherwood, *The Oblates' Hundred and One Years*, 63.

[444] Annals: 1874-1876, RG I, Box 34, Folder 8, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

On December 15, 1875, Sister Irene personally brought the first four orphans to Saint Frances Orphan Asylum.[445] The annals note that they were "very interesting children" and that Sister Irene paid for six months of their care.[446] In 1900 Sister Theresa Vincent,[447] Sister Irene's successor, approached the Oblates and asked if they could send eight to ten girls to live at the asylum.[448] She indicated that the New York Foundling Hospital would pay for the board of each of the girls at a rate of $8 per month.[449] An additional letter in 1915 redefined the terms in which foundlings were sent to Saint Frances. Sister Theresa clarified that the Foundling Hospital would pay for the board of children for three years at a rate of $100 per year.[450] After that time period, the girls were to be adopted by the Oblate Sisters.[451] The relationship lasted until 1926 when Archbishop Curley placed the affairs of orphans under the Bureau of Catholic Affairs. At that time, all African American orphans were being transferred to the care of the

[445] Annals: 1874-1876, RG I, Box 34, Folder 8, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

[446] Ibid.

[447] Sister Theresa Vincent McCrystal took over the New York Foundling Hospital when Sister Irene died in 1896.

[448] Sister Theresa McCrystal to OSP, 1900, RG I, Box 19, Folder 6, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

[449] Annals: 1874-1876, AOSP, RG I, Box 34, Folder 8, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

[450] Martin Gottlieb, *The Foundling: The Story of the New York Foundling Hospital* (New York: Norfleet Press, 2001), 35-37. The New York Foundling became a favored charity of New York City's emerging Catholic merchant and upper classes. Supporters included the Bouvier family (ancestors of Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis), Mr. and Mrs. Richard Connolly (Comptroller of New York City, nicknamed "Slippery Dick"), and William Tweed (Democratic machine boss, "Boss Tweed"). It was also a recipient of state and local allocations.

[451] Sister Theresa McCrystal to OSP, 1900, RG I, Box 19, Folder 6, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

Franciscan Sisters and the Bureau decreed that New York must look after its own orphans.[452]

Institutions dedicated to working with white children also partnered with the Oblates. Saint Vincent's Foundling Asylum in Montclair, New Jersey, sent six-year-old Alice Mackay to live at Saint Frances in 1907. There is little documentation about Miss Mackay save her birthdate and mother's name. Her father's name and nationality are not listed. Since she is being sent from an institution that did not serve African Americans[453] and her father is listed as unknown, it is a good possibility he was black, a fact that Saint Vincent's did not know at the time she was admitted. Once they realized that Alice was not white, they must have chosen to transfer her to an institution for black orphans.[454]

Saint Vincent de Paul Foundling Asylum also sent at least one child to Saint Frances. Located in Providence, Rhode Island, and managed by the Divine Sisters of Providence, the institution was more than likely one dedicated solely to white children. Intake records indicate that Emilia Vincent, one-year-old, was signed over to Saint Vincent's in October 1897. Neither the 1904 nor the 1910 Benevolent Institutions Reports state that Saint Vincent's admitted colored children. Probably because of this, they sought out Saint France Orphan Asylum as a likely haven for young Emilia. The

[452] Sherwood, 164. The bounds of this study have not allowed the author to investigate whether orphanages for white children were also consolidated. Because of that limitation, it is unclear as to whether the African American orphans were sent back to New York because of their color or because the Archdiocese felt that it was the responsibility of New York to look after its own orphans. More study is needed for this topic.

[453] U.S. Bureau of the Census, Benevolent Institutions Report, 1910.

[454] Ledger, RG I, Box 1, Folder 25, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

presence of the intake documents from Saint Vincent's signify that the child was taken to Saint Frances.[455]

Southern institutions also used Saint Frances Orphan Asylum as a place of refuge for African American orphans. Holy Innocents Asylum[456] in Richmond, Virginia, sent at least two children, Lillian Poindexter and Elizabeth Banks, to Baltimore in 1911.[457] Oblate records indicate that Mrs. S.E. Randolph, the institution's matron, told the Oblates that neither girl had anyone to claim them.[458]

While the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and St. Vincent's Society in Taneytown, Maryland, did not place children with the Oblates, there is evidence that they advised parents to place their children at Saint Frances. In October 1912, Bertha Reynolds took her eight-year-old daughter Sophia Amelia Reynolds to live with the Oblates on the recommendation of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament.[459] In October 1913, Simon Frailing, whose wife was ill in the hospital, took five-year-old Marie to Saint Frances on the advice of Saint Vincent's Society.[460]

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[455] Ledger, RG I, Box 18, Folder 10, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

[456] Michael Ott, "St. Joseph's Society for Colored Missions." *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 8. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1910. Accessed December 16, 2015. http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/08521c.htm. The Holy Innocents Asylum was operated by the Saint Joseph's Society for Colored Missions. The Saint Joseph's Society was founded in Baltimore in 1871. It operated educational institutions for African Americans. Holy Innocents Asylum was originally founded in 1893 and called the Saint Francis Colored Foundling and Orphan Asylum.

[457] Ledger, RG I, Box 18, Folder 10, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

[458] Ibid.

[459] Ibid.

[460] Ibid.

Prominent Catholic benefactors also cooperated with the Oblates in their mission to help orphaned African American girls. In addition to her role as Reverend Mother of the Sisters of Blessed Sacrament, Katharine Drexel[461] was also the administrator of her family's personal fortune. As such, she was a supporter of African American and Indian causes. In 1910, she asked the Oblates to admit ten girls to Saint Frances where she promised to pay $50 per year for each of the children as long as she lived. [462]

Children from the Orphan Asylum were educated in the same manner as students from Saint Frances Academy and the Saint Frances Free School. For the first year of the Orphan Asylum's existence, the orphans attended the Free School.[463] The Annals indicate that a separate Orphan School was opened in 1867 under the direction of Sister Stanislaus.[464] The curriculum of the Academy in the 1850s included religion, reading, history, geography, arithmetic, and sewing, washing, and needlework. French,[465] needlework, and music were offered as optional courses available for a fee.[466] Each school year concluded with a public examination of students and an annual exhibition

[461] The Drexel Sisters were heiresses of the Catholic Philadelphia banker, Francis Drexel. Upon his early death in 1884, Katharine, Elizabeth, and Louise inherited $15 million dollars. Raised to believe in helping those who were less fortunate, the sisters spent their lives donating to Catholic Charities. Katherine founded the Sisters of Blessed Sacrament for the Indians and Colored. In addition to her personal mission, she managed her family inheritance. That management included financing projects across the United States that supported the sisters' belief in ministering to Indians and Colored people.

[462] Ledger, RG I, Box 18, Folder 10, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

[463] Annals: 1860-1869, RG I, Box 34, Folder 5, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

[464] Ibid.

[465] French was removed as a required component of the curriculum in part because the ethnic composition of the Oblates had changed from being majority of Francophone ancestry to a majority of American born ancestry.

[466] Charging for optional courses was a standard practice in white Catholic academies.

and distribution of awards. The Saint Frances Orphan Asylum School Report from 1920-1921 indicates that separate events were held for paying students and orphans. Medals were distributed to students who excelled in Christine Doctrine, Domestic Economy, Arithmetic, Spelling, and Sewing.[467] These public events served as publicity to attract new paying students to the school and to raise funds for the orphan asylum.

The education that the orphans received at Saint Frances was extraordinary for both black and white children at the time. Public schools for blacks did not offer anything past a primary school education until 1869 when grammar schools were added. It was not until 1882 that the Baltimore Colored High School was opened and 1892 when the Colored Manual School, later called the Colored Polytechnic Institute was established.[468] Even though public schools existed in Baltimore, school attendance was not mandatory in the late nineteenth century. Nurith Zmora maintains, "Although all Americans had access to free and readily available education, parents who were economically stressed were often forced to remove their children from school and send them to work."[469] Even when child labor laws began to limit children's work, few children went to school, and when they did, their attendance was sporadic. Baltimore school officials complained of low enrollment, poor attendance, and the tendency of parents to withdraw students from school before the fifth or sixth grade throughout the

[467] School Report 1920-21, RG I, Box 19, Folder 11, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

[468] Thomas, "Public Education and Black Protest in Baltimore, 1865-1900," 384- 391.

[469] Nurith Zmora, *Orphanages Reconsidered: Child Care Institutions in Progressive Era Baltimore*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), 93.

1890s.[470] Suffice it to say that the Saint Frances Orphan Asylum students had a stronger educational foundation than most of their peers, black or white.

During school breaks, orphans and those academy students who did not go home, continued their religious studies, completed their chores, and visited recreational areas in and around Baltimore City. Evidence of picnics in various parks in the area exist in the Annals, including one to Elkridge Landing in August 1869.[471] An annual picnic for the children was held in Druid Hill Park each July.[472] There were three outings in the summer of 1873. The children were treated to "vacation enjoyments" at Druid Hill Park,[473] Woodberry, where they had the opportunity to ride home in a steam car, and Darley Park[474] where they were able to ride the swings.[475] These entertainments, while not extremely costly, would not have been affordable for most families.

Saint Frances Orphan Asylum benefited from supporters, black and white, spiritual and lay, individual and group, throughout its history. Chief among its individual supporters was Father Peter Miller, S.J. Miller was given charge of both the colored

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[470] Zmora, 93-98.

[471] Annals: 1864-1869, AOSP, RG I, Motherhouse Box 34, Folder 6.

[472] Annals: 1874-1876, AOSP, RG I, Motherhouse Box 34, Folder 8.

[473] John Thomas Scharf, *The History of Baltimore City and County from the Earliest Period to the Present Day: Including Biographical Sketches of their Representatives* (Baltimore: Lit Everts, 1881), 272-276. Druid Hill Park, located in Northwestern Baltimore City, was formerly the estate of Lloyd N. Rogers, descendent of American Revolution Aid de' camp of Baron De Kalb. Baltimore City purchased the estate in 1860 and established the 693-acre park. The park included a zoological collection (beginnings of the Maryland Zoo in Baltimore), a reservoir used for ice skating in the winter, picnic grounds, and ball fields. For a time, there was a railway that ran from the Druid Hill entrance to the center of the park that was used to transport visitors.

[474] Darley Park was a beer garden and amusement park on Harford Road.

[475] Annals: 1868-1874, RG I, Box 34, Folder 7, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

congregation that worshipped in the basement of Saint Ignatius' Church and the Oblate Sisters of Providence in 1850. While he was an able minister and administrator of the entire African American Catholic community, he was especially dedicated to work with children. He helped the Oblates establish the Free School for Colored Children in 1865 and the Saint Frances Orphan Asylum. Oblate historian Sherwood wrote that Miller "loved the orphans and always considered at his orphan asylum was one of his most important works. It is said that when any member of the Society of Jesus happened in at the college, if they had not yet seen Father Miller's orphans they were immediately taken there for a visit and the orphans put through their very creditable paces."[476] His obituary stated that on those occasions it was "difficult to say which was the more worthy of admiration, the simple child-like joy of Fr. Miller, or the cheerful, confiding love of his little children."[477]

Father Miller was more than a figurehead or public relations person for the asylum; he was also an active fundraiser. As pastor of Saint Francis Xavier, he worked to interest wealthy colored parishioners in the cause and held special collections for the Asylum.[478] In addition to fundraising, Father Miller donated his own funds to the institution. The Annals repeatedly provide instances of Father Miller bringing the children strawberries,[479] ice cream, and other treats. He also funded parties,[480] trips to the

[476] Sherwood, 63.

[477] Woodstock Letters, 1878, (7), 23.

[478] Sherwood, 147.

[479] Annals: 1874-1876, RG I, Box 34, Folder 8, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

[480] Annals: 1868-1874, RG I, Box 34, Folder 7, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

park, rides on the cars and on the swings.[481] Not only did he finance outings and treats, Father Miller spent almost every afternoon at Saint Frances and even accompanied them on their outings.[482] Miller suffered from tuberculosis and was in an almost constant state of poor health. The Annals document his progressively failing health beginning in May 1875[483] until his eventual death in September 1877.[484] The Oblate Sisters and their charges were devastated by Father Miller's death. "Even the youngest child knew that they had lost their best friend in the world."[485]

Baltimore's African American women also supported the Orphan Asylum. The Annals indicate the existence of two women's groups, The Ladies Society for the Clothing the Orphans[486] and The Saint Frances Society for Aiding the Orphans.[487] The Ladies Society for the Clothing of Orphans raised money by various means to purchase clothing and shoes for the orphans.[488] The Annals record a festival and exhibition that they sponsored on September 24, 1868 where they raised $66.[489] The Saint Frances Society for Aiding the Orphans held a tea party on May 6, 1875 where the "little children performed several pretty pieces." Records indicate that there was a large audience that

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[481] Annals: 1876-1879, RG I, Box 34, Folder 9, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

[482] Sherwood, 171.

[483] Annals: 1874-1876, RG I, Box 34, Folder 8, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

[484] Annals: 1876-1879, RG I, Box 34, Folder 9, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

[485] Ibid.

[486] Annals: 1868-1874, RG I, Box 34, Folder 7, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

[487] Annals: 1874-1876, RG I, Box 34, Folder 8, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

[488] Sherwood, 147.

[489] Annals: 1868-1874, RG I, Box 34, Folder 7, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

included Father Miller, Reverend Capiluppi and Mr. P.C. Dugan.[490] There also are records of a group of ladies[491] called the Children's Board in the Oblate Archives. It appears that they donated funds for the upkeep of orphans during the years 1914-1915. The donations were made on a monthly basis and for no more than $5 each time. The ledger sometimes indicated a specific child's name, but often just stated the number of children they were supporting.[492]

Funding the orphanage was a continual strain for the Oblate Sisters. They received virtually no government support. Records indicate that the institution began receiving a state allocation of $500 beginning in 1892. That allotment stayed flat[493] through the last decades of the nineteenth century. In 1912, the sisters made a concentrated effort to increase their funding from Maryland. They sent letters to Governor Goldsborough[494] and their Senate delegation[495] thanking them for their yearly portion of $500, but asking them to support legislation to increase funding to $2,500. They followed those letters with a visit to Annapolis. They were not successful in meeting with the Governor and instead they met with his secretary.[496] Their attempts

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[490] Annals: 1874-1876, RG I, Box 34, Folder 8, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

[491] Mrs. Thomas, Mrs. Green, Mrs. R. Butler, Mrs. Charles, Mrs. Hall, Mrs. Payne, Mrs. C. Conley, Mrs. Dixon, Mrs. Curtis, and Mrs. Holland.

[492] Ledger, RG I, Box 18, Folder 10, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

[493] Ledger, AOSP, RG I, Box 18, Folder 3, AOSP, Baltimore, MD. The allocation increased to $625 in 1910, but fell back to $500 by 1912.

[494] Mother Mary Frances Fieldien to Governor Goldsborough, March 21, 1912, RG I, Box 18, Folder 3, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

[495] OSP to Senate Delegation, March 25, 1912, RG I, Box 18, Folder 3, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

[496] OSP to Governor Goldsborough, March 26, 1912, RG I, Box 18, Folder 3, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

were for naught. Funding did not increase until 1915 when the state gave them $1,000. That amount fell to $750 in 1917 during the rest of the life of the asylum.[497]

With little to no government funding, the institution survived on individual donations, special church collections, revenue from sewing,[498] needlework, washing, fairs, festivals, bazaars, and begging. From the very founding of the institution, an annual fair was held during December that benefitted the Orphan Asylum. Fairs were a traditional mode of fundraising in Baltimore. Advertisements for the fairs held by Catholic and Protestant educational institutions and groups proliferate Baltimore's newspapers. The events were not just for the African American community, as noted in advertisement, "white ladies and gentlemen are respectfully invited to attend."[499] Historian Hilary J. Moss posits that buying advertisement space in white newspapers provides evidence that African Americans took care in constructing a positive image of their educational activities. They would not have spent money on something that would have garnered hostility.[500] Proceeds for the Oblate fairs ranged from $80 at the first in 1866,[501] to $125 in 1867,[502] and $140 in 1875.[503] The Oblates also held fundraising festivals. An August 1891 article in *The Sun* reported on the Saint Frances Garden

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[498] Solicitation for Sewing, RG I, Box 19, Folder 13, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

[499] Hilary J. Moss, *Schooling Citizens: The Struggle for African American Education in Antebellum America*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 106.

[500] Moss, *Schooling Citizens: The Struggle for African American Education in Antebellum America, 106.*

[501] Annals: 1868-1874, RG I, Box 34, Folder 7, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

[502] Annals: 1864-1869, RG I, Box 34, Folder 6, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

[503] Annals: 1869-1876, RG I, Box 34, Folder 8, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

Festival. "In the prettily-arranged yard of the institution a number of tables were arranged to show the needlework of the students. Refreshment tables were also scattered about … Instrumental and vocal music and recitations will make an interesting program for each evening during the continuance of the festival."[504] The reporter noted that Reverend Alfred Leeson, Josephite Superior, opened the festival.[505] Having members of the white clergy at such an event lent it credibility, further emphasized by the fact that it was publicized in the city's preeminent newspaper.

The Oblate Sisters were very careful to make sure that:

> [a]ll of the money given for the orphans was used for them and them alone, a separate account being kept of donations whether from Father Miller's collections or from private individuals. Food donated to the orphans was kept and cooked for them, sometimes, being much better and of more variety than the boarders' or the sisters' tables. The orphans were dressed by a committee of charitable ladies who raised money by various means to purchase them clothing and shoes. Saint Francis Xavier's Church was a great help in taking care of them, as has been said, being the scene of many collections. And whenever money was raised at Saint Frances' Convent, by fairs or entertainment or by any other means, one-half of the money so raised was invariably given to the orphans during Father Miller's pastorate.[506]

The collections taken up at Saint Frances were often considerable and were the largest source of income to the Asylum during the period of Miller's directorship.[507] When the leadership of Saint Francis Xavier was turned over the Josephites, that source of income decreased substantially. Sherwood indicates, "The change was natural because the Josephites had brought with them the Franciscan Sisters who cared also for colored

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[504] *The Baltimore Sun,* "Saint Frances Garden Festival." August 19, 1891.

[505] Ibid.

[506] Sherwood, 147-148.

[507] Ibid., 165.

orphans. While Father Miller was pastor it was natural for him to look out for the orphan asylum he had founded. But when he transferred Saint Francis Xavier's Church to the Josephites, Saint Frances' orphans became the responsibility of the Oblates entirely."[508] The transfer of Saint Francis Xavier occurred in 1872 and the Oblates almost immediately felt the financial consequences.

> It was at this time or shortly after it, when the pinch became apparent, that the Sisters began to go out systematically and beg for their orphans, certain streets being assigned to certain Sisters and the amount received faithfully tabulated. Subscription books were also given to lay people by Father Miller, in order to help.[509]

The Franciscan Sisters, an order of white nuns from England, was a constant source of competition to the Oblates in their pursuit of support for the orphanage. Both groups of women religious competed for donations, financial and otherwise, from the same community of Catholic benefactors. As will be discussed further in Chapter Four, the Franciscans had a number of very wealthy patrons that underwrote a good deal of the financial costs of their institution.

Despite the competition of another orphanage for African Americans, the Oblates continued to have supporters. Rather than give money, some of those benefactors hosted exhibitions. In February 1876, a Mrs. Berger gave an exhibition that raised $36.40. In September later that year, a Professor Godfrey from New Orleans exhibited a diorama of his inventions that was considered a failure due to poor attendance and the small sum of $14 being raised.[510] In November 1891, Madame Sissieretta Jones gave a benefit concert

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[508] Sherwood, 165.

[509] Ibid.

[510] Annals 1874-1876, RG I, Box 34, Folder 8, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

for Saint Frances.[511] Jones, an opera soprano, was known as the "Black Patti"[512] and had recently toured with Fisk University's Jubilee Singers. Not long after her concert in Baltimore, she performed for President Benjamin Harrison at the White House and Carnegie Hall.[513] Having Madame Jones, who many lauded as the "greatest singer of her race" perform in Baltimore at a fundraiser must have been quite a coup for the Oblate Sisters. There is no record of the performance, but if an 1893 *Baltimore Sun*[514] article about a later Baltimore performance is any indication, it was almost certainly well attended by black and white Baltimoreans. Through fundraisers such as the performance of Madame Sissieretta Jones, the Oblate Sisters of Providence were able to raise the funds necessary to maintain the Saint Frances Orphan Asylum.

The Oblate Sisters of Providence has served the African American Catholic community with distinction since 1828. While their mission of educating African American girls had always included the care of orphans, it did not morph into a full-blown undertaking until after the Civil War. From 1866 until 1926, the Oblates struggled to accomplish their mission in a society and church that was both patriarchal and racist. With the strength of their convictions and the help of a handful of courageous church officials, they were able to survive and manage an institution that affected the lives of hundreds of dependent African American children. Their experience as a community of

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[511] "One Grand Concert" Advertisement, November 24, 1891, RG I, Box 19, Folder 5, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

[512] The nickname was in reference to one of the most famous operatic singers of the day, Adelina Patty.

[513] "Sissieretta Jones (1868-1933)." 1976. *The Black Perspective in Music* 4 (2). None: 191–201.

[514] *Baltimore Sun*, "The Black Patti." April 18, 1893.

women religious of color can be contrasted with that of the white community of the Franciscan Sisters.

Chapter IV

HISTORY OF SAINT ELIZABETH HOME

Like the Saint Frances Orphan Asylum, Saint Elizabeth Home is representative of the complex and often messy politics of the American Catholic Church in how it related to African Americans during the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. Both institutions served dependent African American children, but as an institution run by white Catholic nuns, Saint Elizabeth's experienced a far greater level of support and acceptance by the Catholic establishment. Saint Elizabeth Home, an orphanage for African American boys and girls from infancy to age sixteen, opened its doors in 1881. It did so, in part, as a result of the belief by certain church leaders that its ministry to African Americans needed to be improved. Despite the existence of the Oblate Sisters of Providence and their schools and orphanage, Archbishops Spalding and Gibbons were dissatisfied with the status of the church's work with the black population. They sensed a lack of urgency around the situation in existing American religious orders and sought assistance from outside the United States to establish separate institutions for African Americans. Two groups, the Mill Hill Fathers and the Franciscan Sisters, came from England to assist in the African American mission. Both groups helped to create a web of separate institutions that would lead the work of the church within the African American community both in Baltimore and the United States.

The Mill Hill Fathers and Father John Slattery

Father Herbert Vaughan and the Mill Hill Fathers arrived in December 1871 and immediately commenced their work in Baltimore's black community, beginning at Saint Francis Xavier Church. Saint Francis Xavier, the first parish church in the United States

established "for the exclusive use of the colored people" was founded in 1864 and had been under the leadership of the Jesuits since its inception. The Jesuits turned the church over to Vaughn's missionaries. The first six years of their time in the United States consisted of overseeing the Saint Francis Xavier parish school and a home for the aged poor.[515] Father John Slattery, perhaps the most influential and controversial of the Mill Hill Fathers, arrived in Baltimore in 1877. His arrival signaled an intensified sense of purpose in the Mill Hill mission.

Slattery was born in New York in 1851. At the age of fourteen he entered Saint Charles College[516] in Ellicott City, Maryland, intending to study for the priesthood. His studies were interrupted by a recurrence of Scarlet Fever that caused problems with his eyesight. Once he was recovered, he enrolled in Columbia College Law School. While at Columbia, Slattery heard the Reverend Vaughan, superior of the Mill Hill fathers from England, speak on behalf of the African American mission. Josephite tradition states that Slattery was not immediately taken with Vaughan and his mission. It wasn't until he saw a parade of black Odd Fellows Society members on the streets of New York that the inspiration came to him "to consecrate his life to the evangelization of blacks."[517] After consulting with his Paulist confessor, the Reverend William Dwyer, Slattery decided to give up his legal studies and devote his life to African American Catholics. In 1873 Slattery entered Saint Joseph's College in Mill Hill, England, where he was ordained a

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[515] "Origins of the American Josephites," *The Josephite Harvest*, 95, no. 3 (Autumn, 1992): 7.

[516] Stephen Ochs, *Desegregating the Altar: The Josephites and the Struggle for Black Priests, 1871-1960.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990), 50. Saint Charles College was a preparatory, or minor, seminary operated by the Sulpicians.

[517] Ochs, *Desegregating the Altar,* 50.

priest in March 1877.[518] Much to his dismay, his first job was teaching logic at Saint Joseph's. Father Slattery vigorously protested that assignment to Mill Hill Vicar Benoit, telling him that he wanted to work in the mission field: "My whole soul is with the Negro."[519] By November of that year, he was in Baltimore and beginning what would be a life dedicated to the dual mission of establishing separate churches and schools to serve the spiritual and educational needs of blacks and the education and formation of black Catholic priests and lay catechists to assume leadership among African American Catholics.[520] It was his mission of serving the spiritual and educational needs of African Americans that led him to Saint Francis Xavier Church[521] where he became rector in November 1877. It was in this capacity that he became familiar with the work of Mary Herbert, a parishioner at Saint Francis Xavier, and the plight of African American orphans in Baltimore City.

Saint Elizabeth Home: The Early Years

The origins of the home begin with Mary Herbert, an African American Catholic. In 1871, Mrs. Herbert's husband abandoned her and her disabled daughter. In order to support herself and her child, she began caring for the children of working friends and

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[518] "An Apostle to the Negroes," *The Josephite*, IV, no.8 (April 1902): 90.

[519] Ochs, 51.

[520] Jamie T. Phelps, "John T. Slattery's Missionary Strategies." *U.S. Catholic Historian* 7, no. 2/3 (Spring-Summer, 1998): 202.

[521] "Origins of the American Josephites," 49. When Slattery took over as the rector of Saint Francis Xavier, the parish was in debt. A Josephite historian recounts that "his first task was to correct the muddled finances and reduce the debt," and that "with his American drive and his American and family contacts, he succeeded." By 1878, he was appointed Provincial of Saint Joseph's Society of the Sacred Heart for Foreign Missions. Slattery's father, James, was an Irish immigrant who acquired a considerable fortune as a construction contractor and real estate speculator under the Boss Tweed administration in New York City.

neighbors. The nursery, located in her home at 40 Cohen Alley,[522] quickly developed into an orphanage when some of those parents failed to return for their children. While there are no records as to why the parents did not return for their children, it can be surmised that many of them may have been single mothers who had entered domestic work. In New York City at that time, for example, desperate single mothers were often forced to abandon their children, at least temporarily, in order to obtain jobs as live-in domestics.[523] In Baltimore, Mrs. Herbert told no one at first of what she was doing and used the income from various odd jobs to support her work. Eventually, with more than thirty children in her care, she turned to Father John Slattery[524] for help. While Slattery praised her work, his church was impoverished and he could not give her any financial assistance. He did, however, give her permission to start a subscription campaign that allowed her to go door-to-door asking for financial help.

As noted previously, the method of selling subscriptions first started in 1803 when Archbishop John Carroll needed to raise money to fund the building of Baltimore's Cathedral and it had become a popular way of raising funds.[525] Annual subscriptions provided parishioners on the low end of the wealth spectrum with a way to participate in the support of an institution or cause.[526] Lifetime subscriptions allowed wealthy

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[522] Cohen Alley ran south of Mulberry Street between Howard and Eutaw Streets.

[523] Carleton Mabee, "Charity in Travail: Two Orphan Asylums for Blacks," (*New York History*, 55, no. 1, January 1974): 58.

[524] Thomas Spalding, *The Premier See: A History of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, 1789-1994* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 166.

[525] Mary J. Oates, *The Catholic Philanthropic Tradition in America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), 3. Archbishop Carroll asked Baltimoreans to subscribe one dollar for four successive years for the cause.

[526] Oates, 12.

congregants the same participation while also providing institutions with a stable source of income.[527] With that permission, Herbert approached Josephine Etting, a member of a prominent local Jewish family, for assistance.[528]

There is some confusion on how Miss Etting came to know about Mrs. Herbert's work. In his history of the Franciscan Mill Hill Abbey, the Reverend C.C. Martindale, S.J. wrote that Miss Etting was Mary Herbert's companion and that she had at first thought of the home as "a quaint negro whim."[529] Martindale went on to say that Miss Etting had "many eccentricities and dressed, acted, and indeed talked as much like a man as she could."[530] What is known about Miss Etting is that she was a member of one of Baltimore's most eminent Jewish families. Her grandfather, Solomon Etting, was Baltimore's first Kosher butcher and one of the first two Jews elected to Baltimore's City Council. Her father, Samuel Etting, was a member of the First Regiment Fencibles that helped defend Fort McHenry during the War of 1812 and later was a founding member of Beth Israel, Baltimore's first Sephardic Jewish Congregation. What can be inferred about Miss Etting is that she was a precocious and determined woman. As a member of an elite Baltimore family, she could pursue her interests without fear of social repercussions. However she came to know about Miss Herbert's work, she deemed it worthy and took it upon herself to support the cause.

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[527] Oates, 12.

[528] Etting was born May 4, 1830 in Philadelphia and died August 4, 1914 in Baltimore (84 years old). She was buried in the Gratz family plot in Philadelphia. Other family members (mother and father) are buried in Etting family cemetery at Pennsylvania and West North Avenues in Baltimore, MD.

[529] Reverend CC Martindale, S.J., *An Untold Tale: The Franciscan Mill Hill Abbey* (Baltimore: O'Donovan Brothers, 1943), 20.

[530] Ibid.

It was not unusual for a wealthy Jewess to take up a charitable project. In her study of Baltimore charities, Caroline Friedman found that the Jewish community had a number of well-established charitable institutions of which women took an active role in promoting. What was unusual, however, was that Etting was championing a Catholic cause that only benefited Catholic children. The majority of Baltimore's wealthy Jewish women supported Jewish organizations and institutions such as the Hebrew Ladies' Orphan Aid Society and the Hebrew Ladies' Hospital Sewing Circle. Some did work across religious lines with the Charity Organization Society of Baltimore, but that group did work with all of the poor in Baltimore City, some of whom were inevitably Jewish.[531] In bucking this trend, Josephine Etting was truly a remarkable woman, one that was not afraid to support the causes important to her.

On January 1, 1880, Miss Etting created a subscription list for the "foregoing and most excellent work of charity deserving encouragement and support"[532] and the annual fee of $5 was promptly accepted by a number of Baltimore residents. Realizing that a subscription list was not enough to support the orphanage and its need for a larger location, Etting reached out to Archbishop Gibbons, a known supporter of African American Catholics.

> Having become deeply interested in the noble efforts of a devout and unselfish woman named Mary Herbert who has at the present time, twenty-three destitute colored children under her care, I desire to procure for them a larger and more suitable home and some permanent means of support. For this purpose, I have received the generous aid of the most prominent Catholic ladies of Baltimore … to carry out this good work. I design to call a meeting of those ladies and most

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[531] Caroline Young Friedman, "Religious Communities, Charity, and City Government in Baltimore, 1865-1905" (PhD diss., Brandeis University, 2011), 156.

[532] Sister Mary Gray, *Franciscan Sisters of Baltimore: A Brief History, 1868-1999* (Unpublished: Archives of the Franciscan Sisters of Baltimore [hereafter AFSB], Baltimore), 42.

> earnestly desire to assure them of the approval and blessing of the Most Reverend Archbishop whose interest and influence I respectfully request may be granted.[533]

Gibbons expressed his support for her project, "I pray that God may reward you both here and hereafter for the warm interest you are taking in the poor Negro children" and even donated $5 towards the cause.[534] Etting responded to the Archbishop with gratitude.

> Accept my most grateful acknowledgement for your highly valued favor received this morning and the kind contribution it enclosed in aid of 'the good work.' Your approval will sanctify its inauguration and I humbly implore the blessing of God and your own to insure its success.[535]

With the connections afforded her by her family, Etting reached out to the elite within Baltimore's white Catholic community and called a meeting of the "most prominent Catholic ladies of Baltimore" to begin the "good work" of assisting the African American orphans. The ladies that chose to attend the April 27, 1880, meeting included the granddaughter of Charles Carroll (a signer of the Constitution), a granddaughter of wealthy merchant Columbus O'Donnell, and the wife of Austin Jenkins, another wealthy merchant. At that meeting, a Board of Managers was elected, with Miss Etting as the secretary. Other officers included Miss E.L. Harper,[536] president, Mrs. Austin Jenkins, vice president, and Mrs. Emily Hillen,[537] treasurer. [538] These women more than likely had mixed reasons for accepting the invitation to support an

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[533] Josephine Etting to Archbishop Gibbons, April 12, 1880, AFSB, Baltimore, MD.

[534] Archbishop Gibbons to Josephine Etting, April 12, 1880, AFSB, Baltimore, MD.

[535] Josephine Etting to Archbishop Gibbons, April 13, 1880. AFSB, Baltimore, MD.

[536] Emily Louisa Harper was the granddaughter of Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

[537] Emily Hillen was the widow of Solomon Hillen, former mayor of Baltimore.

[538] Sister Mary Gray, *Franciscan Sisters of Baltimore: A Brief History, 1868-1999* (Unpublished: AFSB, Baltimore), 43.

institution for African American orphans. Like other wealthy Catholics in the United States, they chose to serve on boards and become intimately involved in a charity rather than just donate money because it allowed them "close and frequent contact"[539] with prominent clergy and bishops. Additionally, as Friedman argues, charitable activities provided them with "a meaningful source of religious expression, an opportunity for public authority, a chance to socialize, and a means of expressing their status as members of the wealthier classes."[540]

The names of these ladies and their family members can be found on subscription and donor lists of many Catholic causes throughout Baltimore, including that of the Saint Frances Orphan Asylum. The Harper and Jenkins families, specifically, contributed to the Oblates. Those contributions, however, never reached the same level as those that were made to Saint Elizabeth's. Moreover, they only contributed money or paid for sewing services; there is no record of them volunteering their time with the institution. As an institution run by African Americans and one that was not as favored by the Catholic hierarchy, the Saint Frances Orphan Asylum was not as popular a charity for Baltimore's Catholic elite.

Of the officers, Margaret Ann Jenkins became the biggest supporter of the institution. Her husband, Austin Jenkins, was from a prominent Catholic family and was a director of numerous companies including the Baltimore Coal Company, the Baltimore Gas Light Company, and the Savings Bank of Baltimore. Mrs. Jenkins was described as:

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[539] Oates, *The Catholic Philanthropic Tradition in America*, 10.

[540] Friedman, "Religious Communities, Charity, and City Government in Baltimore, 1865-1905," 7.

> [a] beautiful old lady, a typical Baltimore aristocrat whose ancestors were of the Plowdens[541] of England. Her name was Mary Plowden. She was blessed with wealth which she was very generous in using for the interests of her church and was an ardent Catholic—a militant one! Her pity for the colored people was extraordinary and though she never spoiled them, nor advocated their being over-educated, so as to unfit them for what was so evidently their place in God's plan, she was most tender in her solitude for their well-being and for their training to be loyal to Holy Church and creditable to their race.[542]

Like many wealthy patrons of the time who made their fortune in real estate and other commercial ventures, the Jenkins family sometimes chose to give property rather than money to their favorite causes.[543] Patrons may have chosen to give property because the state of Maryland taxed property. Income taxes did not yet exist. In May, Mrs. Jenkins gifted a four-story home at 317 Saint Paul Street, previously owned by her husband Austin Jenkins, to be placed at the disposal of Saint Francis Xavier Parish for use as the new Saint Elizabeth Home for Colored Children.[544] Mrs. Herbert and thirty-five children moved into the home on July 12, 1880.

Despite the new building and increased moral and financial support, the orphanage soon became too much for Mrs. Herbert and Carrie, her helper, to handle on

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[541] B.N. *The Jesuits; Their Foundation and History*, London: Burns & Oates, 1877, 299-300. The Plowdens were an ancient Catholic family in England "which through the long dark years of persecution had faithfully kept the faith, and…and had given several of its sons to the Society of Jesus." Chief among those sons was Father Charles Plowden, SJ. Father Plowden had been the Minister of the English College at Bruges when it was destroyed by the Belgian Government in 1773. After a time of imprisonment there, he returned to England where he practiced as a secular priest. Upon the restoration of the Catholic Church in England, he was placed in charge of the Jesuit Novitiate that was established at Hoder in 1803. In 1814, he was appointed Provincial in England and Rector of Stonyhurst College. Father Plowden was also a friend and confidant of Bishop John Carroll.

[542] Mother Paul's Diary, 1868-1890, page 94-5, Franciscan Sisters Folder, Josephite Archives [hereafter JA], Baltimore, MD.

[543] Oates, 6.

[544] Sister Mary Gray, *Franciscan Sisters of Baltimore: A Brief History, 1868-1999* (Unpublished: AFSB, Baltimore), 43-44.

their own. The number of residents had increased to fifty and many of them suffered from whooping cough. Mother Paul's Diary indicates that Father Slattery and the board did what they could to support Mrs. Herbert, but due to ingrained prejudice, didn't have much faith in her ability to efficiently run the institution. No evidence exists in the record to support their lack of confidence. Their frustrations with Mary Herbert did not seem to be directed at her per se because she could not personally do the work, but because they did not feel that anyone of the colored race would be competent in the role.

> They visited it, directed Mary Herbert when they could and were indefatigable in working outside for it. But the Fathers and Ladies had long recognized the futility of securing anything like intelligent care of the house or the inmates thereof under the ruling of <u>any</u> colored woman, however reliable she might seem to be. The time had not come for that! Therefore they had so piteously begged for Sisters to come to their aid.[545]

Despite having dedicated his life and career to the advancement of African American Catholics, Slattery fell victim to the prevailing racial and gender biases of the Catholic Church. That manifested in his attitude toward Mary Herbert and the Oblate Sisters of Providence. It seems that while he believed in the African American mission, he did not have faith that African American women were capable of serving as leaders of in their own institutions. Slattery did not feel that the Oblate Sisters of Providence, Baltimore's order of black nuns, who ran the parish school at Saint Francis Xavier were qualified to do so. He felt that they were not qualified to be teachers since most of them had only a basic grade school education. This was due to the fact that higher levels of education were closed to them because of their race. Slattery also expressed his displeasure at the type of education the Oblates offered at Saint Frances Academy. He

[545] Mother Paul's Diary, 1868-1890, 10, Franciscan Sisters Folder, JA, Baltimore, MD.

felt that it did not suit the social situation of most of the school's black students and urged the sisters to open an industrial school instead. Owing to these conflicts, he resigned as their spiritual director and began to look for another religious order to take over the parish school at Saint Francis Xavier.[546]

Slattery consulted with Cardinal Vaughan, extant leader of the Mill Hill Missionaries and supporter of the African American mission. Vaughan had recently supported the creation of the Franciscan Sisters of Saint Mary, Mill Hill, a new community of women religious that were dedicated to helping the underprivileged. Slattery thought the new order would be a perfect fit in Baltimore and invited a contingent of Franciscan Sisters to Baltimore. The sisters arrived on December 26, 1881. Archbishop Gibbons and Father John Slattery conducted a welcome mass on December 28 and the Saint Elizabeth Home for Colored Children was officially opened.[547]

The Franciscan Sisters of Saint Mary, Mill Hill, also known as the Mill Hill Missioners, grew out of the mid nineteenth century Oxford Movement[548] in England when many Anglican orders converted to Roman Catholicism. Mary Eliza Basil was an Anglican nun of the Society of Saint Margaret who worked in the poorest London neighborhoods when she converted to Catholicism in 1868. With the help of Father

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[546] Ochs, 55.

[547] Sister Mary Gray, 46.

[548] The Oxford Movement. http://www.britannica.com/event/Oxford-movement accessed December 15, 2015. The Oxford Movement was a nineteenth-century movement that was centered at Oxford University sought a renewal of "catholic" thought and practice within the Church of England in opposition to the Protestant tendencies of the church. The argument was that the Anglican Church was by history and identity a truly "catholic" church. In their terms, "catholic" meant faithful to the teaching of the early and undivided church. John Henry Newman, a leader of the movement, along with a number of others, eventually left the Anglican Church and converted to Roman Catholicism.

Herbert Alfred Vaughan,[549] she became Mother Mary Francis, founded the Franciscan Sisters, and moved the order to Mill Hill, London, in 1870. Father Vaughan and the Mill Hill Missionaries were active in the missionary work with African Americans in Baltimore and had become close with Archbishops of Baltimore, Martin Spalding and James Gibbons. Father Vaughan "made a visitation of the work being done in Baltimore for the colored Catholics" in 1881.[550] While there, he met with Archbishop Gibbons and Josephite priest Father John Slattery and discussed their need for assistance in the mission to African American Catholics in Baltimore. Upon his return to England, he approached Mother Mary Francis and informed her "how dire was the need of Sisters to further their efforts for the education and instruction of the children" in Baltimore.[551] He explained that church leaders had made personal appeals to several religious communities to take up the work but that "the prejudices against the recently emancipated negroes were far too strong to elicit any service for that race as a distinct work."[552] Echoing the reasoning used by Father O'Connor and Archbishop Gibbons when they had asked that the Mill Hill Fathers come to the United States a decade earlier, Vaughan went on to say that he believed that unless the work was distinct from other missions, the "colored folk would get little benefit from it."[553] Mother Mary Francis promised him an "earnest

[549] Herbert Albert Vaughan (1832–1903) served as Archbishop of Westminster from 1892 until his death, and was elevated to the cardinal in 1893.

[550] Mother Paul's Diary: 1868-1890, 9. Franciscan Sisters Folder, JA, Baltimore, MD.

[551] Mother Paul's Diary: 1868-1890, 9.

[552] Ibid.

[553] Ibid.

consideration" of his appeal.[554] She was hesitant to agree to the mission at first because she felt that her new sisters needed a solid spiritual foundation before "sending them into the Master's Vineyard" in faraway America.[555] Upon consideration, she agreed to assign four of her sisters to the American field.[556] The sisters were to be assigned to both Saint Elizabeth's Home and Saint Francis Xavier Parish School.

Having been notified of Mother Mary Francis' decision, Father John Slattery and the Board of Managers[557] met on November 18, 1881, to discuss the future of Saint Elizabeth's Home and the transition to the management by the Franciscan Sisters. They decided that the Board would continue as a governing body for the institution and would meet quarterly. They also made plans for the arrival of the Sisters. Slattery agreed to finance their arrival and to make sure that the ladies were suitably greeted and taken to their accommodations.[558] The stage was now set for Slattery and the white Catholic establishment to take over the institution.

On December 26, 1881, Sisters Winifred Phillips (Superior), Rose Mitchell, Teresa Bartram, and Augustine Royston (lay sister) arrived in Baltimore.[559] The four sisters were greeted by priests from the Saint Joseph's Missionary Society and taken to Saint Elizabeth's Home. They were greeted by "a houseful of tumbling, crowing,

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[554] Mother Paul's Diary: 1868-1890, 9.

[555] Sister Mary Gray, 41.

[556] Ibid.

[557] Mrs. Austin Jenkins, Mrs. Tormey, Mrs. Morris, and Miss Josephine Etting

[558] Sister Mary Gray, 44.

[559] Ibid.

laughing colored babies."[560] Their first view of the home was the kitchen where they observed "well closed windows with panes streaming with steam from clothes being washed, food being cooked, and the breath of the workers, together with the herd of children who were either crawling about the floor or sitting as close to the stove as they safely could."[561]

According to Mother Paul's Diary, Mary Herbert had mistakenly thought that the sisters had only come to work in the Saint Francis Xavier parish school and that she would "hold undisputed sway over the main part of the house and wholly over the work for [Saint Elizabeth's] inmates."[562] Because of this, she was offended when the sisters began to inspect Saint Elizabeth Home and make plans for its future. Father Slattery was called in to smooth the way for the inspection.[563] Confirming the board's earlier belief of mismanagement, the inspection found that the home was in disorder. The Sisters found "piles of really good clothing"[564] that had been donated by the ladies of the Board that appeared to be have been used once and instead of being washed, were merely hidden out of sight. This "airing out" led to the discovery that Mrs. Herbert had been hiding a smallpox outbreak.[565] The house was quickly placed under a two-week quarantine. During that time, Mother Paul reports that the newly arrived sisters "performed wonders

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[560] Saint Elizabeth's Home Golden Jubilee Pamphlet, Franciscans Sisters Folder, JA, Baltimore, MD.

[561] Mother Paul's Diary, 1868-1890, 10.

[562] Ibid.

[563] Ibid.

[564] Ibid.

[565] Ibid.

in the way of organizing the domestic arrangements, and in having everything thoroughly cleaned to make a new start."[566] Franciscan history states that Mrs. Herbert soon left to venture west and open another house for orphaned colored children.[567] Nothing is known about the reasons for Mrs. Herbert's departure, but it is almost certain that she felt powerless to run the home in the face of Father Slattery, the Franciscan Sisters, and the white Catholic establishment who had taken over its administration.

The Growth of Saint Elizabeth Home

After the quarantine, Mother Winifred, Sister Rose and Sister Theresa started teaching in Saint Francis Xavier School, and Sister Augustine took charge of Saint Elizabeth Home. Sister Paul's Diary declared that Sister Augustine "was a great worker, which in itself made a very pronounced difference between her and Mary Herbert." [568] Two "very good colored women," Cecilia Buchanan and Frances Johnson, were hired to assist her.[569]

With the support of Father Slattery and the Archdiocese, the orphanage was incorporated in March 1882 as "The Saint Elizabeth Home of Baltimore City, for the protecting, sheltering, and training of colored children"[570] and accepted boys and girls, no matter how young. As a result of its formal incorporation, the institution had become well known in the city and state. "Appeals to give shelter to needy colored children came

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[566] Mother Paul's Diary, 1868-1890, 10.

[567] Sister Mary Gray, 47.

[568] Mother Paul's Diary, 1868-1890, 12.

[569] Sister Mary Gray, 47.

[570] Ibid.

almost daily. Dr. John Morris became interested, giving his services free,[571] together with direction and advice as to the peculiar methods of treating the infants, which were invaluable to the sisters."[572] With the large number of children seeking admittance, a separate house for infants was built on the rear of the property. The Baltimore City Health Department assisted with the construction of the building.[573]

The opening of the Saint Elizabeth Home coincided with a transformation in how Baltimore City dealt with and funded private charities. In the 1860s and 1870s, the need for public assistance for the sick, indigent, and dependent outstripped the available space in the City's public institutions. The City Council recognized that it was unable to provide the necessary care in its institutions and began moving toward privatization of care for the poor. Instead of building and staffing additional public institutions, it chose to send the needy to private institutions where they believed that the care was better[574] and the cost lower. Catholic charities made up the largest group of institutions receiving city funding. In her study of religious communities, charity and Baltimore City government, Caroline Friedman found that in the 1870s there were at least sixteen Catholic charitable institutions in Baltimore and nearly all of them were receiving city funding. She argues that this was because not only was a large proportion of the charities

[571] Oates, 52. Oates argues that middle-class professional men liked to give personally to their favorite charities. Physicians and dentists would care for orphans free of charge and businessmen and lawyers would contribute their expert advice for free.

[572] Mother Paul's Diary, 1868-1890, 12, Franciscan Sisters Folder, JA, Baltimore, MD.

[573] Sister Mary Gray, 48.

[574] Friedman, 195-99. An 1876 Grand Jury investigation of the Bayview Asylum found that the institution was overcrowded and had disease and sanitation problems

in the city were Catholic but also because a large number of Catholic voters were Democrats, the dominant political party at the time.[575]

The dominance of Catholics in both city politics and charitable institutions did not go unchallenged by Baltimore's Protestants. In 1875, a group of Baltimoreans filed an injunction in what became known as "The Sectarian Appropriations Case."[576] The petitioners claimed that taxing Baltimore City residents to fund Catholic and other private charities was a misuse of government power. The case went all the way to the Maryland Court of Appeals.[577] There, defendants,[578] represented in part by Charles Bonaparte, explained that their institutions were public in nature and deserving of city funding. They argued that private charities could be considered public institutions if their purpose was one that benefitted the city and its residents as a whole. The Appeals Court sided with the defendants and allowed Baltimore City to provide appropriations to private charities. In its decision, the court stated, "it is a duty [of the municipality] to provide for the foundlings, the insane, the indigent infirm and helpless, and for the correction of vicious and vagrant portions of its population."[579] The judges did, however, add a stipulation to their approval. They felt that a level of fiscal accountability needed to be included in City contracts with private institutions, that "as long as religious charities showed specifically how they were using public money to feed, clothe, and house the needy, they

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[575] Friedman, 195-99.

[576] *Brown, et al. v. Mayor and City Council, et al.* (Circuit Court of Baltimore City, June 1875).

[577] *St. Mary's Industrial School etc. v. George S. Brown et al*. (MD Ct. App. April 1876).

[578] Friedman, 108. Saint Mary's Industrial School, Saint Vincent's Infant Asylum of Baltimore, and the Maryland Institute for the Promotion of Mechanic Arts were the defendants.

[579] Friedman, 110.

could continue to receive aid."[580] As a result of this case, Catholic charities continued to grow in Baltimore. Institutions began soliciting formal contracts with the city to receive the much needed funding.

Exactly one year after its incorporation, Saint Elizabeth's was awarded a contract by Baltimore City. Ordinance Number 14 allowed the city to contract with the home to provide:

> for the care and maintenance of colored infants who may be found exposed and deserted in the public streets, lanes or alleys of the city, and whose parents or guardians cannot be found, and who may be committed by the police or corporate authorities to the care of said institution, and of such sick and diseased colored infants whose parents and guardians may be unable to provide for their care and comfort; provided, that such contract shall contain a clear and express stipulation that the city shall incur no obligation therefrom or thereby to pay any sum in excess of the amounts which may be appropriated by the mayor and city council, from time to time, for that purpose.[581]

The acknowledgement of Baltimore City government and the receipt of contract to do business with it further solidified Saint Elizabeth's as an important and viable Catholic institution.

Over the next several years, Saint Elizabeth's Home continued to grow. According to the 3rd Annual Report,[582] there were more children in need of the Home's services than could be given. The growing mechanization of industries such as the canning industry might have contributed to the growing number of foundlings and orphans left at Saint Elizabeth's. In the last decades of the nineteenth century, canning had become Baltimore's second largest industry and the city had become the canning

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[580] Friedman, 110.

[581] Baltimore City Ordinance No. 14, March 21, 1883.

[582] *Saint Joseph's Advocate*, July 1885, 109-110.

center of the United States.[583] The canning business originally employed hundreds of unskilled women who cut corn, hulled peas, capped cans, and pasted labels. By the 1890s, however, machines replaced those laborers.[584] Black women were almost always the most seriously impacted by these types of situations and may have been forced to place their children with institutions such as Saint Elizabeth's. Despite the fact that two additional sisters were sent from England in 1883, there were not enough adults to care for the constant stream of newly admitted children. Luckily, according to Mother Paul, "By this time, some of the older girls were able to give considerable help to the Sisters, whose ways they tried to imitate, and were veritable little mothers to the tiny babies. They are born 'mammies.'"[585]

This seemingly innocuous statement by Mother Paul, illustrates that the Franciscan Sisters were not immune from the racial bias that existed in American and church society. Using a common stereotype of the time, the "mammy," to refer to the older girls in the asylum, she was perpetuating the myth that black girls were born to become servants dedicated to a white family and their children.[586] Preparing the residents of Saint Elizabeth's Home to be ready for domestic service was a stated purpose of Saint Elizabeth's. Early annual reports[587] from the institution emphasize the existence of the

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[583] Elizabeth Fee & Linda Shopes, *The Baltimore Book: New Views of Local History.* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993), 126.

[584] Sherry H. Olson, *Baltimore: The Building of an American City* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 203.

[585] Mother Paul's Diary, 1868-1890, 13.

[586] Deborah Gray White, *Ar'n't I a Woman? Female Slaves in the Plantation South.* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1985), 49.

[587] 8th Annual Report of Saint Elizabeth's Home, 1889, MHV995.S137R, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, MD.; 12th Annual Report of Saint Elizabeth's Home, 1893, MHV995.S137R, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, MD.

Industrial School affiliated with the home that provided the older girls with "more advanced training in industrial works" in order to "make good and respectable servants of them."[588]

The Oblate Sisters did not place as much an emphasis on domestic training at the Saint Frances Orphan Asylum. Instead, they offered a more balanced educational experience to their charges. Orphans received instruction in Christian Doctrine, Domestic Economy, Arithmetic, Spelling, and Sewing.[589] This difference in educational philosophy can be seen in the school's prospectus.

> In fact, these girls will either become mothers of families, or be introduced as servants, into decent houses. In the first case, the solid virtue, the religious and moral principles, which they have acquired, when in this school, will be carefully transmitted to their children, and become hereditary in their families. As such are to become servants, they will be entrusted with menial offices, and the care of young children in the most respectable families.[590]

The choice of placing the training for domestic service as secondary in the prospectus, elucidates Oblate feeling about the purpose of education.

Children came to Saint Elizabeth Home in a variety of ways. Like Saint Frances Orphan Asylum, they received children from government agencies and desperate parents and family members. What set Saint Elizabeth's apart from other Baltimore institutions that served African Americans is that it was the only institution that would accept and care for infants. Because of this, it found itself on the receiving end of a number of foundlings. The annals are filled with stories of babies who had been deserted by their

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[588] 8th Annual Report of Saint Elizabeth's Home, 1889, MHV995.S137R, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, MD.

[589] School Report 1920-21, RG I, Box 19, Folder 11, Archives of the Oblate Sisters of Providence [hereafter AOSP], Baltimore, MD.

[590] Oblate Sisters of Providence Constitution, RG I, Box 1, Folder 1, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

mothers. Sometimes local authorities brought those babies. On December 28, 1884, one such delivery occurred.

> Just then a doorbell rang such a peal that all jumped to their feet and stared at one another. What could it mean? Surely not a baby on that cold night! The Mothers hastened to the door and inquired who was without. A reassuring voice replied: "Don't be frightened Sister, I am an officer and I've brought you a deserted baby boy; he was found in the vestibule of St. Alphonsus' Church when the sexton was closing it. One of the Fathers there baptized it, as they thought it might die, it is so cold." Open flew the door to welcome the holy innocent! He was curled up in a basket that had no cover. Round the poor little one was wound the bottom of a calico undergarment, on which not trace of trimming or other clue to ownership remained. Baby Alphonsus was faintly breathing, so at once he was wrapped in warm flannels and fed a few drops at a time until the little flame of life began to brighten and then glow.[591]

Sister Paul recounted another delivery:

> Another day a policeman came carrying a neat package done up in brown paper tied with a string. He had found it on one of the seats in a park, and upon turning it over discovered a small hole, just large enough to enable the tiny mortal within to breathe. It also proved large enough to identify the baby to be colored, so the officer picked up the parcel and carried it to the Home without anyone who met him suspecting what it contained.[592]

Other foundlings were left at the Home by their mothers. "Some babies were found in ash barrels; many more were just placed on the doorstep, the bell furious rung, and one answering the call could still hear the clatter of flying feet as the runaway escaped recognition and left the baby to the charity of the Sisters."[593]

By 1887, Saint Elizabeth Home was overcrowded and in need of a new building. "What Mother wanted most was a place in the country, where there was fresh air and

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[591] Mother Paul's Diary, 1868-1890, 15.

[592] Mother Paul's Diary, 1868-1890, 5.

[593] Ibid., 15.

more ground for the children. An institution like Saint Elizabeth Home, cramped up in the heart of any city, was not an ideal situation for the development of sickly infants, and most of the neglected little ones in the Home were of that class."[594] "The summer of 1887 was especially trying, but particularly to the babies, all too many of whom succumbed to its effects. Doctor J. Morris was in despair and urged upon all interested in it the pressing necessity of seeking immediate relief for the infants."[595] Father John Slattery approached the sisters with what seemed like the ideal solution.

> A priest whose interest in the colored work was unquestionable, called to say that a piece of property some eight or nine miles in a suburb of Baltimore, and a large building on it was about to be sold at public auction. It was known as "Highland Park Hotel"[596] and was for several seasons a very fashionable resort. But it had proved to be a financial failure, and the holder had put in on the market for a ready-money sale. The Reverend Father had knowledge of a Catholic family who could easily purchase it for St. Elizabeth's but, of course, he did not know whether or not they would do so.[597]

At Father Slattery's suggestion, Sister Paul wrote a letter to the anonymous family appealing to and telling them of the horrific conditions of the orphanage during the summer and the possibility of having to abandon their work if they did not find a new location. She later recounted in her diary that "[m]any prayers were said for the donors, whose name still remained unknown though later on it will be seen that it was the

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[594] Mother Paul's Diary, 1868-1890, 61.

[595] Ibid., 68.

[596] The Highland Park Hotel in Walbrook was approximately eight miles from Saint Elizabeth's Home, what was at the time, a suburb of Baltimore City. It had been a fashionable resort for several seasons.

[597] Mother Paul's Diary, 68-69.

Drexel[598] family of Philadelphia."[599] Acting with the permission of the Drexel family and without mentioning that the purpose of the purchase was to expand a home for African American orphans, Father Slattery bid $26,000 for the property. The bid was accepted. Once again, a white benefactress had come to the rescue of Saint Elizabeth's.

With moving expenses donated by Mrs. Jenkins, the Sisters prepared to move to Highland Park in May 1888. The new location provided challenges from the beginning. First, it was eight miles from their Saint Paul Street home and was difficult to access. The only way to get there was either by taking a street car and transferring to a mule drawn cart and then walking the final half mile, or taking a railcar and asking to be let off at a wayside station where trains did not stop unless signaled. The latter way was the quickest, but was also the most expensive.[600] The difficulty in accessing the new home led to additional problems. Dr. Morris, the home physician, did not have the time to travel to the home to care for the children. In addition, it was too distant for daily visits by a Catholic priest. Also, the closest Catholic Church was too distant for the children to walk to. Only the sisters were able to access the church, and then, only on Sundays or for special occasions. This meant that daily mass and Holy Communion on Sundays were not possible.[601] The challenges did not end with access to medical or spiritual care.

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[598] The Drexel Sisters were heiresses of Catholic Philadelphia banker, Francis Drexel. Upon his early death in 1884, Katharine, Elizabeth, and Louise inherited $15 million dollars. Raised to believe in helping those who were less fortunate, the sisters spent their lives donating to Catholic Charities. Katherine founded the Sisters of Blessed Sacrament for the Indians and Colored. In addition to her personal mission, she managed her family inheritance. That management included financing projects across the United States that supported the sisters' belief in ministering to Indians and Colored people. Oftentimes that meant anonymously purchasing property for the cause through a white agent and then turning them over to groups who worked with American Indians or colored people.

[599] Sister Mary Gray, 70.

[600] Mother Paul's Diary, 1868-1890, 71.

[601] Ibid.

Water was also difficult to obtain. The closest well was a quarter mile walk from the home.[602]

Despite the challenges, the Sisters persevered and on May 1, fifty orphans and three sisters moved into the home.[603] Three sisters soon proved inadequate for the number of children.

> None of the children was old enough to be of any real help, but they took such an interest, and so strongly gave evidence of that innate desire to be a little mother to anything smaller than themselves, that duties were assigned the few who were eight or nine years of age. One of these was a very dusky little maiden, who was devoted to the "band" of wee ones whose faces and hands and general cleanliness she was responsible for during certain hours of the morning when Sister was making beds, etc. etc. "Martha" was worth of her name, being busy about many things connected with her "band."[604]

The already challenging conditions were made worse by a severe drought in June of that year. Ice was difficult to obtain and the sisters struggled to keep up with the laundry and it became nearly impossible to keep the babies in clean diapers. Sister Martina, expressing the prejudicial beliefs of many white people at the time, lamented that the fresh country air was not a benefit to the children and "their ancestral habits of 'herding' in close rooms had predisposed the children to pulmonary disease."[605] Doctors Morris and Saunders did their best to attend to the sick children.

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[602] Mother Paul's Diary, 1868-1890, 71.

[603] Sister Mary Gray, 71.

[604] Mother Paul's Diary, 1868-1890, 77.

[605] Ibid., 78.

> This meant a great sacrifice of time to both men, as it was inconvenient for them to make car connections, and under the most fortunate conditions it meant hours of absence from the city, and not infrequently a wetting walking from either care to the Hotel. The delay in having prescriptions filled was another drawback, and in some cases ended seriously for the poor little patient.[606]

If the doctors were unsuccessful in saving a child, city authorities were not able to immediately remove the body. As Mother Paul recalled, "mortification set in for both the dead and the living."[607]

The physical conditions at Highland Park were complicated by the political machinations of Father John Slattery.[608] Father Slattery had become a very polarizing figure. As early as 1880 he had become very vocal in his displeasure with the established Catholic Church's African American mission. The Josephites were not pleased with this and had rejected him as Provincial in their 1882 election. Because his presence was so disruptive, he was reassigned to the Josephite's Richmond mission in 1884. By 1888, Slattery returned from what he called his "Virginia Exile" and was looking to reestablish himself as the leader of the African American work. He believed that the African American mission should sever its ties with England and become a distinctly American mission that only worked in the United States. That separation would involve the Franciscan Sisters and the Josephites seceding from the Archdiocese of London in England. As an established member of the American Catholic hierarchy, no matter his previous exile, Slattery believed that he was the perfect person to lead that work. "In his

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[606] Mother Paul's Diary, 1868-1890, 77.

[607] Ibid.

[608] Ochs, 70.

intense devotion to work among the coloured people, wished to divide the Sisters working among them, by a clean cut, from the mother-house in Mill Hill, and practically make a new congregation of them exclusively devoted to work among the negroes in America."[609] Slattery, who was also leading the effort to separate the Josephites from their English leadership, wanted to make the Sisters a "sort of counterpart to the Society of Saint Joseph."[610] Slattery would not turn over ownership of Highland Park until the Franciscan Sisters met his certain demands. The Reverend Father insisted that three things occur; 1) A novitiate be established at Highland Park, 2) The sisters be restricted to working with the colored, 3) All American sisters at Mill Hill must be returned to the United States.[611] Slattery's maneuvers once again demonstrate his patriarchal attitude. His desire for the Franciscan Sisters to defer to his leadership and comply with his wishes could only be stopped by Catholic officials with a higher standing in the church.

The Franciscan Sisters, like other communities of religious at the time, were opposed to Slattery's ploys. Oates argues that sisterhoods "endeavored from the start to preserve some decision-making autonomy as congregations."[612] The Franciscans exercised that autonomy and Mother Agnes travelled to the United States specifically for a meeting with Slattery. Cardinal Gibbons held a meeting between Father Slattery and the sisters at his residence on August 4, 1888. Mother Agnes and Sister Madeline represented the Franciscans. Father Gliesen, Josephite Provincial, joined Father Slattery.

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[609] Martindale, S.J., 25.

[610] Ibid.

[611] Sister Mary Gray, 73.

[612] Oates, 16.

Slattery demanded that Mother Agnes agree to his terms before he would turn over the deed to Highland Park. Although Reverend Mother agreed to continue the "good work," she said that she could not agree to the Slattery's terms without the approval of Cardinal Manning in London. Back in England, Cardinal Manning refused Slattery's terms, declaring that the Franciscan Sisters would remain under the auspices of his leadership and that of the London Archdiocese.[613] Cardinal Gibbons, who according to Mother Paul seemed to be relieved about this declaration, deferred to Cardinal Manning's authority on the matter.[614] This relief was probably due to the fact that he did not want to interfere in the business of another religious congregation. Father Slattery was not happy with this decision and from that moment forward did everything within his power to make the operations of the Franciscan Sisters and Saint Elizabeth Home difficult. Mother Paul wrote that the "wily Reverend Father artfully dodged every fair attempt to get from him the identity of the donor or donors. He made pious parade of the honor which bound him to keep his secret."[615] In addition, he often refused to send a priest to celebrate Sunday mass for the sisters.

Despite all of these obstacles, the Sisters continued their mission at Highland Park. They invited Cardinal Gibbons to celebrate the Feast of Our Holy Fathers in October 1888. That October was unusually cold, and the conditions at the Home were not to the Cardinal's liking. He advised Mother Mary Elizabeth to get the little ones back to Saint Paul Street as soon as possible while the roads were passable and the cold not

[613] Sister Mary Gray, 73.

[614] Ibid.

[615] Mother Paul's Diary, 1868-1890, 86.

that severe. "He did not understand how little children could be expected to endure such cold as His Eminence had suffered that morning!!"[616] By the Feast of All Saints on November 1, the move back to St. Paul Street was almost complete, with only Sisters Mary Paul and Mary Cyril left behind. The two remained at Highland Park on advice by the Cardinal that someone should remain in the building because "possession was 9/10 of the law."[617] When the Cardinal visited St. Paul Street during the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, Mother Mary Elizabeth expressed her concern about the controversy with Father Slattery over Highland Park and of the two sisters remaining there. The Cardinal, who had forgotten about the two sisters, instructed her to have them return immediately and to give up possession of the building.[618] Once the Franciscans left Highland Park, they had little to no interaction with Father Slattery.

Slattery would go on to take over the building and use it for Epiphany Apostolic College, a preparatory college for Saint Joseph's Seminary. The mission of both institutions was to educate priests dedicated to ministering to the colored population.[619] Slattery was appointed the rector of Saint Joseph's.[620] As rector, Slattery reported directly to Cardinal Vaughan in England. He ignored the American Josephite Provincial Father Leeson. Slattery used that position to further his goal of making the Josephites an

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[616] Mother Paul's Diary, 1868-1890, 88.

[617] Ibid.

[618] Ibid.

[619] Ibid., 90-91.

[620] Ochs, 83.

independent American society headed by him. In 1893, he succeeded in separating the Josephites from Mill Hill.[621]

In addition to the children and sisters who had returned from Highland Park, many children had been admitted during the summer months. All of these additions caused very crowded conditions at the St. Paul Street home. On her visit to the United States, Abbess and co-founder of the Franciscans, Mother Mary Agnes, inspected the institution and decided to make a change in its leadership. She appointed Mother Mary Mildred to be the sister in charge at Saint Elizabeth's. Mother Mary Mildred, who had recently been assigned to the Richmond mission, was well connected in Baltimore society[622] and used those connections for the betterment of the home.[623] Under her leadership and with those contacts:

> [a] small grant of money was paid from the City Hall of Baltimore for the maintenance of these waifs and strays of colour who were sent to the city as inmates of Saint Elizabeth's Home. It meant recognition, and upon that it was the purpose of the community to build and merit a future both for the Institution and for the Community as capable operators of it.[624]

Local and state government support of a Catholic institution was somewhat unusual for its time in the rest of the country. In her research on the government funding to religious charities, Oates states that most states, let alone local governments, did not provide regular support to church-run (especially Catholic) charitable institutions in the 1880s.[625]

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[621] Ochs, 84. Archbishop Gibbons accepted jurisdiction over the Josephites in 1892. The Mill Hill Missionaries in the U.S. at that time were allowed to decide their fate. They could enlist in Slattery's new society, join an American diocese, or remain with Mill Hill.

[622] Mother Paul's Diary, 1868-1890, 82-83. John Murphy, lawyer, was Sister Mildred's cousin.

[623] Ibid., 67.

[624] Ibid.

[625] Oates, 52.

This was not the case in Baltimore, where city and state support of Catholic institutions began as early as 1868 when Archbishop Spalding received funding for Saint Mary's Industrial School[626] and was codified by the 1875 "Sectarian Appropriations Case." Saint Elizabeth's benefited from similar support as early as 1883 with a $750 contribution from the City.[627] This support provides evidence of the prominent status of Catholics in Baltimore Society.

With Baltimore City government recognition and the support of the Archbishop, the stage was set for a reinvigorated campaign for Saint Elizabeth's.

> A newer interest was awakened … and the Board of Managers placed on a firmer footing, as well as being augmented by several new office bearers … It was immediately after that Sister M. Mildred started out, with full approbation of Archbishop Gibbons to increase the number of annual subscribers who would guarantee a yearly gift of any sum from One Pound (Sterling) up, for the St. E's Home. In this she was successful and added quite a tidy sum to the annual receipts. She went in person to the many market places within walking distance of St. E's, and there won the attention of not a few who regularly donated fruits, vegetables, groceries dry and green, which proved a veritable boon to the inmates—religious and lay—of the home.[628]

Living and working in a traditional Catholic stronghold, Catholic businessmen were seeking ways to "give dignity, decorum, and stability to our institutions, elevate and refine our social tone and add a becoming splendor to our civilization."[629] Oates argues that rich Catholics in the 1850s and afterward were different from those who had made

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[626] Spalding, 185. Saint Mary's Industrial School was a combination orphanage, reformatory, and trade school for wayward Catholic (white) boys. The Mayor of Baltimore and members of the City Council were on the Board of Directors for the institution. Spalding obtained $5,000 from Baltimore City and $20,000 from Maryland to build the school.

[627] *Saint Joseph's Advocate*, 3rd Year, No.3 (July 1885): 109-110.

[628] Mother Paul's Diary, 1868-1890, 67.

[629] Oates, 124.

their money prior to the 1840s, most who were from working class roots and had made their own fortunes. She says that this new class of wealthy Catholics had never experienced poverty or deprivation and had not had any contact with the poor. As such, traditional charity appeals did not resonate with them. They were more likely to respond to direct and personal appeals from Catholic hierarchy than charity sermons or communications sent out to the general church community.[630] In addition, they expected public acclaim for their contributions. Because of this, a wide variety of church honors and extensive press coverage often accompanied large gifts. Saint Elizabeth's Home benefactors, Mrs. Jenkins and Mrs. John Morris, were received into the Third Order of Saint Francis by Cardinal Gibbons in 1891.[631]

The added support of the community allowed Saint Elizabeth Home to survive another harsh winter. But the spring of 1889 was particularly hot and "[t]he doctors dreaded the approaching summer, and feared that the mortality might exceed the record of previous years—always alarmingly great—and it was a matter of prayer fervent and unceasing that by some intervention of saints help would surely come to the helpless."[632] That hope came in the form of benefactress Mrs. Elizabeth Jenkins. In May, Mrs. Jenkins took Mother Mary Elizabeth on a carriage ride where she called her attention to a beautiful brick home known as the Hiss Mansion.

> Mrs. Jenkins bade her coachman drive slowly past one particular corner and related to M.M.E. how it was bought and built upon by a man named Hiss, who expended a fortune on it, intending it to be a home for him and his descendants; it was known as the "Hiss Mansion." It was a brick structure and stood on the

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[630] Oates, 124.

[631] Sister Mary Gray, 80.

[632] Mother Paul's Diary, 1868-1890, 92.

> corner, with carriage house in the rear, and a fine garden with some choice trees, shrubbery, flowers, a fountain, and all enclosed with a low fence of ornamental iron, so that its beauty was a joy to those who passed by it. … Mr. Hiss had failed in business and the place had been vacated by the Hiss family and sold to satisfy their debtors. Strange to say, it was purchased for exactly the amount Highland Park cost.[633]

After passing the mansion once, she bid the driver turn the carriage around and went back to the mansion where she laughingly told Mother Mary Elizabeth that she had purchased it and intended its use for the Sisters.

The mansion at 2226 Maryland Avenue "was not half an hour distant from St. Paul Street house. Immensely more convenient and possible than the too distant Highland Park Property. The house and grounds were in perfect order; nothing to do but notify the water and gas companies to turn on supplies."[634] This was quite a boon and set the Franciscans apart from other institutions, especially the Saint Frances Orphan Asylum which had to struggle to find locations and then to make those locations livable for the charges.

Mrs. Jenkins and her daughter, Mrs. Garland, took possession of the building in early June. They entered the building and began to open the doors and windows, welcoming Mother Elizabeth and Sister Paul. Not wishing to antagonize the neighbors, predominantly Protestant businessmen, Mrs. Jenkins insisted that the home was for the sisters and that no maids of color or children enter the building with them. Despite her precautions, the neighbors were soon complaining and a petition circulating. A June 11 newspaper article stated:

> Persons who reside in the neighborhood of Maryland Avenue, just north of the old city limits, are making opposition to the rumored plan of Mrs. Austin Jenkins to

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[633] Mother Paul's Diary, 1868-1890, 92.

[634] Ibid.,93.

> transform the old Hiss estate, at the corner of Maryland Avenue and Fourth Street into an asylum for colored orphans. On May 2, the handsome house and six continuous lots of twenty feet front each were sold at auction to a real estate firm representing Mrs. Jenkins for $27,000. When it became generally known that the purchaser intended to change the place into an asylum there was a feeling of regret among residents and property holders in the vicinity and a meeting was held last night on First Street near Maryland Avenue, at which James E. Hooper presided and Elijah Walker was chosen secretary, and a committee, consisting of James Hoper, F.D. Morrison, Benjamin Kurtz, George Poole, Robertson Taylor and J.S. Leib, was appointed to wait on Mr. E. Austin Jenkins, son of the benevolent lady, and request a modification of the rumored design. A petition to the same purport has obtained about 100 signatures. Among those who attended the meeting were C.F. Pitt, Henry Shirk, Jr., Samuel Morgan, Dr. J. Grimes, Walton Russell, Reuben Foster and F. Albert Kurtz. Mrs. Jenkins is the widow of Austin Jenkins, Sr.. She donated to the Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis the building now used by St. Elizabeth's Colored Orphan asylum, on St. Paul street near Saratoga. The Hiss mansion was occupied by P. Hanson Hiss for nearly thirty years prior to November, 1887, when he removed his family to his present residence, on North Calvert street. The Maryland Avenue mansion has twenty-one rooms and is built of brick somewhat after the colonial style of architecture. It was erected by Henry Shirk Sr., father of Mrs. Hiss, about thirty five years ago.[635]

Mrs. Jenkins responded to the protests by reiterating that she owned the home and that she was allowing "the ladies from England" to live there and that they were "not likely to destroy the peace by opening a school or academy."[636] Her statement did not allay the concerns of neighbors who continued to make threats and even vandalized the building by writing "Roman Catholic Negro Orphan Asylum" across the front door.[637] Due to all of the disruption and despite the fact that money was scarce, Mother Mary Elizabeth moved into the home and had an arch erected that proclaimed the building to be "Convent of Our Lady and St. Francis."[638] The arch was made of heavy galvanized steel

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[635] Sister Mary Gray, 77.

[636] Ibid., 78.

[637] Ibid.

[638] Mother Paul's Diary, 1868-1890.

made to look like stone and spanned the entrance gate and stood close to the sidewalk so that it could be plainly seen.[639] It served to underscore that the purpose of the building was as a convent, not a home for African American orphans.

The June 13, 1889, *Baltimore Sun*[640] reported that the committee of protesting neighbors visited Margaret Jenkins' son, Mr. E Austin Jenkins on June 12, 1889, to inquire of him the status of the Maryland Avenue property. He explained to the group that his mother would decide the disposition in a few days. The article went on to say that while no transfer of the property had taken place, a sister had said that the purpose of the home was to furnish a home for the Sisters who were not needed at Saint Elizabeth's and that it might be used for surplus inmates, but that the primary purpose of the building was as a convent. The Sister did add, however, that later older orphans might be transferred to the house to be instructed in cooking, washing, and other things "to fit them for becoming good servants when they leave the institution."[641]

Notwithstanding all of the neighborhood tension, a number of prominent members of the Catholic hierarchy were supportive of the Maryland Avenue location. Cardinal Gibbons chose it as the destination for his afternoon constitutionals and spent many afternoons sitting on the porch with Mrs. Jenkins and the Sisters.[642] In addition to the Cardinal, Father William Bartlett of Saint Ann's Church and Father William Star of Corpus Christie Church also became great friends of the sisters and their mission. The

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[639] Sister Mary Gray, 78.

[640] Ibid.

[641] Sister Mary Gray, 78.

[642] Ibid., 80.

patronage of all three men did much to "dispel local ill-feeling."[643] Sister Paul recalled that in time the prejudice disappeared and many of the signers of the petition against the Maryland Avenue Convent "became their warmest advocates and supporters."[644] That support was almost definitely due to the visible and constant support of the church hierarchy. The familiarity and respect shown to the Franciscan Sisters is in sharp contrast to that shown to the Oblate Sisters of Providence. A careful review of the Oblate Annals from 1860 through 1879,[645] shows only three references to a visit from a Baltimore Archbishop. In April 1866 during the Second Plenary Council, Archbishop Spalding, accompanied by several of his fellow clerics from other archdioceses, visited Saint Frances. Later that year, he presided over the annual exhibition and distribution of premiums for the Saint Frances Academy.[646] In 1868, Spalding attended the March 9 celebration of the Oblates patroness, Saint Frances.[647] The only other reference to a Baltimore Archbishop was on October 9, 1877, when the Mother Superior and three sisters attended the funeral of Archbishop Bayley.[648] The Oblate Annals were very thorough in their recording of events, listing every priest and bishop[649] that visited them. They would not have missed chronicling a visit by the Archbishop of their diocese.

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[643] Sister Mary Gray, 78.

[644] Ibid.

[645] Ibid.

[646] Annals: 1860-1869, RG I, Box 34, Folder 5, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

[647] Ibid.

[648] Annals: 1876-1879, RG I, Box 34, Folder 9, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

[649] Annals: 1860-1869, RG I, Box 34, Folder 5, Baltimore, MD. Bishop James Gibbons visited the Oblates on August 25, 1868.

Despite the support of some Catholic leaders and the decline in protests against the new location, Mrs. Jenkins still felt it necessary to reiterate the purpose of the home on Maryland Avenue. In February 1890, she emphatically stated that "on no account" was the convent ever to be used as a receiving house for children and that all children were to be directed to the Saint Elizabeth Home on Saint Paul Street.[650]

Almost immediately, however, the Maryland Avenue site was expanded. The renovations were to enlarge the chapel and create rooms for Mrs. Jenkins and some of the larger girls, as well as an infirmary.[651] The extension consisted of an adequate cellar, a recreation room, a classroom and a dormitory. "This afforded a blessed change for the children who were quietly brought from the home on St. Paul Street so as not to attract the wrath of the neighbors. The trees were a merciful shade from peering eyes and by late summer the children were occupying the new addition."[652]

A severe economic downtown occurred in 1893. It was a "year of financial panic, spreading outward from bank crashes to railroad bankruptcies and layoffs, the collapse of farm prices, and foreclosures nationwide."[653] Baltimore did not escape the financial recession. Observers estimated that by December 28, 7,500 residents were out of work. Just a few short days later, on January 1, unemployment numbers were being reported as anywhere from 10,000 to 30,000.[654] There are no approximations as to how many of

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[650]Sister Mary Gray, 80.

[651] Ibid., 79.

[652] Ibid., 79.

[653] Olson, *Baltimore: The Building of an American City*, 228.

[654] Ibid.

those unemployed workers were African American. But, like in other times of depression, African Americans were some of the hardest hit of the population. Olson stated, "each unemployment crisis squeezed the unskilled blacks." She stated that black hod carriers[655] lost their contract with the builders of the North Avenue bridge and were replaced by white laborers. While there was a very "small group of skilled workers and middle-class families in the black community, most African Americans in Baltimore found themselves unable to earn more than the lowest wages as day laborers, laundresses, and servants because of discrimination and unequal access to education."[656] That day-to-day existence was stressful for families and led to a greater need for the care offered by Saint Elizabeth's Home.

Baltimore City government was aware of the increased numbers of children being abandoned at Saint Elizabeth's and increased its allocation to the home so that sixty children could be cared for instead of forty.[657] The increased funding was absolutely necessary according to Mr. George Parker, agent for the Society for the Protection of Children. He claimed, "I do not know what the Society I represent could or would do without the Sisters at Saint Elizabeth's Home. They cheerfully receive from us the unattractive, forlorn bits of humanity that are tortured and left to die by heartless parents."[658] Bertha, Annie May, and Sadie Boston, ages four, six and eight were some of those children rescued by the Society. They were found in "South Baltimore lying on a

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[655] Hod carriers transported bricks in and between worksites.

[656] Friedman, 44.

[657] 12th Annual Report of Saint Elizabeth's Home, 1893, MHV995.S137R, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, MD.

[658] Ibid.

bundle of rags in a corner of a room, in the intense cold of … winter without sufficient clothing, freezing, and starving—utterly deserted."[659] Another child, two years old, was found locked in a room on Raborg Street, "lying on an old mattress with its feet tied together. It was the mother's custom to tie the child's feet, that it might not fall from the bed, and leave it in that condition all day while she was away at work."[660] This story, just one of many, demonstrates the difficult choices made by many women during that time period and the reaction of city agencies to the situations of their poor citizens.

The 12th Annual Report of Saint Elizabeth Home reported that the sisters attempted to alleviate some of the overcrowding of the home by sending boys to Saint Joseph's Home for Colored Boys in Wilmington, Delaware.[661] In 1892-1893, eleven boys were sent, seven of whom had their room and board partially paid for by Saint Elizabeth's.[662] Saint Joseph's mission for African Americans in Wilmington was started by Mill Hill Priest John Anthony DeRuyter in 1889. With a small amount of funding from the Drexel family, he opened Saint Joseph's Home for Colored Orphan Boys. Saint Joseph's provided not only meals and shelter but also an elementary education. Eventually he realized that the home did not meet the needs of older boys that demanded that they learn a trade in order to find employment and self-sufficiency. That realization

[659] 12th Annual Report of Saint Elizabeth's Home, 1893, MHV995.S137R, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, MD.

[660] Ibid.

[661] Ibid.

[662] Ibid.

led him to found Saint Joseph's Industrial School[663] in 1895 where it was the mission "to teach the boys a trade, to let them support or at least help to support themselves, and when they are twenty-one years of age, they can go forth among their own people and make good Christian workmen."[664]

By 1894, Saint Elizabeth Home was once again bursting at the seams and in need of support. Sister Mildred is quoted in the *Saint Joseph's Advocate* as saying:

> Our appropriation from the city scarcely enables us to meet expenses. We have this year a much larger number of children than ever before. At present there are seventy-five in the institution, and we pay a certain sum every month towards the support of seven boys sent last year to Wilmington. God has been very good in enabling us to care for so many over our number. We have found it hard at times to make both ends meet. But what saddens us worse is to be obliged to refuse so many applications, which want of means and room obliges us to do daily.[665]

In March of that year, the Sisters acquired 319 Saint Paul Street, the brick home adjoining Saint Elizabeth's. They quickly determined that it would be in their best interest to demolish both buildings and build a modern facility that would better meet their needs.

Like their counterparts across the country, the Sisters decided that the only way to raise the funds they desperately needed was to enter the political arena in search of additional government funding.[666] In the 1890s, Catholic charities continued to lobby

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[663] William Francis Collopy, *"Welfare and Conversion: The Catholic Church and African American Communities in the U.S. South"* (PhD diss., Texas A& M University, 2011), 194. Funding for the industrial school was provided by Mother Katherine Drexel.

[664] Ibid., 192.

[665] *Saint Joseph's Advocate*, Volume III, Number 10, April 1894, 530.

[666] Oates, 52. With the exception of California and Louisiana who reimbursed church charities for the support of the care of public wards and New York who had allotted funds for children in orphanages, states did not provide regular support for Catholic charitable institutions in the 1880s.

aggressively for public funds.[667] Despite acrimonious debate over the topic, states and municipalities began to appropriate funds for the care of state wards placed in Catholic institutions. Mr. Michael Jenkins suggested that the Sisters hire the services of his close friend Charles J. Bonaparte as their legal advisor and to help them get an increase in their City appropriation.

Charles J. Bonaparte[668] was the grandson of Jerome Bonaparte and Betsy Patterson. He was a descendent of both Napoleon (Jerome's brother) and William Patterson (one of the wealthiest merchants in Baltimore). He graduated from Harvard Law School in 1874 and was admitted to the Maryland Bar in the same year. "It took no time for him to become a poor man's lawyer, frequently, if not usually, giving his services freely, if not entirely free, and indeed there were cases in which he himself even paid his clients' court costs."[669] Bonaparte was deeply religious and was seen as "a good son of the Church." He also was known for his support of African Americans and was sometimes called the "spokesperson for the Negro in America."[670] In a speech entitled "The Future of the Negro Race in America," Bonaparte stated that "the American Negro was transported to a strange country by slave drovers, was admirable for learning to live in peace with the whites, neither seeking the destruction of or supplanting the Caucasian

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[667] Oates, 52. This effort was not without its critics. Protestant groups felt that the funds were only being used to support an "army of non-producing priests, monks, and nuns, and its Brothers and Sisters of various orders."

[668] Clarence Edward Macartney and Gordon Dorrance. *The Bonapartes in America* (Philadelphia, PA: Dorrance and Company, 1939).

[669] Jane L. Phelps, "Charles Bonaparte and Negro Suffrage in America," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 54, 4 (December 1959): 337-338.

[670] Ibid.

nor provoking violence."[671] These beliefs caused him to oppose the segregation and disenfranchisement movements occurring in Maryland. He was opposed to segregation because he felt that to separate black and white people:

> whether by law or natural cause, cuts them off at the same time from the only real and certain sense of improvement to themselves. Thus to segregate the Negro was to condemn him to a life which would remain stationary and outside the fold of American happiness. To integrate them assured that the Negro would contrive to assimilate himself into American society while perpetuating his racial existence. Bonaparte thought it was just and legitimate goal of the Negro to be an American like all others and to be free.[672]

Bonaparte had also been one of the leading lawyers in the "Sectarian Appropriations Case" of 1875 that asserted the right of Baltimore City government to allocated funding to private charitable institutions. Due to his devotion to both the Catholic Church and to the betterment of African Americans, Bonaparte worked diligently to help Saint Elizabeth's Home. Possibly owing to his help, the city allocation to the home was raised to $3,000,[673] an increase from the $2,000 previously received in 1889.[674] In addition, the 19th Annual Report of Saint Elizabeth's home in 1900 reported the receipt of a $1,000 allocation from state of Maryland.[675] This is in marked contrast to the amount of government funding afforded the Saint Frances Orphan Asylum. There is no record of

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[671] Phelps, 337-338.

[672] Ibid.

[673] 12th Annual Report of Saint Elizabeth's Home, 1893, MHV995.S137R, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, MD.

[674] 8th Annual Report of Saint Elizabeth's Home, 1889, MHV995.S137R, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, MD.

[675] 19th Annual Report of Saint Elizabeth's Home, 1900, MHV995.S137R, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, MD.

the Oblates ever receiving funding from Baltimore City. Furthermore, their state allocation, $500 consistently through 1908, did not increase to $1,000 until 1915.[676]

In addition to helping them advocate for government funding, Mr. Bonaparte also helped the Sisters sort out their legal business. One of his first orders of business was a meeting of the new Board of Directors. Mother Elizabeth, Sister Mildred, Mrs. E. Austin Jenkins, Mrs. Ellen Torrey, Mrs. J.T. Morris, Mrs. John T. Murphy, and Mrs. Phyllis Shaw attended the meeting, held in Mrs. Jenkins' parlor. The demolition and rebuilding of the two houses on Saint Paul Street was discussed. In order for the demolition to occur, it was necessary to clear up the ownership of 317 Saint Paul Street. In what was to become known as "the stormy meeting," Mrs. Jenkins explained that the deeds to the lot were held by her son, Francis de Sales Jenkins. By the end of the meeting, "it was almost assured that the deeds would be transferred to the incorporated St. Elizabeth Home."[677] Once the board approved the plan and the deeds were legally recorded, Sister Mildred had to get Cardinal Gibbons' permission.

At first the Cardinal was reluctant to give his permission to such a massive undertaking, especially since the Sisters did not have any financing.

> Sister Mildred quickly replied, "Oh! We have something saved to start with. If your Eminence will give the permission, God will provide if you let us beg the remainder. I am sure if your Eminence will only give us a few lines recommending the work, ever so many people will give us your help. Oh! Please say "Yes," your Eminence." The Cardinal's expression changed, and when he asked "How much money do you have on hand to devote to a building?" He smiled when both answered "one hundred dollars." Their great confidence won his consent. Later, they brought him a suitable book. In it he wrote an appeal asking for help and speaking highly of the community and their work.[678]

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[676] Ledger, RG I, Box 18, Folder 10, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

[677] Sister Mary Gray, 115-116.

[678] Ibid., 116.

Once the plan had the Cardinal's blessing, the Sisters and their supporters began raising the necessary funds. As a result of "begging, talking, forming clubs and associations,"[679] donations poured in. The ladies of the board also devoted their time, talent, and ready cash to the work. In addition, they held a bazaar[680] at the Academy of Music[681] during the week of December 10. All of these combined efforts allowed them to raise the necessary money and construction began on January 14, 1895.[682]

Construction was completed on October 8, 1895.[683] The ladies of the Board of Directors welcomed Cardinal Gibbons, Mayor Ferdinand Latrobe, and many priests and prominent members of Baltimore Society to the grand opening. Since it was held in the evening, the Sisters and children could not attend. Guest speakers discussed the future of the colored race and the duties of Catholic citizens toward the support of the Franciscan Sisters and their work.[684]

During this time of rebuilding, the Franciscan Sisters were faced with additional challenges from Father John Slattery. Father Slattery and his newly formed Saint

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[679] Sister Mary Gray, 116.

[680] Oates, 12. Benevolent fairs and bazaars became popular among Protestant and Catholics alike as early as the 1820s. Citizens of all social classes were attracted by the games, entertainments, auctions, food, and handcrafts. A typical fair was like the one held in Baltimore in 1843 for the St. Mary's Female Orphan Asylum. It lasted for two weeks and its proceeds represented the Asylum's annual income.

[681] Friedman, 156. The Academy of Music was a richly designed theater that opened after the Civil War. It was located between the two fashionable neighborhoods of Mount Vernon and Bolton Hill at 516 North Howard Street.

[682] Sister Mary Gray, 116.

[683] Ibid.

[684] Ibid., 115-116.

Joseph's Society[685] took over the rectorship of Saint Francis Xavier Church from the Mill Hill Fathers. Saint Joseph's Society and its missions grew at a fast pace, expanding into Delaware with the founding of Saint Joseph's Industrial School and throughout the south into New Orleans and five other southern archdioceses.[686] In need of staff for his new schools, Slattery continued to advocate that the Franciscan Sisters sever their relationship with Mill Hill and affiliate themselves with the Saint Joseph's Society.[687] The Sisters' refusal to do so caused a greater rift between Slattery, his Society, and the Franciscan Sisters.[688]

By 1897, Saint Elizabeth's was already in need of enlargement and renovation. The laundry had been mistakenly placed in the basement and its odors permeated the entire building. The chapel was hopelessly overcrowded, and attending physicians demanded better isolation for infectious diseases.[689] These conditions continued into the next century. The Physicians Report in the 19th Annual Report spoke of the Babies Room being too crowded, making it impossible to isolate contagious disease. Dr. McGlannon also complained of the lack of ability to isolate tuberculosis patients.[690] Tuberculosis was especially deadly within the African American community and death

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[685] Davis, 131. The Mill Hill Fathers in America separated from Vaughan's English body in 1893. Its first Superior General was John R. Slattery.

[686] Ochs, 81-106.

[687] Sister Mary Gray, 122. Slattery was able to convince another group of women to form a sisterhood to align with his Society. The Mission Helpers, as they came to be known, were led by Mother M. Joseph (Mrs. Hartwell).

[688] Ibid., 122.

[689] Ibid. 144.

[690] Saint Elizabeth's Home 19th Annual Report, 1900, MHV995.S137R, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, MD.

rates due to the disease had increased in the 1890s. Doctors and social workers blamed the increase on unsanitary conditions and negligent mothers.[691]

Changes at Saint Francis Xavier Parish also caused challenges for the Franciscan Sisters and their charges. The new rector of the church placed Father Campe in charge of Saint Francis Xavier School and as the chaplain for Saint Elizabeth Home. While there is no information available about Father Campe that would help determine how he felt about African American Catholics, he seems to have inherited the racial bias of many of his fellow church leaders. That bias resulted in an instant dislike to the Sisters and their mission. He refused to allow the Sisters access to certain masses and attended institute functions with a "censorious sneer."[692] In addition, he rearranged the seating arrangements in Saint Francis Xavier Church. The Sisters and children of Saint Elizabeth Home had always been seated in the front rows of the middle aisle of the church where they attended the children's mass. One Sunday, in front of the entire congregation, Father Campe ordered them to leave those pews and go sit in the gallery with the Oblate Sisters and their charges.[693]

Saint Elizabeth Home: The Later Years

The Franciscan Sisters persevered through the first decade of the twentieth century. As the economic situation for African Americans was little improved from the

[691] Olson, 235-236. There was an extremely high rate of tuberculosis in African American households, "they point distinctly to bad sanitary conditions in and about the homes of the colored population, which conditions have become worse in 1890 than they were in 1880." Doctors and social workers were scandalized at the black infant mortality and the apparent negligence of mothers.

[692] Sister Mary Gray, 151.

[693] Ibid., 152.

previous decade, annual reports from the time reflect a constant struggle to accommodate and support more children. With consultation from the Board of Directors, two lots on the south side of Saint Elizabeth's Home were purchased in 1902. The addition, which included a new chapel and twenty bedrooms for Sisters, was completed by August 1903.[694] It served to relieve the overcrowding in the original building. Despite the addition, Physicians Reports from the era still recount the need for more specialized rooms to further improve the home. In 1908, the Board responded to the need with the erection of a two-story building for the exclusive accommodation of the young boys. Doctors McGlannon and Gillis reported that the new addition relieved congestion and improved the health of the children and reduced the death rate for the year. The doctors worried, however, that the additional building was not enough. They added that they still needed a detention room for children with suspected diseases and a space for carrying out the open-air treatment of respiratory diseases and for segregation of tuberculosis patients.[695]

Management of the home shifted in 1908. "By the advice of His Eminence James Cardinal Gibbons an Advisory Board consisting of ten gentlemen, was selected in the early part of the year, who have co-operated with the Lady Managers, and have thus demonstrated the wisdom of this valuable adjunct to the administration of our Institution."[696] The inaugural board consisted of James Wheeler, Dr. Alexius

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[694] Sister Mary Gray, 216-217.

[695] Saint Elizabeth's Annual Reports discuss mortality rates of children in the Home due to tuberculosis. The doctors discuss the fact that many of the children had been admitted to the Home already weakened by ill health and poor conditions.

[696] Saint Elizabeth's Home 27th Annual Report, 1908, MHV995.S137R, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, MD.

McGlannon, Honorable Charles Heuisler, William Ryan, John Murphy, Dr. A.C. Gillis, Walter McGlannon, John Caulfield, John Gavin and Patrick Flanigan. Mother Mildred looked to the advisory board for guidance and support, "and like the chivalrous Catholic gentlemen that they were, they rallied to the support of the Home when social prejudice, political bias, and financial difficulties would have literally wiped it out of existence."[697] It appears that the governing board was never meant to be much more than a political move to ensure the success of the home by publicizing the support of influential Baltimore men. There are no records that they ever intervened in the actual functioning of the institution.

The continued problems of too many children in need of shelter at Saint Elizabeth's and not enough space to accommodate them continued in the second decade of the twentieth century. Like the period immediately after the Civil War, employment for blacks was precarious and ever changing. "As technological and competitive forces demanded adaptation of the Baltimore economy, the greatest adjustments and risks were sifted onto that part of the labor force with the least power."[698] African American barbers were forced out by the creation of a Barbers Examiners Board. Black women who did laundry in their home were forced out of business by new steam laundries that were afforded government contracts. Some women, attempting to escape from domestic work, went to work in cigarette factories and garment factories.[699] Tenuous employment of

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[697] Saint Elizabeth's Home Golden Jubilee Pamphlet, Franciscan Sisters Folder, JA, Baltimore, MD.

[698] Olson, 274.

[699] Ibid.

adults often led to unsupervised and even abandoned infants and children. Baltimore City "appeared to be baffled by the perennial increase of 'disordered lives.'"[700] It did not have a long-range plan for the 1,100 delinquent and/or dependent minors in its boundaries. Instead, it contracted out to the various private and Catholic institutions across the city. Saint Elizabeth's Home was the destination for many of the dependent African American children.[701]

Once again, a member of the Jenkins family came to the rescue and donated a building that would be dedicated solely for boys. Continuing the generosity of his mother-in-law, Michael Jenkins[702] donated the home on Courtland Street that had been the birthplace of his late wife, Isabel. The home, known as "The Elkin" was a four story brick building on the block next to Saint Elizabeth's. After some renovation, the building was blessed with a mass led by Cardinal Gibbons on February 10, 1913. Its name, Saint Margaret's, was in homage to Michael Jenkins mother-in-law, Margaret Jenkins.[703]

Baltimore City's Catholic community showed support to the Franciscan Sisters in ways other than providing real estate. Other religious organizations came to their rescue when tragedy struck the neighborhood. In the early morning of August 14, 1915, a fire began in the furniture factory next door to the Home and quickly spread to Saint Elizabeth's. The *Baltimore Sun* reported the harrowing events surrounding that morning.

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[700] Olson, 269.

[701] Ibid.

[702] Spalding, 166. Michael Jenkins was married to Isabel Jenkins, the daughter of Austin Jenkins, his father's paternal cousin. Michael Jenkins was the son of Thomas Jenkins who had built Corpus Christie Church and was one of Baltimore's leading financiers in his own right. A great supporter of the Catholic Church, he was a founder of the Catholic University of America. He was also a close, personal friend of Cardinal Gibbons.

[703] Sister Mary Gray, 203-204.

> The sisters and inmates of St. Elizabeth Home were peacefully slumbering when the night nurse gave the alarm of a fire at a few minutes before four a.m. Mother Mildred was aroused by the nurse kicking at her door. On opening the door Mother Mildred found her holding a baby on each arm and hoarsely imploring to be let out the front door, Mother Mildred thought the night nurse had gone mad, and argued with her, trying to induce her to be quiet and return to the babies' room upstairs. The Sisters were roused by the voices and one after another appeared in night attire in the corridor. There was no sign nor smell of smoke.
>
> Suddenly there was a great cracking of glass, and in an instant flames seemed to leap to the sky through the roof of the furniture factory next door. At that moment before the Sisters could dress, the house was filled with firemen and police. They were just changing shifts, so all of the police rushed to the aid of the firemen. All carried babies out, and in fifteen minutes from the time the burse gave the alarm, every inmate was safely out on the side walks. Father Denis opened his schoolhouse for the children's use, and had hot tea made for all the sisters. The babies were yelling for their bottles when two Sisters of Mercy from their hospital nearby came and carried off thirty-two babies and cripples, they fed and cared from them for three weeks while repairs on the house were being made. Invalid and aged sisters went to Maryland Avenue convent and were welcomed and tenderly cared for by dear Mother Mechtilde. Father Denis tried to rescue the Blessed Sacrament, but the chapel was a sea of fire; he was dragged away and prevented by the police. Later, when the flames were under control, Father Eugene Connolly, the confessor to the nuns, convinced the policeman to let him enter the chapel. At the risk of his life he removed the Blessed Sacrament and sacred vessels and carried them all to the cathedral. The plaster was falling in huge masses from the water-soaked ceiling, and he fortunately escaped being hit by the heavy debris. The furniture factory was a total wreck, and St. Elizabeth was totally damaged. There were two hundred and ninety-nine children in the home. [704]

No one was hurt, but the damage was devastating. The chapel, refectory, babies room, infirmary, and many of the sister's bedrooms were ruined. After the fire, the laundry was done at the Maryland Avenue convent and some of the sisters stayed there. Some stayed behind in the damaged building. Thirty-two of the babies and the handicapped children were cared for by the Sisters of Mercy in their hospital. The other children remained in

[704] Sister Mary Gray, 218-219.

the damaged home where they received "extra attention and love."[705] Mass was offered in Saint Margaret's until the chapel was made usable.

The reaction of Baltimore's Catholic community to the fire at Saint Elizabeth's is very different from their reaction to a similar fire that occurred at Saint Frances Orphan Asylum in 1913. Newspaper reports about the fire, which was estimated to have caused $20,000 in damages, do not discuss any assistance from the Catholic community. Instead, they laud Warden Leonard, of the Baltimore penitentiary who, along with his wife, took the scared orphans into their home in the upper end of the city's jail. His actions were seen as heroic enough to warrant a city council resolution that declared his "generous act commended itself to the emulation of all our fellow-citizens."[706]

Despite the destruction of the fire and the renovation work in its aftermath, the number of children cared for by Saint Elizabeth's Home increased. In October, Mother Mildred and Sister Zita brought back twelve girls from the New York Foundling Asylum.[707] All of these factors increased the financial pressure on the Sisters. This caused them to increase their questing efforts.

> Now in 1915, there is a fine wagon, bearing on it a large silver plate, with St. Elizabeth's Home: St. Paul Street on it. More than one bakery in the city contributes weekly three hundred loaves of bread to the Institution. Regular trips are made to the terminal of Railway Stations, where the Commisariate holds over for our Sister any provisions unused on the journey; these are always of the best, and are, like the Waverly Pen, "A boom and a blessing" to the Home. Sometimes, large tins of cream and milk come, and four or five pounds of so-pronounced "real English butter" is churned from it in the Convent kitchen. Let it be written to their credit that the charity of the Baltimoreans is unsurpassed; and

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[705] Sister Mary Gray, 219.

[706] Assorted newspaper clippings, no newspaper name, December 1912, RG I, Box 19, Folder 5, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

[707] Sister Mary Gray, 220.

> that the present status St. Elizabeth's Home is in great measure due to the helping hand they have never refused it. And God blesses them for it. [708]

The success of the questing efforts proves that the Saint Elizabeth's Home, like the Saint Frances Orphan Asylum, was supported by all parts of Baltimore society, not just wealthy Catholics. The distinction, however, is that there was not a black merchant class in Baltimore City that could provide such vast quantities of provisions for Saint Frances. Instead the Oblates relied on much smaller donations from working class African Americans who could barely afford to feed themselves.

In 1915, Baltimore City decided to enforce a 1905 ordinance that had been passed as a result of the Great Baltimore Fire.[709] The ordinance called for the widening of Saint Paul Street and city officials approached the Sisters with their need for the property. The Board of Managers agreed to sell the property to the city and look for a new location. Mr. Murphy conducted negotiations with Mayor Preston and the city on behalf of Mother Mildred and the Sisters. On November 12, Baltimore City purchased the Saint Paul Street property for $125,000.[710]

Until they could find a new location that was suitable for their needs, the Sisters had to pay $5,000 per month in rent to Baltimore City. The Sisters visited several properties, including the former Hebrew Orphan Asylum, before settling on the Pen Lucy site in May. The Pen Lucy site was located on five acres of land within the Baltimore

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[708] Mother Paul's Diary, 1868-1890, 68.

[709] Journal of the Proceedings of the First Branch City Council of Baltimore at the Sessions of 1904-1905. https://books.google.com/books?id=HDYtAQAAMAAJ&pg=PA1201&img=1&zoom=3&hl=en&sig=ACfU3U1qFsVBHVun5Rop5nAW1x8YqJZqjQ&ci=130%2C158%2C766%2C639&edge=0

[710] Sister Mary Gray, 220.

City limits. Under the advisement of Charles Bonaparte and other members of the advisory board and with approval from Cardinal Gibbons, the Sisters purchased the Pen Lucy estate from Mrs. Engel for $22,500. The Pen Lucy property had formerly been a part of the ten-acre estate of Colonel Malcolm Johnston on which stood Chestnut Hill mansion. In 1916, Mrs. Henry B. (Mary) Jacobs owned Chestnut Hill and the remaining five acres of the original estate.[711] Mrs. Jacobs, through her representative Mrs. Buck, agreed to sell the property. By August 10, Saint Elizabeth Home owned an additional ten acres at its new location.

Father Craig, who would later become ecclesiastical superior of the Franciscans,[712] and members of the Advisory Board oversaw the details and logistics for the construction of the new building. The cornerstone was laid on April 15, 1917, and was marked with a ceremony led by the Right Reverend Corrigan and attended by the Sisters, the Fourth Degree Knights of Columbus, and other prominent clergy and laymen.[713] On August 22, the Sisters and their charges moved into the new Saint Elizabeth's.

The dedication of the new building took place on September 17, 1917. Cardinal Gibbons did the honors. Baltimore City Mayor Preston was in attendance as well as prominent church figures from as far as Washington, D.C. The Reverend Lucian

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[711] Maryland Historical Society, Finding Aid for the Garrett Family Papers, http://www.mdhs.org/findingaid/garrett-papers-1816-1950-ms-979 accessed April 2, 2016. John Garrett originally purchased the estate in 1871. His son, Robert, had lived in Chestnut Hill for 15 years, but died in 1896. Robert Garrett was Mrs. Henry B. (Mary) Jacobs' first husband. She had inherited his fortune. In 1904, she married Dr. Henry B. Jacobs, physician to Robert Garrett and on staff at Johns Hopkins Hospital.

[712] Sister Mary Gray, 252. Father Craig was from Mount Washington Parish. In December 1922 he was appointed Ecclesiastical Superior of the Franciscan Sisters.

[713] Ibid., 224.

Johnston, son of Colonel Johnson, the original owner of Chestnut Hill, gave the keynote address. [714]

Even with building and moving into a new building, the work of Saint Elizabeth's continued. On October 30, thirteen more children came from the New York Foundling Hospital.[715] Once the Sisters and children were settled in their new home, a repetitive pattern emerged. Increasing numbers of children needed care which led to an increasing amount of money that was needed to care for them. The Sisters and their supporters sought funds in a number of ways. They continued to lobby for additional government funds while at the same time holding creative fundraisers. In June 1920, Father F. V. Fitzgerald procured the services of the Saint Gregory[716] Minstrels. Ticket sales to that performance raised over $1,000, much to the sisters' happy surprise. Fitzgerald became so interested in the cause of Saint Elizabeth's Home, that he formed an Auxiliary Board of which he appointed himself chair. Along with the President, Mrs. Roche, the Auxiliary held card parties[717] and other fundraisers in their homes.

Saint Elizabeth's Home continued to house more than 300 children well into the 1920s.[718] The 43rd Annual Report reports that 303 children had been cared for in the Home in 1924. It also indicates that despite the large numbers of children, the Home kept

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[714] Sister Mary Gray, 226.

[715] Ibid., 227.

[716] There is currently a Saint Gregory the Great church in Sandtown-Winchester on Gilmor Street.

[717] Oates, 99. Card parties became popular with both Protestant and Catholics as a method of fundraising in the 1890's. This form of fundraising was not as successful as fairs. For example, a 1908 euchre party that was held for a Baltimore Boy's Asylum only raised $600, 37 percent of the funds raised went to administrative costs.

[718] 43rd Annual Report of Saint Elizabeth's Home, 1924, AFSB, Baltimore, MD.

the high standards required of childcare institutions. In their aim to provide the children with a "practical, Christian education and training"[719] the Sisters initiated a Girl Scout troop for the older girls. They believed that the Girl Scouts organization was very beneficial for a number of reasons. The group provided excellent training for both the mind and body and it served as an incentive for good behavior because only those with satisfactory conduct were eligible for membership.

During that same year, three girls had been sent out to service.[720] This followed a pattern established from the beginning of Saint Elizabeth's Home to give the children a thorough domestic training. The 1899 Annual Report stated:

> The Sisters are aware that like conditions produce like results, and cannot, therefore, disregard the causes of the distress that confronts them. In their attempts to avert the poverty of their charges in later years, they contribute their best efforts by emphasizing to the older children, the dignity of labor, and instilling in them an ambition to be self-supporting and independent. Training for domestic service, therefore, received much attention, and, with the limited resources of the institution, is the main goal at which the efforts of the Sisters are at present directed.[721]

The following year's Annual Report elaborated on the type of training that the girls received. "To this end, all the children who are able to assist in the general work of the house. They are taught to cook, wash and iron and do plain sewing. An industrial school is attached to our Convent on Maryland Avenue, where the older girls get a final training before going out to service."[722] The practice of sending children out to service was one

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[719] 43rd Annual Report of Saint Elizabeth's Home, 1924, AFSB, Baltimore, MD.

[720] Ibid.

[721] 18th Annual Report of Saint Elizabeth's Home, 1899, MHV995.S137R, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, MD.

[722] 19th Annual Report of Saint Elizabeth's Home, 1900, MHV995.S137R, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, MD.

that had been in practice in Baltimore since the early 1800s. Records of the placement of these girls are not available, but it can be inferred from other Baltimore institutions at the time some of the circumstances around their placing out. In her study of two Baltimore orphanages for white children, Marcy Kay Wilson found that girls were placed into "Christian homes in this city and in other parts of the state."[723] Little is known of what type of positions were found for the girls. Most records simply noted that children had gone out to good homes and were sent into gender-appropriate employment such as mantua-making, dress-making, and domestic service.[724] Unlike their counterparts at the white orphanages, the inhabitants of Saint Elizabeth's, due to their race, were probably almost always sent out to be domestics.

Walker also spoke of children who were identified as "unfit for service" due to health problems. Instead of being placed out, they were transferred to other institutions that would better serve those needs. Those institutions included the Blind Asylum and the Hospital for Women.[725] This almost certainly also happened at Saint Elizabeth's Home. Surviving Annual Reports from 1907 through 1916 document children who left Saint Elizabeth's and were placed in other institutions.[726]

As a Catholic institution, inevitably some of inmates were "called" to the service of the Lord. Franciscan reaction to this calling show the racial bias that existed within

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[723] Marcy Kay Wilson, "Dear Little Living Arguments: Orphans and other Poor Children, Their Families and Orphanages, Baltimore and Liverpool, 1840-1910." (PhD diss., University of Maryland, 2009), 247.

[724] Wilson, 247.

[725] Ibid., 253.

[726] Saint Elizabeth's Home Annual Reports 1907-1916, MHV995.S137R, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, MD.

the community and the established Catholic church. The Franciscan Sisters did not allow African Americans to join their sisterhood. Instead, young ladies, even those who had been raised by the Sisters themselves who wished to take on the vocation, were referred to the Oblate Sisters of Providence. The first girl to do so was Teresa Cromwell.[727] She entered the Oblates in January 1907 and received the habit on August 15, 1907, taking the name of Sister Leonarda.[728] Oblate records show that at least four other "Saint Elizabeth girls" followed in Sister Leonarda's footsteps.[729] One in particular made it clear why she became an Oblate. Sister Mary of Nazareth[730] stated in her pre-admittance interview that, "I noticed all the Colored Sisters were Oblates. I was Colored, so I wanted to be an Oblate."[731] The refusal of the order of the Franciscan Sisters to allow their pupils to join their community is another example of the racist attitudes of the established Catholic Church.

The history of Saint Elizabeth's Home is an excellent example of the tenuous nature of the relationship between the Catholic Church and its African American constituents. While the Church provided for the spiritual and temporal care of black

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[727] Congregation Records, RG I, Box 43, Folder 2, AOSP, Baltimore, MD. Teresa Cromwell was born on August 16, 1887 in Baltimore to non-Catholic parents. She taught at Saint Augustine (Washington DC) and Immaculate Conception (Charleston, SC). She was at the Motherhouse from 1926 until her death in 1972. Her sister, Annie Cromwell, may have also lived at Saint Elizabeth's, because she left $100 to the Home in her will. The remainder was left to Sister Leonarda.

[728] Sister Mary Gray, 190.

[729] Sister Assisi Jackson, Congregation Records RG I, Box 108, Folder 7, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.; Sister Gemma Owens, Congregation Records, RG I, Box 68, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.; Sister Mary of Nazareth, Congregation Records, RG I, Box 46, Folder 1, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.; Sister Regis Bacon, Congregation Records, RG I, Box 107, Folder 39, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

[730] Thelma Marie (1913-1991), Congregation Records, RG I, Box 46, Folder 1, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

[731] Ibid.

Catholic orphans who might otherwise have been abandoned, the care was provided with the belief that it was best coming from white Church representatives. This belief is exemplified in the difference in the levels of support afforded to the black Oblate Sisters and the white Franciscan Sisters. While both institutions struggled because they were run by women, the Franciscan Sisters enjoyed greater support from their male counterparts in the church because they were white.

Chapter V

CLOSURE AND CONSOLIDATION

The American Catholic Church was impacted by the Progressive impulses of the twentieth century. The desire to streamline, professionalize, and make institutions efficient greatly influenced the way African American Catholics and the institutions that served them were treated by the Catholic hierarchy. While church officials still may have held racially biased beliefs, those beliefs no longer controlled the actions of the church. Instead, the church moved to consolidate its charities so that they could save money and become more efficient. Both Saint Frances Orphan Asylum and Saint Elizabeth's Home were affected by these changes in belief. The Catholic Church's response would result in the consolidation of Catholic charities in the Baltimore Archdiocese and the closure of Saint Frances Orphan Asylum.

Although changes in child welfare had been slowly taking place in the nineteenth century, the White House Conference on the Care of Dependent Children, convened in January 1909, is seen as the first official move toward a transformation of the field. At that conference, more than 200 delegates representing every state in the nation and every kind of agency that dealt with dependent children met to:

> formulate some kind of statement embodying those principles upon which these delegates could agree, which might contribute to a better understanding between them, pave the way for a greater degree of cooperation and serve as a point of departure for future progress and for the standardization of child welfare work.[732]

[732] Dorothy Zietz, *Child Welfare: Principles and Methods* (New York: Wiley, 1959), 95.

The statement that was formulated in the conclusions of the conference signaled a change in child welfare policy, formed the nucleus of modern child welfare theory, and became the springboard for future action. The most enduring expression of the philosophy of the group stated:

> Home life is the highest and finest product of civilization. It is the great molding force of mind and character. Children should not be deprived of it except for urgent and compelling reasons. Children … who are without the support of a normal breadwinner, should as a rule, be kept with their parents, such aid being given as may be necessary to maintain suitable homes for the rearing of their children … Except in unusual circumstances, the home should not be broken up for reason of poverty.[733]

While the conference leadership believed that everything possible should be done to keep children within the family home, it did realize that there were circumstances when that was not possible. When "children who for sufficient reason must be removed from their own homes-should be cared for in families whenever practicable"[734] and that the "carefully selected foster home is for the normal child the best substitute for the natural home."[735] The conference also insisted that sound public policy included that "the state … should inspect the work of all agencies which care for dependent children … whether supported by public or private funds."[736] In addition it recommended the "establishment of a federal children's bureau to collect and disseminate information affecting the welfare of children."[737]

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[733] Zietz, *Child Welfare: Principles and Methods,* 96.

[734] Ibid.

[735] Ibid.

[736] Ibid.

[737] Ibid., 97.

New Yorker Thomas Mulry and members of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul represented Catholic child-caring interests at the White House Conference. Although they voiced careful support of the "home-first" agenda, they also championed the child-caring institutions that anchored Catholic work. They recognized that the good work being done was undermined by chronic institutional problems like regimentation, overcrowding, lack of resources, administrative rigidity, and insularity. The conference served to confirm Catholic leaders' belief that some type of national organization was needed. As a result, in 1910, they issued a call to create the National Conference on Catholic Charities (NCCC).[738]

The first action of the NCCC was to conduct an inventory of Catholic work. That inventory provided information on services, methods, and financing in local Catholic charities and attempted to chart the relationship between Catholics and local and state governments. Members were cheered by information that city and state boards of charity seemed to welcome the Catholic work and that they were committed to a spirit of "fair play" in their treatment of religious charities. It meant that in most cases, state and city boards were willing to direct dependent Catholics to Catholic agencies and support them with public funds.[739] Over the next decade, the NCCC established itself as an informal association led by lay volunteers and joined by a sprinkling of professional social workers and a few members of the clergy. The leadership supplied by the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul was supplemented by Catholic women, who dominated the early

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[738] Dorothy Brown & Elizabeth McKeown, *The Poor Belong to Us: Catholic Charities and American Welfare* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1997), 62.

[739] Ibid.

NCCC membership. Those women were laywomen, not members of religious communities. Women religious were reluctant to join this movement because they feared that centralization would cause them to lose authority over their institutions and that they would be reduced to the status of lay auxiliaries working under a diocesan board of clergy and professional social workers.[740] They did not become involved in the movement until 1920 when a standing committee, the Sisters' Conference,[741] was created for them.[742]

In response to similar work by governmental agencies, the Conference of Religious appointed a standards committee in 1921. After two years of research, it published *A Program for Catholic Childcaring Homes* in 1923. Several months later, the Washington Children's Bureau followed with its *Children's Bureau Publication No. 170*. Both publications reaffirmed that the best place for a child was in his or her own home, and insisted that a thorough effort should be made to improve the economic and/or social conditions of the home before attempting to remove a child. They also agreed that child caring institutions were at best a temporary substitute for home or until a foster care home could be obtained. In addition, they both emphasized the benefit of the cottage over the congregate system. The differences between the two were more than the approach and audience of the documents. The NCCC report had to convince the religious who dedicated their entire lives to the care of children that they could do a better

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[740] Mary J. Oates, *The Catholic Philanthropic Tradition in America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), 77.

[741] Brown & McKeown, 62. The Sisters' Conference would later become known as the Conference of Religious.

[742] Ibid., 63.

job. Women religious were challenged to do three things, 1) Review their almost open-door policy of admittance and exercise more judgment and professionally screen admissions, 2) remodel their mostly congregate model institutions into cottage style situations, and 3) improve after-care.[743] Local Catholic Charities agencies across the country interpreted the program in different ways but all came to the conclusion that centralization was crucial to childcare. Brown and McKeown argued that "Because 90 to 92 percent of all children in Catholic and sectarian orphanages had one or two parents living, each child represented a family problem. Because no orphanage was properly equipped to 'do adequate family work,' the diocesan family division should handle all admissions and discharges."[744]

Baltimore, like other archdioceses, responded to the need for centralization. Since 1864, the Saint Vincent de Paul Society had supervised all non-institutional charity work. In 1906, it established a central office headed by President James Biggs. With the approval of Archbishop Gibbons, it established an unprecedented cross-parish family welfare network that encouraged middle-class parishes to aid poor parishes. Its central office served as a model for similar offices in other dioceses and gave impetus to the national charity organization movement. In combining charitable giving campaigns for orphanages, it organized yearly events in which every Catholic institution participated, regardless of the color of its charges. In both 1907[745] and 1908,[746] the *Baltimore Sun* reported on the annual Christmas event sponsored by the Knights of Columbus. The

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[743] Brown & McKeown, 103.

[744] Ibid., 103.

[745] *The Baltimore Sun,* "Gifts for 721 Orphans." December 23, 1907.

[746] *The Baltimore Sun*, "Santa Visits Orphans." December 21, 1908.

events which included distribution of gifts by Santa Claus and speeches by the Mayor of Baltimore and Cardinal Gibbons, were attended by all of Baltimore's Catholic orphanages, including Saint Frances Orphan Asylum and Saint Elizabeth's. Including orphanages that served African American children was more cost efficient than holding two separate events. Having the two most politically powerful men in Baltimore in attendance at such an integrated event lent credence to the importance of the charities.

A function of that network was to examine the charitable work going on in the Archdiocese. Both the Baltimore City and Maryland governments had been attempting to reduce their appropriations to Catholic childcare institutions in the city. In a preemptive strike, a committee[747] of the Saint Vincent de Paul Society was formed to conduct a thorough study of all institutions and suggest reforms that would align with the demands of funding agencies. In a letter to the Oblate Sisters, committee member William Fletcher explained that:

> an effort should be made to bring about a better understanding between the Board of State Aid and the Department of Charities and Correction on the one hand, and our institutions on the other, and finally a better understanding on the part of our institutions of conditions as they actually exist in the state and the city, with the view of securing better cooperation among ourselves.[748]

Mr. Fletcher recounted the expectations of Mr. Grasty, head of the Department of Charities and Corrections, for institutions in Baltimore. Those expectations included "better medical inspections including reports to the department at stated periods; better

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[747] The committee members were Chairwoman Mrs. Margaret Abell Griffiss, Mrs. Allan Macsherry, Miss Lily Foley, Father Monaghan, and William Fletcher.

[748] William Fletcher to OSP, February 29, 1915. Box 18, Folder 10, Archives of the Oblate Sisters of Providence [hereafter AOSP], Baltimore, MD.

dental care, with reports to the department; more playground and recreation work for the children, and more and higher educational facilities."[749]

The committee investigated five institutions; Saint Frances Orphan Asylum, Saint Elizabeth's Home, the House of the Good Shepherd, Saint Vincent's Infant Asylum, Saint Mary's Female Orphan Asylum, and Saint Joseph's School of Industry. Overall, the committee "found all of the institutions clean and well kept; the children were in good physical condition, there being very few in any of the informaries [sic], and, so far as our investigations went, all the children seemed to be happy and contented."[750]

Only two of the institutions served African American children: Saint Frances and Saint Elizabeth's. Of Saint Frances, the report indicated that the "dormitories were large, airy, clean and well kept, but that the institution is crowded and the yard space where the children may have recreation is quite inadequate. To correct this defect in some measure, the Sisters take the children at frequent intervals for walks about the streets and squares contiguous to the institution."[751] The committee recommended that more land be acquired to remedy the situation.

The visit to the Saint Elizabeth Home took place not long after the August 1915 fire. As a result, the committee found "many conditions that were not normal"[752] during their inspection.

> As a result of the fire in the neighborhood which destroyed a part of the institution, the children are overcrowded and the authorities of the institution have been unable to make any practical efforts to correct the condition owing to the

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[749] William Fletcher to OSP, February 29, 1915. Box 18, Folder 10, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

[750] Ibid.

[751] Ibid.

[752] Ibid.

> fact that the entire property has been sold to the city and the institution will have to be removed to some new location.[753]

Furthermore, the recreation facilities were found to be extremely poor. Despite the shortcomings of the home, the children were well and "looked healthy and comfortable."[754]

All of the institutions were instructed to cooperate with the Department of Charities and Corrections by introducing a modern card system of record keeping that would keep a complete history of each inmate. Special recommendations were given to Saint Frances and Saint Elizabeth's as institutions that served African American girls. They were instructed:

> that among colored girls of suitable age, and [sic] effort should be made to specialize their training so as to prepare them with special reference to the occupations which would be open to them when they leave the institutions. Fitness for service among the girls leaving the institutions should be the constant object of institutional discipline.[755]

The Oblates and the Franciscan Sisters took the recommendations of the committee to heart. By 1917, Saint Elizabeth Home had relocated to a larger building and location in Waverly. Both institutions strove to provide an education to their charges that would provide a successful future.

In 1921, Michael Curley succeeded Cardinal Gibbons. Archbishop Michael Curley was an organizer and known for centralizing parochial schools and Catholic charity and missionary efforts, as well as his support of the African American Catholic

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[753] William Fletcher to OSP, February 29, 1915. Box 18, Folder 10, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

[754] Ibid.

[755] Ibid.

Community. He merged his belief in parochial education with his desire to help the black community in February 1922. At that time, he asked the Catholic Daughters of America to help Father LaFarge establish Cardinal Gibbons dream of a vocational school for blacks in Saint Mary's County, Maryland. His plans were for the school to be the "Catholic Tuskegee."[756] The Cardinal Gibbons Institute opened in October 1924 and was operated by Victor and Constance Daniel,[757] a black couple.[758]

In 1923, he formed the Bureau of Catholic Charities and appointed the Reverend Edwin L. Leonard as its priest-director.[759] Up to that time, "laity, religious, and clergy had worked in partnership to develop a large and diverse system of charities marked by considerable control and disproportionate reliance on female initiative and management."[760] Oates argues that that structure had been successful but that modern social values and needs were now challenging traditional views about charity organization and the place of voluntary service in religious philanthropy. She posits that

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[756] Thomas Spalding, *The Premier See: A History of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, 1789-1994* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 334.

[757] Maryland State Archives, "Cardinal Gibbons Institute Memorial." http://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/stagsere/se1/se5/037000/037500/037508/pdf/msa_se5_37508.pdf. The Daniels both graduated from Tuskegee Institute and the Gibbons Institute curriculum closely mirrored the curriculum of that institution.

[758] St. Peter Claver Catholic Church, "The Cardinal Gibbons Institute." http://www.stpeterclvr.org/museum/gibbons accessed April 2, 2016. The Institute closed its doors in 1933 due to financial difficulties but was reopened in 1936 by Father Horace McKenna in 1936. Instruction was taken over by the Oblate Sisters of Providence in 1952. The school finally closed in 1967 in response to new state laws regarding segregation.

[759] Spalding, *The Premier See: A History of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, 1789-1994,* 336. This move was not without controversy. President Robert Biggs and many member groups protested vehemently. Despite their protests, the change occurred. After that time, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul became "little more than a volunteer force for the implementation of decisions made in the bureau's office."

[760] Oates, 71.

Catholic Church leaders wanted to be able to join the greater community of benevolent groups and help develop social policy. In order to do that, they had become convinced that without significant structural reform they would not be able to collaborate with the highly organized mainstream community agencies.[761] This collaboration would not be possible as long as the numerous independent Catholic charitable organizations continued to proliferate. Church leaders believed that a benefit of consolidation would be threefold: have lower costs, provide higher quality service, and unify the American church by softening the internal ethnic antagonisms fostered by separate institutions. "They wanted to be able to articulate the Catholic position on social issues, and they could not easily do this while institutional charities functioned independently."[762] This "charity organization revolution" would provide the added benefit of easing the frustration of local bishops who were unable to develop policies governing the charitable institutions in their own dioceses.[763]

As in the majority of dioceses where centralization occurred, the archbishop appointed members of a central charity board. Those members, all men, reflected the belief that wealthy professional and business laymen, when complemented by strong clerical representation, formed an effective board.[764] Once in place, and with help from the board and other lay financial advisors, the archbishop and his priest-director centralized the charities budget and consolidated fundraising efforts.[765]

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[761] Oates, 71.

[762] Ibid., 71-72.

[763] Ibid., 71.

[764] Ibid., 90.

[765] Brown & McKeown, 52.

A chief reason for the consolidation was a response to criticism from mainstream reformers that their charitable institutions were outdated and being run counter to new social theories. The primary target of those criticisms was orphanages, the key feature of the Catholic charity network.

Under Curley and Leonard's direction, the reorganization and consolidation of Baltimore's child-care institutions took place in 1926. As noted by the Oblates in a document discussing the plan, "He feels sure that there are too many institutions in Baltimore doing the same kind of work, and he wants each one to take a special phase of the Colored work, so that no two institutions will have the same work."[766] Curley asked the Oblate Sisters of Providence to close the Saint Frances Orphan Asylum and concentrate solely on their work at the Saint Frances Academy. From that time forward, orphans and needy children from babyhood to third grade were to be sent to Saint Elizabeth Home and those from third grade to sixth grade were to go to the Maryland Avenue home, both of which were administered by the Franciscan Sisters. Allowances were made for exceptional children.

> Should there be among the children any who show the ability for higher education, they are to be sent to the Oblate Sisters of Providence at St. Frances' Academy, as scholarship pupils. In this way we may have the opportunity to help the Orphans, even more than we have been able to do before—by giving them a higher education."[767]

This exception for bright girls is ironic and shows a shift in the thinking of the Church. Less than fifty years prior, Father John Slattery felt that Saint Frances Academy was providing the wrong type of education to its students, that all African Americans should

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[766] The Archbishop's Plan. RG I, Box 18, Folder 3, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

[767] Ibid.

have training that would enable them to become domestic servants. He also felt that the Oblates were not qualified teachers because they did not have enough education. Sending highly abled girls to Saint Frances Academy to be taught by black nuns was a dramatic change in Church thinking and policy, or at a minimum a change in the thinking of its leadership.

Girls on the other end of the spectrum, those who had finished the sixth grade at the Maryland home and "show that they are not capable of receiving higher education," were to be sent to the Mission Helpers on Biddle Street for industrial training.[768]

Once they were notified of the closing of Saint Frances Orphan Asylum, the Oblates immediately starting making arrangements for the girls in the institution. Parents or guardians of children who were paying boarders were notified of the institution's closing and asked to make alternative arrangements for their children. Georgia Baker of Germantown, Pennsylvania, the mother of Hilda, received such a letter from Catholic Charities in May 1926.[769] There is no record of Baker's response or what happened to her daughter. Hunter Artist, father to three children (Christine, Josephine, and Juanita) at the asylum also received notice of the closing the Asylum. He withdrew his daughters in May 1926.[770] Ledgers in the Oblate Archives indicate that fourteen girls were sent to

[768] The Archbishop's Plan. RG I, Box 18, Folder 3, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

[769] Ibid.

[770] Ibid.

Saint Elizabeth's Home.[771] Oblate historian Grace Sherwood noted that orphans from the New York Foundling were sent back to New York.[772]

The Oblate Sisters felt that this plan gave them "a mark of confidence by asking them to take the work of higher education."[773] The Archbishop had acknowledged that, like their white counterparts, they played an important role in the promotion of Catholicism. Despite this acknowledgement, it appears that the Oblates may not have been completely happy with the decision. The author of the memo on the plan noted that "No matter what our personal feelings are—we are Religious and must obey in the proper spirit."[774] Grace Sherwood notes the removal of the orphans made Saint Frances' Convent more habitable for both the boarding students and the sisters. The extra room allowed space for sisters returning home from outlying missions to come home for summer school, vacation, and the community retreat. In addition, the sisters would no longer have to make begging trips as they were relieved from the constant worry of finding funds to support the orphans.[775]

In addition to receiving children from Saint Frances, the children under the auspices of Saint Elizabeth's were shifted.

> Our school was made subject to Catholic Charities. All children are to be received and dismissed through the Bureau. According to the agreement made at the time of changing procedures, the babies and children as far as third grade were to be at St. Elizabeth Home. Those able to go on further than third grade were to

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[771] The Archbishop's Plan. RG I, Box 18, Folder 3, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

[772] Grace H. Sherwood, *The Oblates' Hundred and One Years* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1931), 197.

[773] The Archbishop's Plan. RG I, Box 18, Folder 3, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

[774] Ledger, RG I, Box 18, Folder 3, AOSP, Baltimore, MD.

[775] Sherwood, *The Oblates' Hundred and One Years,* 197.

> be transferred to Maryland Avenue where they were to be taken through the eighth grade.[776]

In November 1927, the process of transferring children from Saint Elizabeth's Home to the Saint Francis School began. The Catholic Bureau required that the children receive thorough physical and mental examinations at Mercy Hospital. Over the period of a month, sixty-five children were examined. A number of children were found unsuited for Saint Francis School and were sent back to Saint Elizabeth's Home. Eventually, forty children were transferred to the Saint Francis School and Orphanage.[777]

Children that could not benefit from the more challenging educational program or "properly graded school"[778] at Saint Francis Parish School on Maryland Avenue stayed behind at Saint Elizabeth Home. There, they assisted with children in the infant, pre-school, and junior departments and received about two to three hours of education a day in reading, writing, arithmetic, and Christian doctrine.[779]

The decades following the "Archbishop's Plan" for the consolidation of orphanages for African Americans saw continued change in the views of the care of dependent children. Social welfare advocates continued the theme of the 1909 White House Conference on the Care of Dependent Children into the 1920s. As enthusiasm for charitable orphanages steadily declined, the practice of boarding children in private

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[776] Sister Mary Gray, *Franciscan Sisters of Baltimore: A Brief History, 1868-1999* (Unpublished: Archives of the Franciscan Sisters of Baltimore [hereafter AFSB], Baltimore), 196.

[777] Ibid, 198.

[778] Ibid., 197.

[779] Ibid.

homes or providing state-funded mothers' pensions was advocated.[780] Due to the lack of support and the new philosophy of childcare, many institutions released their wards into foster care or suburban cottage systems. The Great Depression slowed the movement and institutions once again opened their doors for the large numbers of children who were left in need. Once the immediate crisis of the Depression was over, the orphanages found themselves in greater need than ever and went back to placing their children into foster care. The foster care system, which was run at the state level, was also experiencing problems. The system was overwhelmed with the number of children in need and was not able to find qualified applicants who could provide stable and healthy environments for the children. In 1935, President Franklin Roosevelt addressed the issue with Title IV of the Social Security Act. Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) expanded the definition of dependency to include children who had lost a parent's care due to death, absences from the home, or prolonged incapacity.[781] ADC reduced child dependency by providing just enough funds to keep many parents from having to relinquish their children to foster care or institutions.

Due to the change in belief concerning congregate care of dependents and more assistance to struggling families, the numbers of children at Saint Elizabeth's dropped dramatically in the decades after the passage of the ADC. By 1953, there were only 114 residents in the home.[782] As numbers were down in all Catholic institutions in Baltimore,

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[780] Dianne Creagh, "Science, Social Work, and Bureaucracy: Cautious Developments in Adoption and Foster Care, 1930-1969," *Children and Youth in Adoption Orphanages, and Foster Care*, ed. Askeland (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006), 32.

[781] Ibid., 32.

[782] Summary of Work, Saint Elizabeth's Home, October 1947-May 1953. (Unpublished: AFSB, Baltimore)

the decision was made to consolidate all children under the care of the Archdiocese. In 1960, all children[783] were moved to the new Villa Maria home in Dulaney Valley.[784] In 1961, Saint Elizabeth's School for Special Education opened on the first floor of the Saint Elizabeth Home. That school still operates today in a new building on the same property.

[783] One hundred twenty children from all archdiocese institutions were moved to Villa Maria.

[784] Spalding, *The Premier See, A History of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, 1789-1994*, 389.

Chapter VI

CONCLUSIONS

Saint Frances Orphan Asylum and Saint Elizabeth Home provided homes and education for some of Baltimore's neediest children, dependent African Americans. As Catholic institutions operated by women religious, the institutions were forced to operate within the confines of a church that embodied many of the racist and partiarchal attitudes of the times. In turn, the church was itself a minority insitution working within the boundaries of the Protestant United States. The histories of the two institutions provide exemplary case studies by which to explore the treatment of Catholics in the mainstream of American society and to examine the treatment of women religious by the men of the Catholic Church. Above all, however, by contrasting the treatment of black and white religious orders by both the white Catholic hierarchy and the lay community, this research illuminates the racism that existed within the American Catholic Church.

The American Catholic Church in 1829 was very divided over the status of its black constituents. Baltimore, being a southern city in a slave state, was not exactly a welcoming environment for an order of black nuns. The Oblates were successful in the establishment of the order and the school in part because its founders were of Caribbean descent, spoke French, and had light complexions.

As an order of black nuns, the Oblates did not receive much financial support from the white Catholic establishment. Because of this, they depended upon the generosity of wealthy members of the black San Dominguan community. Elizabeth Charles Arieau, also known as Madame Charles, was present at the founding of the order and helped to secure funding for their original residence. She also provided assistance

throughout her life in the form of donations and tuition support for students. Working class members of the community also supported the Oblates; Fanny Montpensier, a servant in Arieu's household, donated whatever monetary amount she could to the Oblates and encouraged her family members and friends to do the same.

A prevailing theme in the chronicles of Saint Frances Orphan Asylum is that of racism. As it was operated by an order of black nuns, discrimination in some form or fashion underlies the entire history of Saint Frances. The sisters faced racist attacks from the Baltimore community during the 1830s and 1840s, struggled with the prejudiced attitudes of priests and archbishops who did not feel that black women should be nuns, grappled with church officials who did not feel black students should receive an academy education, and competed for funds from a white community that favored donating to white communities of nuns.

Although the white Catholic community did not commit its financial support to the Oblates, Saint Frances Orphan Asylum was recognized throughout the east coast of the United States as an institution that could be relied upon to take in dependent African American girls. Oblate records show that white Catholic institutions from both the North and the South sent girls to Saint Frances for care. By providing for the care and education of those girls in a Catholic environment, the institutions were able to ensure that Protestant institutions did not proselytize Catholic children without having to actually care for black children themselves.

For more than a decade, Saint Frances Orphan Asylum was the only Catholic institution for black orphans in Baltimore. That changed when the Franciscan Sisters, a white order of nuns from England, arrived to take over control of an orphanage run by

Mary Herbert, a black woman. From the beginning, this orphanage, which became known as Saint Elizabeth Home, was supported by the leaders of Baltimore's Catholic community, both clerical and lay.

The historical context at the time suggests that racism in the American Catholic Church certainly appeared to be a factor contributing to the Franciscan Sisters invitation to Baltimore. From the end of the Civil War, Archbishop Spalding tried to convince his fellow bishops that the African American mission was important in the growth of the American Catholic Church. While the Second Plenary Council of 1866 gave nod to the work, it did not establish a national effort or policy for the mission. Instead, the Council left the work up to individual dioceses. This led to a patchwork of policy toward African Americans. Almost a decade after the end of the war, Spalding realized that prevailing beliefs of racism in the church would not allow for successful integration of African Americans into the Catholic Church and instead called for the establishment of separate Catholic institutions for them. The establishment of separate institutions called for orders of religious that were dedicated solely to African American Catholics and their institutions. Not finding any American Catholics willing to devote themselves to the African American cause, Spalding looked to England. That search led to the newly formed Mill Hill Missionaries. Spalding was able to convince them to come to the United States and focus on the African American cause. The Mill Hill Missionaries arrived in Baltimore in 1871 and took over Baltimore's African American parish, Saint Francis Xavier. Spalding's move to bring a religious order from England to serve African Americans presupposes the notion that a group of African American Catholics was not able to form a congregation of religious to mission to themselves. At this time,

that might have been the case. While there is evidence of African American men being active participants in Baltimore's Catholic community, popular sentiment would have probably been against seeing them in a leadership role in the Catholic Church.

This is evidenced by the story of the Healy family, a biracial group of siblings from Georgia. The siblings, whose father was a white plantation owner and mother was one of his slaves, were sent north to be educated. Of the ten children, five accepted religious vocations, three priests and two nuns. Perhaps the most famous of the five, Patrick, became a Jesuit priest and served as President of Georgetown University in 1866. They did all of this while self-identifying as white. Had the conditions been hospitable for an African American leadership in the Catholic Church, perhaps they would not have felt the need to "pass" in the white Catholic Community.[785] In fact, it wasn't until 1886 that an African American was ordained a priest in the Catholic Church. Father Augustus Tolton is considered the first African American priest. Tolton and his family escaped slavery in Missouri and settled in Illinois where they became Catholics. There wasn't a single seminary in the United States that would enroll him, so Tolton had to go to Rome where he was eventually ordained.[786] The opposition to male African American leadership in the church is almost inevitably inked to the distrust and fear of African American males in American society, coupled with the belief that African Americans did not possess the necessary abilities to acquire the education necessary to become successful leaders. Thus, the Catholic hierarchy felt that it was important to bring in white male Catholics to lead the African American mission.

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[785] Stephen Ochs, *Desegregating the Altar: The Josephites and the Struggle for Black Priests, 1871-1960.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990), 26-29.

[786] Ochs, 54-61.

The argument about the fear and skepticism of ability toward African American males in the Catholic Church should not have been a deciding factor in the invitation to a white order of nuns to assist the Mill Hill Missionaries. The Oblate Sisters of Providence had been in existence in Baltimore since 1826. Their work in educating African American children had been recognized by numerous Catholic officials, including Archbishop Spalding himself. By 1881, when the Franciscan Sisters arrived in Baltimore, the Oblate Sisters had been operating Saint Frances Orphan Asylum for fifteen years. Had the Catholic hierarchy had faith in the ability of the African American Oblates to run such an institution, they would have worked to support Saint Frances rather than bring in a white order of sisters to do the same work. This underlying discrimination is emphasized by the history of Saint Elizabeth Home. Although Father Slattery and the female board of managers were critical of Mary Herbert's leadership, they could have invited the Oblates to assist her, rather than seeking out a white order of nuns to manage the institution.

No matter the reason for their invitation to Baltimore, the mission of the Franciscan Sisters was to help African American children. However, they sometimes fell prey to American society's racial prejudice. Racially prejudiced references to the orphans are sprinkled throughout Mother Paul's Diary. For example, she discussed the older children acting as "mammys" and the fact that tuberculosis was rampant in the orphanage because of "their ancestral habits of 'herding' in close rooms."[787]

[787] Mother Paul's Diary, 1868-1890, 78, Franciscan Sisters Folder, Josephite Archives [hereafter JA], Baltimore, MD.

Under the leadership of the Franciscan Sisters, Saint Elizabeth Home was incorporated by the city in 1882. Almost from the moment of its incorporation, Saint Elizabeth's became a valued partner of the City and the Catholic Church in the care of African American orphans. They cared for boys and girls, no matter how young, as was the only institution in Baltimore that accepted babies. The immediate recognition of Saint Elizabeth's as an institution for black children provides evidence that the established Catholic Church supported the mission of the Franciscan Sisters and advocated for them with the political hierarchy in Baltimore City. A formal partnership like the one that the Franciscans enjoyed with city government never existed between Baltimore and the Oblates. This variance offers yet another example of the lack of confidence that the Catholic Church had in the work of the African American sisters who ran Saint Frances Orphan Asylum.

The Saint Elizabeth Home benefitted from the largesse of the white Catholic community in general, but especially from a number of wealthy women, their primary benefactress being Elizabeth Jenkins. Mrs. Jenkins would serve as the home's protector and patron her entire life. Her influence and that of other white benefactresses insured that Saint Elizabeth's would operate in such a manner that the greater white society was appropriate for an institution that served African Americans. That support allowed Saint Elizabeth Home to flourish well into the twentieth century, eventually being selected by the Archdiocese as the only establishment for African American orphans when it consolidated institutions in 1926.

Both the Oblate Sisters of Providence and the Franciscan Sisters were dependent upon the benevolence of the men of the Catholic Church. At times, however, both groups

struggled for survival when men in power no longer supported them. Without the support of a number of church leaders, the Oblates would not be in existence. Several stand out as being essential to the survival of the OSP and Saint Frances Orphan Asylum. Chief among them are three men who served as Spiritual Directors for the order: Father Joubert, Father Anwander, and Father Miller. Joubert co-founded the order with Mother Mary Lange and Sister Marie Frances. Without his support and sponsorship, the women would never have been able to establish a religious community. Father Anwander, considered the second founder of the Oblates, emerged at a time in Oblate history when the order was dying and helped revive it. Father Miller also took over the spiritual leadership of the Oblates during the crucial period at the end of the Civil War. He helped shepherd the women through those times and supported their work, especially with the orphans.

While the Oblates enjoyed tacit support from the highest levels of the Archdiocese from Archbishops Winfield, Kenrick, and Spalding, they also faced some of their toughest opponents from men in the same office. Chief among those detractors was Archbishop Eccleston who did nothing to support the order, even going so far as to recommend that they disband and become domestics. Eccleston's hostility toward the Oblates can most likely be traced back to his attitude and beliefs about African Americans. He was born into a slave holding family and evidence points to the fact that he was probably a slave owner himself. As the leader of the Archdiocese during a time of great waves of immigrants from Europe, he believed that providing time and resources

toward evangelization and care of African Americans deprived white constituents who would be better served by the attention of the Catholic Church.[788]

The Franciscan Sisters of Baltimore were also subject to the patriarchal attitudes of the Catholic Church. On the one hand, they experienced a very positive relationship with Cardinal Gibbons, perhaps their most powerful ally. On the other hand, they had a very tenuous relationship with Father John Slattery, Josephite Superior. The difference in their relationships with the two men was due, in part, to the role that each man played in the Catholic Church at the time. Gibbons, the established leader of the Catholic Church, was secure in his position. Slattery was constantly fighting for recognition and more power in his role as Josephite Superior. That power included control over the Franciscans and their institutions.

Cardinal Gibbons was an ardent supporter of the Franciscan Sisters and their mission. He visited the Saint Elizabeth Home almost every day on his afternoon constitutional. This very public backing was almost as important, if not more so, than the financial support he provided. His deep appreciation for the work of the Franciscan Sisters led to his assistance in their conflicts with Father Slattery.

Father John Slattery was the Josephite Priest who helped establish the Franciscan Sisters in their Baltimore mission. It was he who first decided that Saint Elizabeth Home needed to be taken away from Mary Herbert and that a religious sisterhood should replace her. This patriarchal and proprietary attitude would cause a number of conflicts with the Franciscans and would eventually cause him to break away from them and form

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[788] Diane Batts Morrow, *Persons of Color and Religious at the Same Time: The Oblate Sisters of Providence, 1828-1860* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 127-129.

a new congregation that would do as he asked of them. Although the new congregation was made up of American born women, the Mission Helpers, was still a sisterhood of white women. Once again showing that despite his goal of ministering to African Americans, he felt that they were best served by white leaders.

While neither Saint Frances Orphan Asylum nor Saint Elizabeth Home are still in existence as orphanages, the legacies of both institutions run deep. Saint Frances Orphan Asylum is a part of the educational legacy of the Oblate Sisters in Baltimore. Beginning with the Saint Frances School for Colored Girls in 1828 and continuing through today with Saint Frances Academy,[789] the Oblates have been responsible for educating thousands of Baltimore's African American children, both Catholic and Protestant. They also continue to work with Baltimore's underprivileged. The Mother Mary Lange Center,[790] which opened in 1997, providing a home and safe haven for teenage girls in need of shelter and care. Additionally, the OSP has established schools and missions throughout the United States and in Costa Rica.

Unlike the Oblates, the Franciscan Sisters of Baltimore no longer exist as an order of women religious. In 2001, the order, which had separated from the Franciscan Sisters of Saint Mary, Mill Hill in 1982, voted to merge with the Sisters of Saint Francis of Assisi in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. A small number of them still live and work in Baltimore at Chestnut Hill, on what had been the final site of Saint Elizabeth's Home. While the Sisters are no longer working with African American orphans, the legacy of

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[789] It became Saint Frances Academy in 1870. In the 1970's, the school began admitting boys.

[790] Oblate Sisters of Providence. "Ministries." http://www.oblatesisters.com/Ministries.html Accessed on April 5, 2016.

the former buildings that housed Saint Elizabeth's lives on. The former Maryland Avenue Convent, now known as the Margaret Jenkins House, houses the Women's Housing Coalition.[791] The Women's Housing Coalition provides transition housing for women in need. Right around the corner, in another building that formerly housed the orphanage, is the Saint Francis Neighborhood Center, which coordinates with community partners to provide programs and services to the residents of Reservoir Hill.[792] The final site of Saint Elizabeth Home, Chestnut Hill, now serves as the Henry and Jeanette Weinberg Community Center. The Old Stone House has meeting spaces, a computer lab, and an exercise room to serve the residents in the low-income apartments in the adjacent residence.[793] The name Saint Elizabeth's continues in what is currently the Saint Elizabeth School, a non-public special education school that resides in a new building on the lot bordering Chestnut Hill.[794]

The attitudes of the American Catholic Church toward its African American parishioners changed over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Those changes reflected the prevailing beliefs of the greater American society and the Church's desire to remain a viable American institution. While the United States was struggling with its status as a partial slave society during the antebellum period, nowhere was that struggle more evident than in Baltimore. Portions of Maryland, a southern state, were still strongly controlled by slave-holding interests, while others had slowly been moving

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[791] Women's Housing Coalition. http://www.womenshousing.org/ Accessed on April 5, 2016.

[792] Saint Francis Center. http://www.stfranciscenter.org/welcome.html Accessed on April 5, 2016.

[793] Jacques Kelly, "Chestnut Hill Renovations Affirm Its Space in the Heart of Baltimore." *The Baltimore Sun*, January 15, 2016.

[794] Saint Elizabeth School. www.stelizabeth-school.org Accessed on April 5, 2016.

away from the institution of slavery. Residents of both mindsets populated Baltimore. Some people still owned slaves, but at the same time, Baltimore was home to one of the largest free black populations in the nation. American Catholics were on both sides of the problem. The Catholic Church chose to remain neutral on the issue, stating that slavery was a political issue and that as a religious institution it did not interfere with the government. By staying above the fray, the Church did not anger the leaders of either side of the movement and ended up being considered patriotic in both the North and the South during the war. This allowed it to be seen as a supportive entity after the war. After the war, Catholic Church leaders continued this neutral stance as it applied to the African American population. Rather than making official policies to assist the struggling population, the American Church left the issue to individual dioceses. This decentralization allowed individual archbishops the leeway to minister to African Americans in ways that best suited the political culture of their particular congregants.

In the twentieth century, American society was rapidly changing due to Progressive reformers. As those crusaders worked to make society's institutions more professional, streamlined, efficient, and cost-effective, the Catholic Church changed with them. The consolidation of the Archdiocese of Baltimore's charities is an excellent example of this alignment to American society's attitudes. As a part of this restructuring, Archbishop Curley consolidated the work for African Americans. One community of women religious would work exclusively with orphans, another exclusively as educators. That consolidation was for cost effectiveness and efficiency purposes; for perhaps the first time, race did not play a factor in the decision-making. This can be said because the white sisterhood, the Franciscans, was charged with caring for orphans while the black

sisterhood, the Oblates, was tasked with education. The type of education provided by the Oblates in Saint Frances Orphan Asylum was very similar to that provided in their Academy and included higher levels of education past grade school for those girls with aptitude. It was not the industrial education provided at Saint Elizabeth Home. If race had played a factor in the Archdiocese's decision-making, the black sisters would not have been made responsible for education. In making education the main focus of the Oblates, the Archdiocese allowed them to continue to prepare the future leaders of the African American Catholic community.

Considerations for Further Research

This study focused on the Saint Frances Orphan Asylum and Saint Elizabeth Home and the differences that existed in the institutions due to the fact that they were managed by sisterhoods of different races. When this topic was first identified, the researcher did not realize the depth of the matter. The initial plan was to research both institutions and write their stories. But it was almost immediately apparent that this subject required more than a little research and a summary of their stories. Instead, their stories became so much more than just the tales of single institutions. The tales of the institutions are only the end result of the confluence of what seems like innumerable threads of hundreds of years of American history. In fact, this study has raised many more questions than it has answered. Those questions center around a few broad topics: Baltimore's African American community, the role of women, orphanages in Baltimore, the relationship of Saint Frances and Saint Elizabeth's with other Catholic institutions, and the impact of the two institutions on the lives of the children they served.

The role of Baltimore's African American community in the support of the Oblate mission is a topic that needs further study. This dissertation touches on the names of a few wealthy black San Dominguans who helped found the Oblate order and served as patrons to it throughout their lives. It also mentions a working class woman who did the same. Missing are the names and stories of additional patrons, especially the poor African Americans who helped to buttress the OSP and donated money despite the fact that they could barely make ends meet for their own families. Looking more deeply into the documents and ledgers in the Oblate Archives to find these people will help flesh out the story of the self-agency of Baltimore's African American Catholics.

Wealthy white women played a large role in the establishment and maintenance of Saint Elizabeth Home. The names of women like Elizabeth Jenkins, Emily Harper, and others constantly appear in the records of the home. Their names also appear in the records of Saint Frances. This indicates that there was a network of charitable giving in the Catholic community of Baltimore. More research needs to be done on this topic to better understand that network and the role and motives of those women. Another white woman, Josephine Etting, played a prominent role in the founding of Saint Elizabeth's. Her participation in that event is very interesting due to the fact that she was Jewish. The records indicate that she was the only non-Catholic person who took part in that enterprise. Not long after the founding, she disappears from the records. Further exploration of the role of Jewish women in Baltimore's philanthropic community and the life story of Etting must be undertaken in order to better understand the significance of Etting's contributions. This additional research will allow for a more comprehensive view of elite women of all religions working in local and national charity movements.

Saint Frances Orphan Asylum and Saint Elizabeth Home were only two of the institutions in Baltimore that served African Americans. Research into the work of the Mission Helpers, the sisterhood established by Father John Slattery after his split with the Franciscan Sisters, would add to the scholarship on the Catholic Church's work with African American orphans. Additionally, investigation into the Johns Hopkins Colored Orphan Asylum, would allow for comparison of the treatment of African American orphans by Protestant organizations. An exploration into those and other institutions would serve to further describe the history of African American orphanages both on a local and national level.

Saint Frances Orphan Asylum, and Saint Elizabeth's to a lesser extent, had relationships with other Catholic institutions. White Catholic groups sent black orphans to them for care. That link is especially evident in the connection between the New York Foundling Hospital and Saint Frances. While there are a number of records in the Oblate Archives that document the partnership, the researcher has not been successful in accessing the records of the Foundling in order to more fully tell the story of the association. More scholarship needs to be conducted on the Foundling's relationship with other institutions, especially Saint Frances.

A final story that needs to be told is that of the children served by both orphanages. This study has primarily focused on the two institutions, with a few anecdotes about the orphans. While the researcher has been able to trace a few of the orphans from Saint Frances to adulthood, she has not been able to fully flesh out their stories or determine how their stay in the asylum impacted their lives. A number of the girls from Saint Elizabeth Home joined the Oblate Sisters of Providence. Delving deeper

into their biographies would also help to illuminate the effect of an orphanage on their lives.

A number of stories converged within the research on Saint Frances Orphan Asylum and Saint Elizabeth Home. The investigation into the two institutions has provided an opportunity to examine aspects of African American history, Baltimore's history, Catholic history, and women's history. This dissertation has contributed insights into all of these areas of study. It also has, however, elucidated the need for further research. The history of both of these orphanages will continue to spur research for years to come.

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