DEFERRED MISSION: THE JOSEPHITES AND THE STRUGGLE FOR BLACK CATHOLIC PRIESTS, 1871 - 1960

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ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: Deferred Mission: The Josephites and the Struggle for Black Catholic Priests, 1871 - 1960

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During the last quarter of the nineteenth, and well into the twentieth century, St. Joseph's Society of the Sacred Heart (Josephites) carried the main burden of the Roman Catholic Church's meagre efforts among black Americans. The Josephites built churches and schools throughout the South and, more dramatically, pioneered in the ordination of black Catholic priests in the United States. The exclusion of all but a handful of black men from the Catholic priesthood had both symbolized and helped to perpetuate the second class status of blacks within the Catholic Church.

Under their first American Superior General, the dynamic John R. Slattery (1893 - 1904), the Josephites defied prevailing racist ideology. They accepted blacks into their minor and major seminaries and raised three of them to the priesthood between 1891 and 1907. Unfortunately, however, the Josephites could not sustain their pioneering endeavors on behalf of a black clergy in the midst of deteriorating race relations in the United States after the turn of the century. Southern bishops refused to accept black Josephites into their dioceses. Slattery's successors as Superior General, especially Louis B. Pastorelli (1918 - 1942), lacked his faith in black leadership, shared some of the racist assumptions of American society, and found themselves dependent upon the support of southern bishops. They

accomodated their ecclesiatical superiors and effectively closed the Josephite college and seminary to all but an occasional mulatto, thereby forfeiting credibility among an important segment of black Catholics. Leadership in the struggle for black priests passed to the missionaries of the Society of the Divine Word. Not until the election of Edward V. Casserly as Superior General (1942-1948), did the Josephites return to their original policy of recruiting black men for St. Joseph's Society.

The struggle of the Josephites over the issue of black priests illustrated the depth of the institutional racism that pervaded the Catholic Church, the tendency of the Church to accomodate itself to prevailing regional and national cultures, the limits of Vatican influence over the American Church on sensitive social issues like race, and the determination of black Catholics to secure their own priestly spokesmen within the clerically dominated Catholic Church.

Now will I praise those godly men,
our ancestors, each in his own time.
But of others there is no memory,
for when they ceased, they ceased.
And they are as though they had not lived,
they and their children after them.
Yet these also were godly men
whose virtues have not been forgotten;
their wealth remains in their families,
their heritage with their descendants.
Through God's covenant with them their family endures,
their posterity, for their sake.
And for all time their progeny will endure,
their glory will never be blotted out.

The Book of Sirach 44, 1, 9-13

INTRODUCTION

During the last quarter of the nineteenth, and well into the twentieth century, St. Joseph's Society of the Sacred Heart carried the main burden of the Catholic Church's meagre efforts among black Americans. Founded in England and commonly called the Josephites, this community of priests attempted to preserve the faith of the relatively few existing black Catholics and to win converts among non-churched and Protestant Afro-Americans. The Josephites built churches and schools throughout the South, where the majority of blacks lived, and, more dramatically, pioneered in the ordination of black priests in the United States.

The exclusion of all but a handful of black men from the Roman Catholic priesthood in the United States until well into the twentieth century both symbolized and helped to perpetuate the second class status of blacks within the Catholic Church. Despised by a majority of white Catholics, and deprived of their own priestly spokesmen in the hierarchical, clerical-dominated Catholic Church, black Catholics, for most of their history, found themselves powerless and persecuted within the Church. The few black men who managed to become priests between 1854 and 1950 remained the exceptions. They usually operated within circumscribed boundaries, and often paid a staggering emotional price for their vocations. Black Catholics ordinarily had to rely upon white priests to speak for them in the councils of the Church. Regardless of the good intentions of such priests, the situation bred paternalism. Moreover, the absence of black priests from the sanctuary deprived black Catholics of symbols of their own dignity and worth and reinforced feelings of inferiority.

The lack of black priests in the Catholic Church in the United States also belied the Church's claim to universality and impeded its efforts to win

converts among non-Catholic black Americans, who regarded the dearth of black leadership in the Church as proof that the Catholic Church remained "the white man's church." Only in the nineteen forties and fifties did the barriers that had blocked black Catholics from the priesthood gradually begin to fall. Indeed, the desegregation of Catholic seminaries often preceded, and helped set the stage for, integration in other Catholic institutions.

Central to an understanding of the struggle for black Catholic priests in the United States, lay the experiences of the Josephites, the only Roman Catholic community of priests devoted exclusively to work among black Americans. From their earliest days as a community, the issue of black priests helped to define the Josephites' mission and identity. Under their first American Superior General, the charismatic John R. Slattery (1893 - 1904), the Josephites defied prevailing racist ideology. They accepted blacks into their integrated minor and major seminaries and raised three of them to the priesthood between 1891 and 1907. The ordination of blacks to the priesthood represented a potentially powerful challenge to the racism that prevailed in the American Catholic Church, since the priest occupied a place of unique honor and reverence among Catholics. Blacks priests also provided the Catholic Church with an opportunity to demonstrate its inclusiveness to the black community by offering blacks the opportunity for leadership positions within the Church.

Unfortunately, however, the Josephites could not sustain their pioneering endeavors on behalf of a black clergy in the face of deteriorating racial conditions within American society and the American Catholic Church at the turn of the century. Frustration over opposition to black priests from white Catholic clergy helped drive John R. Slattery out of the Church. Slattery's apostasy almost destroyed the Josephites and served to discredit the cause of black priests with which he had so closely identified himself for so many years.

Slattery's immediate successors as Superior General, moreover, lacked his leadership abilities and his enthusiasm for black priests and found themselves confronted by southern bishops who refused to allow black Josephites into their dioceses. As a result, between 1904 and 1918, St. Joseph's Society gradually abandoned its policy of recruiting young blacks.

Louis B. Pastorelli emerged from the chaos following Slattery's departure and rebuilt St. Joseph's Society. Serving as Superior General from 1918 until 1942, he strengthened Society institutions and presided over the expansion of missions and membership. Caught between the bishops, who refused to ordain or accept black priests, and black Catholics, who wanted priests of their own race, Pastorelli decided to accomodate the bishops at whose pleasure the Josephites served. He believed that the Josephites, a small American religious community without the worldwide connections of larger religious orders, could survive only by ingratiating themselves with the bishops. The personal tragedies that befell two black Josephites, John Dorsey and John Plantevigne, after their rejection by southern bishops, reinforced Pastorelli's generally low estimation of black leadership potential and further convinced him that the good of the Society and its members required the Josephites to leave the development of a black priesthood to others. Although he continued to pay lip service to the ideal of black priests, Pastorelli effectively closed Epiphany Apostolic College and St. Joseph's Seminary, the Josephite minor and major seminaries, to all but an occasional mulatto. He accepted a few mulattos in an attempt to forestall protests from blacks about discrimination.

Pastorelli's policies, nevertheless, brought him into conflict with articulate black Catholics in the Washington-Baltimore area, who, under the leadership of Dr. Thomas Wyatt Turner, formed the Federated Colored Catholics of America (FCC) and demanded that the Josephites accept more black candidates. Turner

and the FCC appealed both to the American hierarchy and to the Holy See to provide black Catholics with priests of their own race. Pastorelli, however, remained intransigent in the face FCC complaints, arguing disingenuously that the Josephites still accepted "qualified" blacks and pointing to the one or two light-skinned black students at Epiphany Apostolic College or St. Joseph's Seminary as proof. Pastorelli's deception left a legacy of distrust and suspicion between the Josephites and black Catholic leaders that persisted for decades and resurfaced again during the late nineteen sixties and early nineteen seventies.

Meanwhile, in 1919 and 1920, as black Catholic appeals mounted, the Holy See, under Pope Benedict XV, entered the picture, pressuring the American bishops to take concrete steps to provide for more black priests in the United States. As a result, the American bishops approved the plans put forth by the predominantly German missionaries of the Society of the Divine Word (SVDs), to found a seminary for blacks in the South to prepare them to become SVDs. The SVD seminary, ultimately called St. Augustine's Seminary, became a reality in 1920. Unlike the Josephites, who had attempted integrated seminary education, the SVDs bowed to prevailing racial views in the South and conducted a basically segregated institution.

The existence of St. Augustine's eased pressure on Pastorelli and on the American bishops. It allowed them to refuse black applicants at their own institutions by referring them to St. Augustine's while still claiming that they believed in black priests. For the next fifteen years, Pastorelli skeptically watched the progress of the "experiment" at St. Augustine's, maintaining the status quo in his own seminaries. The ideal of promoting black vocations, however, did not die in the Josephites during Pastorelli's tenure as Superior General. Finding the doors of Josephite seminaries closed to black youths from

their parishes, Josephite missionaries encouraged black vocations in the only way possible, by sending parish boys to St. Augustine's, oftentimes paying their fees, and even making personal contributions to the SVD institution.

The climate for black priests in the American Church gradually began to improve in the 1930s and early 1940s. Catholic interracial crusaders like John LaFarge began to make their voices heard, and blacks in American society made gains as a result of the New Deal and Second World War. Beginning in 1934, St. Augustine's Seminary also started to turn out black SVD priests and the Holy See intervened more directly in the American Church on behalf of the black apostolate. The appointment of the first four black SVDs to the Diocese of Lafayette, Louisiana, following the intervention of Archbishop Amleto Cicognani, the Apostolic Delegate, and Cardinal George Mundelein of Chicago, the president of the American Board for Catholic Missions, signalled the beginning of a new era for black priests in the United States. The existence of the black SVDs increased pressure on Pastorelli and the Josephites, as black parishoners clamored for black priests of their own. In addition, a strongly worded letter in 1936 from the Sacred Consistorial Congregation in Rome to the American bishops, urging them to redouble their efforts on behalf of the black apostolate and to open their seminaries to qualified black candidates, quickened the pace of change. More religious communities became involved in black work and bishops and religious communities in the North began to accept a few black candidates for their seminaries. Even Pastorelli grudgingly came to believe that Josephite self interest required the ordination of black priests in order to compete successfully with communities that already had black priests and in order to appease the demands of Josephite parishoners. In 1941, Pastorelli witnessed the ordination of the first black Josephite priest since 1907. Still, he could not shake the habits of mind or the fears of twenty-five years, and when

he left office in July, 1942, the Josephites could point to only one black candidate in their minor seminary.

Following the election of Edward V. Casserly as Superior General of the Josephites in July, 1942, however, the Josephites returned to Slattery's original policy of encouraging and accepting significant numbers of black vocations for St. Joseph's Society. Several factors, in addition to his own personal conviction, enabled Casserly to reclaim Slattery's legacy for the Josephites and to overcome the opposition of the "old guard." Casserly benefitted from the changes in American society that World War II produced. He also enjoyed the support of new generations of Josephites who constituted a majority of the Society and who believed in the desirability and the necessity of black priests. In addition, a few southern bishops indicated their willingness to accept black priests into their dioceses. At a 1946 meeting with Archbishop Samuel Stritch of Chicago, the president of the American Board for Catholic Missions, several southern bishops, led by Archbishop Joseph Rummel of New Orleans, pledged to accept qualified black candidates for their diocesan clergy, thus, further improving prospects for the stationing of future black Josephites in the South.

Casserly's successors continued his policies of encouraging black vocations, and throughout the fifties and into the early sixties, black students and seminarians comprised at least one third of the enrollments at Epiphany Apostolic College and St. Joseph's Seminary. Archbishop Joseph Rummel's dramatic defense of black priests in the Jesuit Bend incident of 1955, clearly indicated that black Josephites could return to the Deep South. In 1955, the Josephites ordained their first black priest since 1941 and assigned him to New Orleans. By 1960, they counted five black priests among their ranks and looked forward to a steady stream of black priests in the future.

The turmoil of the late sixties and early seventies generated by the "black power" movement, by the Second Vatican Council, and by the Vietnam War, however, dashed Josephite hopes for an abundant supply of black priests. As in earlier times of unrest, the Josephites found themselves under attack from black Catholics who charged them with paternalism, insensitivity to changes in the black community, and failure to develop black leadership. The unrest in the Church and in the black community precipitated a crisis at St. Joseph's Seminary and eventually cost the Josephites most of their black seminarians and several of their black priests. Although stunned and hurt by the loss of so many promising black candidates from the seminary and by the virulence of some of their black Catholic critics, the Josephites responded to the crises of the late sixties and early seventies by reevaluating their ministry and recommitting themselves to the black apostolate and to the development of black lay and clerical leadership in the Church. By 1985, the controversies and passions of the late sixties and early seventies had cooled and given way to a more cooperative atmosphere in which the Josephites and black Catholic leaders worked together more harmoniously. The Josephites continued to ordain black priests, albeit in smaller numbers than in the mid-sixties. Two of those black Josephites became auxiliary bishops of the Archdioceses of Washington and Baltimore. The shortage of black priests in the Josephites and the Catholic Church persisted, however, remaining a critical problem for the black apostolate.

Throughout their relatively short history, the Josephites wrestled with the issue of black priests. In the process, they demonstrated varying degrees of courage and vision; timidity, expediency, and paternalism. The difficulties that the Josephites experienced over the ordination of black men to the priesthood illustrated the depth of the institutional racism that pervaded the Catholic Church and that crippled its efforts among Afro-Americans. That racism

stemmed, in part, from the tendency of the Catholic Church in the United States to accomodate itself to the prevailing regional and national cultures in which it functioned. Contrary to popular stereotypes that pictured the Catholic Church as a monolithic institution whose members marched in lockstep to Rome's wishes, the close identification of American Catholics with the dominant racial views of their society limited the influence of the Vatican over the American Church on sensitive social issues like race. Not surprisingly, the Josephites, as the chief agents of the Catholic Church among blacks in the United States, found it necessary to adapt their policies on black priests to the wishes of the American hierarchy, and particularly the southern bishops. They paid a stiff price, however, forfeiting both a part of their own identity and the trust of many black Catholic leaders. To their credit, when the outlook for black priests within American society and within the Catholic Church began to improve, the Josephites, spurred on by black Catholics who persistently and doggedly communicated their desire for priests of their own, eagerly returned to the forefront of the movement for a black clergy. As the Catholic Church faces growing demands from women, blacks, Hispanics, and native Americans for their own priests, it would do well to ponder the experiences of the Josephites and to embrace the vision of John R. Slattery, who called for a priesthood that proclaimed the Gospel and manifested the universality of the Church by reflecting the diversity of its many different peoples.

Dedication

To Phyllis L. Ouellette,
my wife and best friend.

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KEY TO END NOTE ABBREVIATIONS

AAB	Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore
AACi	Archives of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati
AANO	Archives of the Archdiocese of New Orleans
AAM	Archives of the Archdiocese of Mobile
ACUA	Archives of the Catholic University of America
ADA	Archives of the Diocese of Alexandria
ADB	Archives of the Diocese of Buffalo
ADC	Archives of the Diocese of Cleveland
ADJ	Archives of the Diocese of Jackson
ADL	Archives of the Diocese of Lafayette
ADLR	Archives of the Diocese of Little Rock
ADN	Archives of the Diocese of Nashville
ADP	Archives of the Diocese of Portland
ADR	Archives of the Diocese of Richmond
ADS	Archives of the Diocese of Savannah
ADSA	Archives of the Diocese of St. Augustine
APF	Archives of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda de Fide
ASFP	Albert S. Foley Papers
ASHF	Archives of the Sisters of the Holy Family
AUND	Archives of the University of Notre Dame
GUA	Georgetown University Archives
JFA	Josephite Fathers Archives
MHFA	Mill Hill Fathers Archives
SAB	Sulpician Archives Baltimore
SASA	St. Augustine's Seminary Archives
SJAA	St. John's Abbey Archives
SBSA	Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament Archives
SMAA	Society of the African Missions Archives
SPA	Southern Province Archives of the Society of the Divine Word
SPAUSA	Spiritan Archives of the United States of America
SVAA	St. Vincent Archabbey Archives
TWT	Thomas Wyatt Turner Papers
USCCA	United States Catholic Conference Archives

CHAPTER I
LOST HARVEST, 1634 - 1871

It is a golden opportunity for reaping a harvest of souls, which if neglected may not come again.
- Archbishop Martin John Spalding of Baltimore, October 9, 1865

On November 18, 1871, a British steamer weighed anchor in Southhampton harbor bound for the United States. The steamer carried Father Herbert Vaughan and four other English priests of St. Joseph's Society of the Sacred Heart for Foreign Missions.[1] This tiny band represented the major missionary effort of the Catholic Church among Afro-Americans in the United States. Such anemic effort on the part of the Church had produced a black Catholic population in 1870 of only 100,000, with serious leakage occurring daily.[2] The Church's efforts to evangelize Afro-Americans suffered from a shortage of personnel, lack of resources, hostile environment, poor organization, and the poison of racism. The Church failed to communicate a sense of full-fledged membership to blacks. The lack of black priests graphically illustrated the Church's reluctance to provide opportunities for significant black leadership and seriously hampered its effectiveness in the black community. The arrival of St. Joseph's Society, commonly referred to as the Josephites, held out hope for a new beginning. Unfortunately, by 1879, the Josephites faced imminent collapse, the victims of many of the same problems that had hindered previous Catholic efforts among blacks.

I

The missionary efforts of the Catholic Church depended on priests. Catholics viewed the priest as a mediator between God and humanity. The priest held the keys to the kingdom of heaven. He did more than preach, for he shared in the priesthood of Christ. Upon ordination by a bishop, the priest received

supernatural powers to change bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ in the sacrifice of the Mass and to forgive sins in the Sacrament of Penance. Acting as Christ's representative, the priest alone baptized children, celebrated Mass, forgave sins, annointed the sick, buried the dead, and preached the Gospel. Without the priest, Catholics lacked the sacraments, the means of sanctification. Catholic lay people looked up to their priest as a trusted leader, one who had attained his exalted position after years of prayer and study. Priests in turn, answered to their bishops, who reported to the Roman Curia and ultimately, the Pope.[3] Needless to say, with such a view of priesthood, the ordination of blacks to the priesthood would have represented a serious threat to the racist ideology of many white Catholics who believed in the moral and intellectual inferiority of blacks.

From the days of the Apostles until the sixteenth century, Catholic missionaries encouraged the ordination of local men to the priesthood. The Acts of the Apostles and St. Paul's Epistle to Titus describe how the apostles established mission churches in numerous cities and countries and ordained local Christians to carry on the work they had begun.[4] Later, in the fifth and seventh centuries, St. Patrick in Ireland and St. Augustine in England successfully used native priests to establish the Church in those countries.[5]

Unfortunately, beginning in the sixteenth century and continuing into the twentieth, missionaries deviated from the traditional Church policy of encouraging indigenous clergy. As the Age of Colonization began, European notions of cultural superiority led them to deny ordination to native peoples whom they encountered in Asia, Africa, and the Americas. The governments of Spain and Portugal, exercising control over the Church in their colonies through the patronato real, refused to allow the ordination of aborigines, mestizos, and

mulattos.[6] Although a few mulattos in the eighteenth century managed to circumvent royal policy, government instructions sent to Spanish civil and ecclesiastical officials in 1709, 1760, and 1772 reiterated the long-standing prohibition against the ordination of blacks and mulattos.[7]

In 1622, Pope Gregory XV attempted to establish greater uniformity in missionary effort and to curb the excessive royal control over the administration of the missions by establishing a new department of the Roman Curia called the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, or simply, Propaganda. The Pope charged the Propaganda with the supreme direction and administration of the missionary activity of the Church and appointed a Cardinal Prefect as head. In a series of decrees throughout the seventeenth century, Propaganda urged missionaries to train native clergy. To aid in that endeavor, Pope Urban VIII established the Seminary of Propaganda in Rome in 1627. This seminary, called the Urban College, trained candidates from all nations for the diocesan priesthood. Those candidates took an oath to propagate or defend the faith anywhere in the world at the Pope's command. Nevertheless, Propaganda could not exercise its authority freely. The royal governments of Spain, Portugal, and France opposed it, as well as some religious orders such as the Augustinians and the Franciscans.[8]

During the colonial era, in what is now the United States, the Catholic Church came into significant contact with blacks only in Louisiana and Maryland. In both areas, Catholics, including religious orders like the Capuchins and the Jesuits, owned black slaves.[9] The baptismal, marriage, and burial records of numerous parishes in Maryland and Louisiana, as well as the Catholic descendants of slaves and free blacks from those areas, offer witness to the efforts of the overburdened Jesuits and Capuchins to bring the faith to

blacks.[10] Dedicated priests like Father Joaquin de Portillo in Louisiana courageously defended the religious rights of the slaves against the depredations of unscrupulous planters and insisted that the royal government enforce the protections of the slave code, the Code Noir.[11]

The religious instruction of slaves in colonial Louisiana and Maryland depended upon the zeal of the masters. Unfortunately, that zeal often lagged. In 1785, Father John Carroll, the recently named head of the U.S. Catholic Church, criticized Catholic planters for "...a general lack of care in instructing...the Negro slaves in their religion...."[12] When Bishop Luis Penalver made his first official visitation of the Diocese of New Orleans in 1795, he observed that "marriage among the slaves is almost unknown."[13] The religious indifference of many planters and the small number of priests in colonial Maryland and Louisiana often meant that many blacks did not receive the spiritual ministrations of the Church.[14]

Even the priest slaveholders demonstrated an uneven record in their care for the spiritual welfare of their slaves. People in Maryland and Louisiana referred to the slaves of Jesuits as "priests' negroes," a label which implied lenient treatment, or at least a lack of discipline.[15] In 1763, the Jesuits had on their Louisiana plantation, 160 black slaves living in forty-five small houses. The plantation also included a hospital. Jesuits regularly instructed the slaves in their religion and required their attendance at Church services.[16] However, on the Jesuit plantations in Maryland, Father Peter Kenny, a special visitor sent by the Jesuit Father General in 1820, found less than adequate living conditions. Despite catechesis and required attendance at Mass, Kenny also found the slaves' lives "a moral wasteland and a scandalous reproach to the Society."[17] The Jesuits eventually rid themselves of their slave problems by

selling their 272 slaves in 1838 for $115,000. Despite elaborate instructions to the contrary from the Father General, the sale broke up some slave families.[18] The degraded status and inadequate religious instruction of blacks in colonial Maryland and Louisiana obviously did little to foster the growth of black vocations to the priesthood; and missionaries certainly did not look to the slave quarters as a promising source of future priests for the strapped black missions.

That shortage of priests grew more acute in antebellum America as immigrants began pouring into the United States after 1815, threatening to overwhelm the limited resources of the Church. Between 1815 and 1860, the Catholic population increased from 195,000 to 3,103,000. Immigration, primarily from Ireland and Germany, accounted for two-thirds of the growth. A quarter of a million Catholics arrived during the 1830s, seven hundred thousand in the next decade, and nearly one million between 1850 and 1860.[19] Although some Irish went to southern port cities like New Orleans, and many Germans established farming communities in the midwest, the bulk of the Catholic population settled in the cities of the northeast. Increasingly, the Catholic Church became an immigrant church.[20] As late as 1866, 31 out of 47 members of the American hierarchy were foreign born.[21]

As bishops devoted their energies and resources to meeting the needs of the immigrants in the North, missionary efforts for the blacks in the South suffered. In an 1858 letter to the Propagation of the Faith, a French based missionary aid society, Bishop William Elder of Natchez lamented that he could not enable Catholic masters to do their religious duty to their slaves "because there are not priests enough."[22] Archbishop James Whitfield of Baltimore clearly showed that the needs of Catholic whites took top priority when he wrote that,

although the slaves presented a golden opportunity for apostolic labor, he could not meet the needs of whites who felt deprived of the succors of religion; he, therefore, could not attend to blacks.[23]

II

The weak condition of the Catholic Church in the South prevented it from adequately meeting the needs of either whites or blacks. In 1820, the diocese of Richmond embraced no more than 1000 Catholics, while in 1842, at the death of John England, the vigorous bishop of Charleston, South Carolina's Catholics numbered only 7000. When Auguste Martin assumed direction of the newly created diocese of Natchitoches, Louisiana in 1853, he found 25,000 Catholics spread over 22,000 miles for which he had one priest and seven churches.[24] Prior to 1850, the Natchez diocese never contained more than six priests, and the Mobile diocese never had more than twenty. Both dioceses lay close to the principle Catholic center of the South, the diocese of New Orleans, which held about 170,000 Catholics by 1850.[25] Bishop John Quinlan of Mobile found 10,000 Catholics in Alabama out of a total population of 964,201 in 1860 and counted only nine parishes and nine mission stations compared with 805 Baptist churches, 777 Methodist, 135 Presbyterian, and 34 Episcopal congregations.[26] In that same year, only eight of the more than 1800 churches in Georgia were Roman Catholic.[27] Before the Civil War, all of the southern dioceses except New Orleans and Charleston depended heavily on grants of money from the French Society for the Propagation of the Faith because southern Catholics could not contribute enough to support their churches.[28] The dependence of the southern Catholic Church on immigrant clergy, who often failed to appreciate the culture

of the South and who alienated white and black Catholics alike, further sapped its vitality.[29]

In the North, where the Church enjoyed greater strength and influence, Irish antipathy toward free blacks destroyed any prospect that the Church might make significant inroads into the black community. Tension, based on job competition, exploded into race riots on a number of occasions. In 1829, a three day running battle in Cincinnati saw Irish rioters attack black property, free blacks, and fugitive slaves. As a result, the entire "colored" population of 2,000 moved to Canada. Irish mobs again assaulted blacks in Philadelphia in 1834, and most infamously, in the 1863 Draft Riots in New York City.[30]

Harriet Thompson, a black Catholic living in New York, wrote to Pope Pius IX on October 29, 1853 to complain about the treatment of blacks in New York at the hands of the Irish Archbishop of New York, John Hughes. Mrs. Thompson pointed out that black Catholic school children could not attend Catholic schools in New York. She also claimed that Archbishop Hughes opposed Catholic schools for "colored" children and disliked the black race.[31] For many blacks, "Catholic" meant "Irish" and "Irish" meant "enemy."

"Irish" and "Catholic" also meant enemy to many Protestant Americans. During the first half of the nineteenth century, the Catholic Church found itself on the defensive in the face of repeated attacks from nativists. Anti-Catholic writers like Samuel F.B. Morse attacked Catholicism as "idolatrous," "foreign," and "anti-American," and Maria Monk provided salacious fantasies about the horrors of convent life. In 1834 and 1844, mobs in Charleston, Massachusetts and Philadelphia destroyed convents and churches in orgies of anti-Catholic violence.[32] One South Carolinian expressed the prevailing sentiment in the

South when he said that priestly clothes "doubtless concealed the impurities of the devil."[33]

As a result of its vulnerable position, particularly in the South, the Catholic Church attempted to avoid political or social controversy by accomodating to the political, social, and racial views of the section in which it found itself. Since the Church could not compromise with its environment on doctrinal issues, it hastened to demonstrate compromise on social and political issues instead.[34] Catholic social thought stressed personal obligations to provide for families, obey the government, aid the poor, and meet church obligations. It did not include the idea of changing economic or social conditions.[35]

Although Pope Gregory XVI condemned the slave trade in 1839, traditional Catholic moral theology did not condemn slavery itself. In the United States, Archbishop Francis P. Kenrick, of Baltimore, the author of the standard moral theology textbook in American seminaries, acknowledged that slaves had definite rights to physical and moral well being because they shared in the image and likeness of God. Kenrick maintained, however, that if slave owners minimally respected the physical and moral rights of slaves by providing food, shelter, and opportunities to practice their religion, then slavery accorded with both natural and divine law.[36] The American Catholic bishops considered the abolitionists as dangerous social radicals and equated them with nativists. In fact, many abolitionists, like Lyman Beecher, did lend their support to anti-Catholic movements. Bishop Richard Vincent Whelan of Wheeling described "abolitionists, infidels, and Red Republicans" as the most deadly enemies of the Church.[37]

Some Catholic masters conscientiously attempted to provide for the physical and moral needs of their slaves, just as Archbishop Kenrick advised. Silas

Dorsey furnished the seventy-five slaves on his Maryland farm with good food, clothing, and shelter. He also conducted regular religious services in the chapel on the farm and brought Jesuits to the plantation to say Mass, baptize, and conduct funerals.[38]

Most Catholic slave owners, however, did not imitate Dorsey. In 1844, Bishop John Chanche wrote to the French Society for the Propagation of the Faith asking the Society to help him recruit priests in Europe to instruct the blacks who "live in an entire ignorance of religion and die without baptism."[39] Many Catholic masters refused to allow their slaves to attend Catholic services off the plantation for fear that their slaves would run away. As teachers of catechism, most masters performed poorly, and some even hired Protestant preachers or allowed slaves to preach to one another. With widely scattered churches, few priests, and little money, the bishops could not even help those masters who wanted to encourage Catholicism in the slave quarters.[40]

Countervailing forces eventually undermined the efforts of conscientious Catholic slave owners. The segregated pews or galleries in rural Catholic churches embarrassed blacks and helped to alienate them from the "white man's church." Catholic slaves found themselves attracted by the black exhorters with whom they came into increasing contact as Protestant slaveholders and slaves flooded into the Gulf region. Catholic slaves lacked access to a black Catholic clergy sensitive to their needs, and white Catholic clergy, like Bishop John England of Charleston, discouraged black Catholic lay preachers for fear that such unlearned men would debase Catholic teaching. Many Catholic slaves found the emotional evangelical religion of Afro-Protestantism more inviting than the stiff, formal Catholicism espoused by the foreign Catholic priests who occasionally visited the plantation and who aligned themselves with the

masters.[41] As Elizabeth Ross Hite, a former slave of French Catholic masters in Louisiana, explained about Catholicism on her plantation, "lots didn't like that 'ligion" because it did not allow the slaves to "shout an pray like ya wanted to."[42]

By 1860, black Catholics numbered only 100,000, the vast majority concentrated in the South. Compared to the European immigrants, they constituted a tiny percentage of Catholics in the United States. The best available statistics indicate that 62,500 black Catholics lived in Louisiana and the Gulf coast of Mississippi and Alabama; 15,000 lived in Maryland; and 22,500 resided throughout the rest of the country, including small enclaves in Western Kentucky, Charleston, South Carolina, and Florida.[43] As a result of the sheer numbers of Protestant slaves, which inevitably led to mixing between Protestant and Catholic slaves, and the indifference of many Catholic masters, Afro-Protestantism simply overwhelmed Afro-Catholicism in the rural South.[44] The colony of Creoles of color at Isle Breville in Louisiana, remained the sole surviving rural colored Catholic island in an otherwise largely Protestant sea.[45]

Black Catholics did not constitute a distinct ethnic group, but divided along cultural, geographic, and social lines.[46] Caste barriers separated slaves, free blacks, and Creole free persons of color. The French speaking, light skinned, Roman Catholic Creole free people of color lived in Louisiana and along the Gulf coast of Alabama and Mississippi. They established barriers between themselves and the "American Negroes." Often educated, sometimes slaveholders themselves, the Creole people of color identified themselves with French culture and Catholicism. At St. Augustine's Church in New Orleans, they bought half the pews and worshipped with the white Creoles, whom they sought to emulate. They bitterly resisted any attempts to segregate them along with the

"American blacks." The colored Creole isolation from other blacks led them away from encouraging missions to the slaves and poor blacks and thus from enlarging the "colored" presence in the Church.[47]

The Church's black apostolate relied primarily on the individual efforts of interested clergy. In New Orleans, the Ursuline nuns instructed black girls from the 1720s to 1824 and the Carmelite Sisters began a school in the early years of the nineteenth century. The Sulpician Fathers in Baltimore, under Father Louis Dubourg, provided the basement chapel of St. Mary's Seminary for the use of the black Catholics who had fled to Baltimore from the violence of the Haitian Revolution of 1793. In 1828, Father Nicholas Joubert,S.S., began a school for the instruction of this group. When the Sulpicians gave up the work, Father Peter Miller, a Jesuit, opened the Chapel of Blessed Peter Claver in the basement of St. Ignatius Church in 1857. Through the fund raising efforts of Michael O'Connor, S.J., former bishop of Pittsburgh, this basement congregation became St. Francis Xavier Parish in 1863, the first exclusively black Catholic parish in the United States.[48] Bishop John England of Charleston taught catechism on Sunday afternoons to blacks and opened a school in 1835. Ten years later, the St. Joseph Sisters of Carondolet established a school for blacks in St. Louis. In both cases, however, white opposition forced the schools to close. Clearly, a few isolated bishops, priests, and sisters, no matter how dedicated, could make little significant impression on the millions of blacks in the United States. [49]

III

The founding of two black sisterhoods among French speaking women of black descent between 1829 and 1842, offered black Catholics a glimmer of

hope that they might share in the work of the Church among their people. Under the direction of Father Joubert, S.S., the Sulpician priest who ministered to the Baltimore Haitian refugees, Elizabeth Lange, and three companions formed the Oblate Sisters of Providence. The Oblates opened an academy in Baltimore. The chapel of their academy served as the unofficial parish church for Baltimore's Catholic blacks until the basement chapel at St. Ignatius opened. After Father Joubert's death in 1843, the Oblate Sisters suffered such poverty that they had to turn away candidates who had no clothes or money, and watched enrollment drop at their academy. They supported themselves and the orphans for whom they cared on the small sums that they earned from washing, ironing, and mending. Finally, Archbishop Samuel Eccleston of Baltimore decided to disband them. Only the intervention and help of two Redemptorist priests, John Neumann and Thaddeus Anwander, saved the Sisters. As a result, the Oblates continued their work. Graduates of their academy in Baltimore founded a number of black schools, including several in Washington, D.C.. After the Civil War, their sisters eventually staffed a number of Catholic mission schools for black children.[50]

Henriette Delille and Juliette Gaudin, two free women of color, founded the Sisters of the Holy Family in New Orleans in 1842. They received the assistance of Father Etienne Rousselon and Maries Jeanne Aliquot, a French white woman who had devoted her life to the religious instruction of slaves. The Sisters of the Holy Family taught catechism to slaves. Later, they included free people of color in their classes. The sisters also cared for the sick, and opened a home for the aged called the Hospice of the Holy Family. In 1852, they established St. Augustine School and two years later, they opened an orphanage in New

Orleans. After the Civil war, they expanded beyond New Orleans, providing many teachers for black Catholic Schools in the South.[51]

The Oblate Sisters of Providence and the Sisters of the Holy Family encountered opposition from non-Catholic and Catholic alike. During 1856, in Baltimore, Know Nothings allegedly twice broke into St. Joseph's school, forcing the suspension of classes. At a time when candidates for convents throughout the South brought slaves with them as part of their dowries, many white Catholics could not accept the idea of black sisters. The black sisters hesitated to wear distinctive garb because of anticipated opposition. After they donned their veils and wimples, they endured many insults, including being forced from sidewalks while walking. Nonetheless, the black congregations persevered, aided by individual churchmen and white women religious such as the Ursulines and the Madames of the Sacred Heart.[52]

Black priests occupied an even more anomalous position in the Catholic Church than black nuns. Between 1854 and 1864, the three Healy brothers, sons of an Irish born Georgia plantation owner and a mulatto slave woman, managed to surmount the formidable obstacles that kept most black men from the altar, and became priests. James Augustine and Alexander Sherwood Healy were ordained for the Archdiocese of Boston, and Patrick Healy became a Jesuit. The brothers studied for the priesthood in Canada and Europe since no American seminary would accept black students. Each of the brothers also received Holy Orders in Europe because no bishop would ordain them in the United States. The Healy brothers owed their ordinations and subsequent clerical advancement to the patronage and protection of Bishop John Fitzpatrick and Archbishop John Williams of Boston.[53]

Although they endured racial prejudice, the Healys enjoyed considerable success in ministries largely devoted to whites. After his ordination in Paris in 1854, James Augustine considered requesting a secretarial assignment whereby he could avoid the anticipated vilification from Boston's Irish Catholics. Healy confided to his close friend, George Fenwick, S.J. of Holy Cross College, "The mercy of God has placed a poor outcast on a throne of glory that ill becomes him.... I should have desired never to show my face in Boston."[54] Bishop Fitzpatrick, however, refused to allow James Augustine to sequester himself, and moved his protege into prestigious administrative and pastoral assignments over a twenty-one year period. Bishop Fitzpatrick's unquestioned support of James Augustine did much to defuse any potential opposition to him. At various times, Healy served as personal secretary to the Bishop, first chancellor of the diocese, assistant at St. John's Church, rector of the Cathedral, and pastor of St. James Church in Boston. In February, 1875, at Bishop Fitzpatrick's urging, the Pope appointed James Augustine Healy bishop of the Diocese of Portland, Maine.[55]

Although the Irish stevedores on the Portland docks reacted with astonishment at the news that the new bishop was a "Nee-gar," Healy won the loyalty of his Irish and French Canadian people. He identified with their hardships, worked tirelessly for Catholic orphans, defended the rights of Catholics from the attacks of the American Protective Association, and extended charity to the poor of his diocese. Healy distinguished himself as an administrator who added more than sixty parishes and eighteen schools to the diocese between 1875 and 1900. He also achieved fame as a pulpit orator and made contributions to Church law at the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, a meeting of the American hierarchy in 1884.[56] Healy identified more with his

Irish heritage and his French training than with his black background. He was, neverthless, drafted at the Council for the special subcommittee to consider legislation for the black and Indian missions of the United States. For the next seven years, as a result of both his racial background and his experience with Indian missions in Maine, he served on the Commission for Catholic Missions Among the Negroes and Indians that the Council established. He did not, however, participate in the lay Colored Catholic Congresses held between 1889 and 1894, declining an invitation to speak with the scriptural rationale that "We are of the church where there is neither gentile nor Jew...slave or freeman, but Christ is in all."[57]

Following Alexander Healy's ordination in Rome in 1858 and his reception of a canon law degree in 1860, Bishop Fitzpatrick considered him as a possible candidate for first rector, or head, of the North American College in Rome. The North American College trained men specifically chosen by American bishops to serve as diocesan priests in the United States. In a letter to Archbishop John Hughes of New York, however, Fitzpatrick concluded that he could not recommend Healy because "he has African blood and it shews(sic) distinctly...This in a large number of American youths might lessen the respect they ought to feel for the first superior of the house."[58] Fortunately, Healy never found out about this lost opportunity and in 1864, Bishop Fitzpatrick appointed him to the faculty of the New York Provincial Seminary at Troy. Fitzpatrick's successor, Archbishop John J. Williams, took a liking to Healy and chose him as his theologian for the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1866, a meeting of the bishops of the country, and as his theological advisor for the First Vatican Council in Rome in 1869. During the Second Plenary Council, Alexander refrained from participating in discussions about the Church's

missionary work among blacks. Alexander, like his brother before him, served as rector of the Cathedral and pastor of St. James parish in Boston.[59]

Father Patrick Francis Healy, S.J., a Jesuit, received Holy Orders in Brussels in August of 1864. He served as president of Georgetown University from 1873 to 1882. In that capacity, he modernized the curriculum, Americanized the university system, organized an alumni association, and superintended the construction of a massive administration, classroom, and residential building which today bears his name. Although previously well-liked and received in Washington, Healy was the victim of a whispering campaign about his "tainted blood" which made the rounds of the city in 1878, during the fund raising drive for construction of the new administration building. Important contacts disappeared and doors closed in his face. Patrick Healy turned to donors in California for funds, but the constant financial worries damaged his health. After 1852, he went into semi-retirement which lasted until his death in 1910.[60]

Though each of the Healy brothers enjoyed considerable success in the largely white Catholic Church, that success did not diminish the prevailing popular prejudice against the ordination of black men to the priesthood. The Healys' light skin, episcopal support, identification with white society and white ministries, and generally "low profiles" on race questions led many whites to regard them as "near white" and not as "genuine Negroes." Many Catholics outside of Massachusetts, Maine, and Washington, D.C. did not realize that the Catholic clergy in the United States included any black men among its members. Thus, the Healy's functioned as priests in an American Catholic Church that still remained generally hostile to the notion of black priests.[61]

Hostile American Catholic attitudes against the ordination of black men to the priesthood proved fatal to the dreams of William Augustine Williams, a

young Afro-American convert from Virginia. In 1853, Father Thaddeus Anwander, the Redemptorist friend of the Oblate Sisters of Baltimore, recommended Williams for admission to the Propaganda College in Rome.[62] Since, according to Canon, or Church law, all seminarians had to have a bishop or religious congregation to sponsor them and to assume responsibilty for them upon ordination, Anwander convinced Bishop L.A. Rappe of Cleveland and Archbishop Francis Patrick Kenrick of Baltimore to sponsor Williams.[63] When officials of Propaganda solicited the opinion of Archbishop John Hughes on the matter, Hughes strongly recommended against sending Williams to Rome, if Propaganda and Rappe contemplated his return to the United States. Hughes claimed that public opinion violently opposed black priests.[64] Despite Hughes's advice, Propaganda accepted Williams for the academic year beginning in November of 1855.[65] Black students from Africa had already matriculated at the Urban College and had returned to Guinea to take up missionary work among their people.[66]

White clerical skepticism about Williams's plans surfaced almost from the beginning of his seminary days. The Rev. Louis R. Deluol, professor at the Sulpician seminary at Issy in France, after meeting Williams on his way to Rome, wrote to the Very Reverend Francois Lhomme, President of St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore, and asked "Will wonders never cease?" He added that he found Williams "very intelligent" but wondered "What will he do in Baltimore as a priest?"[67] Three years later, Archbishop Kenrick provided an answer to Deluol's query about Williams's potential usefulness. In a letter to Propaganda, Kenrick urged the Congregation to send Williams to Liberia, since virulent prejudice would make it virtually impossible for Williams to function as a priest in the United States.[68] Williams's other sponsor, Bishop Rappe, weighed in with

a similar opinion. He wrote to Williams and told him that if Propaganda asked his opinion, Rappe would suggest Haiti as a possible alternative to the United States for Williams.[69] Neither of the bishops wanted to risk the ire of his people by introducing a black priest into his diocese. Both bishops accomodated themselves and their Church to the prevailing racism of the day.

Williams could read the handwriting on the wall. Lacking the strong episcopal support that the Healys had enjoyed, he informed the Prefect of Propaganda on August 2, 1862 that he had decided "after mature deliberation and on the advice of his teachers" that he had no calling to the clerical state.[70] Yet, after his return to Baltimore during the Civil War, Williams continued to dream of the priesthood. He requested citizenship in the Papal States and informed Propaganda that he continued to study privately in the hope of eventually becoming a priest.[71] Williams published a newspaper, the Clear Communicator, on behalf of the newly emancipated slaves in Baltimore and taught at the parochial school attached to St. Francis Xavier Church. As late as May 1, 1867, he still entertained hopes of becoming a priest, hopes that proved futile in the face of white opposition to black priests.[72]

IV

While Williams pursued his goal of priesthood in Rome, the American bishops had to deal with the growing sectional crisis in the United States. Basically, the bishops attempted to remain aloof from the slavery issue. Since they viewed slavery as a political, rather than a moral issue, and since they tried to avoid all purely political issues, the bishops left the question of slavery up to politicians and individual Catholics. Thus, they saved the Catholic Church from bitter division over the slavery issue and prevented a possible split of the

Church into northern and southern wings as had occurred in Protestant denominations beginning in the 1840s.[73]

During the Civil War, Catholics generally supported the section in which they lived. Some Northern bishops, like New York's Archbishop Hughes, vociferously supported the cause of the Union. Hughes flew the national flag from St. Patrick's Cathedral and in the autumn of 1861, at President Lincoln's request, Hughes sailed to Paris and Rome to plead the Union cause. Bishop Patrick Lynch of Charleston, South Carolina performed a similar mission for the Confederate government in the spring of 1864.[74]

Although they divided in their loyalties during the Civil War, most Catholics, North and South, opposed emancipation. Archbishop Hughes, writing to Secretary of War, Simon Cameron, hoped that the Lincoln administration could continue to separate preservation of the Union from abolition. He warned that if Catholics "... are to fight for the abolition of slavery, then, they will turn away in disgust from...patriotic duty."[75] James McMaster's Freeman's Journal, a prominent Catholic newspaper in New York, warned its Irish Catholic audience that they had better look for houses in the West once "Massa Linkum" let loose the slaves. Only a few prominent Catholics like Archbishop John Purcell of Cincinnati and author/writer Orestes Brownson called for emancipation.[76]

In the South in 1861, Augustin Verot, Vicar Apostolic of Florida, in a widely distributed sermon, defended slavery while calling for significant reforms in the system. Verot advocated legal recognition of the slave as a "man" and insisted on legislation to protect slave marriages and families, promote religion, and punish sexual violations of female slaves by white men.[77] The widely respected Bishop Patrick Lynch of Charleston, expressed the racial views of most southern and many northern bishops in a pamphlet published in 1864 entitled Letter of a

Missionary on Domestic Slavery in the Confederate States of America. Lynch described blacks "as a race very prone to excess; and who, unless restrained, plunge madly into the lowest depths of licentiousness."[78] Lynch acknowledged that a few black Catholics lived exemplary lives, but he considered their number insignificant when compared to the majority of the race. He pointed to immorality as a defect of the race which made blacks unfit to rule themselves. When he described the actual workings of the slave system, Lynch painted a "magnolia scented" scene of benevolent paternalism. Lynch concluded that emancipation would result in race war and that no working plan existed as an alternative to slavery.[79] Needless to say, Lynch envisioned no worthy candidates for the Catholic priesthood arising from such a race.

After the Civil War, Lynch and his fellow southern bishops had to deal with the realities of emancipation and the devastation caused by the war. Churches, schools, hospitals, convents, and rectories all lay in ruins. The war had crippled the Catholic Church in the area where it possessed the least strength. Richmond and Charleston suffered the greatest damage. St. Finbar's Cathedral in Charleston, valued at $180,000, lay in ruins, and Bishop Lynch confessed that he did not have a mitre, crozier, or single vestment with which to perform a single episcopal ceremony.[80] In Galveston,Texas, the bishop could say Mass in the Cathedral only on days when it did not rain because of the bullet riddled roof. In Louisiana, the Church cared for 1200 Catholic war orphans, and in Mississippi, Bishop William Elder and his handful of priests found themselves overwhelmed by thousands of black refugees, many of whom faced death from starvation and disease.[81] In men, money, and property the southern Catholic Church had suffered a blow it could ill afford.[82]

Southern bishops appealed to the North for help, but while Protestant missionary groups poured money, supplies, and missionaries into the South, the largely immigrant Catholics of the North sent relatively little. Only the Archdiocese of Baltimore responded with any significant financial aid. Baltimore's Catholics sent $12,000, most of which went to help needy whites.[83] Bishops Lynch, Elder, and Verot attempted to found schools and provide for Catholic freedmen, but only Verot succeeded to any extent. By 1873, he had set up seven schools, which itself appeared minpscule when compared to Protestant efforts.[84]

With the end of the war, blacks exercised their freedom by joining churches which offered them opportunities for leadership, participation, and autonomy. The two older African Methodist Episcopal Churches which had formed in the North before the war in response to discrimination in white Methodist churches, began missions among the freedmen as Union armies moved through the South.[85] The Reverend Theophilus G. Steward found hundreds of thousands of blacks in the South without ministers to baptize, marry, or bury the dead. He wrote "A ministry had to be created at once from the material at hand." The black Methodist churches commissioned ministers from among the ex-slaves who felt a "call" from God.[86] By 1896, the African Methodist Episcopal Church claimed 452,725 members and the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church counted 349,788 communicants, far outdistancing the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church and the Colored Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, North. Only the black Baptists claimed more members.[87]

Other Northern Protestant churches, including Baptists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and Congregationalists, realizing the opportunities for converts among the freedmen, sent missionaries flocking to the South to establish schools

and churches. Eventually, the Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian churches formed separate "colored" and "white" conferences.[88] Of all the northern churches working in the South, the Congregational Church contributed the most financial aid through the technically nonsectarian American Missionary Association. In 1866 alone, the Association spent $253,000 dollars, furnished supplies worth $118,000 dollars, and dispatched 353 men and women to the South, the vast majority of whom helped to set up schools for the freedmen. By 1884, at the height of its work, the Association supported 57 schools and eight colleges.[89] Such institutions as Shaw, Atlanta, and Fisk universities, Hampton Institute, and Talladege, Tougaloo, Tillotson and Morehouse colleges, established by the Association and other Protestant churches, educated black leaders, including many ministers.[90]

Many Protestants consistently overestimated the danger of missionary competition from the Catholic Church, and believed that they needed to exert extraordinary efforts to block anticipated Catholic evangelization among the freedmen. The Methodist Episcopal Church warned its missionaries against Catholicism's "evil schemes" and urged Methodists to save blacks from the "wiles of Romanism." They need not have worried.[91]

Since the Catholic Church did not offer blacks the full sense of "ownership" and participation that they could experience in black Protestant churches, many black Catholics left the Church following emancipation. The Church in the South lacked the resources to establish separate churches for blacks, and unlike the Baptists, did not recognize congregational autonomy. To remain a Catholic often meant submitting to humiliating seating arrangements in largely white Catholic Churches.[92] The black Catholic sheriff of Natchez, for example, although sending his children to the colored Catholic school, refused to attend

Mass at the Catholic Church because the rules of the Church required that "colored" to sit in the aisle.[93] Catholic worship did not allow for the range of emotional expression which many freedmen found attractive in the Protestant churches.[94] The less rigid church structure and educational requirements of many Protestant churches allowed strong men with little formal education to assume leadership in the church, which often meant leadership in the black community.[95] The Methodist Episcopal Church, North, for example, began ordaining blacks in 1866 and initially licensed thirty men to preach to the freedmen. Of the thirty, only four could read, and none could write. The American Episcopal Church, however, the Protestant church most similar to the Catholic Church in liturgy, doctrine, and structure, and which also required extensive seminary education for its priests, managed to raise eighty-six black men to the priesthood between 1866 and 1900 as compared to only two for the Catholics.[96]

During Reconstruction, Catholics often allied themselves with the proponents of white supremacy, thus further alienating blacks. Thaddeus Stevens, leaders of the Radical Republicans in the House of Representatives, lamented the white Catholic tendency to "...support the pro-slavery party (the Democrats) and cry 'Down with the nigger'".[97] In 1863, after the Yankees had captured the city, Fr. Claude Maistre of St. Rose of Lima Church in New Orleans, incurred the wrath of Archbishop Jean Marie Odin when he publicly praised the Emancipation Proclamation and advocated the elimination of racial discrimination. Odin, fearful of possible white reprisals against the Church, accused Maistre of inciting blacks, warned him to stop, and eventually dismissed him from his parish.[98] The "poet of the South," Father Abraham Ryan, protested against the proposed Fifteenth Amendment in 1867, declaring in the pages of the diocesan

newspaper for Savannah, "This is a 'white man's government' and upon this doctrine future political contests must be fought."[99] Eight years later, Father Justemain, a Lazarist priest, observed that hundreds of blacks "...are drawn away by the Methodists, who take advantage of the present political turmoil, in which Archbishop and Priests side more or less openly against Republicans and hence against the Negroes."[100]

Some black Catholics agitated for full membership in the Catholic Church. Negro parishoners in St. Martinsville, Louisiana petitioned the state legislature to repeal an 1858 statute that allowed only whites to incorporate churches there.[101] On January 23, 1866, black Catholics in New Orleans petitioned Archbishop Odin for a separate church and for "a priest of the African race."[102] Odin failed to respond to the petitions, further demonstrating the insensitivity that so often characterized the Church's contacts with blacks. Unwilling to endure the racism in the Church, many former slaves of Catholic masters, often only nominal Catholics, simply left the Church.[103]

V

Alarmed by the leakage occurring among black Catholics and anxious for the Church to evangelize the nearly four million freedmen in the South, Archbishop Martin Spalding of Baltimore attempted, in 1866, to organize a coordinated Church effort to reach Afro-Americans. A former slaveholder who had become Archbishop of Baltimore in 1864, Spalding had maintained public neutrality during the Civil War, but had secretly sympathized with the South. Nevertheless, he sympathized with the freedmen's plight at the end of the war and viewed them as a potentially rich field for missionary labors. On June 14, 1865, Spalding suggested to Propaganda that it convene a plenary council of the

American Church. Such a council had last met in 1852. Since that time, the number of Catholics in the United States had increased from 1,980,000 to 3,842,000, the number of priests from 1,321 to 2,770, and the number of churches from 2,092 to 5067. A council would erect new dioceses, provide for greater unity in Church government and discipline, organize contributions for the Holy Father, and offer proof of the unity of the Catholic Church in America to the divided Protestant bodies. Spalding also suggested to Rome that the council take up the problem of the freed black.[104] Writing about blacks to his friend, Archbishop John McCloskey of New York, Spalding observed, "Four million of these unfortunates are thrown on our charity...It is a golden opportunity for reaping a harvest of souls, which neglected may not return."[105]

Rome approved the calling of a council for the autumn of 1866 and, at Spalding's suggestion, made Afro-Americans one of the topics for discussion. Spalding then prepared a thirty-six page booklet for the archbishops containing questions which represented his agenda for the council. He assigned several questions to each of the archbishops and asked them to prepare their responses in cooperation with the bishops of their provinces. He distributed the questions dealing with "the best means of promoting the salvation of the Negro" to Archbishop Odin and the bishops of the Province of New Orleans.[106]

Spalding's questions embodied his proposals for the evangelization of blacks. He specifically asked the bishops of the New Orleans Province to consider the expediency of setting up separate churches for blacks; the preparation of young blacks for the priesthood; and the preaching of missions to blacks. He further asked the bishops to consider whether they should seek religious orders or found "Negro sisterhoods" to work among blacks, and whether they should allow blacks to sing vernacular hymns at Mass and vespers. Spalding's most controversial

suggestion involved the possibility of appointing prefects apostolic, priests who possessed the ordinary powers of bishops except for that of bestowing Holy Orders, who would have special charge over black Catholics. Such prefects could devote their full energies to the black missions and provide needed leadership and direction.[107] On May 24, 1866, Spalding wrote to Odin, "I incline to favor the idea as one most likely to do good." Spalding believed that bishops and prefects apostolic could avoid jurisdictional conflicts because they would have different subjects. He used Constantinople as an example where bishops for both Latin and Eastern rite Catholics, who practiced different liturgies, resided.[108]

The discussions of the bishops of the New Orleans Province prior to the opening of the council indicated serious disagreements with Spalding's proposals. Bishop William Elder of Natchez opposed creation of a prefect apostolic because it would only "cause much confusion," and tend "to widen and perpetuate the division of the two races."[109] For Elder, "immorality" loomed as a great problem for the Church in its work with the Afro-American. Elder contended that the moral code of the Catholic Church, with its emphasis upon the sanctity of marriage and the avoidance of sins of sexual impurity, did not exist among blacks who had lived as slaves. The supposed wide differences between the "settled" morality of the Church and the "unsettled" morality of the freedmen led many Catholics to write off the freedmen as hopeless, semi-barbarians. Because of a lack of morality and education, Elder opposed a "colored clergy" at the time. He argued that they would injure religion for "they would not command the respect of the priesthood."[110] Bishop Auguste Martin of Natchitoches argued that the "Negro question" had no place at all in the plenary council.[111]

When the bishops convened in Baltimore on October 7, 1866, they received the preliminary decrees which Spalding and his staff had prepared, and which served as the agenda for the sessions. "Chapter Four" of Title X dealt with blacks and contained Spalding's proposals. He had dropped any references to black priests, but did suggest the appointment of a priest administrator, vir ecclesiasticus, for blacks who would find staff, raise money, and organize projects. Spalding held out the possibility that the Pope might make this administrator a bishop to give him greater prestige and thus help the work. "Chapter Four" further suggested the possibility of priest administrators for each of the Provinces of New Orleans, St. Louis, and Cincinnati, which contained large numbers of blacks. The decrees exhorted priests "through the bowels of the mercy of God" to devote their lives to "Negro work" and urged bishops to build churches, schools, and orphanages for blacks.[112]

The bishops got around to discussing the Negro question at an extraordinary session on Monday, October 22, 1866. At this meeting, they rejected Spalding's proposals and opted for the status quo. Only Bishop Verot of St. Augustine and Bishop Richard Whelan of Wheeling supported the idea of a priest administrator.[113] The majority rejected Spalding's recommendation because they feared that jurisdictional disputes would arise between the priest administrator and bishops. The bishops jealously guarded their authority because rebellious priests and laity made a habit of appealing disciplinary matters over the heads of their bishops to Rome. Archbishop Peter Kenrick of St. Louis declared that the bishops had the duty to rule their dioceses, not carry out instructions from Propaganda. He went so far as to declare that if Rome forced a priest administrator for blacks on him, he would resign. Archbishop Odin insisted that blacks in New Orleans received sufficient care and had no need for new

programs. Archbishop McCloskey of New York expressed the sentiments of most northern bishops, whose dioceses contained few blacks, when he said that the obligation for "Negroes" did not weigh on the consciences of the bishops of the North.[114]

The uneasy prlates substituted rhetoric for concrete action. They left specific measures to the determination of each bishop in his own diocese, thus changing nothing. The final decrees exhorted provincial councils to discuss specific actions which they might take to benefit Afro-Americans. The decrees and accompanying pastoral letter, addressed to the Catholics of the United States, urged zeal in bringing blacks into already existing churches or special churches of their own, and appealed to bishops and religious superiors in the United States and the Catholic regions of Europe for priests to supply the needed manpower.[115] The pastoral regretted that the freedmen had not been better prepared to use their freedom, but urged clergy and laity to give them moral training and Christian education. The pastoral letter also expressed regret that Catholics had such limited means with which to attempt the uplift of the race.[116]

The meager results of the Plenary Council disappointed but did not discourage Spalding. He turned to Europe to secure help for the black missions. In July, 1867, while in Rome, Spalding presented a set of petitions to Propaganda in the name of the American bishops. It requested the Holy Father to urge, or even command, the Superiors General of several major religious orders to cooperate in every way possible with the American bishops on behalf of blacks in the United States.[117] Archbishop Spalding also made use of former Bishop Michael O'Connor of Pittsburgh as an unofficial agent in Europe. While travelling abroad, O'Connor contacted Father Herbert Vaughan, an English

priest, who had founded St. Joseph's Society of the Sacred Heart for Foreign Missions in 1866 in the London suburb of Mill Hill.[118]

VI

O'Connor spoke convincingly to Vaughan about the need for missionaries to convert the nearly four million freedmen of the South, and persuaded Vaughan to commit his fledgling society to America.[119] In 1871, after receiving permission from Pope Pius IX and making arrangements with Archbishop Spalding, who turned over St. Francis Xavier Church to the Josephites, Vaughan readied his band of missionaries to sail to the United States. The coming of the Josephites represented the most promising development for the black missions up to that time. Archbishop Spalding hoped that he had found a solution to the nagging problems of organization and manpower that had impeded Catholic efforts among blacks.[120]

Father Herbert Vaughan, the man in whom Spalding placed so much trust, and who eventually became the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminister, established his missionary society with the dream of converting the "heathens" of Africa and the "East." His biographer said that "Africa pursued him like a shadow." For Vaughan, however, Africa represented more a condition of "non-Catholicism" than a geographical entity.[121] Even after accepting the mission field among blacks in the United States, Vaughan kept the vision of Africa before his priests' eyes. At the departure ceremony for the first Josephite missionaries from Mill Hill on November 17, 1871, Vaughan declared that the Fathers would go not only "...to labor among the Negroes of the South, but to found in America a Missionary College...in which the African population may there be

trained to carry the faith into their own land." He added, "We are...acting not so much upon America as upon Africa."[122] Vaughan also charged his missionaries to labor exclusively for blacks. Thus, from the beginning of the Josephite mission to the United States, Vaughan directed his gaze to other continents, but also recognized, at least implicitly, the need for black leadership and a black clergy to successfully evangelize the "Africans," whether in the United States or the "dark continent."[123]

Vaughan accompanied the first four Josephite missionaries to their American headquarters in Baltimore and then set off on a tour of the South in order to judge the scope of the work and to raise money. The behavior of white Catholics toward blacks which he observed shocked him. Vaughan wrote to Lady Herbert of Lea, his friend and benefactor, that "The dislike of the Americans ... to the negroes ... far exceeds in intensity anything I had expected."[124] He recorded in his diary that even priests regarded blacks as no more than dogs. As he travelled through Savannah, Vicksburg, Natchez, Memphis, Charleston, and New Orleans, he saw a priest refuse communion to a black soldier in a cathedral, and noted the low, backless benches marked "for Negroes." Reaching St. Louis in January, 1872, Vaughan endured a depressing interview with Archbishop Peter Kenrick who told him that his plans would fail and refused to allow him to collect funds in his Archdiocese.[125] Vaughan's tour strengthened his conviction that the Josephites should restrict their ministry exclusively to blacks and further impressed upon him the desirability of separate churches for blacks.[126] Vaughan returned to England in June, 1872, leaving his priests in a strange country with few guidelines and little formal administrative structure. Trouble soon began.[127]

Between 1871 and 1878, the Josephites in America suffered from drift and despair. Administrative and philosophical difficulties exacerbated the familiar problems of manpower and money and nearly destroyed the Society. No sooner had Vaughan returned to England, than he received word that Pope Pius IX had named him Bishop of Salford. The Pope also insisted that Vaughan remain as Superior of St. Joseph's Society. As a result, Vaughan could no longer devote his full energies to the Society and turned over the everyday operations to Canon Peter Benoit of the Salford Cathedral. Benoit still felt compelled to clear matters of importance with Vaughan. Long distance management of the missions through an assistant proved unsuccessful. The death of Bishop Spalding in February, 1872 further deprived the Josephites in America of a guiding hand. Spalding's successor, Archbishop James Roosevelt Bayley, had little hope that the Josephites could accomplish substantial good among blacks in America.[128]

From their earliest days in America, the Josephites had to deal with the reality of strained race relations in an immediate way. Before returning to England, Vaughan had established an interracial brotherhood under the care of the Josephite Fathers.[129] Brothers were lay religious who did not receive ordination and who devoted themselves to the service of the religious community to which they belonged.[130] Unfortunately, racial tension soon surfaced among the brothers. In July, 1872, Father Cornelius Dowling reported to Mill Hill that Brother Gilligan from Cincinnati did not like "colored people" and showed that dislike to the other brothers as well as to the congregation of the mission. Brother Joseph, on the other hand, displayed a bad temper and would not hear a single word against the "colored." The quarreling, bickering, racial animosity, and lack of leadership resulted in the abolition of the brotherhood and an end to an early experiment in interracial community.[131]

White people who chose to attend Josephite churches presented the Josephites with another sticky issue involving not only race relations, but also the missionary philosophy of the Society. The problem first appeared in Baltimore in 1872 and continued to perplex Josephites at other missions in Louisville, Charleston, and Prince Georges County, Maryland. The Josephites themselves disagreed about how they should treat whites in their churches. Although Vaughan had left strict orders against saying Mass for whites, some Josephites like Francis Vigneront and James Noonan relaxed the rule. The precarious financial condition of the Josephite missions led some of the Fathers to welcome white attendance since whites made more substantial financial contributions than the generally impoverished blacks. The issue caused friction within the Josephites and also with the Bishop of Louisville; it also led to bitterness on the Marlboro Missions in Prince Georges County, Maryland. Those missions included white Catholics. Financial considerations led the Josephites to accept the mission complex. Misunderstandings with white parishoners soon arose because they resented the amount of time that the Josephites devoted to blacks. Clearly the whites did not understand the nature of the Josephite mission, which included a vow to be "the fathers and sevants of the colored people." The Josephites felt that the situation at Marlboro threatened to make them parish priests rather than missionaries. With a sense of relief, they decided to surrender the Marlboro Missions to the diocese in 1879.[132]

Poverty, isolation, and overwork also sapped the vitality of the Josephite missionaries. Death claimed three of the first four Josephites within four years of their arrival in the United States. The fourth, Father James Noonan, eventually left the Society in despair and frustration. Requests for missionaries came to the Josephites from bishops throughout the South, and too often Father

Noonan and Canon Benoit accepted missions without sufficient regard for the strain that additional responsibilities would place on their limited resources. The Josephites took charge of St. Francis Xavier in Baltimore in 1872; opened St. Augustine's in Louisville and St. Peter's in Charleston in 1874; and accepted the four churches and schools of the Marlboro Mission in 1878, even though within a few months, only one priest remained to handle all of the duties on that extensive mission. As a result, the nine Josephite missionaries in the United States by December, 1878, suffered from fatigue and discontent. Since schools constituted an essential part of the mission, a potentially rich source of converts on which future growth depended, the Josephite priests found themselves constantly scrambling to secure faculty, money, and facilities for their schools. Often they had to double as school masters while they searched frantically for lay teachers who would accept the pittance they could pay.[133]

Early in 1875, Vaughan and Benoit attempted to remedy the administrative and leadership problems and to ease the manpower crisis. On January 7, 1875, they brought over four new priests and a brother from England. Vaughan convened the first Society Chapter, a canonical meeting of the Superior and delegates selected by the members of the Society. The Chapter produced the first official body of rules for St. Joseph's Society and specified a hierarchical chain of command. The Superior General of the Society stood at the top of the pyramid. Next came the Provincials, the heads of the provinces of the Society. The existence of a province required ten priests or three missions. Rectors, priests in charge of churches or institutions like seminaries, constituted the third level of authority. The Chapter also established the office of Vicar of the Society, who would assist the Superior and exercise authority in his name. Peter

Benoit became the first Vicar and James Noonan received appointment from Vaughan as the first American Provincial.[134]

On paper, the St. Joseph's Society had a new structure and set of norms that would hopefully rejuvenate the flagging spirits of its members. In reality, however, fundamental problems remained unsolved. Administratively, Vaughan remained the Superior, but his duties as bishop continued to require much of his time. Letters from America became lost in the paper shuffle between Benoit and Vaughan and communications between England and America broke down. Then, in 1875, after Benoit's eager solicitation, St. Joseph's Society received Madras, India as a mission field. Vaughan and Benoit had always dreamed of Africa and the "East" and the Society's expansion on to the subcontinent meant the subordination of the American Province. Father Noonan, the first American Provincial, proved unequal to the task of leadership and developed "a distaste for the work of being a priest for the colored people." Noonan, never a strong personality, became increasingly despondent and isolated from his men with disastrous results. Morale on the missions plunged, threatening the continued existence of St. Joseph's Society in the United States.[135]

After seven years of labor by the Josephites in the United States, Catholic mission work among blacks continued to founder. In many respects, the problems of the Josephites simply mirrored those of the larger American Catholic Church. Without sufficient men, money, organization, and leadership neither the Josephites nor the Church could expect to make significant headway among blacks. By 1878, the one Catholic organization dedicated to the evangelization of the Afro-American faced imminent collapse. In the crisis, Herbert Vaughan turned to a brilliant, dynamic, and headstrong young priest to rescue the American missions. John R. Slattery, the new American Provincial, would not

only revive the American missions, but would eventually engineer the independence of the American Province from Mill Hill, creating a new American Society devoted exclusively to the "Negro apostolate." He would also champion a bold new approach to evangelization, one that advocated the ordination of black men to the priesthood.

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CHAPTER II

JOHN R. SLATTERY: A NEW APPROACH, 1877 - 1893

There is, then, no chance to win the Negroes to the faith without priests of their own. - John R. Slattery, March, 1891

During the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the cause of black priests in the Catholic Church had no greater champion than the Reverend John R. Slattery. Convinced that the conversion of blacks to the Church ultimately depended on black priests, Slattery advocated a "Negro clergy" in articles and speeches. He arranged seminary training for aspiring black candidates; established seminaries which accepted black men; and brought about the first ordination of a black Catholic priest in the United States. In addition, he engineered the independence of the Josephites from their English headquarters, thus establishing an American missionary society solely devoted to the evangelization of blacks in the United States. For a few brief years between 1884 and 1894, Slattery and his supporters in the clergy appeared to have infused a new spirit into the Church's missionary efforts toward blacks. The dream of a black priesthood appeared attainable.

I

Born in New York city in 1851, John Richard Slattery was the only surviving child of a successful construction company owner. He spent eight years in the public schools and four years in the College of the City of New York. In 1865, young Slattery entered St. Charles College in Ellicott City, Maryland intending to become a priest. Eye trouble, however, forced him to withdraw and when he

recovered, he entered Columbia Law School, much to his father's delight. In the spring of 1872, in the Paulist church in New York City, Slattery heard Father Herbert Vaughan, Superior of the Mill Hill Fathers, preach on behalf of the "Negro" missions. The sermon made little impression on Slattery until nine months later, when, as he waited for a procession of blacks to pass on the street, he began to think of their evangelization. Shortly thereafter, he discussed his thoughts with his Paulist confessor who encouraged his budding vocation. The confessor arranged for Slattery's entrance into the seminary at Mill Hill, England, obtaining the parents' consent by not telling them the mission field of the Mill Hill Fathers. Not until two years later did they learn of John's purpose, at which point they ordered him home. Displaying the determination that would become a trademark, John refused his parents' orders and was ordained on St. Patrick's Day in 1877 at St. Joseph's College, Mill Hill.[1]

A solidly built man standing about 5'10" tall, with a long, fleshy face, short, wavy, black hair, high forehead, prominent nose, and a strong jaw, Slattery cut a fine figure. He also excelled in the classroom, compiling a brilliant academic record. As a result, Vaughan and Canon Peter Benoit assigned him to teach logic at the college in Mill Hill. Slattery protested vehemently against his new assignment telling Benoit "My whole soul is with the Negro."[2] Vaughan and Benoit endured eight months of repeated badgering by Slattery. On October 28, 1877, they finally acceded to his relentless demands, ordering him to Baltimore as rector of St. Francis Xavier Church.[3] Slattery threw himself into his work, displaying considerable financial skill in reducing the $24,000 debt on St. Francis Xavier. He also founded St. Elizabeth's Home of Baltimore City for black orphan children.[4]

Despite his individual success in Baltimore, Slattery gloomily reported to Benoit that "The American bishops barely tolerate us." He added that most of the lay community opposed the missions and held out little hope for their success and that the low morale of the Fathers on the missions made united action impossible.[5] On December 13, 1878, in an attempt to instill new life into the American missions, Vaughan turned to Slattery, a priest for only eighteen months, appointing him American Provincial in addition to his duties as rector of St. Francis Xavier.[6]

Slattery served as Provincial from December 13, 1878 until February 28, 1883. He provided strong leadership, visited the missions, cooperated well with James Gibbons, the new Archbishop of Baltimore, and secured the services of several teaching orders of sisters, thus providing a stable source of teachers for mission schools in Baltimore. Most importantly, through astute financial management, Slattery managed to reduce significantly the debts of the Society.[7]

Unfortunately, however, conflicts with authorities in England and with his own men on the American missions marred Slattery's considerable achievements as Provincial. Slattery fought with Mill Hill over the supply and expense of priests for the American missions; and with his men about their "shortcomings." A victim of his own zeal and singlemindedness, Slattery's communications often contained excited, intemperate language. In one letter, he practically denounced Vaughan, called Benoit a liar, condemned the charges paid by American students at Mill Hill as "monstrous," and criticized the quality of men sent to America.[8] Bishop Vaughan, commenting to Benoit about Slattery's letters, observed, "I believe Father Slattery to be very undisciplined and that he speaks as he does from want of knowledge of what is common civility."[9]

In his dealings with the men on the missions, Slattery exhibited the impatience and arrogance often characteristic of talented young men suddenly thrust into leadership roles; although in many cases, he certainly had reason to complain. In August, 1882, Slattery wrote to Benoit, expressing exasperation with many of the Fathers, who, "being European" ignored his recommendations to stay current with trends in education by reading periodicals like the Tablet and the Catholic World. He had no patience with priests whom he believed neglected the preparation of their sermons; and had even less tolerance for those who failed to manage their mission finances "effectively."[10] Writing to Father Michael Walsh, who struggled with a staggering $58,000 debt at St. Augustine's in Washington, D.C., Slattery caustically remarked, "Your inability to handle money is natural to you as water to a duck." Walsh responded in kind, telling Slattery "...you heap on us rebukes and reproaches....Permit me to say that I so heartily hate your ways and manners...."[11] The other Fathers on the missions shared Walsh's opinion, and in balloting held in November of 1883, they overwhelmingly rejected Slattery and chose Alfred B. Leeson as the new Provincial. Commenting on the results of the election, Vaughan wrote to Benoit, "He will be a great loss in every way...except his temper with the men."[12]

Slattery experienced his removal as a deep humiliation and viewed himself as the victim of a "plot" by the Fathers. He wrote to Vaughan, "...my removal was certainly a disgrace. All Baltimore and Washington knew that the priests banded together against me." [13] In order to get Slattery out of Baltimore and thus rid himself of a dangerous rival, Leeson eventually accepted an invitation from Bishop John Keane to open a Josephite mission in Richmond and assigned Slattery to the post in early 1884. The speed with which Leeson accepted Keane's invitation and the embarrassing condition of the mission, which had a

congregation of less than forty, no church, no rectory, and a small school with one teacher in the basement of the Cathedral rectory, indicated Leeson's real motive in assigning Slattery to the mission.[14]

Although humiliated by his removal from office and bitter about his new assignment, Slattery applied himself to his new task with his usual skill and energy, almost singlehandedly building the Richmond mission up from scratch. To construct St. Joseph's Church, he appealed successfully to the children of the parochial schools in the United States, who sent him eight hundred thousand pennies. Between 1884 and 1887, Slattery also opened mission churches in Petersburg, Columbia, Keswick, and Union Mills and founded schools in Petersburg and Keswick.[15] In the process, he discovered an important new donor for the "Negro" missions, in Mrs. Louise Drexel Morrell, an heiress and the wife of wealthy meat packer, Edward V. Morrell. Mrs. Morrell's sister, Katharine Drexel, founded a religious congregation in 1891, the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament for Indians and Colored People. Using their personal fortunes, estimated in the millions, Mother Katherine and the Morrells built schools and missions throughout the South, including Xavier University in New Orleans, America's only Catholic black university.[16]

During the four years of his "exile" in Virginia, Slattery wrote numerous articles for the Catholic World in an attempt to rally Catholic support for the "Negro" missions. In those articles, Slattery revealed his thinking about blacks and about the nature of the race problem in the United States. At a time when the emerging racial orthodoxy in most southern and many northern churches proclaimed the inherent inferiority of the "Negro" to the caucasian and denounced social intermingling between the races as sinful, Slattery maintained a relatively enlightened, albeit paternalistic position.[17] He denounced racial

discrimination and blamed racial discord on whites who refused to treat blacks as their brothers and sisters in Christ. He denied the inherent inequality of the races, but did regard blacks as an immature, "slumbering race," in need of education and uplift. He also viewed blacks as a "problem" for the nation, which left unsolved could explode into race war.

Although Slattery considered blacks as a largely "frivolous and unreflecting people," he did not, like many of his contemporaries, attribute the alleged "emotionalism," "immorality," "idleness," and "ignorance," of blacks to inherent racial characteristics. Rather, Slattery viewed black "weaknesses" as the results of environmental and historical factors which the Catholic Church could correct. He insisted that only the Catholic Church, "a mighty conservative force," could "elevate" the black race, keep it on the side of order, and produce real spiritual equality "without shock to true social distinctions." Slattery scornfully attacked the "false conservatism" and "prudence" of those Catholics who "deprecate the colored race and say that our efforts would be wasted on them." He pointed to the thousands of youths enrolled in black colleges as evidence that blacks possessed intellectual ability.[18]

II

While at Richmond, Slattery laid the groundwork for his most controversial plan, the development of a black clergy. The opposition of white Catholics to black priests in the United States stemmed from the racism that permeated American society in the late nineteenth century. Most white Catholics shared their society's belief in the innate inferiority of the "Negro" race. The idea of a black man preaching the gospel and administering the sacraments of the Church

repulsed many of them and threatened the basic tenets of white racial superiority, since Catholics viewed the priest as Christ's representative on earth. Robert L. Dabney, although a Presbyterian theologian, expressed the sentiments of many Catholics when he said: "Do you tell me that after you have admitted this negro thus to your ... pulpits ... weddings and funerals, you will still exclude him from your parlours and tables? Of course not! ... this doctrine ... means ultimately amalgamation."[19]

Although nonexistent in the United States for most of the nineteenth century, black seminarians studied in a number of Catholic institutions throughout the world. The Healy brothers had studied in Canada and Europe and William A. Williams had studied at the Urban College of the Propaganda in Rome. In 1862, at a time when "cars for colored people" ran on Canal Street in New York City, and when slavery still existed in the American South, men of different races,including black Africans, gathered to study at the Urban College in Rome, where "no distinction was tolerated." All slept and ate together, and Americans served blacks at table when their turn came.[20] The Congregation of the Holy Ghost, a missionary Society headquartered in France, ordained its first black priests in Paris in 1842 and assigned them to Senegal, Africa. The Congregation opened a junior seminary in Dakar in 1847 and a major seminary in 1857 which produced native priests like the Rev. Gabriel Sene.[21] The Benedictines ordained Father Pius Hadrian, another native African, in 1872; and in 1876, they established a monastery on Skidaway Island in Georgia with the hope of developing it into a "Negro" abbey which would attract blacks to the Catholic faith through black priests. Unfortunately, it made little progress.[22]

The Mill Hill policy toward black priests evolved gradually. Certainly the sermons and statements of Bishop Vaughan, between 1871 and 1878, which

emphasized the assistance of American blacks for the conversion of Africa, implied the possibility of ordaining black men to the priesthood.[23] Nevertheless, Vaughan and Benoit also felt the need to consider conditions in the United States. During his tour of the United States in 1875, Benoit recorded in his diary a frequently repeated claim by white people: "All admit that a Negro-Priest w'd find no favor with his race." He noted the popular story about a "Negro" priest reportedly brought over to Charleston. Allegedly, the blacks of Charleston would not accept him and forced him to leave. As he passed through New York, the servant at the priest's home where he stayed, presuming him an impudent imposter, allowed him to say Mass only in the basement. Benoit went on to comment in his diary, "The Bishops, not we, are responsible for what should or sh'd not be done."[24]

On the day that Benoit made his diary entries, Father Theodore Wegmann, assistant pastor at the Franciscan parish of St. Boniface in Quincy, Illinois, wrote to Father James Noonan, rector of St. Francis Xavier Church in Baltimore, recommending a twenty year old black man named Augustus Tolton "who is very desirous of becoming a missionary for the people of his race." Father Wegmann asked if the college in London would accept young Tolton. Noonan forwarded the letter to Benoit who wrote on the last page of the letter: "1. Is he ready to remain a catechist? 2. If not, will he go to Borneo?"[25] Evidently, Benoit would consider the young man for the priesthood only if he would serve in Borneo rather than the United States. Five years later, Tolton applied to the Propaganda College and gained admission.[26] Benoit indicated his willingness to accept candidates of any race as long as Mill Hill could utilize them. "As to color," he wrote to Father Ignatius Brouwer in India, "we are guided by you. If not in the way of usefulness, all might be for us."[27]

Slattery's experiences on the missions, convinced him of the need for black priests. In 1883, he took steps which eventually resulted in the first ordination of a black man in the United States. While in Baltimore, he had made the acquaintance of Charles Randolph Uncles, a tall, bespectacled, young black parishoner of St. Francis Xavier's, who expressed a desire to become a priest. Uncles had attended Baltimore public schools, the Baltimore Normal School for colored teachers, and had taught in the Baltimore County public schools from 1880 to 1883. Whether because of the expense involved in sending him to Mill Hill, or because of the need to insure that he would return to the United States instead of going to an Eastern mission after ordination, or because of Mill Hill's doubts that conditions in the United States allowed for black priests, Slattery secured Uncles's admission to St. Hyacinth's College in Quebec in 1883. He sent him to Quebec since no American seminary would accept him. Despite those who criticized his "foolish plan," Slattery, a wealthy man in his own right due to his father's generosity, personally paid for Uncles's seminary education.[28]

When Rome, dissatisfied that the American bishops had failed to find a uniform method for bringing about the evangelization and Christian education of American blacks, insisted that the Third Plenary Council, planned for the autumn of 1884 in Baltimore, again address the "problem" of the "Negro," Slattery prepared a long memo for Leeson to present to Archbishop Gibbons, the Apostolic Delegate for the Council.[29] Slattery revealed that Bishop John Keane of Richmond, who had become his friend and patron, had told him that Propaganda insisted that the Council establish a yearly collection in every diocese in the United States for the benefit of the Indian and "Negro" missions. Slattery suggested that a Josephite should serve as the agent of the bishops to collect the money. He also stressed the importance of admitting blacks to

higher, middle, common, and industrial schools, pointing out that in 1880, one hundred and sixty nine "colored youths" attended sixty nine northern colleges, not one of which was Catholic, and 14,000 attended higher schools of their own race. Slattery also stressed the need for a seminary in Baltimore to train priests for the "Negro" missions and to provide the American bishops with some concrete evidence of Mill Hill's commitment to the American missions. Slattery complained that the bishops "see only the beginning of our end." In point twelve of the memo, Slattery raised the question of "negro boys" for the priesthood. Reflecting on the sensitive nature of the topic, he advised, "...upon this there are many opinions. Should you conclude to mention it, it must be done with the greatest caution."[29]

Others publicly urged the Council to move positively on the question of black priests. The American supplement of St. Joseph's Advocate, the Josephite magazine, edited by the Rev. John H. Greene implored the bishops "On bended knees" to help the Josephite efforts by opening their seminaries to "colored vocations." The Advocate argued that this would present the highest inducement for the cultivation of virtue and letters among "colored students" in Catholic schools. To the objection that a number of black candidates "have already been tried and found wanting," the Advocate answered, "One or two have failed, but where was the number from which they were selected?" It pointed out that even among whites, the failure rate in the seminary numbered two out of three. The article concluded with a reference to Augustus Tolton, then enrolled at the Urban College of the Propaganda and pointedly asked the Council to "do as Rome does."[30]

A small group of liberal priests in New York also lent support to the cause of a black clergy. These priests, including the Rev. Edward McGlynn and

Richard Burtsell, belonged to an informal group called the "Academia." Many of them had received their training at Propaganda and they prided themselves on their radical views. They believed that the Catholic Church needed to abandon its "prudent" silence on social questions and take the lead in reform. To that end, they earlier had supported emancipation and Radical Reconstruction. The efforts of Burtsell, and Father Thomas Farrell, another member of the group, led to the establishment of St. Benedict the Moor, the first black parish in New York City. At the dedication vespers of the church, McGlynn insisted that the race "should be represented amongst God's ministry" and expressed the hope that the congregation "...might one day have priests of their own race,"- perhaps from among the acolytes who, for the first time, that evening appeared around the altar.[31]

The bishops at the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, which met from November 9 through December 7, 1889, did not discuss "Negro" priests, although Bishop John Kain of Wheeling, in the course of debate about missionaries to blacks, said that he would prefer "Negro" priests to foreign missionaries. Bishop John Lancaster Spalding of Peoria advocated the use of black catechists, unordained instructors of Christian doctrine, to aid the work of priests. Bishop Janssens of Natchez and the Theological Commission of the Council opposed "colored" catechists for fear that they would defect to the Methodists and become psuedo ministers. Although the Council eventually recommended the use of black catechists, no bishop developed the idea in his diocese. At Rome's insistence, the Council decreed an annual collection in all dioceses for the Negro and Indian missions. The Council established the "Commission for the Catholic Missions Among the Colored People and the Indians," composed of two bishops, presided over by the Archbishop of Baltimore. In addition, the bishops

selected a priest-secretary to report to them on the amount received from the collection and its use. The Council also strongly recommended separate churches for blacks wherever possible because of the discrimination which they encountered in white Catholic churches. Building churches and schools became a key part of the Catholic approach to blacks. Bishop John Keane, Slattery's patron, further proposed a special American college for missionaries to "Negroes" and Indians. The bishops looked with some favor on the idea and suggested an episcopal committee to examine its feasibilitly.[32]

The establishment of an annual collection for the "Negro" missions held out hope for the Josephites, who would surely receive some funds. It freed black missions from a total dependence on local financing , although final decisions on the disposition of money and the fate of individual missions still rested with the local bishop, in whose diocese the mission existed.[33] The Commission made its first collection in 1887. In the first five years, donations totaled about $361,000; on a per capita basis, this amounted to less than one cent per Catholic per year.[34]

Slattery contrasted the paltry Catholic efforts to those of Protestant sects, pointing out that the Freedman's Aid Society, the child of the Methodist Episcopal Church, had expended $893,918 between 1865 and 1879, just for "Negro" education. The Church Extension Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church had also provided nearly $250,000 for "Negro" churches during that same period. The American Baptist Home Mission of New York, had contributed over $1,000,000 for theological and normal instruction among the freedmen. The American Missionary Society conducted eight chartered institutions of higher learning, twelve high and normal schools, and twenty four common schools for blacks in the South, while no Catholic college in the United States received

"Negroes." Slattery ended his "indictment" by pointing out that in the southern states for 1880, 16,793 public and private schools, most of them Protestant, at least in spirit, existed for black children with an enrollment of 800,113. At the same time, Catholics conducted thirty five Catholic schools for blacks, enrolling 2,609 students.[35]

III

Despite its shortcomings, the Third Plenary Council helped to encourage increased Catholic missionary efforts toward blacks and created a more favorable climate for black priests. Slattery's efforts on behalf of a black clergy, and the impending ordination of Augustus Tolton in Rome, led Canon Benoit, in February, 1886, to ask Slattery for an article for St. Joseph's Advocate, addressing the question of "the moral and intellectual fitness of the Negro for the priesthood," and "of expediency, viz. would Negroes listen to him." Benoit also wanted Slattery to indicate whether black priests would shock the southern aristocrat "so as to lower the Priesthood and the Church in his eyes."[36]

Although unsigned, Slattery's article probably appeared in the October issue, entitled "Father Tolton - The Very First." Slattery used the occasion of Tolton's ordination and return to the United States to answer Benoit's questions. The article described Tolton's ordination on April 24, 1886 and the enthusiastic reception which he received from white and black when he arrived in Quincy, Illinois to take up his assignment at St. Joseph's Church. Slattery's article claimed that Tolton's ordination belied the notion that blacks deserved degradation and that they lacked intellectual and moral capabilities. The article

bragged about Tolton as "the genuine article, a typical Afro-American - not your Episcopalian ideal, octoroon if possible, quadroon at most, Caucasian in chiseling." Slattery noted the powerful effect of a black priest on prejudice observing that as Tolton passed through the streets of Quincy, "white gentlemen raise their hats...." Enthusiastically, the article proclaimed "We have seen it, not once or twice, but almost every time - MANHOOD!" Slattery concluded that the arrival of Tolton marked a new era in the work of the Church for the evangelization of the "Negro," provided graphic evidence that Rome "has planted its foot firmly against caste in the priesthood," and represented the advance guard of many more "colored" priests.[37] Monsignor Denis O'Connell, rector of the North American College and agent of Cardinal Gibbons in Rome, wrote Slattery that Tolton's reception in the United States, "opens the door wider here for colored candidates."[38]

Slattery's own "colored candidate" at St. Hyacinth's, however, caused him some worry in 1886. Alluding to opponents of black priests who claimed that blacks could not master sophisticated courses like philosophy, Slattery expressed concern about Uncles's philosophy grade. Somewhat defensively, Uncles explained that his mark in philosophy stemmed not from a lack of understanding but rather from difficulty expressing himself in Latin. He assured Slattery that white doubts about the intellectual capacity of "Negroes" stemmed from prejudice rather than fair trial. Referring to his teaching experience as well as his time at St. Hyacinth's, Uncles told Slattery " ...other things being equal, colored boys learn as readily as whites...faculty and students of this college will admit that there is one colored young man able to grasp philosophy and reasoning." He then added, "O bosh! What's the use of my writing this to you! You know."[39] Uncles finished the term solidly with four "tres biens" and three

"biens," one of which included philosophy. The next year, he placed third in history, first in math, and fifth in philosophy, out of a class of thirty-three.[40]

A more troublesome issue, one that would plague their relationship for many years, surfaced in the correspondence between Slattery and Uncles in the autumn of 1886. Uncles expressed gratitude to Slattery for his financial and emotional support, but informed Slattery that he faced a dilemma in choosing between the Josephites or the secular priesthood. Uncles confided to Slattery that he would prefer to become a Josephite, but worried about the financial support of his parents. As a secular priest, Uncles could earn money and hold property so as to support his parents in their old age. Uncles assured Slattery that he would join the Josephites without a second thought if he could get enough money to insure his parents' comfort.[41] Slattery evidently let the issue rest for the moment, but early in 1887 the two men exchanged sharp letters about Uncles's future and the plight of his parents. Slattery expressed doubts about Uncles's sincerity which occasioned an emotional response. Uncles informed Slattery that his mother had "often besought me with tears in her eyes not to become a priest because she would then lose all hope of any aid from me in her old age." He added that his father had "heaped reproaches and curses upon me because of what he says is my ungratitude and unfilial conduct." Uncles assured Slattery that he would ignore his parents' criticism if Slattery thought that he could do so prudently. Uncles requested that Slattery speak to his parents about the matter when he visited Baltimore.[42] Evidently, Slattery succeeded in calming the fears of parents and son.

In addition to writing articles and monitoring Charles Uncles's education, Slattery also worked quietly on the Richmond mission grooming several of its black men for the seminary. Slattery envisioned the schools which he had

established on the Virginia missions as a source of vocations and testing grounds for the fitness of "colored candidates" for the priesthood.[43] He encouraged the priestly aspirations of students like James Brown and Joseph Griffin, and of Wales Tyrell, a public school teacher at Keswick, Virginia, who also taught catechism on Sundays.[44] In the Fall of 1886, Slattery recommended Tyrell for St. Peter's, the Mill Hill preparatory seminary at Freshfield, near Liverpool. Canon Benoit, however, suggested a year's delay to test his vocation.[45] Slattery also considered sending Uncles to the Propaganda College in Rome to finish his seminary studies, but decided to leave him at St. Hyacinth's on the advice of Monsignor Denis O'Connell.[46]

Slattery's articles and letters also encouraged bishops to grapple with the problem of black evangelization, and, more specifically, with the issue of black priests. Responding to a Slattery letter in December of 1886, Bishop Thomas Becker of Savannah informed Slattery that several southern bishops had talked informally about "what may, can, or ought to be done" for blacks. Becker acknowledged that the bishops held differing views, but assured Slattery that "all agreed something practical should be done." Some suggested one big Catholic industrial or normal school that would equal the Baptist or Methodist universities, but others believed that "certain bigotry ... would be brought to bear against the Church here" as a result. They also pointed out that the Church had few resources in the South with which to support such a school. Others argued that the bishops should commit the whole work to a prefect apostolic or a religious order. Becker favored the latter approach, although he believed that the Josephites had not succeeded in the United States up to that time. Schools for the young seemed to offer some hope of success. "Your plan of gradually making them work for themselves is undoubtedly best," wrote the

bishop. He added, "Bishop Janssens wants me to write some articles on the subject," but then, voicing the sentiments of many of the southern bishops, confessed that "I am simply afraid to do it. It would not do any good; it would stir up prejudice."[47]

Slattery agreed with the bishop that the Josephites had not succeeded and laid the blame for lack of progress on the training at Mill Hill, which, according to Slattery, did not adequately prepare missionaries for America; instead, Mill Hill produced a preponderance of foreigners who neither understood the United States nor the "Negro" missions. He reiterated the need for an American college to train Americans for the "Negro" missions. As to Becker's fears about opposition, Slattery admitted that he had offended white southerners, but pointed out that opposition could result in a blessing. Most converts came to those churches whose ministers railed against evils. Slattery charged that race prejudice tainted both North and South, Catholic and Protestant, and declared "I can't still my pen";[48] fortunately, neither could an important southern bishop.

In March, 1887, Bishop Francis Janssens, of Natchez, soon to be named Archbishop of New Orleans, issued the first public pronouncement of any American bishop in favor of "colored priests for the colored people." Writing in the March, 1887, issue of the Catholic World, Janssens insisted that "the colored man himself" should "be the instrument in the hand of God to evangelize his colored brethren." Janssens cited the tradition of the Church regarding a native clergy and pointed to China, Japan, Africa, and the Propaganda College. Janssens affirmed from his own experience that "there are numbers of bright colored boys that have more than sufficient intelligence to become priests." Janssens argued that the "colored" wanted to manage their own educational and religious affairs and "do not want white preachers." As to morality, Janssens

contended that a "colored boy who received special religious training could rely on the grace of God to enable him to live a pure life," and once ordained would know the character and ways of his people. Janssens urged the bishops to use a special portion of the Indian and Negro fund to establish a normal school for "colored" boys to train teachers and teach Latin. If any boys showed signs of a religious vocation, they could receive separate training for the priesthood. Although the earlier part of Janssens's article contained standard racial stereotypes about blacks, including references to "laziness," "lack of civilization," "reckless living," and "lack of interest in politics," the second part of his article gave a significant boost to Slattery's efforts on behalf of a "native colored clergy."[49] Several years later, in 1892, Janssens, then Archbishop of New Orleans, sent two black men to Slattery to study for the priesthood. He also publicly opposed as "unjust" and "an infringement on human and religious liberty," Louisiana House Bill #136 which would have forbidden intermarriage between white and "colored" persons.[50]

IV

Between 1883 and 1888, Slattery campaigned persistently for a Josephite seminary in the United States. His plans for black priests ultimately depended on such an institution. Slattery also believed that an American seminary would eliminate the financial burden of sending students to England, insure a steady supply of priests for the American "Negro" missions, and better prepare seminarians for the realities of life in the United States. Slattery felt a special urgency about the project because the bishops at the Third Plenary Council had roundly criticized the Josephites for the lack of progress on the "Negro"

missions, and because the seminary project promised personal vindication for Slattery after his four year "exile" to Richmond.[51]

As early as 1884, Slattery had secured Vaughan's permission for a seminary and had purchased a site in Baltimore, only to have the bishop change his mind and postpone the plan.[52] For the next three years, in magazine articles and in letters to priests and bishops, Slattery emphasized the need for a seminary. Through such efforts, he secured the important support of Archbishop Gibbons and Bishop Keane.[53] In the spring of 1887, with the first distribution of money from the Negro and Indian Collection approaching, Gibbons stopped in England on his return from Rome and again raised the question of an American seminary with the English bishop. As a result, Vaughan agreed to the enterprise and gave his formal consent to Slattery on August 28, 1887.[54]

Slattery drew up a prospectus for the new institution, which he intended to name St. Joseph's Seminary, and submitted it to the American bishops with an accompanying letter soliciting their approbation. According to the prospectus, St. Joseph's students would attend classes at the Sulpician seminary of St. Mary's in Baltimore. St. Joseph's would accept only advanced students in order to produce new Josephites as quickly as possible, and would receive financial support from burses, donations, and a "fair share" of the Negro and Indian collection. Slattery also recommended a preparatory school for a later date, to train men from youth and thus serve as a "feeder" school for St. Joseph's.[55]

The most controversial point of the prospectus, however, involved the nature of St. Joseph's student body. Referring to the students of the proposed seminary, Slattery told the bishops, "It was also decided upon that no distinction of color should prevent an otherwise worthy subject from entering the ranks of the priesthood. St. Joseph's Seminary would receive the black as well as the

white man."[56] The prospectus, however, also reflected Slattery's suspicions about the ability of young black males to remain celibate. It attempted to provide some insurance that blacks accepted into the seminary would have demonstrated their ability to remain chaste during their most virile years by requiring that "No white student should be received under twenty years of age. No Negro under thirty."[57] Slattery rejected suggestions for a separate seminary for blacks, telling Father Leeson that such a question should be left to time.[58]

Bishop Janssens congratulated Slattery on his prospectus and informed him that the bishops of the New Orleans Province had assembled during the first week of November, 1887, to discuss Slattery's proposal. Regarding black candidates, Janssens sympathized with Slattery, assuring him, "I understand the difficulty of starting with negro candidates." While acknowledging that "It could prejudice the scheme," Janssens expressed agreement with Father Alphonse Maignen, the superior of the American Sulpicians and trusted adviser of Cardinal Gibbons, who had argued, "It will be sometime before colored youths arrive at philosophy and time will teach whether a separate seminary for colored candidates will be required."[59] Maignen soon faced the "problem" much earlier than he had expected.

The "problem" involved Charles Randolph Uncles. In June of 1887, Slattery asked Maignen to take Uncles into St. Mary's until completion of the work on St. Joseph's Seminary. Maignen evidently demurred and Uncles remained at St. Hyacinth's for another year.[60] On October 19, 1887, Slattery purchased the former Western Maryland Hotel, a dreary, warehouse type structure adjoining St. Mary's Seminary, for $24,500 and renamed it St. Joseph's Seminary. Prior to the opening of the seminary, Slattery again approached the Sulpicians to ask whether Uncles could attend classes at St. Mary's along with the other

Josephites. Since no blacks attended lectures at St. Mary's, the Sulpicians put the question to a vote of the students in the seminary, who unanimously voted for admission. When Slattery informed Cardinal Gibbons of the vote, the Cardinal said that had any voted against admission, he would have bowed his head in sorrow.[61] Cardinal Gibbons dedicated St. Joseph's Seminary, which opened on September 9, 1888 with four students, including Uncles.[69] In 1889, at the request of Cardinal Gibbons, the Negro and Indian Commission awarded an annual grant of $5,000 to St. Joseph's, which helped lessen the burden of debt.[62]

The handful of students at St. Joseph's indicated the need for a preparatory seminary. With the aid of a generous donation from the Morrells, Slattery purchased and renovated the old Highland Park Hotel in Walbrook, Maryland, a suburb of Baltimore. On September 9, 1889, one year after St. Joseph's, Epiphany Apostolic College, opened its doors, offering a classical high school course and two years of college.[63] After the first year of operation, Slattery reported that the college had four black students out of a total enrollment of thirty-eight.[64] Alarmed at the increased activity on the part of the Catholic Church, The Christian Recorder, journal of the African Methodist Episcopal Church warned its members that Catholic "newspapers, ...schools, ...missionaries, ...black priests...are going to be brought to bear upon the masses of our people with irresistible force."[65] Though guilty of hyperbole, the Recorder correctly perceived a new energy in Catholic efforts.

Two of the four black students enrolled at Epiphany Apostolic College in 1889 had already had a year of preparatory training in England. Unwilling to delay further the seminary education of Wales Tyrell, James Brown, and Joseph Griffin, the candidates from the Virginia missions, Slattery arranged for them to

study at St. Peter's in Freshfield, England. Bishop Vaughan expressed delight at the prospect of "colored boys" coming to Freshfield, although procedural disputes between Slattery and Father Francis Henry, the rector of St. Peter's marred some of the good will. After receiving a "vintage" Slattery letter, Henry complained to Vaughan: "Father Slattery's very peculiar way of asking makes one almost afraid of having any dealings with him - he seems to delight in alienating ...his friends and well wishers."[66]

Despite disagreements between administrators, seven American students, including the three black men, departed for England in August, 1888.[67] The Americans adjusted well to the English college, except for Tyrell, who suffered from ague and rheumatism.[68] They studied English composition, Church history, Bible history, Latin, and geography.[69] With the exception of Tyrell, Henry reported to Slattery, "All of your other boys - Nigs included are doing well."[70] At the end of the Christmas term, Griffin ranked fifth and Brown ranked seventh out of a class of twelve.[71] Unfortunately, Tyrell's poor health forced him to return to the United States in January of 1889, although Slattery had unsuccessfully attempted, through Monsignor O'Connell in Rome, to secure a place for Tyrell at the Urban College where two other black American students had already enrolled for the year.[72] With the opening of Epiphany Apostolic College, Brown, Griffin, and the other American students at St. Peter's left England on August 1, 1889 to return to the United States.[73]

V

Between 1870 and 1900, the Catholic Church experienced a period of enormous progress. The Catholic population of the United States increased from

4,504,000 to 12,041,000. Immigration accounted for over three million of the increase.[74] Although the American Church remained technically a missionary country under the jurisdiction of the Propaganda until 1908, every decade saw the creation of new dioceses, churches, schools, seminaries, and other institutions.[75] With progress, however, came tensions. The last two decades of the nineteenth century witnessed a series of conflicts within the American Church involving such issues as parochial schools, secret societies, the Knights of Labor, and a Catholic University, which split bishops and priests into two roughly discernable camps. The "liberals" or "Americanists," led by John Ireland, the outspoken Archbishop of St. Paul, John Keane of Richmond, and Monsignor Denis O'Connell of the North American College, advocated greater Catholic participation in American public life, particularly the movements for economic and social reform, and also pushed for the "Americanization" of recent Catholic immigrants.[76] They argued that the Church should embrace the best of American culture and celebrate the virtues of American democracy. The liberals confidently set out to transform the United States into a Catholic country, and to solve the political, economic, and social problems of the age, including the race problem, for the benefit of the world and the glory of the Church.[77] The liberal clergy's racial views encouraged a nascent black Catholic activism which challenged discrimination in the Church and called for greater missionary efforts.[78]

The conservatives, led by Archbishop Michael Corrigan of New York, Bernard McQuaid of Rochester, and the German bishops of the Midwest, like Milwaukee's Frederic Katzer, remained suspicious of American culture, viewing it as basically Protestant and infected with the liberalism condemned by Pope Pius IX's Syllabus of Errors in 1864. The German bishops identified their

German culture, and particularly their German schools, with Catholicism, and defended them from the "Americanizing" efforts of the liberals in the hierarchy. Cardinal James Gibbons of Baltimore, the unofficial leader of the American Church, sympathized with the Americanists but approached issues cautiously and attempted to keep peace between the two groups.[79]

Slattery identified with the liberals, who wielded considerable influence in the American Catholic Church during the late 1880's and early 1890's, and drew considerable support from them. He took heart from a message received from John Ireland in the spring of 1888, wherein the Archbishop exclaimed, "Thank God you are a Christian and a Republican!"[80] Later that year, Ireland agreed to accept another of Slattery's black proteges, John Henry Dorsey of Baltimore, into St. Thomas College, the prep seminary for the Archdiocese of St. Paul, when no other bishop would accept him. John Keane, the rector of the college, displaying the progressive spirit that characterized the Archdiocese of St. Paul wrote Slattery, "I esteem the privilege of accepting to St. Thomas the first Negro applicant...I assure you he will be treated kindly and we will give him every encouragement." Dorsey responded to the hospitality of St. Thomas College by scoring nothing lower than "90s" in Christian Doctrine, Latin, Greek, English, history, and arithmetic.[81]

About two years later, Archbishop Ireland gave a boost to Slattery's concept of integrated seminary education and created a sensation when he delivered a scathing attack against racial discrimination in church and society during a sermon at St. Augustine's Church in Washington, D.C. on May 4, 1890. Arguing that all people shared God as a common "Father," Ireland said that the accident of skin color should not result in different religious or social treatment for people. He declared, "No church is a worthy temple of God where a place is

marked off for colored people....It is a shame and a scandal...." Ireland urged all Catholic institutions to admit black Catholics and announced, "I know no color line; I will acknowledge none."[82] Much to the chagrin of southerners, who howled about "race demoralization" and "barbarism," Ireland observed that intermarriage between the races "is not a question of right or wrong," since the Catholic Church recognized no race lines. He concluded, "It is difficult ...to see how a Catholic can come to any conclusion adverse to the social as well as the religious and political equality of the Negroes."[83] Archbishop Ryan of Philadelphia, referring to Ireland's speech, told Archbishop Corrigan, "His enthusiasm sometimes leads him too far, but his purity of intention is unquestionable."[84]

Father Richard Burtsell of New York, another liberal, sent messages of encouragement, along with money for Slattery's new seminary, and Cardinal Gibbons weighed in with a cautious message of support for black priests.[85] Responding in the pages of St. Joseph's Advocate to a letter from Colonel E.M. Seabrook about a recent split among South Carolina Episcopalians over the issue of ordaining "colored priests," Gibbons wrote, "it is in accordance with the spirit of the Catholic Church, and of her practice, wherever practicable, to ordain clergy of the race that is to be evangelized." Gibbons noted the presence of black priests at the Vatican Council of 1869-70 and at the Propaganda College. He ended his letter with the hope that "the day is approaching when colored clergymen will be multiplied."[86]

The Rev. Thomas Donovan, a Josephite working in Kentucky, had counseled Slattery in 1888 that the acceptance of black youths into the seminary "will draw the attention of the colored folk...to the interest now being taken in the race by the Church."[87] Certainly by 1889, black Catholics evidenced a

heightened awareness about their rightful place in the Church. Black seminarians and the one black priest represented the advance guard of this awareness, but it manifested itself most visibly in a series of five annual Negro Catholic Congresses organized by Daniel Rudd, editor of the American Catholic Tribune, and held between 1889 and 1894. In those congresses, black Catholics sought to cooperate with the clergy in the conversion and education of their race, aired their grievances, and voiced their aspirations.[88]

Slattery played a significant role in the Negro Congress movement, especially at its inception. Rudd sought advice from Slattery about the location of the first congress, the topics for discussion, and the proposed resolutions. Slattery responded with recommendations and with money for the convention. Slattery also agreed to address the congress on the "Negro in the priesthood."[89]

The first Negro Congress opened in Washington, D.C., on January 1, 1889 with a Mass at St. Augustine's celebrated by Father Augustus Tolton. Speaking on the second day, Slattery reviewed his efforts on behalf of black priests. Maintaining that blacks "have as much right to be priests as I have," he insisted that Catholics would not succeed in evangelizing blacks "until we have hundreds and thousands of Colored priests." According to Slattery, the enthusiastic response of blacks to Father Tolton had demonstrated the falseness of the contention that blacks did not want colored priests. He emphasized a good family life as the source of vocations and ended his talk with the promise that "As soon as we have plenty of good colored priests, things will change across the Potomac."[90]

In the eyes of black Catholics, Slattery had become the champion of black priests, although the delegates at the congress chose to adopt a more activist set of resolutions than Slattery had prepared. [91] He received letters from black

lay men suggesting candidates for the priesthood or asking his help for black youths who had been rejected by other seminaries or could not find bishops to sponsor them.[92] Dr. J.T. Whitson, the business manager for Daniel Rudd's American Catholic Tribune and a prominent member of the Negro Catholic Congress movement, appealed to Slattery on behalf of his nephew, who had been dismissed by St. Vincent's seminary in Latrobe, Pennsylvania. Whitson claimed that the seminary had changed its policy toward "colored students" following the death of Abbot Boniface Wimmerin 1888.[93] When William Reed, a black student whose poor health had forced him to withdraw from the Propaganda College, asked several bishops to sponsor him at the Grand Seminaire at Issy, France, they advised him to apply to the Josephites. Slattery appears to have arranged for Archbishop Ireland to sponsor the young man.[94] Slattery also continued to pay, out of his own pocket, the board of black students like Joseph Green, who attended school at Keswick under the tutelage of Wales Tyrell, preparing for entrance into Epiphany.[95] When Epiphany opened for its second year on September 1, 1890, St. Joseph's Advocate announced, "The colored race has six representatives; all bright, intelligent boys." Perhaps out of deference to concerns about the extent of race mixing, the Advocate added, "Each student has his own sleeping room; but all study together in one large room ...."[96]

Father Augustus Tolton, widely regarded as the only black priest in the United States, also esteemed Slattery as a special friend and protector. Tolton had grown increasingly unhappy in Quincy, Illinois after his triumphant arrival in 1886. As pastor of St. Joseph's, he had a black congregation of only thirty persons and conversions among the Protestant blacks came very slowly. Whites constituted the bulk of his congregation on Sundays. Tolton yearned to do more work among his own people. He also tired of hearing the racist comments of

Quincy's Catholics. Priests entertained every conceivable doubt about him. "When they see me and hear me," Tolton wrote, "they are struck, and ask if there is any white blood in me: if so then that is the reason why I can preach., if not then God is powerful."[97] A certain German priest took a special dislike to Tolton and conducted a campaign against him which Tolton claimed, "...offends me often and hurts me deeply."[98] Bishop James Ryan of Alton, Illinois explained to Propaganda that Tolton's trouble in Quincy resulted because "...he wants to establish a kind of society here that is not possible (integration)."[99] In late 1889, when blacks in Chicago convinced Archbishop Patrick Feehan to invite Tolton to open a parish in the heart of the black slum neighborhood, Tolton readily accepted.[98]

Tolton confided to Slattery that if a situation similar to that in Quincy developed in Chicago, "I will put all my books in the trunk and come there to Baltimore...then I know that I will be protected...." He also told Slattery that he would have joined the Josephites if the Archbishop of Chicago had not called for him to come to Chicago and added, "I shall advise every young colored aspirant to join that order so as to have direct protection." Tolton declared, "You are the only priest that cares for us anyhow...you are our own man and priest."[101]

Slattery spelled out his ideas regarding the Church's apostolate to the "Negro" and the question of black priests during the winter of 1890 and the spring of 1891. In an address to the convention of the Catholic Young Men's National Union, which the liberal Catholic World reprinted in December of 1890, Slattery called for "competetive equality" for blacks in American society. He declared, "It is notorious that a black skin is too often an insurmountable barrier" to the trades, professions, and even the Church. Slattery sadly noted

the distance between the genuine teachings of the Church, which preached the fundamental unity of human beings and recognized no color line, and the "Negrophobia" of many white Catholics, who barred blacks from Catholic schools and trade unions and objected to Archbishop Ireland's famous speech. Paternalistically claiming that the elevation and morality of the "Negro race" depended on the Catholic Church, Slattery counseled "our black brethren" to "silently and patiently persevere until a better day dawns"

Slattery promised, however, that "the day is not far distant when...the Negroes will have free access to our churches...will be seen in our colleges and schools. Claiming that true growth for a race occurred from within, Slattery said "He knows the Negroes very imperfectly who fancies them bereft of energy, push, and brains"; hence, the need for black priests. Slattery cited the history of the early church in raising a native clergy and argued that the Church had lost Japan for two hundred and fifty years because the successors of St. Francis Xavier "would have no native priests or bishops." He pointed out that Protestants fully appreciated the value of "Negro" self aid, as seen in the Baptists and Methodists, who had black ministers and whose churches served as the social, political, and religious centers of their communities. Over 130 schools of higher education, supported by Protestant denominations, yearly produced teachers, lawyers, doctors, and preachers - the leaders of their race. 102

Father Rockwell, a member of the powerful Jesuit order, took exception to Slattery's address and insisted that "The policy of the Society of Jesus has always been to admit into its ranks men of all nations, provided they have the qualifications...." As evidence, Rockwell pointed to Japanese and Chinese priests. Seizing the opening provided by Rockwell, Slattery eagerly moved to

expose his hypocrisy. In a letter to The Catholic Review, Slattery sarcastically wrote, "...it is evidently but a matter of time till we have Negro Jesuits among us...it is but natural that the doors of Georgetown, Fordham, Loyola of Baltimore...and their companion Colleges," none of which admitted black students, "should be crowded with Black as well as white students." In response to Rockwell's charges of historical inaccuracy, Slattery promised an article on native priests before Easter.[103]

That article, which appeared in the March, 1891 issue of the Catholic World, rehearsed the history of a native clergy from apostolic times through the work of the French Society of the Foreign Missions, under whose direction by 1883, thirty bishops, 745 European, and 434 native priests worked. The Society, Slattery pointed out, also conducted a general college at Penay Straits settlement, in which over one hundred boys from throughout Asia, studied. Slattery concluded, "There is, then, no chance to win the Negroes to the Faith without priests of their own." To the old "saw" that blacks preferred white priests, Slattery responded, "True, some old 'mammies'... will tell fashionable ladies they prefer white priests...But ...the youth and manhood...will cry...'We want our own priests.'"[104]

Despite his support for black leadership, Slattery could not throw off all of the racial stereotypes of his day. In particular, he believed that slavery and its effects had seriously weakened the black family, resulting in rampant immorality. In his address to the Catholic Young Men's National Union, he repeated his belief that most blacks lacked "domestic training" and that "moral restraint is too often thrown off."[102] Slattery was not as pessimistic as Bishop Thomas Heslin of Natchez, who described "Negro" character as "so unsteady" and immorality as so prevalent among them that "it will require a miracle...to

convert them."[106] Slattery, nevertheless, observed to Vaughan that "lying and fornication are so common ...among our best Catholic Negroes, it is no disgrace for an unmarried woman to have a child, and the whiter the bastard, the less the disgrace."[107] Only the Catholic Church, according to Slattery, could teach blacks the morality and self restraint that would keep them from moral degradation.[108] The rules imposed by Slattery at St. Joseph's Seminary that prohibited the admission of any black students under the age of thirty, reflected his concern about the possible "moral weakness" of black candidates. The "morality" of black priests would become a bigger issue in the years ahead. Unfortunately, Slattery played a part in making it just such an issue.

In 1891, however, as Charles Uncles's ordination approached, Slattery's concerns about morality faded into the background. Black Catholics watched Uncles's progress with great excitement. Wales Tyrell wrote to Slattery, "We rejoice to see Mr. Uncles moving on so well. His ordination alone will work wonders for the southern missions. He in whose mind the Negro priesthood was conceived did surely catch a breath of heavenly inspiration."[109] Mrs. Louise Morrell, an important white benefactor, rejoiced at the "good news about the Colored Deacon," while Josephite Joseph DeRuyter put in his request for the black priest asking for him "to work hand in hand with me to save souls...white and black priests. The two fountain heads are most important."[110]

On December 19, 1891, the six foot, two inch tall, seminarian became the first black man ordained in the United States. Cardinal James Gibbons administered the sacrament for Uncles and twenty-five other deacons in the Baltimore Cathedral. The fact that Gibbons, America's preeminent Catholic churchman, performed the ceremony quieted opposition and gave his public sanction to a "colored clergy."[111] Slattery wrote, "To the whites it was a

surprising innovation; to the colored, an evidence of the universality of the Church."[112]

Uncles celebrated his first solemn high Mass on Christmas day, 1891, at St. Francis Xavier Church. The crowd filled the church and spilled out into the street a full half hour before the Mass started. Father Slattery preached the sermon and called the celebration "the most unique event in the history of the Catholic Church in this country." Slattery called Uncles a model to the "colored race" of purity and morality, virtue and temperance.[113] Father Richard Burtsell sent a donation of $1500 for the seminaries and congratulated Slattery on bringing "forth such ripe fruit so speedily, as was seen in the ordination of Father Uncles."[114] Uncles ordination also had a profound impact upon some black youths. Joseph Bell told Slattery, "My heart rejoiced to see a colored man offering up the holy sacrifice of the Mass....I have more inspiration now...to prepare myself to work among my black brothers."[115]

VI

Father Uncles's ordination seemed to augur well for the future of black priests in the United States; but although the ordination pleased Slattery immensely, he still considered another step necessary to infuse the "Negro" missions in the United States with a new vitality. On March 30, 1891, Slattery sent a memorial to Vaughan proposing the independence of the American Josephites from Mill Hill and outlining the steps necessary to effect the separation.[116]

As early as June 12, 1879, Bishop Vaughan had recognized that "...it would be a natural and fitting thing that the great American Church should have its

own missionary organization."[117] Events during the 1880's moved the American Province toward independence. By 1884, the American missions received less attention because Mill Hill had accepted mission fields in Madras, India and Borneo.[118] The founding of St. Joseph's and Epiphany in 1888 and 1889, freed the American Province from its reliance upon England for manpower, thus depriving Mill Hill of a powerful means of control.[119] As rector of St. Joseph's, Slattery went his own way, all but ignoring Father Leeson, the Provincial.[119]

Slattery argued for independence because of the "lukewarmness" and "irregular behavior," of the Fathers on the missions. He believed them hostile to the seminaries and insisted that contact between them and the seminaries cramped the growth and usefulness of the two institutions, on which he placed his hopes for the future of the missions. Slattery had even considered forbidding the seminarians to visit the Fathers for fear that they would prejudice the seminarians' minds. He complained, "Once even, one of my seminarians got drunk when among these Fathers." Slattery contended that sterility had marked the missions now in the charge of those Fathers who opposed him. He charged that "Baltimore and Washington are today as they were nine years ago; while Louisville and Charleston, after sixteen years, have...yet to take their first missionary steps."[120] Never one to avoid placing blame, Slattery identified "The ...cause of the troubles" as the "'laissez-faire' principle of government adopted and followed out both at home and abroad."[121] He urged a new beginning, a fresh start, and assured Bishop Vaughan that Cardinal Gibbons and other members of the American hierarchy supported his project.[122]

Vaughan discussed Slattery's proposal with Cardinal Gibbons, who would have to accept jurisdiction over the American Josephites if independence came. Vaughan fretted about his duty to Father Leeson and the men under him who

did not want to join with Slattery, and about the fragility of Slattery's plans, since he had no priests yet ready from the seminary for mission work. Vaughan also expressed another worry, whether Slattery would "have the tact and good judgement to manage men...in spite of his splendid energy...and his good will."[123] Gibbons helped assuage Vaughan's fears by assuring him that age and experience had mellowed Slattery.[124]

They had not mellowed him so much, however, as to prevent a vigorous protest from Slattery at Vaughan's proposal to transfer his power as Superior General to Cardinal Gibbons. Such a move, Slattery argued, would make the Josephites a society "whose head would never belong to us." Evidencing his suspicion of the the American bishops, Slattery acknowledged that Cardinal Gibbons "takes a discreet interest in the well being of the Negroes," but he asked, "who knows how his successor may feel...?" Slattery insisted that the Josephites "should be a breakwater to protect the blacks, who are sure to suffer unless their friends are in a position to protect them."[125.]

Throughout 1892, Gibbons, Vaughan, and Slattery worked out the details of separation. Gibbons agreed to accept the new society under his jurisdiction as a diocesan institute, but the members would select their own Superior General. The American Fathers could select one of three options: they could join a diocese, enlist in Slattery's new society, or remain with Mill Hill. Four decided to become secular priests; and three remained attached to Mill Hill; while Fathers John DeRuyter, Dominic Manley, Lambert Welbers, and Charles Randolph Uncles elected to join with Slattery in the renamed St. Joseph's Society of the Sacred Heart, still known as the Josephites. By May 6, 1893, every priest had indicated his preference and Cardinal Gibbons informed Vaughan that the old society had ceased to exist in the United States. On May

30, 1893, Vaughan released the five men of the new society to Cardinal Gibbons's jurisdiction.[126]

Independence dramatically reduced the number of Josephites available for the missions. In 1889, seventeen men tended to three churches in Baltimore; one in Charleston, South Carolina, with accompanying out missions; one in Louisville, Kentucky, with an out mission in Covington; one in Richmond, with out missions in Norfolk, Petersburg, and Keswick; and one church each in Washington, D.C. and Wilmington Delaware. Approximately twelve thousand black Catholics depended upon the ministrations of the Josephites. Now, in 1893, with only five men, two of whom worked full time with seminaries and administration, the Josephites had to retrench. They turned over the Kentucky and South Carolina missions to their respective dioceses, as well as St. Augustine's in Washington, D.C. and St. Monica's in Baltimore. That still left two large congregations in Baltimore, St. Francis Xavier's and St. Peter Claver's; one in Richmond, Virginia; and a struggling mission at Wilmington, Delaware. Despite the cutbacks, the eleven students at St. Joseph's Seminary, and the sixty at Epiphany Apostolic College, represented the promise of future growth.[127] The founding of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament in 1891 by Mother Katherine Drexel, also insured more sisters and more financial support for mission schools.[128]

In 1893, John Slattery could look back over the previous ten years with a great deal of satisfaction. He apparently had helped to rally the Church to a greater interest in the black apostolate. He had staked out a radically new position on the question of black priests and, with the support of liberal clergy and black Catholics, had brought black men into Catholic seminaries, and had witnessed the ordination of one of them. He also had established a new

American religious society for the "Negro" missions, one which promised a more energetic approach to black evangelization. As the "dark night" of race relations began to settle across the country in the early 1890's, prospects for black priests in the Catholic Church seemed brighter. The next ten years would determine the extent to which Slattery had succeeded in opening the Catholic priesthood to blacks.

END NOTES

[1]Headquartered in New York City, the Society of Missionary Priests of St. Paul, commonly known as the Paulists, were founded in 1858 by Father Isaac Thomas Hecker and devoted themselves to the conversion of the United States. They conducted parishes and also used the press, missions, retreats, information centers, and inquiry classes. Their magazine, The Catholic World, had a wide reputation for excellence. See Albert J. Nevins, M.M., The Maryknoll Catholic Dictionary, (New York, 1965), pp. 436-437; "John R. Slattery," The Colored Harvest, March, 1902, pp. 306-310.

[2]Ibid.; quoted also in Richard H. Steins, "The Mission of the Josephites to the Negro in America, 1871-1893," (unpublished Master's thesis, Columbia University, 1966), p. 52.

[3]Josephite Fathers Archives (hereinafter referred to as JFA), copies of Mill Hill Fathers' Archives (hereinafter cited as MHFA), CB-14-12; and "John R. Slattery," The Colored Harvest, pp. 306-310.

[4]"John R. Slattery," The Colored Harvest, pp. 306-310.

[5]Quoted in Steins, "The Mission," p. 53.

[6]JFA, MHFA, CB-14-12, "Slattery, John Richard."

[7]Steins, "The Mission," p. 54; "John R. Slattery," The Colored Harvest, pp. 306-310.

[8]Steins, "The Mission," pp. 54-57.

[9]JFA, MHFA, Herbert Vaughan to Peter Benoit, Rome, May 3, 1881.

[10]JFA, MHFA, CB-13-9b, John R. Slattery to Benoit, Baltimore, August, 29, 1882.

[11]Quoted in Steins, "The Mission," p. 58.

[12]JFA, MHFA, Vaughan to Benoit, ?, October 24, 1883.

[13]Quoted in Steins, "The Mission," p. 61.

[14]Ibid., pp. 61-63; and "John R. Slattery," The Colored Harvest, pp. 306-310.

[15]Steins, "The Mission," p. 64; "John R. Slattery," pp. 306 - 310.

[16]Edward J. Misch, "The American Bishops and the Negro from the Civil War to the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, 1865 - 1884" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Gregorian University, 1968), p. 423; William Osborne, "A Freeman's Odyssey," Jubilee, September, 1955, p. 17.

[17]H. Shelton Smith, In His Image, But...Racism in Southern Religion, 1780-1910 (Durham, 1972), pp. 239-240.

[18]John R. Slattery, "The Catholic Church and the Colored People," Catholic World, June, 1883, pp. 374-384; See also, "Some Aspects of the Negro Problem," Catholic World, February, 1884, pp. 604-613; "The Present and Future of the Negro in the United States," Catholic World, December, 1884, pp. 289-295; "Facts and Suggestions About the Colored People," Catholic World, April, 1885, pp. 32-42; "Is the Negro Problem Becoming Local?," Catholic World, December, 1886, pp. 309-316; JFA, 66-F, Slattery, "History of St. Joseph's Society of the Sacred Heart for Foreign Missions," p. 9.

[19]Quoted in H. Shelton Smith, In His Image, pp. 239-240.

[20]Reverend Edward M' Sweeney, D.D., "Every Color Makes No Color in the Propaganda," St. Joseph's Advocate, October, 1891, pp. 498-499.

[21]Letter from Rev. Henry J. Koren, Archivist of the Holy Ghost Fathers, January 8, 1984; "Important Letter from Africa," St. Joseph's Advocate, April, 1890, 89-91.

[22]St. Joseph's Advocate, October, 1891, p. 291; and Misch, "The American Bishops," p. 423.

[23]JFA, MHFA, CB-2, Vaughan sermon, pp. 10-11; CB-16-3, Vaughan to First Provincial Chapter of the American Fathers, November 14, 1878; J.G. Snead-Cox, The Life of Cardinal Herbert Vaughan (London, 1910) I, pp. 178-179.

[24]JFA, MHFA, Benoit Diary, April 6, 1875; The story about the black priest appears to have been legend rather than fact.

[25]JFA, MHFA, Applications; Theodore Wegmann to Rev. James Noonan, Quincy, April 6, 1875.

[26]Albert S. Foley, S.J., God's Men of Color (New York, 1954), p. 36.

[27]JFA, MHFA, CB-2-55, Benoit to Ignatius Brouwer, Mill Hill, April, 15, 1880.

[28]Foley, God's Men of Color, pp. 42-45; JFA, 10-N-4, Charles Uncles to Slattery, Quebec, June 7, 1887; 9-K-16a, "Address of Father Slattery to the First Colored Catholic Congress, January 2, 1889; SAB, slattry to Cardinal Gibbons, Baltimore ?, February 2, 1903 ?, copy in JFA.

[29]Edward J. Misch, "The Catholic Church and the Negro, 1865-1884," Integratededucation 12 (Nov - Dec, 1974), 37; JFA, CB-2, unsigned and undated memo to "Fr. Rector." All evidence indicates that Slattery authored the memo.

[30]"A Great Work for the Council," St. Joseph's Advocate, October, 1884, p. 57.

[31]Robert E. Curran, "Prelude to 'Americanism': The New York Academia and Clerical Radicalism in the Late Nineteenth Century," Church History 47 (March, 1978), 49-50, 54; JFA, CB-1, Slattery to Edward McGlynn, Baltimore, November 21, 1881; "Rev. Edward McGlynn, D.D.," St. Joseph's Advocate, January, 1884, p. 12.

[32]Misch, "The American Bishops," pp. 530, 533-535, 540-541; Misch, "The Catholic Church," p. 37.

[33]Steins, "The Mission," p. 71.

[34]Misch, "The Catholic Church," p. 37.

[35]John R. Slattery, "Facts and Suggestions about the Colored People," Catholic World, April, 1885, pp. 35-39.

[36]JFA, MHFA, CB-4, Benoit to Slattery, February 18, 1886.

[37]"Father Tolton - The Very First," St. Joseph's Advocate, October, 1886, pp. 185-186; "Colored Priests," St. Joseph's Advocate, October, 1886, p. 189.

[38]JFA, 10-K-17, Denis O'Connell to Slattery, Rome, September 18, 1886.

[39]JFA, 10-N-2, Uncles to Slattery, Quebec, November 8, 1886.

[40]JFA, 10-N-4, Uncles's report card from St. Hyacinth's, December 30, 1886; 10-N-9, Uncles to Slattery, Quebec, June 28, 1887.

[41]JFA, 10-N-2, Uncles to Slattery, Quebec, November 8, 1886.

[42]JFA, 10-N-7, Uncles to Slattery, Quebec, March 3, 1887.

[43]John R. Slattery, "The Seminary for the Colored Missions," Catholic World, January, 1888, pp. 547-549.

[44]JFA, 10-M-3, Wales Tyrell to Slattery, Keswick, January 6, 1886; 10-M-4, Tyrell to Slattery, Keswick, January 12, 1886; 1-D-7, Tyrell to Leeson, Keswick, October 12, 1886.

[45]JFA, 10-G-2, Benoit to Slattery, Mill Hill, November 10, 1886.

[46]JFA, 10-K-17, Denis O'Connell to Slattery, Rome, September 18, 1886; 10-N-3, Uncles to Slattery, Quebec, November 8, 1886.

[47]JFA, 10-G-7, Bishop Thomas Becker to Slattery, Savannah, December 11, 1886.

[48]JFA, 10-G-7, Slattery to Becker, ?, January 3, 1887.

[49]"Colored Priests for the Colored People," St. Joseph's Advocate, April, 1887, pp. 229-231.

[50]"An unjust Law," St. Joseph's Advocate, October, 1892, p. 235.

[51]JFA, CB-2, Slattery to Benoit, Richmond, November 16, 1885; Steins, "The Mission," pp. 71-73.

[52]Steins, "The Mission," p. 74; "John R. Slattery," The Colored Harvest, 306-310.

[53]Misch, "The American Bishops," p. 540; JFA, 66-F, John R. Slattery, "History," p. 13.

[54]JFA, 66-F, Slattery, "History," pp. 11-13; Steins, "The Mission," p. 74.

[55]JFA, 3-H-12, Prospectus for the Seminary, 1887; Steins, "The Mission," p. 75.

[56]JFA, 66-F, Slattery, "History," p. 23; Slattery to the American Bishops, October, 20, 1887.

[57]JFA, 3-H-12, Prospectus for the Seminary, 1887; 10-S-7A, Rules for St. Joseph's Seminary, 1887.

[58]JFA, 3-H-11, Slattery to Alfred B. Leeson, ?, November 19, 1887.

[59]JFA, 7-D-2, Bishop Francis Janssens to Slattery, Natchez, November 11, 1887.

[60]JFA, 10-S-1, Slattery to Vaughan, ?, June 14, 1887.

[61]Steins, "The Mission," pp. 75-76; "John R. Slattery," The Colored Harvest, pp. 306-310; JFA, 9-K-16, Address of Father Slattery to the First Negro Catholic Congress, January 2, 1889.

[62]Steins, "The Mission," pp. 75-76.

[63]"John R. Slattery," The Colored Harvest, pp. 306-310; Steins, "The Mission," p. 77.

[64]JFA, CB-2, Slattery to James Gibbons, Baltimore, 1889.

[65]Quoted in "Catholics and Colored Americans," St. Joseph's Advocate, October, 1887, p. 294.

[66]JFA, 4-B-4, Mother Mary Agnes to Slattery, Mill Hill, April 4, 1888; G-Y-6, Francis Henry to Vaughan, September 7, 1888.

[67]JFA, 3-B-12, Patrick Fahey to Slattery, Richmond, July 30, 1888.

[68]JFA, 9-T-8, Tyrell to Slattery, Freshfield, October 24, 1888.

[69]JFA, 9-T-7, Tyrell to Slattery, Freshfield, September 5, 1888.

[70]JFA, 6-Y-10, Henry to Slattery, Freshfield, November 20, 1888.

[71]JFA, 6-Y-12, Henry to Slattery, Freshfield, January 8, 1888.

[72]JFA, 6-Y-10, Henry to Slattery, Freshfield, November 20, 1888; O'Connell to Slattery, Rome, January 11, 1889.

[73]JFA, 6-Y-19, Henry to Slattery, Freshfield, August 1, 1889.

[74]J.T. Ellis, "United States of America," New Catholic Encyclopedia XIV (New York, 1967), p. 434.

[75]Robert D. Cross, The Emergence of Liberal Catholicism in America (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), p. 22.

[76]John Tracy Ellis, The Life of James Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore, 1834-1921 II (Milwaukee, 1952), p. 1 -80; James Hennesey, S.J., American Catholics (New York, 1981), pp. 195-198; Thomas McAvoy, "Americanism," New Catholic Encyclopedia I (New York, 1967), p. 443. For thorough treatments of the rise of conservative and liberal factions within the American Church and the subsequent "Americanist crisis" see, Curran, Michael Augustine Corrigan; Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C., The Great Crisis in American Catholic History, 1895 - 1900 (Chicago, 1957); and Gerald R. Fogarty, S.J., The Vatican and the American Hierarchy, 1870 - 1965 (Stutgart, 1982), pp. 35 - 194.

[77]Cross, The Emergence, pp. 43, 50.

[78]David Spalding, C.F.X., "The Negro Catholic Congresses, 1889-1894," The Catholic Historical Review LV (October, 1969), 337, 340.

[79]McAvoy, "Americanism," p. 443; Hennesey, American Catholics, pp. 194-196.

[80]JFA, 7-B-9, John Ireland to Slattery, St. Paul, April 4, 1888.

[81]JFA, 9-K-16a, Address of Fr. Slattery to the First Negro Catholic Congress, January 2, 1889; 7-K-18, J.J. Keane to Slattery, St. Paul, October 12, 1888; 5-N-8, St. Thomas Aquinas Seminary, Semi-Annual Report, June 1889.

[82]"A Famous Sermon," St. Joseph's Advocate, July, 1890, pp. 151-152.

[83]"Bishop Ireland Denounced," St. Joseph's Advocate, July 1890, pp. 166-168; quoted in "Archbishop Ireland Is Interviewed by the Boston Pilot," St. Joseph's Advocate, October, 1890, p. 241.

[84]Quoted in John T. Ellis, The Life of James Cardinal Gibbons, I, p. 658.

[85]JFA, 4-H-8, Richard Burtsell to Slattery, New York, September 14, 1888.

[86]"Priests of Color," St. Joseph's Advocate, October,1890, p. 373.

[87]JFA, 5-R-4, Thomas Donovan to Slattery, ?, August 24, 1888.

[88]David Spalding, C.F.X., "The Negro Catholic Congress," pp. 337, 340.

[89]JFA, 9-K-8, Daniel Rudd to Slattery, Cincinnati, May 8, 1888; 9-K-11, Rudd to Slattery, Pittsburgh, October 30, 1888; JFA, 9-K-13, Rudd to Slattery, Cincinnati, October 30, 1888.

[90]JFA, 9-K-16, Address of Father Slattery to the First Negro Catholic Congress, January 2, 1889.

[91]David Spalding, C.F.X., "The Negro Catholic Congresses," p. 342.

[92]JFA, 9-K-15, Rudd to Slattery, Cincinnati, February 8, 1889; 9-K-9, J. T. Whitson to Slattery, Cincinnati, July 1, 1888.

[93]JFA, 9-K-9, Whitson to Slattery, Cincinnati, July 1, 1888; 10-B-31, Whitson to Slattery, Pittsburgh, August 10, 1888.

[94]JFA, 9-P-20, William Reed to Slattery, Issy, June 6, 1890; 9-S-17, Augustus Tolton to Slattery, Chicago, January 4, 1891.

[95]JFA, 9-T-12, Tyrell to Slattery, Keswick, November 10, 1890; 9-T-14, Tyrell to Slattery, Keswick, December 11, 1890; 6-E-10, Joseph Green to Slattery, Keswick, February 23, 1891; 18-C-26, Slattery to Thomas Donovan, Baltimore, May 25, 1901.

[96]St. Joseph's Advocate, October, 1890, p. 229.

[97]Archives of the Diocese of Richmond (hereinafter cited as ADR), Augustus Tolton to O'Connell, Quincy, undated letter. For a biography of the Rev. Augustus Tolton see, Sister Caroline Hemesath, From Slave to Priest: A Biography of the Rev. Augustus Tolton (1854 - 1897), First Afro-American Priest of the United States (Chicago, 1973).

[98]Ibid.; JFA, "Summary of Documents in the Archives of 'Propaganda Fide' Regarding Fr. Tolton," Tolton to Propaganda, Quincy, July 25, 1887.

[99]JFA, "Summary of Documents," Propaganda to Bishop James Ryan, August 5, 1889; Ryan to Propaganda, Alton, August 20, 1889.

[100]JFA, "Summary of Documents," Tolton to Propaganda, Quincy, October 7, 1889; 5-R-29, Mary C. Elmore to Slattery, Chicago, July 7, 1890; Foley, God's Men, p. 39.

[101]JFA, 9-S-16, Tolton to Slattery, Chicago, January 29, 1890.

[102]John R. Slattery, "The Catholic Negro's Complaint," Catholic World, December, 1890, pp. 347-353.

[103]JFA, 9-K-7, Slattery to Editor of the Catholic Review (New York), December 24, 1890.

[104]John R. Slattery, "Native Clergy," Catholic World, March, 1891, pp. 882-893.

[105]Slattery, "The Negro's Complaint," pp. 352-353.

[106]Mission Work Among the Negroes and Indians (Baltimore, 1891), p. 16.

[107]JFA, CB-2, Slattery to Vaughan, Baltimore, September 4, 1890.

[108]Slattery, "The Catholic Negro's Complaint," pp. 352-353.

[109]JFA, Tyrell to Slattery, Keswick, January 15, 1891.

[110]JFA, 8-H-42, L. D. Morrell to Slattery, Torresdale, December 2, 1891; The Colored Harvest, October, 1891, p. 14.

[111]JFA, Slattery, "History," p. 30; Foley, God's Men, p.46; John T. Gillard, Colored Catholics in the United States (Baltimore, 1941), p. 184.

[112]JFA, 66-F, Slattery, "History," p. 30.

[113]JFA, 8-C-15a, undated newspaper clipping.

[114]JFA, 4-H-9, Richard Burtsell to Slattery, New York, December 23, 1891.

[115]JFA, 4-E-8, Joseph Bell to Slattery, ?, April 6, 1892.

[116]Steins, "The Mission," pp. 79-80.

[117]Quoted in Steins, "The Mission," pp. 68-69.

[118]Ibid.

[119]Ibid., p. 77.

[120]JFA, 66-F, Slattery to Vaughan, Baltimore, May 19, 1891, copy in Slattery, "History."

[121]JFA, 66-F, Slattery to Vaughan, Baltimore, March 2, 1892, copy in Slattery, "History."

[122]JFA, 66-F, Slattery to Vaughan, Baltimore, May 19, 1891, copy in Slattery, "History."

[123]JFA, 66-F, Vaughan to Gibbons, Salford, November 3, 1891, copy in "History."

[124]JFA, 10-E, Gibbons to Vaughan, Baltimore, March 12, 1892.

[125]Ibid.

[126]Steins, "The Mission," pp. 82-84; JFA, CB-2, Gibbons to Vaughan, Baltimore, May 6, 1893.

[127]JFA, 22-A-14, Slattery letter, undated and unaddressed.

[128]William Osborne, "A Freeman's Odyssey," Jubilee, September, 1955, p. 17.

CHAPTER III
JOHN R. SLATTERY: FALLEN CHAMPION, 1893 - 1906

If anything in this world is certain, it is that the stand of the Catholic Church toward the negroes is sheer dishonesty. -John R. Slattery, 1906

The cautious optimism which Slattery and his supporters felt in the early 1890s about the prospects for more black priests gave way to disappointment, disillusionment, and frustration by the first years of the twentieth century. Several factors accounted for this change. Within American society, racial tensions heightened; within the Church, the influence of Slattery's episcopal supporters declined; and among white Catholics, including some Josephites, resistance to the ordination of black men increased. These factors, plus Slattery's own attitudes and decisions, combined to slow the Josephite drive for black priests. Increasingly frustrated and scandalized by the opposition within the Church to black priests and black missions in general, and influenced by the intellectual currents of modernism, Slattery resigned from the Josephites and eventually left the Catholic Church in 1906, denouncing its policies toward blacks as hypocritical. His "defection" almost destroyed the Josephites and seriously injured the cause of black priests; a cause which he had championed for over twenty years, and which, with his apostasy, became even more suspect in the eyes of many. The "champion" had fallen, leaving behind him a shaken and vulnerable ST. Joseph's Society, and grim prospects for the future of black Catholic priests.

I

In his efforts to raise black men to the priesthood during the 1890s, Slattery increasingly found himself contending against hostile forces in Church and society. The economic and social crisis of the late 1880s and early 1890s brought about an agrarian revolt in the South which gave blacks the potential to decide closely contested races. Frightened by this prospect and other uncertainties in black - white relations, politicians and propagandists resorted to race baiting. As a result, blacks became scapegoats, suffering disfranchisement, segregation, lynchings, and race riots.[1] Wholesale disfranchisement of blacks proceeded apace, with the Mississippi constitutional convention of 1890 leading the way.[2] By 1892, of 147,205 black males over 21 in Mississippi, only 8,615 were able to register.[3] Lynchings also increased alarmingly during the 1890s. In 1892, for example, 162 Negroes were lynched; by 1900, that figure had risen to 214. Southern lynch mobs reportedly indulged in torturing and burning many victims. [4] Race riots, like the one in Wilmington, North Carolina in 1898, exposed entire black communities to violence.[5] Political opportunists like Ben Tillman of South Carolina and James K. Vardaman of Mississippi, skillfully exploited racial tensions to advance their political fortunes. In 1896, meanwhile, the U.S. Supreme Court, in Plessy vs. Ferguson, upheld the legal segregation of southern society.[6]

During this period, black churches in the South accomodated to the status quo, while white Protestant religious leaders enunciated a racial creed which supported the actions taken against blacks. The basic tenets of the creed asserted the inherent inequality of the "Negro race" to the Caucasian, and the immorality of racial amalgamation or social intermingling of the races. This

racial orthodoxy included both "hard-liners," like Presbyterian minister and theologian, Robert Lewis Dabney, and "moderates," like Edgar Gardner Murphy, an Episcopal clergyman. Both types subscribed to the belief in "Negro" inferiority, but the moderates had more faith in the growth potential of the black race, arguing that in the future, blacks might be able to narrow the vast intellectual gulf between them and whites.[7]

The moderate churchmen, along with their allies in politics and business, exercised some restraining influence on the hard-line extremists: they began a campaign against lynching, helped black schools obtain some funds through a formalized racial division of the educational tax fund, and called for cooperation between white and black leaders to improve race relations. They pointed to Booker T. Washington, the principal of Tuskegee Institute, as the model of the moral and upright black leader with whom "moderate" and "progressive" southern whites might cooperate. They admired the great proponent of black self-help and industrial training because he counseled blacks to accept at least a temporary racial subordination and segregation, expressed a willingness to work with the "better class" of southern whites, and advocated a gradual program for racial progress based on converting whites to a more favorable view of black character and capacity. Although the moderates played a secondary role to the extremists in the South, they succeeded in winning an articulate segment of northern opinion to their brand of racist paternalism, which stressed a quasi-missionary concept of training a "child race" and which extolled the self-help and accomodationism of Booker T. Washington.[8]

Although he did not accept their belief in the innate inferiority of blacks, Slattery shared many of the views of the "moderate paternalists." He especially agreed with Booker T. Washington's emphasis on hard work, personal morality,

property, and industrial education as the best means for "Negro advancement"; and in 1895, authorized the founding of St. Joseph's Industrial School in Clayton, Delaware to provide a "Tuskegee like" education for black youths.[9]

Washington's willingness to forego agitation for civil and political rights appealed to Slattery. The Colored Harvest praised Washington's Atlanta Exposition speech of 1895, which spelled out his ideas for racial accomodation, and Slattery arranged for Washington to address the students of Epiphany and St. Joseph's in late 1896.[10] Preaching at the funeral, in 1895, of Father John DeRuyter, the founder of St. Joseph's Industrial School, Slattery assured the congregation that whites of the country "wish well to our colored people" if they "leave politics alone and buy land."[11] Earlier, at the Fifth Negro Catholic Congress, Slattery had advised blacks to trust to silence and time and leave "the questions which ebb and flow around the negro problem" to their friends. After all, he claimed, emancipation and all of the subsequent progress for blacks in areas like education, religion, and civil and public life, had come to them from others. While admitting that "rights ought to be recognized," Slattery nevertheless cautioned patient forbearance, since blacks had to live among whites, and urged attention to the fostering of such virtues as thrift, honesty, and pure family life.[12]

The increasingly tense racial setting of the 1890s helped to bring about the demise of the Negro Catholic Congress movement. These congresses continued to meet through 1894. They pleaded for Catholic schools for blacks, with an emphasis on the need for industrial education, and became increasingly outspoken in their opposition to discrimination in the Church. In 1893, the Congress established a special committee on grievances was formed which documented acts of discrimination against blacks in the Catholic Church,

including the segregated seating in Cardinal Gibbons's own Cathedral in Baltimore. The committee travelled to Philadelphia in October of 1894 to lay its complaints before the annual meeting of the American archbishops, with few positive results. After 1894, no more congresses met, victims of clerical uneasiness about the outspokenness and independence of the black delegates, and the "separate but equal" atmosphere of American society which reinforced the existing segregation in the Catholic Church which the Congresses had sought to eliminate.[13]

After 1893, the liberal leaders of the Catholic Church, especially Archbishop John Ireland, Bishop John Keane, and Monsignor Denis O'Connell, who had supported the cause of blacks in the Church and had lent valuable support to Slattery, found themselves increasingly on the defensive as a result of controversies in the Church described as the "Americanist crisis."[14] Slattery identified with the liberals in this crisis and kept in close contact with Archbishop Ireland and Bishop Keane about their strategies and tactics.[15] This crisis, which had little to do with the racial situation in the American Church, culminated in the 1899 letter of Leo XIII, Testem Benevolentiae, which condemned "Americanism." The pope carefully excluded from condemnation the legitimate use of the word to signify "the characteristic qualities which reflect honor on the people of America." Rather, the Pope reprobated certain principles which allegedly held that the Church should modify her doctrines to suit modern civilization in order to attract non-Catholics, passing over some less attractive doctrines, and should adapt its teachings to popular doctrines and methods. The Pope said that those ideas raised the suspicion that some Americans desired "...a church in America different from that which is in the rest of the world." Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop Ireland, and Bishop John Keane, denied that any

American Catholics held the condemned doctrines. The conservative bishops in the United States, however, thanked the Pope for saving the American Church from pernicious and dangerous influences. The "Americanist controversy" cost the liberals their dominant position in the American Church. Thereafter, the power of the conservatives in the American Church continued to increase while that of the liberals waned.[16]

Although the "Americanist crisis" did not directly involve the question of race, nevertheless, as a result of the liberals' defeat, reform in general suffered. Although men like Ireland continued to back Slattery's efforts on behalf of a black clergy, they no longer had the prestige and influence which they had once enjoyed in the American Church. By the end of the decade, therefore, Slattery and the Josephites felt far more vulnerable on the sensitive issue of black priests than they had in 1891.

II

Slattery's joy over the ordination of Charles Uncles in 1891 soon gave way to disappointment and exasperation. At the time of the ordination, Father Michael Heffernan had warned Slattery that Uncles had "...got conceited as a peacock," and within six months, Slattery found himself receiving complaints about Uncles's lack of prayer and zeal.[17] When Slattery made worried inquiries about Uncles to Father Dominic Manley, the rector of Epiphany Apostolic College, where Uncles taught, Manley bitterly blamed Slattery for the situation because, he charged, Slattery had allowed Uncles "to do as he pleased since his ordination." Manley whined that he could not discipline Uncles because Slattery allowed him so little authority.[18]

Alarmed by the reports about Uncles, Slattery wrote to him about his alleged "lukewarmness." "Your failure in chief seems to be," Slattery said, "a disposition to shirk, boil down, and quibble over work, duties, and obligations." Slattery admitted that he had tolerated a certain amount of Uncles's indifference during the winter because of Uncles's work load and his bout with grip. Slattery assured Uncles that he meant his letter to "encourage and enlighten" him since he believed that Uncles sincerely wanted to labor for God's glory. Reflecting his personal stake in Uncles's success, Slattery wrote, "No one is so anxious for your sanctification...as myself: as no one is going to suffer more in case you do not fill all expectations."[19]

Uncles certainly failed to meet Slattery's expectations about the kind of work he would do after ordination. Slattery had intended that Uncles, taking advantage of his notoriety as the first black priest ordained in the United States, would go on speaking tours throughout the North and Midwest to promote the missions.[20] Slattery confided to Dr. Charles Butler, one of the leaders of the Negro Catholic Congress movement that he believed Uncles far surpassed Booker T. Washington in mind and education and had great opportunities to do good by accepting some of the scores of speaking invitations which he received.[21] The proud and sensitive Father Uncles, however, insisted that he would not be "trotted out before the public gaze" to become "a show priest" like Augustus Tolton, and, much to Slattery's continuing chagrin, spurned his superior's public relations plans for him.[22] Uncles's lack of enthusiasm for mission work in the South, based on his hatred of the "Jim Crow" system existing in the region, also disappointed Slattery.[23] Given his long acquaintance with Uncles, Slattery certainly should have anticipated Uncles's negative reaction to a proposed southern assignment in the Spring of 1893. In a

statement, revealing as much insensitivity as surprise, a skeptical Slattery told DeRuyter that when he offered to send Uncles to the South, he "...at once backed water...and expressed a great willingness to remain at Epiphany," teaching Latin and Greek.[24]

The financial plight of Uncles's parents, an issue which had surfaced before Uncles's ordination, further strained relations between Slattery and Uncles. Rule 11 of the Josephite Rule limited each priest to six personal stipends for Masses said throughout the year. Those stipends, which often amounted to one dollar or less, provided Josephites with money for their personal use. Uncles found this limitation excessive in light of his obligations to his parents. Slattery urged Uncles to bring up the issue at the General Chapter scheduled for the summer, but insisted until then, that Uncles abide by the rule.[25] Meanwhile, Slattery tried to help Uncles by appealing for funds to the public through letters on behalf of "a colored priest deserving of charity because of the poverty of his parents." The letters pointed out that Uncles's father, a mechanic, could not secure work because of discrimination on the part of trade unions. The appeals brought in some contributions, which Slattery passed on to Uncles.[26] Uncles thus found himself in an embarrassing situation, made all the more difficult by his tardiness in thanking benefactors, and by Slattery's persistent reminders to do so.[27] On July 2, 1894, at the General Chapter, Uncles suffered further embarrassment when the General Chapter, after a discussion from which Uncles absented himself, unanimously rejected his petition for an extra allowance to go towards his parents' support on the ground that "its recognition could prove a vital blow to the Society."[28]

Uncles became so discouraged between 1893 and 1894 that he twice submitted letters of resignation from the Josephites to Slattery. Slattery called

Uncles's first letter in the summer of 1893, "illegal and uncanonical." In the second, dated May, 1894, Uncles told Slattery that he had no desire to remain a member of any religious society; protested his deep friendship for Slattery; and assured Slattery that his determination to resign resulted from "sad experience, prayerful reflection, and disinterested counsel."[29] Whether Uncles seriously intended to leave the Josephites and simply could not find a bishop to adopt him, or whether he attempted to use the threats of resignation only as a club to pressure Slattery for more money for his parents, remains unclear. Uncles did not, however, receive an increase in allowance nor did he leave the St. Joseph's Society.

III

By the spring of 1894, Slattery's disappointment with Father Uncles, his dissatisfaction with several black students at Epiphany and St. Joseph's, his fear of scandal, and his stereotyped views of black moral weakness led him to propose a more "cautious" approach to the training of blacks for the priesthood; one designed to "test" their vocations. On June 9, 1894, Slattery circulated a memo to the Fathers which contained six questions about black students which Slattery wanted the General Chapter to consider in July. Slattery reiterated the "hearty accord" of the Josephites with the principles laid down by Propaganda on November 23, 1845, which stressed the need of seminaries for native clergy. He indicated, however, that he and Father Welbers, the rectors of St. Joseph's and Epiphany respectively, felt bound to submit the question of the status of the "colored students" to the Fathers of the Society, because "Of those now with us, we shall have to dismiss three this summer because of defects which

portend future trouble."[30] He evidently discounted the performance of black students like George W. Cheese, who had "graduated with great honors" from Epiphany in June of 1893, as less representative than those who had caused trouble.[31]

Slattery phrased the six questions for the General Chapter to consider in such a way as to indicate the answer that he preferred and expected. For example, the third question asked, "Should not the colored students have their studies interrupted either after Rhetoric, or philosophy?"[32] This reconsideration of black students at the college and seminary upset Father Uncles, who asked for and received permission to absent himself from the meeting that considered the standing of black students. Uncles pleaded that "some points of discussion were of too delicate a nature for him to deal with." As a gesture of protest, he proposed to read before the Chapter the rules of St. Joseph's Society, but according to the minutes of the meeting, "no action was taken" on his proposal.[33]

On July 3, 1894, the General Chapter, composed of six of the seven Josephite priests, adopted by a majority vote six resolutions "governing the requisites of colored students for admission into the college or Seminary and their promotion to Holy Orders." The first resolution stated that neither institution would admit "Negro converts"; the second, clearly based on experience with Uncles, forbade admission to any "colored student" who could not give a satisfactory guarantee that his parents would not depend upon him for support. The heart of the resolutions required that "colored students" have their studies interrupted, either after graduation from Epiphany, or after completion of their second year of philosophy at St. Joseph's Seminary, at the discretion of the rectors for a period of time, not longer than two years. During

the trial period, Fathers on the missions would employ them "in teaching, catechizing, or otherwise." "Colored students" would be readmitted after the probation and promoted to higher studies only if they could guarantee that their parents would not depend upon them for support and if they could furnish letters of good conduct from some of the Josephite Fathers under whom they had served. Neither of the rectors at the college or seminary could deviate from the new regulations without bringing the case before the Superior and his consultors.[34] Father J.A. St. Laurent, the secretary of the Chapter, marked the new rules in the minutes, "Secret," probably for fear that knowledge of the new regulations would provide ammunition to those who already opposed the ordination of black priests, or that it would provoke an outcry both from the black students at St. Joseph's and Epiphany and from black Catholics in general.

The new regulations clearly imposed a double standard at the college and seminary since they did not apply to white students, despite Slattery's unfortunate troubles with rebellious or scandalous white Josephite priests like Father Edward Quade and George Drenford.[35] Of course, from its inception, St. Joseph's seminary had maintained a double standard in admissions, requiring black students to have reached the age of thirty, in contrast to white students, who needed only to have attained the age of twenty-five.[36] The new regulations carried the discrimination even further. Slattery's address to the Fifth Negro Congress in 1894, provided some explanation for his actions. In the speech, Slattery said, "Neither by nature, nor by traditional training can the colored people, taken as a body, stand as yet on the same footing of moral independence as their white brethren."[37]

Slattery's fear that scandal involving black priests might fatally damage the fragile "experiment" reinforced his belief in the need to proceed cautiously with

their training.[38] When he learned that Father Augustus Tolton had left St. Monica's parish in Chicago, Slattery suspected the worst and wrote confidentially to Father MaGuire, an acquaintance in Chicago, asking whether the bishop had removed Tolton "because of some scandal or other." He observed that Tolton's departure from St. Monica's "is a serious bit of news for those of us who are engaged in training a few colored boys for the altar," and confessed that he had had "some trouble with our own man -Uncles -" and had taken some steps at the annual meeting "in regard to our own Colored boys, interrupting their studies after rhetoric."[39] When MaGuire reported that the bishop had replaced Tolton because of illness, Slattery wrote, "Deo Gratias that his trouble is physical and not moral."[40]

IV

The black students at Epiphany and St. Joseph's soon felt the impact of Slattery's new policy. James Brooks, John Henry Bell, and Frederick Johnson were dismissed from Epiphany in June of 1894 for reasons that included "want of proper qualifications and unwholesome influence upon other students." Philip Dufan, one of Archbishop Janssens's proteges also left.[41] Slattery also told James Brooks to leave the seminary. Brooks in turn applied to Archbishop Ireland's seminary in St. Paul. Ireland requested Slattery's opinion of the young man and indicated that "For the purpose of a solemn protest against color prejudice, I would take a negro into theology, provided he be solidly good and intelligent, fit to be a leader of his people." Revealing his low estimation of Augustus Tolton, Ireland added, "I want no Tolton's."[42] Slattery advised Ireland

to have nothing to do with Brooks, since he was "a chip of the same block...as Tolton."[43]

Slattery also advised John Henry Dorsey, a black seminarian who had begun his studies with the Josephites in 1888, to take up a calling other than the priesthood. Slattery's decision "unnerved" Dorsey, and after a tearful interview, Slattery suggested that Dorsey teach at the mission school at Keswick, Virginia for $10.00 a month. Slattery confided to Father Welbers that he hoped "a couple of years at Keswick will sober him up" and develop him into a good subject.[44] The dismissals and suspensions left five black students at Epiphany and one at St. Joseph's in the autumn of 1894.[45] Ironically, just as Slattery imposed the new regulations on black students, the Josephite magazine, The Colored Harvest, trumpeted the interracial character of Epiphany and St. Joseph's, claiming that at St. Joseph's "no distinction as to color is shown," and that at Epiphany "...white and black...enjoy the same rights...."[46]

The experiences of Joseph Griffin further belied the lofty claims of The Colored Harvest and exemplified the shattered dreams of many of the suspended seminarians. Joseph Griffin had known Slattery for twelve of his twenty-four years. As his pastor and confessor in Richmond, Slattery had advised Griffin to study for the priesthood, and had sent him to St. Peter's in Freshfield, England in 1888, prior to the opening of Epiphany. Young Griffin had graduated from Epiphany and had entered St. Joseph's seminary in September, 1893, where, after two years of study, he ranked seventh out of forty in philosophy and sixteenth out of fifty in sacred scripture.[47] In June of 1895, however, while in Richmond at the beginning of summer vacation, Griffin learned from Father Welbers that Slattery intended to suspend him from the seminary for two years

and to have him serve as Father DeRuyter's secretary at Wilmington or Clayton, "to see," as Griffin put it, "if I have a vocation."

Griffin could not understand the decision, especially since Father Slattery admitted that he had no charge against him. Griffin protested to Father Edward Dyer, the secretary of the Commission for Missions Among the Indians and Negroes (popularly referred to as the Negro and Indian Commission), asking him to intercede on his behalf with Father Slattery. Griffin acknowledged that "on account of national prejudice it might not be prudent to give a colored man orders just yet." He also realized, he told Dyer, "That Fr. Uncles's case demands of Fr. Slattery more than ordinary prudence." Griffin pointed out, however, that he would not receive Holy Orders for another three years, and further argued that to judge him on the basis of Fr. Uncles assumed incorrectly that "from one you can tell all." He also resented hearing about the impending suspension indirectly from Welbers, rather than directly from Father Slattery. He insisted that if he went to do a man's job for DeRuyter, he expected a man's pay, not the $10 per month that Dorsey had received for teaching.[48] Father Dyer advised Griffin to follow Slattery's wishes, and therefore, Griffin agreed to go to Clayton. On September 13, 1895, the minutes of the Consultors meeting recorded that, after a review of the case, Joseph Griffin, "being colored...was suspended."[49]

Because of objections from Father DeRuyter and disagreements with Slattery over wages, Griffin did not report to Clayton. He eventually made his way to Cherryvale in the Indian territory where he taught black children whose parents worked in the mines. Father Murphy, the pastor of St. Joseph's Church in the neighboring town of Krebs, reported that Griffin attended Mass and the sacraments faithfully, even though he lived five miles from the church.[50] Three

years later, Slattery finally agreed to accept Griffin back into the seminary. Unfortunately, financial difficulties, never permitted him to return to the seminary.[51]

V

Slattery's "go slow" policy failed to mollify critics of black priests and succeeded only in delaying, or in some cases, thwarting the hopes of black seminarians for ordination. Indeed, after 1894, prospects for black Josephite priests declined considerably as Slattery faced increased opposition from within and from without the Josephites. Regrettably, a new crisis involving Father Uncles eroded support for black priests within the Society and provided additional ammunition to opponents of black ordinations.

Writing to J.A. St. Laurent in the autumn of 1894, Slattery had lamented, "As for Uncles, there is nothing left for us but patience and prayer. No one knows better than myself his shortcomings, and none have to suffer more for them."[52] The illness of Father Giesen in Baltimore in early 1895, however, necessitated the transfer of Fr. Wiersma from Norfolk and left only Fr. Uncles to fill the gap created in Virginia. According to Canon law, only the ordinary of a diocese, the bishop, could grant faculties, or rights to function in the diocese, to a priest. Thus, whenever Slattery assigned a man to a diocese, that man had to request faculties from the bishop. Usually the bishop granted them on request, but if he did not want a particular priest in his diocese, he could simply refuse or withdraw faculties from him, thus preventing his entry or necessitating his removal.[53] In the case of black priests, obtaining faculties raised potentially serious problems.

Because the transfer of Wiersma left Norfolk unattended, Slattery sought permission from Bishop A. Van de Vyver of Richmond, to assign Uncles to Norfolk. Slattery recognized the ticklish nature of the assignment and assured Van De Vyver that because of the medical emergency, he had only Uncles to send. "The one objection, of course," Slattery added, "is his color - he is a quadroon and it is but proper that I write you beforehand." Slattery described Uncles as "well educated and competent"; explained that since he had been raised in Baltimore, "it would not do to put him in charge here"; and promised that Uncles would give satisfaction. Slattery added, "If the whites get mad and stay away from the Church, so much the better...."[54] Van de Vyver "reluctantly" acceded to Slattery's request because of their longstanding friendship, but granted faculties to Uncles only until November, 1895. During that time, the Bishop observed, "He can...show what he is made of."[55]

Slattery's apparent triumph in convincing a southern bishop to accept a black priest, however, proved short-lived. On hearing the news of his imminent assignment to the South, Uncles left Epiphany without permission on February 9, 1895 and took up residence at his parents' home for almost three months. During that time, he apparently tried without success to get a bishop to adopt him into his diocese,[56] Uncles's abhorrence of the racial conditions in the South, combined with his concerns about the poverty of his parents, evidently motivated his break. Slattery and DeRuyter agreed that if Uncles returned to the Josephites, he would have to return "on the same money basis as before he left." Slattery eventually offered, however, to allow Uncles's parents to have the house in which they lived in Baltimore and to give Uncles $20.00 per month. Uncles thereupon apologized to Slattery and after the summer at St. Joseph's

Industrial School in Clayton, Delaware, returned to teach his popular Latin classes at Epiphany in the Fall.[57]

In the wake of the Uncles "flap," and in the midst of the deteriorating racial atmosphere of the mid 1890s, several Josephites soured on the idea of black priests. In 1895, John DeRuyter, the priest who had originally requested that Fr. Uncles assist him in Wilmington after his ordination, expressed the disillusionment of that group when he advised Slattery "to have Cardinal Gibbons give you an order that no more Colored priests should be ordained for the next twenty years." DeRuyter insisted that black priests would spell disaster for the Josephites in their weak state, creating discord and the possibility of a future break-up. He argued that the priests working with the "colored" had to endure heartache, misery, and disappointment enough without black priests adding more "combustible to burn up what we are giving our lives to." Reminding Slattery that he had had his "hands burned with Uncles," DeRuyter urged, him not to "bother with any colored students at the seminary or Epiphany." Referring to black students, he claimed that it would take years to establish solid, industrious habits in them, and concluded, " They are just unfit for the priesthood." He expressed admiration for the the Methodists with their separate white and black conferences, and entertained the possibility of a black priesthood in a separate black Catholic Church. "And yet," DeRuyter added condescendingly, "the good colored people trained by whites - do not want colored priests."[58]

DeRuyter's disillusionment created a serious problem which Slattery attempted to defuse. Slattery indicated a willingness for the General Chapter, scheduled for the summer, to discuss the question of black students and to "let the majority vote carry it pro or con." In an effort to calm DeRuyter's fears

about the future of the Society, Slattery pointed out that as of the autumn of 1895, the seminary had no black students and the college counted only four. While conceding that the outlook for black priests appeared bad, Slattery nevertheless told DeRuyter, that he remained "thoroughly convinced that they are a necessity." He added, however, that he did not see any reason why they should belong to the Josephites.[59] In an obvious slap at bishops like Archbishop William Elder of Cincinnati and Bishop Thomas Byrne of Nashville, who viewed the Josephite institutions as the "Negro seminaries," and recommended "intelligent negro boys" to the Josephites, while not accepting them into their own seminaries, Slattery added, "let them become diocesan priests."[60] Slattery also promised to send DeRuyter a book on national character which he hoped would help correct some of DeRuyter's misconceptions about blacks.[61]

The internal struggles of the Josephites to deal with the issues raised by black priests, created the impression among some in the Church that the Josephites had forsaken their policy of training black priests. The repeated entreaties of John Henry Dorsey, asking Archbishop Ireland to accept him into his seminary, led the concerned archbishop to ask Slattery, "to what degree have you abandoned the idea of preparing Negroes for the priesthood and what are the grounds for which you are abandoning it!"[62] Slattery assured Ireland that the Josephites had made no changes in principle but needed to go more slowly, not only because of the blacks, "...but because of my confreres, who may have to live with them when ordained." Slattery explained that Dorsey possessed a violent temper, which he admittedly "is trying to overcome," and that his twin brother, Charlie, had drawn a pistol on one of the Josephites "during a drunken bout." Slattery concluded, "...of course, taking the Colored people as they are, this militates against Harry."[63]

Although persuaded that Charlie's actions had made it improper for the Josephites to ordain John Dorsey, Slattery, nevertheless, attempted to salvage John Dorsey's hopes for the priesthood. He explored the possibility of sending Dorsey to the Mill Hill Fathers' seminary in England for future service with Bishop Henry O'Hanlon, the Vicar Apostolic of the Upper Nile in Africa. Dorsey, a native of Baltimore, who wished to work among his own people in the United States, evidently rejected Slattery's proposal that he join a foreign missionary society like Mill Hill. As a result, Slattery dropped the scheme and two years later, readmitted Dorsey to St. Joseph's Seminary.[64]

While Slattery had not abandoned his hopes for a black priesthood, evidence continued to mount of increased resistance to black priests in the Catholic Church. Walter Elliott and Alexander P. Doyle, the liberal Paulists who published The Catholic World, warned Slattery about damaging rumors concerning black priests and urged him to write some articles in defense of a black clergy. Father Doyle told Slattery, "There is an impression gone abroad,...heard in more than one quarter, that even Cardinal Gibbons does not favor native negro vocations."[65] Slattery denied that Gibbons opposed "native Negro vocations," but sadly acknowledged that those rumors abounded and that "there is fresh opposition to negro priests." He reiterated his belief that "the black man has every right to be a priest" and that he would be needed "...to plant the seed, work the crop, and garner the harvest for Christ." Slattery admitted, however, that neither Tolton nor Uncles had "been conspicuous successes." He implied that Tolton had lost his health as a result of alcohol, and while labelling Uncles's troubles as "nothing serious," nevertheless, conceded that they, had provided opponents with evidence to support the "hue and cry against black priests." Slattery found it difficult to confront the critics of black

priests because, as he complained to Elliott, the opposition to negro priests "is not open and above board," but rather "...is heard in the parlor; it follows the back door direction; it offers no argument, save a shilly-shally sentiment."[66] The death, on June 9, 1897, of Archbishop Janssens of New Orleans, an outspoken advocate of black priests, deprived Slattery of a strong episcopal champion and emphasized his vulnerable position.[67]

VI

In addition to his concerns about black priests, Slattery had to attend to the institutional demands of an expanding religious society. On April 23, 1893, Cardinal Gibbons laid the cornerstone for a new St. Joseph's seminary. The four story seminary building cost $80,000. The first story housed a library, a chapel, lecture, reception, and work rooms; while the other three stories contained forty-five rooms for the seminarians, each furnished modestly with a bed and bedstead, chair and table, bookshelves, washstand and wardrobe.[68] The seminarians took the divinity course at St. Mary's Seminary, attending lectures in philosophy, theology, natural sciences, liturgy, canon law, and sacred scripture. Although The Colored Harvest claimed that St. Joseph's students studied "...the traits of their black brethren, to fit themselves for their life work," that study did not occur in the classroom.[69] What little contact the seminarians had with blacks came from their catechism classes which they conducted for children on Sundays, or from their Wednesday afternoon visits to comfort and encourage the sick and poor, in hospitals or in slums.[70]

At Epiphany Apostolic College in 1895, the approximately sixty students taking the five year classics course, studied Virgil and Horace, Cicero and

Demostothenes, St. John Chrysostom and Lactanius, along with history, English, science, and math. Their religious training included prayer, meditation, Mass, and devotional customs like reciting the Rosary and reading the lives of the saints.[71]

Slattery faced considerable financial burdens in running the institutions and missions of St. Joseph's Society. He found it necessary to provide some monetary assistance to struggling missionaries whose poverty stricken parishoners could not support them; although at most, he judged that he could send individual missionaries no more than $300 per year.[72] Unlike diocesan seminaries, the Josephite institutions had no bishop upon whom they could rely for special collections. They depended entirely on charity. The operating expenses of St. Joseph's and Epiphany exceeded $30,000 yearly. It cost $250 per year to pay for the support, education, and clothing of a seminarian, and about $150 per year for a student at Epiphany.[73] The Josephites received $5,000 a year from the Negro and Indian Commission, although many clergy mistakenly assumed that the Josephites received the bulk of the Commission's funds.[74] The Josephites also received important help from Edward and Louise Morrell, who contributed over $4,000 annually to the support of St. Joseph's Seminary and Epiphany. This sum paid the yearly interest on the St. Joseph's seminary loan, the salaries of the sisters at St. Peter Claver's, a parish closely connected with the seminary, the salaries of the professors at Epiphany, and the operating expenses at Epiphany for the scholastic year.[75] Subscriptions to The Colored Harvest, costing 25 cents per year, however, provided the chief means of support for the seminary and college, although Slattery also succeeded in securing donations for seminary burses, interest from which supported seminarians.[76]

The financial pressures notwithstanding, increasing number of priests ordained from St. Joseph's seminary allowed the Josephites to expand their mission field. During the summer of 1897, Slattery made his first trip through the South since the opening of St. Joseph's in 1888. As a result of the trip, the Josephites opened new missions in the diocese of Richmond and the Archdiocese of New Orleans, and received invitations to open missions in five other southern dioceses.[77]

The task of beginning the first Josephite mission in the deep South fell to a remarkable, young native Louisianian, Father Pierre LeBeau. LeBeau arrived in Bayou Petite Prairie, a rural, primitive region, located one hundred miles from New Orleans to minister to the five hundred black Creole Catholic families scattered among the area's plantations. Palmetto, Louisiana, a train stop located eight miles from Petite Prairie, was the nearest town. The crude "chapel" at Petite Prairie, a converted old country store, measured only 40'x20'x10'. Its crude roof included a loose board which worshippers could remove for ventilation. The mission area extended over sixty square miles, and included a landscape interlaced with swamps and forests which teemed with alligators, lynx, raccoons, and flamingoes. The flat, alluvial farm land produced crops of cotton, rice, sweet potatoes, and watermelons. Father LeBeau had to traverse his "domain" by buggy or by horseback.[78]

The people seemed delighted to have a resident priest and on the day of his arrival welcomed him enthusiastically in "good old Creole fashion," shouting in French, "Nos content vous vini,"(we are glad you have come). Two old women stood at the church door with beads hanging from their uplifted hands, uttering words of thanksgiving. Many of the inhabitants, however, expressed fear that

LeBeau would not stay at Petite Prairie for any length of time since they were "colored."[79]

LeBeau soon convinced the people of his commitment to them. He slept in the homes of neighbors until parishoners raised $300 to build him a house - a two story structure, "boarded inside and out, and quite innocent of plaster." During one of his periodic visits, Slattery awoke one night during a thunderstorm to find that his bed "had turned into a miniature bayou."[80] LeBeau broke the power of dishonest storekeepers who had cheated the people on their bills and had reduced many to a state of "credit slavery." He and his parishoners cut down cyprus logs in the swamps and constructed a new church. In 1900, long before the availability of public schools, LeBeau, with the help of three lay teachers, and later of the Sisters of the Holy Family, established the first school in Petite Prairie. Forty-five black children attended. LeBeau also succeeded in reclaiming many fallen-away black Catholics, who had left the Church because white Catholics in the nearby prairies would not allow them to attend Mass in their churches. Many of LeBeau's parishoners travelled five miles to get to Sunday Mass at Petite Prairie after he arrived; some came from as far as fifteen miles. Writing to Slattery, LeBeau told his mentor that his experiences in the Louisiana mission had convinced him of the need for more separate black churches, and "... for colored priests...to do the best work among the colored people."[81]

Like Father LeBeau, other Josephite priests faced formidable difficulties on the missions. Every month, the priests at St. Joseph's in Richmond,Virginia travelled throughout the state to places like Lynchburg, which lay one hundred and forty miles away, for brief visits to say Mass, administer the sacraments, and preach.[82] At Jarrats, Virginia, the priests spoke in a dimly lit hall from a

soap box on top of a barrel which served as a rostrum. Before departing the next morning, the missionaries left pamphlets and magazines with sacred pictures in the grocery store of the village.[83] The school in Norfolk, staffed by Franciscan Sisters, boasted 115 students in three overcrowded, poorly ventilated, dimly lit rooms. The boards and beams of the roof "were eaten by dryrot and the plaster had fallen away , admitting the wind and rain from every side."[84] In 1898, Father Lambert Welbers, describing the privations at St. Joseph's Home for Orphans in Wilmington, Delaware, and St. Joseph's Industrial School in Clayton, told the Negro and Indian Commission, that "...only by practicing the most rigid economy have we been able to keep alive at all. We are obliged to refuse any application for the home, because we have not enough food for them." He lamented that St. Joseph's Industrial School "...has been an industrial school in name only as we have been unable to pay for instructors; indeed, many of our boys have to go bare-footed and in rags."[85]

Despite the hardships, however, St. Joseph's Society and its missions continued to grow thanks to the heroic efforts of the priests in the field and to Slattery's skillful overall direction. Missionaries like LeBeau and Father Gerardus Wiersma, who became pastor of St. Joseph's in Norfolk, Virginia in 1894, instilled in their parishes a sense of energy and purpose. When Wiersma arrived in Norfolk, he found a school located in a tumble-down rookery, and a "chapel" barely worthy of the name. Shortly after his arrival, the parish erected a substantial brick building, with the upstairs serving as the church and the downstairs housing four classrooms for one hundred and sixty-seven children, the majority of whom were Protestants.[86] By October, 1898, St. Joseph's Society

had grown to nineteen priests. Sixty-five students attended Epiphany and twenty-nine seminarians studied at St. Joseph's. The first Josephite mission in the deep South had been opened, along with an orphanage and an industrial school in Delaware. Josephites ministered to over 6,500 black Catholic parishoners and, with the help of Sisters like the Franciscan Sisters of Glen Riddle, Pennsylvania, maintained schools for over 1100 students, many of them Protestant. In addition, Slattery had also received invitations from five southern bishops to open missions in their dioceses.[87] He hoped to supply priests for those new endeavors within two years. Meanwhile, he turned his attention to a new venture, one that he hoped would restore momentum to the flagging campaign for black priests by employing a more indirect approach to their training.

VII

The new venture involved the establishment of a college for the training of black catechists, an old idea which had first surfaced at the Third Plenary Council in 1884. A catechist was a lay person who gave instruction in Catholic doctrine, especially in mission lands or among the unbaptized.[88] Slattery had a two-fold objective in mind for his college: to train catechists in order to relieve manpower shortages on the missions, and to prepare selected black men for the seminary. He believed the two goals to be related since the work of the catechists would strengthen the faith of blacks, thereby producing more priestly vocations.

Slattery's experience with catechists stretched back to his days on the Virginia missions, where he had employed Wales Tyrell as a paid catechist.

While in Baltimore, he had also used a band of eight women, "guardian angels," to catechize prospective converts and to look after people when he visited the missions. The resolves adopted by the Josephite General Chapter in 1894, had urged the Fathers on the missions to employ suspended black students from Epiphany and St. Joseph's as teachers and catechists.[89]

During 1897 and early 1898, Slattery received inquiries from five different Josephites on the missions about the possibility of using black catechists. In April of 1898, Slattery solicited the ideas of the priests on the missions about the use of "colored catechists," and then broached the topic to his friend, Archbishop Ireland, calling it "a growth in our work among the Negroes." Slattery hoped that Cardinal Gibbons would more readily accept Slattery's ideas for black catechists if Slattery could cite the support of the "Consecrated Blizzard" of St. Paul.[90] Slattery also gathered information about catechists from missionaries who had used them extensively, like the Mill Hill Father Albert Lightheart in New Zealand, and the bishop of Hanoi. Father Lightheart praised the contributions of catechists in New Zealand but cautioned Slattery that while he "...felt the great necessity of ordaining Colored clergy, it is nevertheless wise to be prudent and to give the young aspirants a fair trial that they may be thoroughly grounded in the virtue of humility."[91]

In early 1899, after convincing Cardinals Gibbons and Vaughan to support his project, Slattery travelled to Rome for a meeting with officials of the Propaganda. En route, he consulted with the superiors of several missionary societies, including the Foreign Missions of Paris, the African Fathers of Lyons, and the White Fathers. His consultations with them reinforced his conviction that he had chosen the right plan. Slattery then met with Cardinals

Ledochowski and Ciasca, Prefect and Secretary respectively of the Propaganda, who recommended that Slattery embody his plan in a memorial.[92]

In the document, Slattery pointed to the growth of St. Joseph's Society with its twenty-one priests laboring in seven states, and its thirty-one divinity students, including three blacks. Slattery explained that the growth of the missions produced a need for helpers who would live in the various missions and take the place of missioners, as far as possible, when they had to travel. The common experience of the missionaries of St. Joseph's Society, Slattery argued, showed that blacks themselves were indispensable to the conversion of their race, either as priests or as catechists.[93]

According to Slattery, black catechists would keep alive the Faith among blacks scattered throughout the South; and most importantly, meet and offset the influence among blacks of the Protestant "Negro" preachers, elders, class-leaders, and exhorters. Slattery believed that officially appointed Catholic catechists would, in the eyes of many blacks, assume an importance equal to that enjoyed by the Protestant black ministers.

Slattery proposed the creation of a college to train black catechists. He also envisaged the college, however, as a place in which to nurture priestly vocations, but in a "separate but equal" environment. He explained that currently, "colored boys, very few in number, are at once introduced among a disproportionate number of whites" at Epiphany and St. Joseph's. Although acknowledging that "Some of them rise to the occasion and equal and even outrank whites," as with the black student at St. Mary's who had carried off prizes for two successive years in philosophy, Slattery clearly implied that most blacks could not handle the situation. The new college would thus afford the means of training the bulk of the black youths apart from the white. "In this

matter, Slattery said, "we have before us the example of the Protestant sects, which...have...almost all of their negro students in separate institutes."[94]

Slattery then presented his tentative plan for the "College for Negro Catechists." He envisaged an eventual enrollment of one hundred students. Black candidates for the college would live awhile under the watchful eye and care of Josephite missioners, who would send selected ones to the school. The course of studies at the college would include: English, math, Christian doctrine, and Latin for three years, a course of philosophy during the third year, followed by a three year course of theology and sacred scripture, using the Catechism of the Council of Trent and the Douai and Rheims Bible. The curriculum would also provide for two hours of manual labor, with all of the work about the house and property done by the students. The college would require a few hundred acres of land, from which it could support the students. Slattery emphasized the need for plain, simple buildings so as not to create tastes in the students ill-suited to the tobacco, rice, and sugar plantation environment in which they would ultimately work. On graduation from the college, those qualified would be commissioned as catechists in an appropriate ceremony, and then would go to the missions to work as teachers in return for a salary. While those who married would remain catechists, those who remained single and, in Slattery's words, "persevered," would advance step by step to the priesthood.[95]

The Propaganda approved Slattery's memorial and he moved swiftly to execute it. On June 29, 1899, the seventh General Chapter of St. Joseph's Society authorized Slattery to proceed with the foundation of St. Joseph's College for Negro Catechists, and Bishop Edward Allen of Mobile agreed to establish the college within his diocese.[96] Slattery appealed to Father Dyer, the Secretary of the Negro and Indian Commission for financial assistance for the

new college, estimating that he would need $10,000 for the initial costs, and $3,000 to $4,000 yearly for its maintenance. Although Dyer initially expressed optimism about prospects for a substantial donation, in October of 1899, he informed Slattery that the Commission could not increase its donation to the Josephites and added, "This is rather a work for some well-to-do Catholics."[97] Through appeals in honor of St. Anthony, Slattery managed, in early 1900, to raise enough money to purchase the "Browder place," a two story wooden frame house situated on 210 acres approximately six miles from Montgomery, Alabama.[98]

As plans went forth for the new college, during what Slattery called "the hardest and busiest" year of his life, two black graduates of Epiphany, Wallace O'Hare and John Green, seminarians serving their "two year suspension," on the Virginia missions, provided Slattery with a graphic example of effective catechetical work.[99] The two men travelled to Jarretts, Virginia, located sixty miles south of Richmond in the heart of the "Black Belt," to open a Catholic school. The township contained five hundred blacks, all Protestants, and not more than thirty whites. Many of the black people in the area had trades or owned their own farms. Reports that the two men would open a Catholic school upset the town's black Protestant ministers who convoked a series of protest meetings in their churches. Included among the charges hurled during those meetings, was a warning that the Catholic Church wished to reintroduce slavery. O'Hare and Green confronted the ministers' challenge directly, attending two of the protest meetings and effectively refuting the preachers' charges. Thereafter, they recruited sixty students for the school, ranging in age from six to twenty-eight. Ten of the students came a distance of eight miles and had to board in the neighborhood. The others had to drive to school in mule

carts and wagons. O'Hare and Green also conducted a night school, two nights of the week, attended by twenty adults, all of them Protestant.[100] Through their work, the two catechists soon won the confidence of many of the people of the town. One old lady remarked that she "never thought any good would come from the school or church, but now they have sent us just what we wanted."[101]

Every Sunday the catechists held services in the chapel that adjoined the school-house. They opened with a hymn, said a prayer, read the Epistle and Gospel of the day, and gave a set of instructions from Goffine's catechetical text. A hymn closed the service. Attendance averaged between fifty and seventy. Sunday school followed in the school house with thirty in attendance, all preparing for baptism. At 2:00 P.M., O'Hare and Green closed the day's religious services by leading the Stations of the Cross devotion. Slattery publicized the work of O'Hare and Green in the pages of The Colored Harvest to illustrate the potential of catechists and to encourage contributions for the new college.[102]

His requests for donations, however, brought Slattery criticism from two very different sources, revealing the tightrope which he walked on the issue of black priests. The Rev. E.W.J. Lindesmith of Doylestown, Ohio, a priest for forty-five years, sent $100 for the new college, but complained that Slattery had too few black seminarians. "There must be something wrong somewhere," Lindesmith observed. "I had intended to send...boys to you. But I always felt they were not wanted." He assured Slattery that "If the Negroes were the big majority, I would send you $1,000," and added, "...the worst national prejudices are found among Bishops, Priests, seminarians, and Nuns."[103] On the other hand, Nannie B. Younger of Lynchburg, Virginia, expressing a much more generally held opinion,

urged Slattery "to keep the negro out of the priesthood." Claiming that people in the North did not know blacks like people in the South, Younger warned, "We have scandals now but it would be infinitely worse with negro priests. Protestants have a great respect for the priesthood now, but put the negro in it, and they will very naturally conclude it is not much."[104]

In his reply to Younger, Slattery rehearsed the historical precedents of the Church's use of native clergy, and then reminded her that "priesthood never goes to a race. It is a gift to the individual." Younger's worries about scandal elicited a straightforward and logical reply from Slattery, one which masked some of his own doubts. Slattery claimed that he knew of many good "Negro boys," and cited the "hundreds of Negro priests in Africa, as well as Bishop James Healy of Portland, and Blessed Martin de Porres as examples of holy black men. He did not, however, mention his own Father Uncles. While acknowledging the danger and difficulty of scandal, Slattery pointed out that the Church had had to fight concubinage in Europe for over a thousand years during the Middle Ages "...yet had never stopped ordaining Europeans."[105]

Four months earlier, in May, 1900, Slattery had defended the cause of black priests from a podium in the heart of "Dixie." Slattery had accepted an invitation from the Rev. E.G. Murphy of Montgomery, Alabama, one of the leaders of the "Southern Society for the Promotion of the Study of Race Conditions in the South," to speak at a session of the south-wide conference held in that city on black-white relations. Slattery agreed to speak on the subject, "Should We Advise the Raising of the Standard of Ordination of Negro Clergy?" He viewed the subject "as quite in line" with the college which he proposed to open in Montgomery and viewed the conference as an opportunity

to explain the mission of the college. He promised Murphy, that he "...would avoid controversy and speak to the point."[106]

The conference lasted three days and virtually every paper presented rested on the assumption of black inferiority. Booker T. Washington considered the address of Paul Barringer of the University of Virginia in particular, as "the most discouraging" he had ever heard.[107] Slattery's address, therefore, which affirmed the capabilities of blacks for ministry, called for a recognition of their manliness, and proclaimed their moral equality with whites, did not inspire a warm reception from the predominantly white audience. Slattery reminded his listeners that "The 'Our Father' ascends from the lips of black men to the same God to whom that universal prayer goes from those of white."[108] While admitting the existence of some "bad Negro leaders," Slattery argued that these did not justify denying blacks the right of priesthood. He contended that "Those who fall away from the high standards of the Christian priesthood do not hurt those standards or their race; rather, they drop out of sight." Slattery then informed the conference that he had "six or seven" black students studying for the priesthood in Baltimore and explained the purposes of the new college for black catechists, emphasizing its potentially uplifting influence on the morals of black youth.[109]

Black leaders appreciated Slattery's speech. Booker T. Washington thanked him for his "...brave, wise, and statesmanlike address...the finest thing that was delivered on the platform." He offered to help the new college in any way that he could.[110] Thomas Fortune, the publisher of The New York Age, an Afro-American newspaper, also thanked Slattery, not only for his speech at Montgomery, but also for the positions he had "always taken on the race question, in word and act." J.E. Wallace, another black man who had observed

the conference, congratulated Slattery for possessing "the manhood to stand up before that vast audience and to plead eloquently for the Negro."[111]

Even as Slattery publicly rebutted objections to black priests, on the score of morality, he found it necessary to deal with potentially damaging scandals involving Father Uncles. In January, 1900, Sister Mary Claire, a white Franciscan Sister working at Epiphany Apostolic College as a domestic, accused Father Uncles of allowing "...himself freedom" with her "entirely contrary to his and my vocation" when they were alone. The Mother Superior of the Franciscans removed Sr. Mary Claire from Epiphany and later that year she left the order.[112] Whether Uncles had indeed made romantic advances or whether the charges resulted from the overactive imagination of a repressed nineteenth century nun remained unclear. Nevertheless, Slattery went to considerable lengths to keep the embarrassing incident quiet.[113]

Further trouble ensued in the summer of 1901 when a warrant for Father Uncles was issued in Baltimore. Uncles left the city and worked at St. Joseph's Industrial School until the following summer, when Slattery succeeded in getting the warrant withdrawn.[114] Thereafter, Uncles spent the rest of his life teaching classics at Epiphany. A very popular teacher, whom the students nicknamed "Daddy," Uncles settled into the relative obscurity of the classroom, emerging only occasionally for public appearances to celebrate Mass for black Catholic organizations. As a respected and popular teacher, however, Uncles performed valuable work, influencing generations of young Josephites, dispelling, at least to some extent, preconceived notions about the intellectual inferiority of blacks.[115]

As the years progressed, Uncles grew increasingly bitter about the small number of black Josephites. In his later years, he refused to celebrate St. Patrick's Day because other ethnic groups did not receive similar recognition. He also developed the habit of walking into a room of white priests and flinging open the windows. Although he possessed af well-nown passion for fresh air, many of the white priests believed that Uncles also meant to communicate a need to "clean out the white smell in the room." He died in July, 1933, protesting that he did not belong to St. Joseph's Society.[116]

VIII

St. Joseph's College for Negro Catechists never fulfilled Slattery's hopes for it because it suffered from confusion over its purpose. Slattery viewed it as a training center for catechists, and as an incubator for priestly vocations, while many of the rectors of the College took a much narrower view; one which did not include the training of future priests. Personality conflicts between Slattery and Father Thomas Donovan, the first rector, added to the difficulties. As a result, St. Joseph's College for Negro Catechists fell far short of the objectives envisaged by Slattery.

Initially, Slattery intended to appoint Father P.J. McCaffrey to head the new college in Montgomery, but a severe collapse caused by weak lungs necessitated a change. Instead, Slattery chose Thomas B. Donovan, of St. Joseph's Industrial School, a strong, practical man to serve as rector of the new college. Slattery expected that Donovan would handle the financial and agricultural aspects of the operation, while McCaffrey, a deeply religious man, would "put the proper spirit among the boys."[117] Since they could not take

possession of the property until November 1, 1900, and since the property needed extensive repairs, Slattery advised Donovan to restrict the number of students to no more than twelve during the first year. Slattery emphasized the importance of the enterprise to Donovan saying, "Its success means a great advancement for the Negro by incorporating them in the work of evangelization. It's failure," he warned, "will throw us back twenty or thirty years."[118]

Unfortunately, Donovan and Slattery began to quarrel almost as soon as Donovan arrived at the "Browder place," in late October of 1899. Donovan found a dilapidated house, vacant since October 1, missing sashes and windows in some places. He had to cook in the fireplace since the house had no stove and had to spend his "little means" buying furnishings. Donovan and McCaffrey had to rely on their legs to get into town since they possessed neither horse nor buggy.[119] Into this situation, Slattery encouraged Father Kellogg to send a student. His arrival on November 2, occasioned a furious telegram from Donovan to Slattery which screamed, "Outrage to send boy. Do not repeat...." In a subsequent letter, Donovan admonished Slattery, "...so use a little judgement and common sense...we expect more consideration from one of your age and experience."[120]

Serious disagreement between the two men also surfaced over the proposed assignment of John Green and Louis Bouldin, Epiphany graduates, to the college for catechists. Slattery wanted Green, who had worked so successfully as a catechist in Jarretts, "to teach and take up logic."[121] Donovan informed Slattery that he preferred "no northern fry or city fry as subjects"; rather, he favored "bright colored lads" who would live contentedly in the country and "would be apt to do our bidding." He protested against Green's teaching any classes, arguing that priests should run all of the educational features of the school. Donovan's real objection, however, stemmed from his distrust of "the

spirit of the Epiphany Negro." Green and Bouldin, according to him, knew "...too much to help foster the spirit we would like the institution to have." He feared that they would object to bed-making, cleaning house, washing dishes etc. In short, they would lack the docility that he wanted. Donovan urged a fresh start at Montgomery "with entirely new material."[122]

Donovan's letter enraged Slattery and clearly illustrated the very different conceptions of the college which the two men held. Slattery upbraided Donovan because Donovan's letter contained the heading "St. Joseph's College for Colored Youth," rather than "St. Joseph's College for Negro Catechists." Slattery pointed out that the college had a specific catechetical purpose, approved by Propaganda. He accused Donovan of attempting to alter the nature and purpose of the institution and forbade "any publication or circular to go forth from you with the heading, "St. Joseph's College for Colored Youth."[123] Slattery also scolded Donovan about his reluctance to take Green. He indicated that refusal to accept the young man would cause "...the deepest, very deepest pain..." to Slattery. He suggested that Donovan have McCaffrey give Green instruction for two hours each day in the catechism of the Council of Trent for moral and dogmatic theology. After that, said Slattery, "We shall have him ordained." Slattery went on to explain, "Had he been white, I would have put him through at St. Joseph's Seminary, but because he is colored and would have been unable to reach the minimum mark, we must try to help him along at Montgomery." He indicated that Green should receive room and board and that he should spend his "free time" as a teacher or prefect of the boys.[124]

Slattery had correctly perceived Donovan's lack of enthusiasm for using St. Joseph's College to foster black vocations to the priesthood, although Donovan denied that he had intended to change or alter the purpose of the institution. In

his letter to Slattery, Donovan bitterly observed, "At times I don't know what shape your brain gets in anyway." Donovan's earlier letter to Slattery, however, had emphasized the possibilities of expanding the college to include Protestant as well as Catholic youth, clearly a departure from the original concept and one inimical to priestly training according to the standards of the day. While Slattery's letters and reports always mentioned his intention of advancing worthy catechists by degree to the priesthood, Donovan's remained strikingly silent on the topic.[125]

Actually, Donovan had concluded that black men in the United States lacked the qualities necessary for priesthood. In the Spring of 1901, Donovan sent Green away from St. Joseph's and then used his absence as a pretext for denying him readmittance for the next year. When Green protested that Donovan had not dealt fairly with him, Donovan cited Green's protests as evidence of arrogance and a lack of humility. The rules of St. Joseph's Society, which prohibited Green's entrance into any other Josephite institution so long as he had been dismissed from any one of them, tied Slattery's hands. A defensive Donovan told a skeptical Slattery that "It does not seem probable that...all...our men could be wrong and you alone right about Mr. Griffin"; accused Green of laziness; and warned that "A number of those applying have the notion of priesthood in their heads" which portended trouble for the school. He further suggested, that "We had better chuck the Latin," a requisite for any seminary training, for at least two years; a suggestion which Slattery quickly vetoed.[126]

Donovan believed that any "colored priests" in the near future should come from what he called, "South America." Some "West Indian" and "South American Negroes" had impressed Donovan while a student at Fordham University and at

St. Joseph's Seminary. He suggested that Slattery secure "a few Cuban Negroes" through the Archbishop of Havana to enter the seminary in Baltimore and prepare for work in the South, especially in the Diocese of St. Augustine, Florida, where many "Cuban people of Negro blood" lived. Donovan argued that, unlike the "American colored boy," the South American of "Negro blood has backbone, ambition, and all that go to make good groundwork."[127] Displaying his own ambivalence about American black men, and perhaps seeking to mollify Donovan, Slattery responded, "With all you wrote about the 'SA' Negroes, I heartily agree." He told Donovan that he planned to visit Havana in the winter of 1901 to discuss the matter with Bishop Sparetti.[128]

Meanwhile, Donovan busied himself with raising money, refurbishing the physical plant of the college, and supervising the farm. By the end of 1901, he had raised $16,284 through begging letters and had deposited $3,500 in the bank.[129] By the end of 1902, Donovan and hired craftsmen had overhauled the old "mansion," reflooring, reroofing, and repainting it; and had constructed a one story chapel, a refectory, and a two story combination dormitory and classroom building, all of which were wood frame and none of which possessed indoor plumbing. He also added a barn.[130] In the annual report of the college for 1902, Donovan indicated an enrollment of thirty-five students, a significant increase over the twelve who had attended during the 1901 academic year.[131]

As formal and informal racial segregation intensified throughout the country, Slattery backed away from the concept of integrated seminary education in favor of a seminary exclusively for blacks. In Maryland, the state in which Epiphany and St. Joseph's seminary were located, racist sentiment increased during the first years of the twentieth century. In 1902, the Maryland legislature considered two "Jim Crow" bills requiring racial segregation on

steamships and railroads. Although the bills failed to pass, the Democratic victory in the 1903 statewide election gave the segregationists their opportunity and the following session of the legislature placed more discriminatory legislation on the books than any previous or subsequent legislature.[132]

When Father Joseph Hennessy of the Church of the Annunciation in Houston, a Josephite who believed that black priests represented the best hope for success on the missions, suggested that "...white and black students cannot abide under the same roof" and proposed Montgomery as the "seminary for blacks only," he found a willing listener in Slattery. Slattery responded, "You hit the nail on the head in stating that Montgomery should be the Black Seminary. That is just my idea." He explained that if, after graduation and working on the missions, catechists remained single, he intended to "have them priested." He further hoped that in the future, the catechists in the college could receive minor orders, the first four orders following tonsure through which all aspirants to the priesthood had to pass, thus acquiring "a qualified clerical status, ... giving them a higher degree of respect among blacks."[133] Despite Slattery's hopes, however, St. Joseph's College for Negro Catechists, never became "the Black Seminary," but rather, developed into a combination junior high and secondary school before its demise in the nineteen twenties.[134] Long before that time, however, John R. Slattery had given up the fight, leaving both the Josephites and the Catholic Church.

IX

The issue of black priests, combined with the influences of modernism, precipitated a crisis for Slattery and the Josephites between 1902 and 1903.

That crisis resulted in Slattery's resignation from the Josephites and his eventual repudiation of the Catholic Church. His apostasy almost destroyed St. Joseph's Society and seriously damaged the cause of black priests in the Catholic Church.

Paradoxically, the year 1902 seemed to hold great promise for Slattery. It marked his twenty-fifth anniversary as a priest and witnessed the continued growth of St. Joseph's Society. In addition, the year also witnessed the ordination of a second black Josephite, John Henry Dorsey, who had returned to the seminary in September, 1898, after having served as a teacher on the missions.[135] Father Charles Hannigan at Richmond urged Slattery to assign Dorsey to Keswick or Columbia, Virginia after his ordination in order to show "the rabid opponents of your negroid policy" what a bright black priest could do to win black converts for the Church. Hannigan told Slattery, "I hear so much ...as to the inopportuneness of ordaining colored men to the priesthood. You have it in your power to shove a fact in the face of their theories!"[135] On Dorsey's ordination day, June 21, 1902, Slattery assigned him to St. Joseph's College for Negro Catechists in Montgomery hoping that his presence would inspire priestly vocations in the students and others to whom he ministered.[137]

The positive achievements of 1902 notwithstanding, Slattery's frustration mounted over the indifference or outright hostility that he perceived from clergy and laity to the black missions, and particularly to black priests. Shortly before Dorsey's ordination, Slattery expressed his exasperation with the bishops when he complained to Donovan, "A Catholic bishop belongs to an order which exempts him from any need of being just. There is no remedy, no appeal...."[138]

On June 22, 1902, Slattery's frustration finally burst forth in a widely read sermon delivered at the first Mass of John Henry Dorsey. Slattery later claimed

that he had preached the sermon because of the mistreatment of Father Uncles "by some people," and also that he had intended it to serve as his farewell to the Church and to blacks.[139] In the sermon, Slattery claimed that the early Church had never drawn any ethnic lines in the priesthood and pointed to the glories of the early African Church which had produced Origen, Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine. He repeated his oft-stated conviction about the need for black priests if significant progress on the black missions were to be made, and condemned European missionaries in other lands who ignored the wishes of Rome by failing to develop native clergies. Slattery unfavorably contrasted the complicated dogmas and hierarchical structure of the contemporary Catholic Church with the simplicity of the Church in apostolic times, and urged a simpler catechetical approach to blacks.

Referring to the efforts of the Democratic party in Maryland to disfranchise blacks, Slattery alleged that the spirit of that party, inimical to the interests of blacks, dominated many Catholics. "Perhaps it is the wisest policy," Slattery added, "to admit frankly that because a man enters the sanctuary or a woman the cloister, he or she...carries along the ...prejudices of his or her part of the country." The fact is clear, he argued, "that many Catholics are prejudiced against the Negro." Slattery claimed that "It is this uncatholic sentiment which looks askance at Negro priests."

He ridiculed the commonly voiced opinion of many white Catholics that blacks should not receive Holy Orders for fear that they might fall away, or transgress the Church's laws governing sexual morality. He charged that whites could ill afford to throw stones on the question of morality, sarcastically noting that mulattoes and quadroons did not "drop from the skies." He further pointed out that had the Medieval Church, with its problem of concubinage, adopted the

stand advocated by white Catholics in regard to black priests, "Catholicism would have been dead before Luther."

Slattery claimed that the countless letters received from black men and women expressing their joy at Dorsey's ordination, and the packed church that day offered striking evidence that "Every race naturally loves to see its own sons at the altar." He called Dorsey "a light set on a candlestick," and warned him that "No man is so little watched by his superior as a priest, and no man is more under the public eye." In what may have been a slap at Uncles, Slattery urged Dorsey to model himself not "after your brother priest who is colored," but after Blessed Martin de Porres, the Oblates of Providence, or St. Benedict the Moor.[140] The next day, Slattery left Baltimore for a six month stay in Europe.[141]

The sermon, published in the Baltimore Sun, provoked a storm of controversy. Requests for copies of the sermon poured into St. Joseph's seminary and one thousand printed copies disappeared within two days. Blacks commented favorably on the sermon. The Rev. O.D. Robinson of the Mt. Zion A.M.E. Church of Baltimore, for example, commended Slattery for his "humane and Christ-like utterances," while Dr. R.M. Hall of Baltimore assured him that "...every colored man who has read your sermon feels prouder today of his race."[142]

Many white Catholics, on the other hand, reacted negatively to the sermon. Their spokesman, the Rev. William E. Starr, of Corpus Christi parish in Baltimore, circulated a response to Slattery among the clergy of Baltimore which was eventually published in the July 25 issue of the Sun. Starr excoriated Slattery for what he called "the most incendiary pronouncement which I can recall as coming from a Catholic priest," and claimed that most of the clergy

regarded it with "disgust and indignation." Professing a knowledge of blacks rooted in his southern background, Starr accused Slattery of playing on their simplicity by making "altogether false and unsubstantial claims of past racial glory," and of "filling their minds with incendiary notions of their rights and their wrongs."

Starr most objected, however, to what he regarded as Slattery's public vilification of the Church. He claimed that Slattery had "wrought irreparable harm " to his own cause and had succeeded in pleasing only the bigots who would use his charges to attack the Church. Starr also scolded Slattery for placing Cardinal Gibbons in a difficult position. Starr complained, "If ...he call you to account...the unreasoning ...colored people would see in you a champion of their rights, made to suffer for having had the courage to speak"; on the other hand, "If he keep silent he is held responsible for every absurd statement you see fit to make."[143] Three months later, Cardinal Gibbons appointed Father Starr to his Archdiocesan board of consultors, thus making him one of the Cardinal's official advisors.[144]

In the meantime, Joseph Anciaux, a Belgian priest working with the Josephites in Virginia, jumped into the fray. A dedicated, outspoken man, Anciaux also had connections in the Roman Curia, in the person of his uncle, Cardinal William Van Rossum, who eventually became Prefect of the Propaganda in 1918. Anciaux wrote a letter to the Propaganda and to the bishops of the United States entitled, "Plain Facts for Fair Minds." In it, Anciaux charged that the American Catholic clergy had not done its duty toward blacks because "the Protestant idea of a radical and unchristian separation of the races" had invaded the Catholic Church and because American priests had adopted the idea that "Nothing can nor ought to be done for the Negroes!" Anciaux scornfully

pointed to the pittance donated by American Catholics to the yearly collection for the black missions as an indication of the apathy of white American Catholics toward the black missions. Anciaux defended Fr. Slattery as "almost the only one who always courageously raises his voice against the wrong done the unfortunate Negro," and accused Cardinal Gibbons and Bishop Van de Vyver of Richmond with excessive timidity in the face of "negro-haters."

Anciaux explained that opposition to black priests did not stem from the fear of immorality or the lessened honor of the priesthood but "...from ... unchristian negro-phobia; from the horror of thinking that a colored seminarian will sit beside a white seminarian...and...being a priest...will consecrate and bless as any other priest. Because that hurts the feelings of the Southerners, they cry, 'Down with colored priests.'" Anciaux included a thinly veiled warning that he would publish his letter "...if compelled by circumstances."[145]

Anciaux's missive brought a swift response from American bishops. Archbishop Ireland applauded him, declaring, "I make every one of your words my own. The situation as it is, is a disgrace and a shame...." Cardinal Gibbons, however, always concerned to avoid public controversy regarding the Church, directed his Chancellor to communicate his regret to Anciaux over the "sad controversy" that had grown out of Slattery's sermon and to beg him to give it no further publicity since "no good can possibly come from further agitation." Bishop Augustine Van de Vyver of Richmond reacted more punitively. On October 28, 1902, he withdrew Anciaux's faculties, thereby forcing him to leave the Richmond Diocese.[146]

The shock waves from Slattery's sermon and from his prolonged absence in Europe continued to reverberate through the autumn of 1902, affecting the Morrells, the most important financial benefactors of the Josephites. Slattery's

sermon had shocked Mr. Morrell, who considered it inappropriate for the "head of an order." Slattery's continued absence and persistent rumors that he would not return, and that the Josephites verged on disintegration, further upset Edward and Louise Morrell. They, therefore, communicated their concerns to Cardinal Gibbons.[147] The dwindling enrollment at Epiphany College, which had sunk to a little over twenty students, also led Mrs. Morrell to arrange a meeting with Father Lambert Welbers, rector of Epiphany, at her home on October 16, 1902 to discuss the Josephites and the "Negro missions."[148]

The meeting went badly and nearly resulted in disaster. Mrs. Morrell obviously had an "axe to grind" and demanded to know why the Josephites had not made more progress in the conversion of blacks, given the amount of time and money spent. Welbers attributed the relatively slow progress to "the surroundings of the Colored People and the distrust of the Catholic Church which they shared with white Protestants." He emphasized the need for "a Negro clergy" to achieve greater results, and then made a controversial suggestion that enraged the Morrells and cost him his post at Epiphany.

Welbers acknowledged that many Catholics had registered their opposition to black priests "on the score of morality," and agreed that "the colored man is weaker than his white brethren." He admitted that this created a problem, since the Church needed them to spread the Faith, but also wanted to avoid scandal. As a solution to the dilemma, Welbers proposed an idea which he had earlier mentioned to Slattery and which Slattery had enjoined him never to discuss. Welbers suggested that the Church consider the possibility of allowing black candidates for the priesthood to marry, just as it allowed priests of the Eastern rites to do.[149]

This suggestion, coupled with their other concerns about the Josephites, led the Morrell's to complain to Gibbons about "heresy" at Epiphany, and to suspend their annual contributions to the Josephites "until after a thorough investigation has been made and some definite plan of action decided upon."[150] The loss of the Morrells' annual contributions posed a serious danger to the Josephites. As a result of the furor, Cardinal Gibbons met with his consultors to confer about the future of the Josephites, and added to the Josephites' financial woes by deciding to withhold the annual $5,000 appropriation from the Negro and Indian Commission, until Slattery returned from Europe.[151]

On his return to Baltimore in January 1903, Slattery dealt with the uproar by typically going on the offensive. He quickly contacted the Morrells and denounced the "gossip mongers" who had spread "villainous reports" about him. On Gibbons orders, he removed Welbers from the rectorship of Epiphany, but defended Welbers to the Morrells as "a pure and good man," and blamed his indiscretion on fatigue and illness.[152] As to his sermon at Dorsey's first Mass, Slattery offered no apologies, to Mr. Morrell, claiming, "there was nothing startling except in its truthfulness." Slattery insisted that the real question involved whether the public should know "the true status of the Catholic Hierarchy toward Negro priests and the Negro missions." While he acknowledged that most Catholics would say that publicity created scandal and gossip, Slattery asked rhetorically, "Is it right to ask men to devote their lives to the Negro missions when...they meet the steady opposition of sanctuary and cloister?" Slattery charged that publicly the Church boasted about its fairness and justice to blacks but "...privately, every obstacle imaginable is put in the way of the Negro missions." To the Morrells's complaints that enrollment at Epiphany had dropped, Slattery explained that "...our best efforts have been

turned toward the College for Negro Catechists..." where thirty-five black boys "...are studying for the catechist work and afterwards the priesthood."[153]

Slattery could respond aggressively to his critics because, unknown to them, he had already decided to leave the Josephites. On January 15, 1903, Slattery met with Cardinal Gibbons and asked for a transfer from the Josephites, ad titulum patrimonii, which meant his release from the Josephites and his assumption of responsibilty for his own support. [154] Ironically, his request to leave the Josephites came in the midst of a triumphal tour by Father Dorsey of northern cities and southern missions, which apparently confirmed Slattery's oft-stated contention that black people desired their own priests.[155] Slattery, nevertheless, explained to Gibbons that after twenty-five years spent on the black missions, he wished to devote the rest of his days to himself and study. Slattery told the Cardinal that his family wished him to leave the Josephites; that his father had always opposed the priesthood for him, and had claimed that Slattery's continued association with the Josephites had made his life "a failure."[156] Later in the month, when Gibbons balked at supporting Slattery's request for a transfer ad titulum patrimonii, which would have allowed Slattery to do basically as he pleased, Slattery tried to move the Cardinal by rehearsing his family's financial contributions to the missions, which amounted to $56,000 up to 1899, and by sending a printed copy of his reply to Father Starr with a not so subtle hint to the publicity conscious Gibbons that he might rekindle the public controversy if Gibbons did not cooperate with him.[157]

Slattery's intention to withdraw from the Josephites sometime in 1903, set off a debate in ecclesiastical circles about the future of the Josephites. True to his character, Gibbons approached the problem cautiously, soliciting opinions and keeping his options open. On June 16, 1903, Slattery obtained a year's leave

of absence, with Father Thomas Donovan serving as Visitor and Father Justin McCarthy assuming the post of Vicar.[158] Shortly thereafter, Archbishop Patrick Ryan of Philadelphia suggested that the Josephites merge with the Holy Ghost Fathers, a French based congregation of missionaries which worked with blacks in Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Arkansas.[159] When that plan proved unfeasible,[160] Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop Ryan, Mother Katherine, the Sulpicians in Baltimore, Bishop Le Roy, the Superior of the Holy Ghost Fathers, and several other bishops discussed the possible dissolution of the Josephites and the assumption of their missions and seminary by the Holy Ghost Fathers.[161] After consulting with the Sulpicians of St. Mary's Seminary, however, Gibbons gave the Josephites a chance to reorganize. In March of 1904, Slattery informed the members of St. Joseph's Society of his intention to retire as Superior General. An election in June, 1904 selected Thomas B. Donovan as the new Superior of the shaken society.[162] "Let us hope" wrote Father Anthony Zielenbach, the Provincial of the Holy Ghost Fathers, "that this will be the end of their troubles."[163]

Unfortunately, however, the Josephite troubles did not end with the election of Donovan, for in the September, 1906, in the pages of the New York based protestant weekly, The Independent, Slattery publicly renounced the Catholic Church and announced that he had married. He declared, "There is no hope of reforming the Catholic Church....It will fall by its own weight."[164] Slattery's decision to leave the Josephites and to forsake the Catholic Church had formed gradually over a number of years and resulted from more than his disillusionment over the racism which he encountered in the Church. A voracious reader, Slattery had become "a disciple of the conclusions of the higher criticism" while stationed in Richmond. He particularly admired the

writings of modernists like Alfred Loisy, a French priest who specialized in the application of historical criticism to biblical exegesis. During his travels on the continent between June and December of 1902, Slattery met Loisy and studied briefly in Berlin under Adolph von Harnack, another modernist. His thinly veiled attack in the Dorsey sermon on the accretion of complicated dogmas in the Catholic Church as opposed to the earlier simplicity of apostolic Christianity, showed influences of modernism.[165] Slattery claimed that as he read theological works, he concluded "that on contested points, the Protestants were right." He confessed to Walter Yates, a Josephite travelling in Europe in 1906, that he had been convinced that the Church "was all a fraud" long before the Dorsey sermon; that he had intended that sermon as his "farewell" to the Church and to blacks; and that he had waited to announce his public repudiation of the Church until after his father's death. He pointed to his work among blacks, however, as "the rake which finished the sloughing off" of his priesthood. "If anything in this world is certain," he wrote, "it is that the stand of the Catholic Church toward the negro is sheer dishonesty."[166] Slattery's old friend, Archbishop Ireland, remarked, "Well, Slattery has gone to the devil for good - and is acting the devil."[167] The following year, Pope Pius X condemned "modernism" in his encyclical Pascendi dominici gregis. Much to the embarrassment of the Josephites, Slattery continued to blast the Church in books and articles for several years after his defection.[168]

John R. Slattery suffered the fate of many pioneers. He broke new ground in the face of great difficulties, but paid a tremendous price for his efforts. He managed to shepherd two black men to ordination, but could not overcome the obstacles to black priests created by racism in American society, the Catholic

Church, or, ultimately, in himself. As a result of his experiences with Father Randolph Uncles, the first black Josephite; his stereotypical views of black moral weakness; and his recognition of increasing opposition to black priests in the Catholic Church, Slattery opted for more "cautious" approaches after 1893. This caution slowed the ordination process for a few and ended it for many. Slattery never realized the part that he himself played in thwarting his treasured goal. Frustrated and scandalized by the indifference and hostility to blacks which he continually experienced in the Church and increasingly skeptical about the authenticity of dogma and authority in the Church, Slattery finally decided to forsake the crusade which he had waged for over twenty-five years. Unfortunately, his defection from the Church seriously embarrassed and weakened the Josephites and further damaged the prospects for black priests. The Josephites barely avoided dissolution and found themselves suspect and vulnerable because of the defection of their founder. The conservative reaction in the Church, which had begun in the mid-nineties, and which swept everything before it after Pius X's condemnation of "modernism" in 1907, provided an inhospitable atmosphere for "experiments" with black priests. The champion of black priests had fallen and few remained capable of picking up the standard. For John Henry Dorsey, and the handful of black priests and seminarians who remained after Slattery's departure, the "time on the cross," had just begun.

END NOTES

[1]George M. Fredrickson, The Black Image in the White Mind, The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817-1914 (New York, 1971), p. 266.

[2]H. Shelton Smith, In His Image, But ... Racism in Southern Religion, 1780-1910 (Durham, 1972), p. 271; John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom (3rd. ed., New York, 1967), pp. 338 - 342.

[3]"Wholesale Disfranchisement," The Colored Harvest, October, 1892, p. 244.

[4]Fredrickson, The Black Image, pp. 272 - 273; Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom, p. 342; Smith, In His Image, p. 271.

[5]Franklin, Up From Slavery, pp. 349 and 431.

[6]Smith, In His Image, p. 271; Franklin, From Slavery, pp. 338-342.

[7]Ibid., pp. 265 - 267; Sydney Ahlstrom, A Religious History of the American People, Vol. II (New York, 1975), p. 166.

[8]Fredrickson, The Black Image, pp. 292 - 293, 298, 304.

[9]David Spalding, C.F.X., "The Negro Catholic Congresses, 1889 - 1894," The Catholic Historical Review, LV (October, 1969), 345.

[10]The Colored Harvest, January, 1897, pp. 146 - 149.

[11]Ibid.

[12]Josephite Fathers' Archives (hereinafter referred to as JFA), Newspaper clipping, J.R. Slattery, "The Hope of the Colored Race," The Catholic Mirror, N.D..

[13]Spalding, "The Negro Catholic Congresses," pp. 337 - 357.

[14]In October, 1895, Catholic University opened its schools of Philosophy and Social Sciences to all qualified male applicants. Three black men enrolled. Bishop John Keane, the first rector of the university, and an old friend of Slattery, said of the black students, "They stand on exactly the same footing as other students of equal calibre and acquirements." See, J.T. Ellis, "Catholic University of America, The," The New catholic Encyclopedia, III, 333.

[15]Slattery referred to John Keane as the "embodiment" of Americanism. See, Patrick H. Ahern, The life of John J. Keane, Educator and Archbishop, 1839-1918 (Milwaukee, 1954), p. 256; JFA, 25-G-7A, John Ireland to John Slattery, St. Paul or Rome?, February 18, 1899.

[16]T.T. McAvoy, "Americanism," The New Catholic Encyclopedia, I, 443; John Tracy Ellis, The Life of James Cardinal Gibbons, Vol. II (Milwaukee, 1954), pp. 1-80; William L. Portier, "Catholic Theology in the United States, 1840-1907:

Recovering a Forgotten Tradition," Horizons, 10 (February, 1983), 323-331; Spalding, "The Negro Catholic Congresses," 354-355.

[17]JFA, 6-W-7, Michael Heffernan to Slattery, Philadelphia, N.D.(clearly 1891).

[18]JFA, 7-W-13, Dominic Manley to Slattery, Baltimore, May 16, 1892; 53-T, L. J. Welbers to louis B. Pastorelli, August 1, 1933.

[19]JFA, CB-2, Slattery to Uncles, Baltimore, May 30, 1892.

[20]Albert S. Foley Papers (hereinafter referred to as ASFP), copies supplied to author by Albert S. Foley, S.J., Louis B. Pastorelli to Foley, Clayton, May 19, 1952.

[21]JFA, LPB-2, Slattery to Charles Butler, Baltimore, December 2, 1896.

[22]Ibid.; ASFP, Pastorelli to Foley, Clayton, May 19, 1952.

[23]Albert S. Foley, God's Men of Color(New York, 1954), p. 48; JFA, Interview, Vincent Warren, S.S.J., typescript, pp. 45-46.

[24]JFA, LPB-1-142, Slattery to J.A. DeRuyter, Baltimore, May 15, 1893.

[25]JFA, LPB-1-355, Slattery to Uncles, Baltimore, January 21, 1894.

[26]JFA, 14-C-24, Sr. M. Joseph to Slattery, N.P., February 24, 1894; 16-D-4, Uncles to Slattery, Baltimore, March 15, 1894; LPB-1-404, Slattery to Uncles, Baltimore, March 13, 1894.

[27]JFA, LPB-1-404, Slattery to Uncles, Baltimore, March 13, 1894; 16-D-8, Uncles to Slattery, Baltimore, November 3, 1894; 16-D-19, Uncles to Slattery, Baltimore, July 26, 1897.

[28]JFA, Minutes of the General Chapters, July 2, 1894, p. 5.

[29]JFA, LPB-1-431, Slattery to Uncles, Baltimore, April 23, 1894; 16-D-10, Uncles to Slattery, Baltimore, May 5, 1894.

[30]JFA, Slattery File, Memo, June 9, 1894; Slattery to St. Laurent, June 9, 1894.

[31]JFA, EAC Student File, 1890-1914, p. 76.

[32]JFA, Slattery File, Memo, June 9, 1894; Slattery to St. Laurent, June 9, 1894.

[33]JFA, Minutes of the General Chapters, July 3, 1894, pp. 6 - 8; The minutes of the meeting are incorrectly dated "1895" instead of "1894."

[34]JFA, Ibid.; In 1928, the Sacred Congregation of Seminaries and Universities ruled that during seminary training, "...interruptions must not take place which

tend to draw seminarians from their studies or interfere with their spiritual progress." See, Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore (hereinafter referred to as AAB), Cardinal Pietro Fumasoni-Biondi to Archbishop Michael Curley, Rome, June 1, 1928.

White Episcopalian church leaders also shared Slattery's apprehension about black candidates for the priesthood, especially about their capacity for "moral restraint." Majority opinion among white Episcopalians held that the diaconate should be the normal ministry for blacks, while priesthood should be limited to those black men who possessed truly exceptional qualities. As a result, most black candidates spent from two to five years as deacons before they were ordained priests. One man, for example, remained a deacon for twenty five years before he was raised to the priesthood. See Rev. J. Carelton Hayden, Ph.D., "The Black Ministry of the Episcopal Church: An Historical Overview," in Franklin D. Turner, ed., Black Clergy in the Episcopal Church: Recruitment, Training, and Development (New York, 1978), p. 7.

[35]JFA, LPB-2-512, Slattery to Uncles, Baltimore, May 21, 1897; LPB-2-576, Slattery to Welbers, Baltimore, December 30, 1897; 20-S-77, Welbers to Slattery, N.P., December 15, 1897.

[36]JFA, 10-S-7, Rules for St. Joseph's Seminary, 1887.

[37]JFA, J.R. Slattery, newspaper clipping, "The Hope of the Colored Race," The Catholic Mirror, N.D..

[38]JFA, EAC Faculty Minutes," June 26, 1894, p.45.

[39]JFA, LPB-1-456, Slattery to Father Maguire, Baltimore, July 4, 1894.

[40]JFA, LPB-1-458, Same to same, Baltimore, July 14, 1894.

[41]JFA, EAC Student File, 1890-1914, pp. 2, 148, 260.

[42]JFA, 16-T-19, Ireland to Slattery, St. Paul, August 25, 1894.

[43]JFA, LPB-1-476, Slattery to Ireland, Baltimore, August 29, 1894.

[44]JFA, Minutes of the General Chapters, July 3, 1894, pp. 6 - 8; LPB-1-467, Slattery to Welbers, Baltimore, July 20, 1894; LPB-2-390, Slattery to Donovan, Baltimore, September 11, 1896; Sulpician Archives Baltimore (hereinafter cited SAB), RG 39, Box 1, Joseph Griffin to E. Dyer, Richmond, July 25, 1894; JFA, 5-N-8, St. Thomas Aquinas Seminary, St. Paul, Semi-Annual Report, June, 1889.

[45]JFA, LPB-3-386, Slattery to Honorable Wilson S. Bissell, Post Master General, Baltimore, October 22, 1894; LPB-3-405, Slattery to Hoffman Brothers, Baltimore, November 17, 1894.

[46]The Colored Harvest, March, 1895, p.9; October, 1895, p.39.

[47]JFA, St. Joseph's Seminary Records, p.149.

[48]SAB, RG 39, Box 1, Joseph Griffin to Edward Dyer, Richmond, July 18, 1895; JFA, EAC Student File, 1890-1914, p. 171.

[49]JFA, St. Joseph's Seminary Records, p. 149.

[50]JFA, 15-B-31, Slattery to B. Murphy, Baltimore, April 22, 1897.

[51]JFA, 22-B-20, Griffin to Slattery, McAlester, Indian Territory, April 6, 1898; 13-M-18, Griffin to Slattery, McAlester, December 19, 1899; 13-M-19, Slattery to Griffin, Baltimore, December 30, 1899.

[52]JFA, LPB-1-483, Slattery to St. Laurent, September 13, 1894.

[53]John A. Hardon, S.J., Modern Catholic Dictionary(New York, 1980), pp. 204-205; Canons III-117, The Code of Canon Law.

[54]JFA, LPB-2-163, Slattery to A. Van de Vyver, Baltimore, February 2, 1895.

[55]JFA, 16-6-10, Van de Vyver to Slattery, February 3, 1895.

[56]Technically referred to as incardination, this is the canonical attachment of a cleric to a particular diocese with correlative rights and duties under the local ordinary. See, Hardon, Modern Catholic, p. 272.

[57]JFA, 19-Y-5, St. Laurent to Slattery, Baltimore, February 6, 1895; LPB-2-168, Slattery to Gibbons, Baltimore, February 11, 1895; 20-S-20, Welbers to Slattery, March 13, 1895; CMB-I, April 3, 1895, p. 11; 16-D-15, Uncles to DeRuyter, Baltimore, May 2, 1895; 16-D-12, Uncles to DeRuyter, Baltimore, April 26, 1895; LPB-2-223, Slattery to DeRuyter, Baltimore, April 28, 1895; 16-D-14, DeRuyter to Slattery, May 3, 1895; 16-D-13, Uncles to Slattery, Baltimore, May 2, 1895; LPB-2-229, Slattery to DeRuyter, Baltimore, May 9, 1895.

[58]JFA, 17-H-22, DeRuyter to Slattery, Clayton, September 4, 1895; 17-H-25, DeRuyter to Slattery, Clayton, September 21, 1895.

[59]JFA, LPB-2-264, Slattery to DeRuyter, Baltimore, September 20, 1895.

[60]JFA, Ibid., 5-S-1, Archbishop William Elder to Slattery, Cincinnati, October 27, 1893; EAC Student File, 1890-1914, p. 406; 11-H-36, Rt. Rev. E.G. Byrne to Slattery, Nashville, January 3, 1895; JFA, 11-N-8, John B. Morris, Chancellor, to Slattery, Nashville, December 11, 1895; 11-H-36, Byrne to Slattery, Nashville, January 3, 1896.

[61]JFA, LPB-2-264, Slattery to DeRuyter, Baltimore, September 20, 1895.

[62]JFA, 25-G-1, Ireland to Slattery, St. Paul, January 18, 1896.

[63]JFA, 25-G-2, Slattery to Ireland, Baltimore, January 24, 1896.

[64]SAB, RG 39, Box 1, John Henry Dorsey to Joseph Griffin, Baltimore, July 23, 1894; JFA, LPB-2-362, Slattery to Rt. Rev. Henry O'Hanlon, Baltimore, April 4, 1896; St. Joseph's Seminary Student Journal, September, 1900.

[65]JFA, LPB-2-525, Slattery to A.P. Doyle, Baltimore, June 2, 1897; 12-N-21, Doyle to Slattery, New York, June 1, 1897.

[66]JFA, LPB-2-517, Slattery to Walter Elliott, Baltimore, May 29, 1897; 14-H-24, Ignace Lissner to Slattery, Philadelphia, August(?), 1898.

[67]Dolores Egger Labbe, "Jim Crow Comes to Church: The Establishment of Segregated Catholic Churches in South Louisiana,"(M.A. thesis, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1965), p. 36, typescript in JFA.

[68]The Colored Harvest, October, 1893, pp. 2 and 4.

[69]The Colored Harvest, March, 1895, p. 9.

[70]The Colored Harvest, October, 1896, p. 130; March, 1901, p.237.

[71]The Colored Harvest, October, 1895, p. 38; October, 1893, p. 15.

[72]The Colored Harvest, March, 1898, p. 2.

[73]The Colored Harvest, October, 1895, p. 62.

[74]The Colored Harvest, March, 1898, p. 1; Receipts from the annual collection for the "Negro and Indian Missions" declined after 1890. In 1891, for example, the collection garnered $18,436.14 less than in 1887, its first year. In the words of one historian, "The collection remained a haphazard method of mission support. The money collected was barely sufficient to maintain existing missions, and never enough to improve radically the previous mission work. Edward J. Misch, "The American Bishops and the Negro from the Civil War to the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, 1865-1884" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Gregorian University, Rome, 1968), pp. 569, 583.

[75]JFA, 25-D-32, Slattery to Gibbons, Baltimore, June 20, 1903.

[76]The Colored Harvest, March, 1898, p. 2; October, 1895, p. 62; March, 1895, p. 3.

[77]The Colored Harvest, October, 1897, pp. 225-226; JFA, newspaper clipping, "Pere of the Bayous," Catholic Action of the South, May 13, 1943.

[78]JFA, "Pere of the Bayous."

[79]Ibid.

[80]Ibid.; The Colored Harvest, October, 1899, pp. 115-122.

[81]JFA, "Pere of the Bayous;" The Colored Harvest, October, 1898, p. 50.

[82]St. Joseph's Advocate, January, 1891, pp. 295-296.

[83]The Colored Harvest, March, 1896, p. 88.

[84]St. Joseph's Advocate, January, 1891, pp. 295-296.

[85]Mission Work Among the Negroes and Indians (Baltimore, 1898), p. 23; The Colored Harvest, October, 1898, p. 2.

[86]The Colored Harvest, October, 1896, pp. 118-120.

[87] The Colored Harvest, October, 1898, pp. 55, 58-59; March, 1898, p. 1.

[88]Hardon,S.J., Modern Catholic Dictionary, p.86.

[89]JFA, LPB-1-276, Slattery to Walter Elliott, Baltimore, November 16, 1893; Minutes of the General Chapters, July 3, 1894.

[90]JFA, 25-G-4, Slattery to Ireland, Baltimore, May 10, 1898; 19-K-18, Plunkitt to Slattery, N.P., May 1, 1898.

[91]JFA, 12-G-9, A. Lightheart to Slattery, New Zealand, October 10, 1898; 20-B-14, St. Laurent to Slattery, N.P., December 22, 1898.

[92]J.R. Slattery, "A Catholic College for Negro Catechists," Catholic World, October, 1899, pp. 1-12.

[93]Ibid.

[94]Ibid.

[95]Ibid.

[96]JFA, Minutes of the General Chapters, June 29, 1899, p. 23.; 13-H-6, Slattery to Gibbons, Baltimore, September 1, 1899.

[97]JFA, E. Dyer to Slattery, Baltimore, July 25, 1899; 13-H-6, Slattery to Gibbons, Baltimore, September 1, 1899; 12-R-9, Dyer to Slattery, Baltimore, October 16, 1899.

[98]JFA, 19-G-11, Slattery to Pastorelli, Baltimore, January 8, 1900; 19-G-22, Pastorelli to Slattery, Chastang, March 18, 1900.

[99]The Colored Harvest, October, 1900, pp. 197-199.

[100]Ibid.

[101]JFA, 17-S-12, Wallace O'Hare to Slattery, Jarratts, September 13, 1899.

[102]The Colored Harvest, October, 1900, pp. 197-199.

[103]JFA, 14-H-23, Rev. E.W.J. Lindesmith to Slattery, Doylestown, Ohio, April 27, 1900.

[104]JFA, 16-R-10, Nannie B. Younger to Slattery, Lynchburg, September 27, 1900.

[105]JFA, 16-R-11, Slattery to Younger, Baltimore, September 27, 1900.

[106]Smith, In His Image, p. 286; JFA, 14-T-25, Slattery to Rev. E.G. Murphy, Baltimore, March 30, 1900.

[107]Smith, In His Image, p. 286.

[108]JFA, newspaper clipping, The Evening Standard (New Bedford Massachusetts), May 26, 1900.

[109]J.R. Slattery, "Should We Advise the Raising of the Standard of Ordination for the Negro Clergy?" Race Problems of the South: Report of the First Annual Conference Held Under the Auspices of the Southern Society for the Promotion of the Study of Race Conditions and Problems in the South (New York, 1900), pp. 131-141.

[110]JFA, 16-K-5, Booker T. Washington to Slattery, Tuskegee, May 14, 1900.

[111]JFA, B-6-33, Thomas Fortune to Slattery, New York, May 18, 1900; 16-P-12, J.E. Wallace to Slattery, Columbia, South Carolina, May 23, 1900.

[112]JFA, Special File, Sister M. Claire to Slattery, Philadelphia, January 1, 1900; Letter, Sister Mary Adele Francis Gorman to Rev. Peter E. Hogan, S.S.J., Philadelphia, August 24, 1981.

[113]JFA, 21-B-24, Welbers to Slattery, Wilmington, November 10, 1900.

[114]JFA, 19-H-29, Slattery to Pastorelli, Baltimore, June 19, 1902; 19-H-31, Slattery to Pastorelli, Baltimore, June 21, 1902; 20-R-17, Slattery to Uncles, Baltimore, June 21, 1902; 23-W-1, Uncles to Slattery, Clayton, June 24, 1902. The reason for the issuance of the warrant remains a mystery.

[115]Foley, God's Men of Color, pp. 47-51.

[116]JFA, Interview, Vincent Warren; 53-C, Rev. Charles Carrol to joseph Hanley, Baltimore, July 24, 1933.

[117]JFA, , Slattery to E. P. Allen, Baltimore, September 25, 1900.

[118]JFA, 18-Y-19, Slattery to P.J. McCaffrey, Baltimore, June 19, 1900; 17-Y-1, Slattery to Donovan, Baltimore, September 12, 1900.

[119]JFA, 17-Y-9, Donovan to Slattery, Montgomery, October 29, 1900; 18-B-4, Donovan to Slattery, Montgomery, November 2, 1900.

[120]JFA, 18-B-4, telegram, Donovan to Slattery, Montgomery, November 2, 1900.

[121]JFA, 17-Y-1, Slattery to Donovan, Baltimore, September 2, 1900.

[122]JFA, 18-B-7, Donovan to Slattery, Montgomery, November 21, 1900.

[123]JFA, 18-B-8, Slattery to Donovan, Baltimore, November 24, 1900.

[124]JFA, 18-B-21, Slattery to Donovan, Baltimore, December 10, 1900; 18-B-24, Slattery to Donovan, Baltimore, December 17, 1900.

[125]JFA, 18-B-14, Donovan to Slattery, Montgomery, November 28, 1900; 18-C-1, Donovan Circular, January 1, 1901; Mission Work Among the Negroes and the Indians (Baltimore, 1901), p. 13.

[126]JFA, 18-C-25, Green to Donovan, Clayton, May 16, 1901; 18-C-23, Donovan to Slattery, Montgomery, May 23, 1901; 18-C-37, Green to Donovan, Clayton, June 11, 1901; 18-C-35, Donovan to Slattery, Montgomery, June 14, 1901.

[127]JFA, 18-C-41, Donovan to Slattery, Montgomery, June 27, 1901.

[128]JFA, 18-D-1, Slattery to Donovan, Baltimore, July 1, 1901.

[129]JFA, 18-D-30, Donovan to Slattery, Montgomery, December 26, 1901; Financial Statement of St. Joseph's College, December 31, 1901; 18-E-7, Donovan to Slattery, February 18, 1902.

[130]JFA, Interview, Vincent Warren, p. 53; Mission Work Among the Negroes and Indians (Baltimore, 1901), p. 13; 18-D-30, Donovan to Slattery, Montgomery, December 26, 1901; Financial Statement of St. Joseph's College, December 31, 1901; 18-E-7, Donovan to Slattery, February 18, 1902; 18-E-1, newspaper clipping, January 11, 1902; 18-E-16, Donovan to Slattery, Montgomery, April 14, 1902.

[131]JFA, 18-D-5, Donovan to Slattery, Montgomery, October 14, 1901.

[132]Margaret Law Calcott, The Negro in Maryland Politics, 1870-1912 (Baltimore, 1969), pp. 133-134.

[133]JFA, 23-T-5, Joseph Hennessy to Slattery, Houston, March 23, 1903; 23-T-5, Slattery to Hennessy, Baltimore, March 27, 1903; Albert J. Nevins, M.M., The Maryknoll Catholic Dictionary (New York, 1965), p. 374; JFA, 25-D-29, Slattery to Gibbons, Baltimore, June 23, 1902.

[134]JFA, Interview, Vincent Warren, p. 58.

[135]JFA, St. Joseph's Seminary Student Journal, June 21, 1902, p. 7; EAC Student File, 1890-1914, p. 104.

[136]JFA, 18-H-29, Charles Hannigan to Slattery, Richmond, June 2, 1902. Bishop Benjamin Keiley of Savannah was one bishop who spoke publicly about the "inopportuneness" of black priests. In his published report to the Commission for Mission Work Among the Indians and Negroes, Keiley claimed that "Negro priests would not do for the South." Mission Work Among the Negroes and Indians (Baltimore, 1902), p. 22.

[137]JFA, 18-E-26, Slattery to Donovan, Baltimore, June 21, 1902; Dorsey File, "Rev. John Henry Dorsey, A Colored Man, Was Ordained Priest by His Eminence, Cardinal Gibbons;" The Colored Harvest, October, 1903, p. 421.

[138]JFA, 18-E-20, Slattery to Donovan, Baltimore, June 9, 1902.

[139]JFA, newspaper clipping, Baltimore Sun, January 18, 1903; 29-T-9, Walter Yates to Thomas B. Donovan, Baltimore, April 27, 1906.

[140]JFA, Dorsey File, "Rev. John Henry Dorsey, A Colored Man."

[141]JFA, H-K-52, Slattery to Robert Brady, N.P., July 25, 1902; clipping, Baltimore Sun, January 18, 1903.

[142]JFA, 24-T-21, O.D. Robinson to Slattery, Baltimore, June 28, 1902; 27-B-12, Hugh M. Browne to Brady, Baltimore, July 11, 1902; 13-P-20, Slattery to Morton L. Griffin, Baltimore, February 6, 1903; 24-N-6, R.M. Hall to Slattery, Baltimore, June 24, 1902.

[143]JFA, clipping, Baltimore Sun, January 18, 1903; Dorsey File, William E. Starr, "A Letter to the Very Rev. John R. Slattery, June 25, 1902."

[144]AAB, William E. Starr to Gibbons, Baltimore, February 13, 1913.

[145]JFA, 31-G-16, Joseph Anciaux, "Plain Facts for Fair Minds," Lynchburg, April 27, 1902; The Colored Harvest, February, 1931, p. 7.

[146]JFA, 31-G-18, Ireland to Anciaux, St. Paul, September 8, 1902; 31-G-17, P.C. Gavan, Chancellor, to Anciaux, Baltimore, August 31, 1902; 31-G-20, Van de Vyver to Anciaux, Richmond, October 28, 1902.

[147]JFA, 31-G-14, Edward Morrell to Gibbons, Torresdale, January 5, 1903; 31-G-32, Morrell to Slattery, Torresdale, January 21, 1903.

[148]JFA, 31-G-26, Welbers to Gibbons, Baltimore, December 12, 1902; 31-G-32, Morrell to Slattery, Torresdale, January 21, 1903.

[149]Ibid.

[150]JFA, 31-G-14, Edward Morrell to Gibbons, Torresdale, January 5, 1903; 31-G-32, Morrell to Slattery, Torresdale, January 21, 1903; 31-H-23, Morrell to Charles Bonaparte, Baltimore, October 27, 1903.

[151]JFA, 31-G-23, Gibbons to Edward Morrell, Baltimore, December 10, 1902; 31-G-14, Edward Morrell to Gibbons, Torresdale, January 5, 1903; 31-G-32, Morrell to Slattery, Torresdale, January 21, 1903.

[152]JFA, 31-G-30, Slattery to Edward Morrell, Baltimore, January 16, 1903; 31-G-34, Slattery to Edward Morrell, January 23, 1903.

[153]JFA, 31-G-34, Slattery to Edward Morrell, Baltimore, January 23, 1903.

[154]SAB, Dissez Papers, Slattery to Gibbons, Baltimore, February 2, 1903; AAB, 100-F-3, Slattery to Gibbons, New York, January 5, 1903.

[155]The Colored Harvest, January, 1903, p. 381; October, 1903, p. 321; JFA, LeBeau File, Pierre LeBeau to Slattery, Palmetto, September 29, 1902.

[156]SAB, Dissez Papers, Slattery to Gibbons, Baltimore, February 2, 1903; AAB, 100-F-3, Slattery to Gibbons, New York, January 5, 1903.

[157]JFA, 31-G-38, Slattery to Gibbons, Baltimore, February 2, 1903; 31-G-38, Slattery to Morrells, Baltimore, February 2, 1903.

[158]JFA, Consultors' Minutes Book, June 16, 1903, p. 46.

[159]Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament Archives (hereinafter cited SBSA), copies in JFA, Mother Katherine Papers, 10, Box 48, no. 3, Archbishop Patrick Ryan to Mother Katherine, Philadelphia, June 22, 1903. The Congregation of the Holy Ghost, popularly referred to as the Spiritans, arose from the union in 1848 of societies founded in Paris in 1703 by the Abbe C.F. Poullart de Places, and at Amien in 1844 by Venerable Francis P. Libermann. It undertook missions, seminaries, and colleges, in Asia, Africa, and eventually, the United States. See, Henry J. Koren, "Holy Ghost Fathers," New Catholic Encyclopedia, VII, 70-71.

[160]The Holy Ghost Fathers were religious, unlike the Josephites who were secular priests living in community under promise.

[161]SBSA, Ryan to Mother Katherine, Philadelphia, June 22, 1903; Henry J. Koren, "The Josephite Crisis and the Spiritans," working draft in author's possession, pp. 6-25-26; JFA, 31-H-23, Charles Bonaparte to Edward Morrell, October 27, 1903.

[162] Koren, "The Josephite Crisis," p. 6-26; The Colored Harvest, January, 1905, p. 532.

[163] Koren, "The Josephite Crisis," p. 6-26.

[164]JFA, CB-2, p. 72; Slattery File, "The Roman Catholic Church Cannot be Reformed," The Converted Catholic, July 7, 1906, pp. 23, 211-212; Slattery, "How My Priesthood Dropped From Me," The Independent, LXI (September 6, 1906), 565-571; "His Priesthood Drops From Him," Baltimore American, September 9, 1906.

[165]JFA, 11-K-52, Slattery to Brady, N.D., July 25, 1902; Slattery File, "Aftermath of the Dorsey Sermon," probably from the Baltimore American, N.D.; "How My Priesthood Dropped From Me," Baltimore American, September 9, 1906; The Independent LXI (September,6,1906), 565-570.

Modernism describes an attitude of mind within the Catholic Church, particularly in Europe, which began about 1890, during the liberal reign of Leo XIII, and was condemned by his successor, Pius X in 1907. Modernism was never a single, coherent doctrine or movement. One observer commented that There are as many modernisms as there are modernists." Modernists like Alfred Loisy, George Tyrrell, Albert Houtin, and Baron Friedrich Von Hugel sought to reconcile the essentials of doctrine with the scientific outlook of the modern world, and in particular, the results of historical and biblical criticism. Their concerns included questions about the nature of revelation and dogma, and about biblical exegesis raised by historical scholarship.

Church historians and theologians disagree about the relationship between Americanism and modernism. Monsignor John Tracy Ellis and Father Thomas McAvoy argue that the two movements were basically unrelated, while Marge Reher and William Portier claim to see a connection.

I am inclined to agree with those who contend that Americanism and modernism had little in common, Slattery's defection notwithstanding. Unlike the earlier Americanism, modernism was a specifically theological phenomena, mainly centered in Europe. The Americanist leaders, like Archbishop Ireland, and Bishops Keane and O'Connell never became identified with the European modernists; indeed, Archbishop Ireland became a fierce defender of theological orthodoxy against the encroachments of modernist thought. Actual defections in the United States over modernism were few. See Bernard M. Reardon, Roman Catholic Modernism (Stanford, 1970), pp. 9-67; Portier, "Catholic Theology in the United States,"p.329; Michael Gannon, "Before and After Modernism: The Intellectual Isolation of the American Priest," The Catholic Priest in the United States, Historical Investigations, ed. John T. Ellis (Collegeville, 1971), pp. 337-338; Margaret Mary Reher, "Americanism and Modernism - Continuity or Discontinuity?" U.S. Catholic Historian Vol. I (Summer,1981), 87-103; Ahlstrom, A Religious History II, pp.314-317.

[166]JFA, 29-T-9, Walter R. Yates to Thomas B. Donovan, Baltimore, August 27, 1906; "His Priesthood Dropped From Him," Baltimore American, September 9, 1906; "How My Priesthood Dropped From Me," The Independent LXI (September 6, 1906), 565-571.

[167]Archives of the Catholic University of America (hereinafter cited ACUA), Denis J. O'Connell Papers, Ireland to O'Connell, St. Paul, October 29, 1906. On his death in Monaco in 1926, Slattery left an estate valued at $1,446,168, the bulk of which went to the New York Public Library. See, The New York Times, June 15, 1927, p. 48.

[168]J.R. Slattery, "The Workings of Modernism," The American Journal of Theology XIII (October, 1909), 572; Reardon, Roman Catholic Modernism, pp. 237-242; Margaret Mary Reher, "Americanism and Modernism," 90-91; Albert Houtin, translated by J.R. Slattery, The Married Priest (Boston, 1910); J.R. Slattery, "The Workings of Modernism," 555-574.

DEFERRED MISSION: THE JOSEPHITES AND THE STRUGGLE FOR BLACK CATHOLIC PRIESTS, 1871 - 1960

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Volume Two

CHAPTER IV
TRIAL AND TRANSITION, 1904 - 1918

From...my ordination till the present, my life has been one heavy cross -
John Henry Dorsey, August 7, 1907

The fifteen troubled years following Slattery's resignation marked a period of transition for the Josephites, during which the superiors of the Society, abdicated leadership in the struggle for black priests. This abdication developed from the Josephites' own doubts about the desirability or feasibility of black priests, the refusal of many southern bishops to accept black priests into their dioceses, the inability or lack of desire to fight the bishops on this issue, and the traumatization from the suffering of their few black missionaries. Neither Thomas Donovan nor Justin McCarthy, the two men who served as Superiors of the Josephites between 1904 and 1918, shared Slattery's zeal for black priests, or his talent for strong leadership. Although, the number of Josephite priests and missions increased during their administrations, St. Joseph's Society suffered from a lack of unity and direction. Donovan and McCarthy abandoned Slattery's policy of encouraging black vocations to the Josephites, virtually closing Epiphany Apostolic College and St. Joseph's Seminary to black candidates. Despite institutional retrenchment, however, individual Josephites refused to surrender to prevailing pessimism and continued to campaign on behalf of black Catholic priests.

The Josephite retreat on the issue of black priests coincided with the failure of "progressivism" on the national scene to effect significant racial reforms; it also reflected a continuing deterioration in the status of blacks in the Catholic Church. During the progressive era, blacks in the South continued to suffer from disfranchisement, segregation, and lynchings; in addition, black migration to

urban areas, North and South, sparked a new wave of race riots.[1] The decision of the Catholic University of America in 1914 to no longer accept any black students, in the same year that the "progressive" administration of President Woodrow Wilson imposed segregation in federal offices in Washington, D.C., symbolized the triumph of racism in church as well as state.[2] Catholics, like most other Americans, viewed the N.A.A.C.P., founded in 1910 by a racially mixed group of liberals to battle against racial discrimination, as a dangerous and radical organization.[3]

As the condition of blacks worsened between 1904 and 1918, the Catholic Church attained a measure of maturity and respect in the United States. In 1908, Pius X terminated the mission status of the American Church, removing it from the jurisdiction of the Propaganda, which had historically pushed for the development of native clergies in mission areas, and placing the bishops under the Sacred Consistorial Congregation.[4] By 1910, overall Catholic population in the United States had grown to 16,363,000 and by 1920 to 19,828,000. Immigration after 1900, largely from southern and eastern Europe, accounted for three and one half million of the latter total, taxing the resources of already overburdened bishops. Descendants of earlier Catholic immigrants began to take their places in business and especially politics, with men like Charles Bonaparte serving in President Theodore Roosevelt's cabinet, first as Secretary of the Navy in 1905, and then as Attorney General from 1906 - 1908. On the municipal level, Irish Catholic political machines, usually identified with the Democratic party, dominated great cities in the northeast and midwest like New York, Boston, and Chicago. While muckrakers and other reformers took aim at Irish machine politics, and while Catholics did not figure prominently in Progressive Era reform movements, some individual Catholics, lay and clerical, like Father

John Ryan, Robert Wagner, and Mary Harris "Mother" Jones made significant contributions to labor reform.

During the first two decades of the twentieth century, James Cardinal Gibbons of Baltimore continued to enjoy preeminence in the American Catholic Church; a Church still largely controlled by the Irish clergy, except in the German dioceses of the midwest. Despite its monolithic appearance to outsiders, the American Catholic Church remained remarkably decentralized during this period, with the annual Archbishops' meetings providing what little unofficial coordination existed. Disputes between Catholic ethnic groups, often centered around control of the burgeoning parochial schools, testified to the heterogeneous composition of Church membership, and illustrated the difficulties of maintaining church unity. Pius X's attempt to insure theological unity for the worldwide church by his condemnation of modernism in 1907 had the unfortunate effect of stifling American theological thought for the succeeding half century.

Although Catholics achieved greater acceptance and respectability in urban areas, many Americans still viewed them and their Church as "foreign." Between 1910 and 1917, in rural areas of the South and Midwest where it was weakest, yet another wave of anti-Catholicism beset the Church, making bishops and priests even more wary about disturbing social or racial taboos by accepting black priests into their dioceses and parishes.[5]

I

In the midst of the Slattery scandal, Justin McCarthy and Thomas Donovan, the temporary administrators of the Josephites, no doubt wanted to avoid further controversy for their embarrassed and weakened Society; but the

irrepressible Joseph Anciaux kept the Josephites in the forefront of debate about the status of blacks in the Church and the future of black priests. On August 19, 1903, Anciaux, whose criticisms of the American clergy's negligence toward blacks were as sharp as the nose which dominated his broad face, wrote a long letter to the Holy See entitled, "Concerning the Wretched Condition of Negro Catholics in America." Dubbed the "red book," because of its binding, Anciaux's letter briefly described the appalling political, civil, social, and legal barriers faced by blacks in American society. He devoted most of his attention, however, to "The Religious Status of the Negroes." He detailed the segregation in Catholic churches and schools which humiliated blacks and, in many cases, prevented their children from receiving Catholic education. He reproached "almost all of the priests," whose racism or fear of negative white reaction kept them from reaching out to blacks. Turning to the hierarchy, Anciaux claimed that with the exceptions of Archbishop Ireland, the deceased Archbishop Janssens, and Bishop Auguste Durier of Natchitoches, Louisiana, the bishops failed to defend and protect the rights of blacks openly because they, like their priests, feared white backlash.

Although he tempered his charges with protestations that the bishops eagerly desired the salvation of all souls, Anciaux clearly implied that the American clergy suffered not only from the sins of human respect and timidity, but also from racism. He specifically fingered Bishop Benjamin Keiley of Savannah, a veteran of the Confederate Army, who had publicly denounced President Theodore Roosevelt for having lunched with Booker T. Washington. Anciaux attributed the dearth of black priests to white clerical opposition and cited a private conversation with Monsignor D. Laval, the Vicar General[6] of the Archdiocese of New Orleans, to support his claim. According to Anciaux, Laval

told him that "In America, no Negro should be ordained"; that just as illegitimacy constituted an impediment to Holy Orders under Canon Law, so too, in order to settle the question, the Church should declare all blacks "irregular" because whites held them in such contempt. Anciaux noted that Laval, more honest than most, had frankly based his objections on race rather than the common pretext of immorality. Anciaux contended that most priests in the United States shared Laval's opinion.

Anciaux even included the revered Cardinal Gibbons in his critique. He insisted that the Cardinal knew the truth of his charges, but, "weighed down by difficulties," he did nothing for fear of what might happen if "anyone rush headlong in opposition to the present state of affairs." Anciaux charged that Gibbons, like many whites, believed that "It is best for Negroes to labor...and stay in their place like good Negroes of the past." In Anciaux's opinion, such thinking by Catholic prelates constituted their greatest error and gravely injured the standing of the Church in the eyes of many blacks.[7]

In order to help remedy the terrible condition of blacks in the Church, Anciaux proposed the creation of a central office for all "colored work" in the United States, similar to the already existing "Indian Bureau";[8] an idea which John Slattery had unsuccessfully promoted for years, and which echoed Archbishop Martin John Spalding's suggestion for a vir ecclesiasticus at the Second Plenary Council in 1866.[9] Anciaux further recommended that Rome attach a prelate to the Apostolic Delegation[10] in Washington who would have charge of blacks and of mission work among them.[7.5] This prelate, while having no authority either above or opposed to the bishop, could prudently investigate the condition of blacks, and submit reports or propositions, either to Gibbons or, preferably, to the Propaganda through the Apostolic Delegate. Anciaux assured

Rome that the new bureau could obtain funds from the "Annual collection for the Indians and Negroes" or from Mother Katherine Drexel.[11]

To press his case at the Vatican, Anciaux relied not only on the strength of his letter and the influence of his uncle, Cardinal William Van Rossum, but also on the help of his cousin, Father Alfred Le Grand, a priest who had spent six years in Rome and had maintained contact with high ranking prelates such as Cardinal Merry del Val, the Secretary of State, and Francesco Gotti, the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda.[12] In addition to the facts supplied by Anciaux, Le Grand also obtained information about the condition of blacks in the American Church from Archbishop Le Roy, the Superior General of the Holy Ghost Fathers, who had toured the United States in 1903. In early 1904, LeGrand secured two audiences with Pope Pius X during which he stressed the inertia of the American bishops and the necessity of intervention by the Holy See on behalf of American blacks.[13] Pius X promised him prompt action.

As a result of Anciaux's letter and LeGrand's audiences with the pope, the Vatican bureaucracy began to pressure the bishops about the treatment of blacks in the American Church. A few days after LeGrand's audience with the Pope, several Cardinals informed him that Propaganda had instructed the Apostolic Delegate to obtain a commitment from the American bishops to create a bureau to organize the black apostolate in the United States.[14] On January 18, 1904, Cardinal Gotti wrote to Archbishop Sebastiano Martinelli, the Apostolic Delegate, advising him that the Propaganda had received information that in some dioceses in the United States the condition of black Catholics "not only in respect to other faithful but also in respect to their priests and bishops is very humiliating and entirely different from that of whites." Gotti asked the Delegate to call Gibbons's attention to the matter so that the Archbishops, at

their next meeting, could take steps to lessen and gradually remove the diversity of treatment.[15]

On April 14, 1904, at the Archbishops' meeting, Gibbons communicated Gotti's concerns. The American Archbishops, defensive about Roman "meddling" in the delicate area of race relations, responded to Gotti's letter with rhetoric rather than with substantive actions. Deciding that "...this is a matter depending on local circumstances...," the Archbishops simply sent a copy of the Prefect's letter to each of the bishops of the United States, apparently hoping that individual bishops would correct any abuses that might exist. During their meeting, the Archbishops admitted that Indians received more attention from the Church than did blacks, and urged "more efficient efforts and means for the conversion of the colored race among us." Believing themselves unfairly maligned by Anciaux's letter, however, the Archbishops asked Gibbons to present to the Propaganda, "a correct account of the action of the Church in America concerning the colored race."[16] Gibbons reported the results of the Archbishops' meeting to Rome and, ignoring the reality of segregated seating in his own cathedral in Baltimore, praised the clergy of his diocese, and by implication of the United States, for their zealous work with blacks. He declared that they showed blacks no less charity than the rest of the faithful.[17]

Gibbons's assurances notwithstanding, Rome maintained pressure on the American Church throughout the spring of 1904 to demonstrate "more efficient efforts and means" for the conversion of blacks. On April 25, 1904, newspapers reported a message from the Pope via Cardinal Merry Del Val, to Nick Charles, editor of the Topeka Plain Dealer, an Afro-American newspaper. Del Val assured Charles that the Pope extended "his loving care to every race without

exception and urged "all Catholics to be friendly to Negroes, who are called no less than other men to share in all the great benefits of the Redemption."[18] In mid-May, newspapers announced the creation of a provisional committee of the Archbishops, composed of John Ireland, John P. Ryan of Philadelphia, and John J. Glennon of St. Louis, to examine the Church's efforts on behalf of blacks.[19] "All that remains to be done," a jubilant Anciaux wrote "is to make the committee permanent and add a delegate from the Holy See to it."[20] Anciaux's sources in Rome told him that the Vatican had plainly advised the Archbishops and bishops to do something about the evangelization of blacks and was now watching to see what would happen. Nevertheless, Father Anthony Zielenbach, the Holy Ghost Provincial, who closely followed developments, remained skeptical: "I don't expect much," he wrote, "all he got was a letter from the Holy Father on the Negro question in very general terms."[21]

Despite Zielenbach's misgivings, however, the Holy Ghost Fathers supported Anciaux's campaign for a "colored bureau," urging an even stronger board than Anciaux had originally proposed. In late November of 1904, the Superior General, Bishop Le Roy, at the Propaganda's request, submitted an outline for a permanent central board or bureau that would collect money, gather information, and have the power to intervene against bishops who refused to grant faculties to missionaries registered with it.[22] After seeing LeRoy's proposals, Zielenbach prophetically observed that "The bishops will not acquiesce so easily to either regulations by Propaganda Fide or motu proprio's coming from another higher source...." He suggested that "success will come more easily from good personal relations."[23]

As Zielenbach had predicted, months dragged by with little apparent progress by the Archbishops' committee. An impatient Anciaux turned to Mother

Katherine Drexel, the foundress of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament and a close friend of Archbishop Ryan, prevailing upon her to speak on behalf of the bureau to the Archbishop.[24] Mother Katherine responded by bombarding Ryan and the other Archbishops with letters and personal appeals. Mother Katherine's immense wealth as well as her personal sanctity assured her of a respectful hearing from the Archbishops.[25]

Finally, on April 26, 1906, the Archbishops formed the Catholic Board for Mission Work Among the Colored People, consisting of Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishops John Ryan of Philadelphia and John Farley of New York, and Bishops Thomas Byrne of Nashville and Edward P. Allen of Mobile. The Archbishops authorized the Board to appoint a priest-secretary for the colored missions to direct, in union with the bishops, the missionary work among the colored people.[26] Eight months later, the Board named Fr. John E. Burke, pastor of St. Benedict the Moor parish in New York City, and an outspoken advocate of black priests, as the "priest superintendent."[27] The board, officially incorporated in the state of Tennessee as the Catholic Board for Mission Work Among the Colored People, met for the first time on May 16, 1907, and designated Burke as "secretary general." Burke, anxious to get to work, and frustrated by the "snail's pace" exhibited by the bishops in constituting the Board and defining his duties, drew a warning from Cardinal Gibbons, who had reservations about the Board, to "go slowly." The Cardinal informed Burke that he had found it necessary to scold Anciaux, apparently because of the latter's impatience.[28]

Anciaux's apparent victory in the creation of the Catholic Board for Mission Work Among the Colored People proved short-lived. The Board never provided the central direction, coordination, and protection for the black apostolate that

Anciaux and his allies had envisioned. In the first place, the relationship between the Catholic Board for Mission Work Among the Colored People and the Commission for Mission Work Among the Indians and Negroes, though frequently discussed, remained unclear and unresolved, leading to unnecessary duplication and confusion.[29] Furthermore, the Archbishops limited the Catholic Board's functions to stimulating interest in missionary work among blacks and distributing the funds that the Board collected. Each bishop retained full control over priests and missionaries in his diocese.[30] Father Burke, and his assistant Fr. D. J. Bustin, dubbed the "Gold Dust Twins," collected money for the Board by begging in northern dioceses. An incident in a northern parish illustrated both the relative obscurity of the Board and the indifference with which it had to contend. A northern pastor read a letter to his parishoners from their bishop recommending the Board's work, and then casually remarked, "I do not know about this collection....You will find a box down there at the door and if you wish to put anything in it....You can do so."[31] Under Burke, the Board paid the salaries of sisters teaching in the black mission schools, and provided small allowances of $15 per month to the neediest priests on those missions. By 1913, Fr. Burke dispensed approximately $1500 per month to sixty-five teachers.[32]

While Burke furnished invaluable financial assistance to teachers in the black mission schools, and became, especially through the pages of Our Colored Missions, the organ of the Catholic Board, a spokesman on a whole range of issues affecting black missionary work, including the ordination of black priests. He ultimately lacked real power, however, and relied instead on persuasion and personal influence. Once again, the American hierarchy had frustrated efforts to secure more effective coordination and centralization of missionary efforts

among blacks. Left to the care of their bishops, black Catholics often suffered from neglect and discrimination. The disastrous experiences of two black Josephites at the hands of southern bishops during the first two decades of the twentieth century illustrated the powerlessness of blacks in the Catholic Church, and raised serious doubts about the future of black priests in the United States.

II

While Joseph Anciaux played the role of firebrand, his new Superior, Thomas Donovan, adopted a more conservative approach. Donovan, the pudgy, bald, round-faced Kentuckian who succeeded Slattery in 1904 looked more like a farm hand than the superior of a religious community. The forty-eight year old Donovan, however, had held a series of important posts during the preceding ten years, including professor at Epiphany, pastor of St. Peter Claver's and St. Francis Xavier's in Baltimore, and St. Joseph's in Richmond, Virginia, and rector of St. Joseph's Industrial School in Clayton, Delaware, St. Joseph's College for Negro Catechists in Montgomery, Alabama, and Epiphany Apostolic College. During Slattery's leave of absence, Donovan also served as Visitor of the missions.[33] He took command of a Society whose membership had grown to thirty-five priests, with eighty students preparing for the priesthood, and with missions in the Archdioceses of Baltimore and New Orleans, and the dioceses of Wilmington, Richmond, Mobile, Natchez, Galveston, San Antonio, Nashville, and the Vicariate of the Oklahoma Territory.[34] The Colored Harvest described Donovan's attitude toward blacks as that of a "moral benefactor" and claimed

that while his predecessor's pleas for the uplift of blacks had aroused disfavor in the South, Father Donovan's work had elicited more appreciation in "Dixie."[35]

Although he had recommended black American candidates to study for the priesthood in the 1880's, by 1904 Donovan had soured on the idea, and pinned his slim hopes for black priests on "South American Negroes." As a result of his low opinion of the priestly potential of black Americans, Donovan did not encourage black applicants to Epiphany Apostolic College or St. Joseph's Seminary as had Slattery. In 1906, he allowed George Chisholme Knight, a "South American" from Georgetown, British Guiana, to take classes and to teach at St. Joseph's College for Negro Catechists. Two black lay teachers at St. Joseph's, however, aware of the differences in attitude between Donovan and Slattery, warned Knight that while he might get to the seminary, the Josephites would never ordain him. Knight, nevertheless, persevered in his study of Latin and entered Epiphany Apostolic College in July, 1907, just as a crisis involving John Henry Dorsey, the young black Josephite priest ordained in 1902, reached its climax.[36]

Dorsey, the second black parishoner of St. Francis Xavier's ordained to the priesthood, and the priest at whose first Mass Slattery delivered his indictment of the Catholic clergy in 1902, was a man blessed with a "sonorous voice" and "elegant and flowing diction." Standing five feet eight, Dorsey, with his arching, heavy eyebrows, intense eyes, strong chin, and missionary's cross hung from around his neck and stuck in the sash of his cassock, projected an air of authority.[37] A gifted and dedicated man, who tried to preach the Gospel and administer the sacraments to his people, Dorsey suffered repeated humiliations

from bishops and priests because of racial prejudice. Ultimately, the strain wore him down, leaving him a shell of his former self.

Initially, Dorsey's public ministry seemed to promise a life of success and acceptance. Unlike Father Uncles, Dorsey liked the work of giving parish missions, the Catholic versions of "revivals."[38] In the nine months following his ordination, prior to taking up his assignment at St. Joseph's College for Negro Catechists, Dorsey toured major cities of the North and most of the Josephite missions in the South. In the North, he attempted to enlist white support for the Josephite missions by showing them a "real black priest." White ladies of Boston knelt before him to receive his blessing and to take Communion; but in doing so, Dorsey pointed out, they reverenced the priestly character which he represented rather than any race.[39] Young Dorsey, elated by the response which he received in the North, did not yet realize that reverential acts like those he received from the Boston ladies would engender hostility and fear in many other whites, who viewed black priests like Dorsey as a potentially grave threat to white supremacy in the Catholic Church.

In the South, Dorsey hoped that his presence as a black priest would convince blacks that the Catholic Church valued them. At places like Palmetto, Louisiana and San Antonio and Houston, Texas, crowds of blacks packed the churches where he preached. Pierre LeBeau, pastor in Palmetto, said that when the people of his parish heard Dorsey say Mass and preach, "their enthusiasm knew no bounds. Some wept openly." Dorsey heard confessions as well, giving lie to the rumor that blacks would not go to confession to "colored priests." LeBeau's parishoners begged him to keep Dorsey at Palmetto, leading him to observe, "...if we had colored priests, I feel confident we should soon convert the South," since one of the most effective jibes of the Protestants to his

parishoners was that Catholics had white priests, while protestants had ministers of their own. During his southern tour, Dorsey dined with the bishops of Nashville and San Antonio and received visits at his missions from a number of white priests, who even tendered him a reception in San Antonio.[40] Slattery congratulated Dorsey on the success of his missions and retreats and assured him that his experiences on the retreats and the contacts made with whites would serve him well; but, he added ominously, "You have a hard life ahead of you if you attempt to work," and advised Dorsey to keep the examples of Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois before his eyes.[41]

Despite the triumphant appearance of his tour, a "dark cloud" hung over Dorsey's head as he made his way slowly toward Montgomery. He learned that some priests and lay people in Montgomery opposed his coming and that Slattery had not cleared his appointment with Bishop Allen, but had simply presented Allen with a fait accompli and then departed for Europe.[42] As early as July 25, 1902, only a month after the appointment and eight months before Dorsey would arrive at St. Joseph's College, the Rev. Hugh O'Brien, assistant pastor of St. Peter's Church in Montgomery, wrote to Bishop Allen on behalf of his incapacitated pastor and "several prominent Catholic laymen," asking him to do whatever he could to prevent Dorsey's appointment to St. Joseph's College, no matter how distant from whites Dorsey might keep himself. O'Brien claimed that Catholics and Protestants felt strongly that Slattery "...is purposely ignoring the opinions and sentiments of the southern people on the Negro question....He is rubbing it in."[43]

Dorsey confided to Slattery that he realized that he would have a hard life before he became a priest, but he said that when bishops and priests, "from whom encouragement ought to come" considered him personna non grata, it

drained all of the energy out of soul and body. "We are human," he told Slattery, "and cannot stop the flood of thought that rushes in upon us." Convinced that the conversion of his people depended on black priests, and willing to suffer for the cause, Dorsey, nevertheless, described the outlook as discouraging because of the opposition of many priests "to a colored man being raised to the dignity of the priesthood." He pleaded with Slattery not to station him at Montgomery, but promised obedience to what Slattery thought best.[44] Slattery advised Dorsey to "play possum," do his duty, and pay no attention to outsiders, despite feeling keenly the opposition. He tried to encourage Dorsey by reminding him that "Every graduate stands for a large number whom you will reach through him," and then, in a well-intentioned, but insensitive closing, told Dorsey, "We all suffer from race prejudice, myself just as you."[45]

Dorsey stayed at St. Joseph's for seventeen months. During his fortnightly visits to say Mass for the Catholic students at Tuskegee, he charmed Booker T. Washington, who invited him to commencement exercises.[46] Dorsey also accepted invitations to say Mass and preach at black parishes in Atlanta and New Orleans.[47] He lost his strongest supporter, however, when Father Slattery resigned. Shortly thereafter, relations between Dorsey and Fr. Francis Tobin, the rector of St. Joseph's, deteriorated. In September, 1904, therefore, Dorsey was assigned as assistant pastor to Father J.J. Ferdinand at St. Peter's Church in Pine Bluff, Arkansas: a city of 12,000, of whom half were black, located fifty miles from Little Rock in the heart of Arkansas's "black belt."[48] Father Donovan, the new Superior, remarked, "So Colored Priest, Colored Church, and Colored Sisters at Pine Bluff. Let us pray and hope that this move will be blessed."[49] It was not.

Dorsey found himself in an environment marked not only by tense race relations between blacks and whites, and by the implacable hostility of black Protestant ministers toward the Catholic Church, but also dominated by the difficult and suspicious J.M. Lucey, pastor of St. Joseph's parish, founder of the Colored Industrial Institute, and self-proclaimed "expert" on "colored people." Lucey had vexed the Josephites since their arrival at St. Peter's in 1898, finding fault with Josephite pastors over the "slow pace" of conversions, parish finances, relations with the Sisters teaching at the Colored Industrial Institute and the parochial school of St. Peter's, and such "scandalous behavior" as "walking with colored people."[50] Extremely sensitive to white southern opinion, Lucey believed that, "One of the most important points of the education of colored youth is their bearing and conduct towards the whites."[51] Lucey, therefore, made sure that, in addition to its sewing, literary, music, and woodwork programs, his Colored Industrial Institute also stressed deportment for its male and female students.

Lucey carefully cultivated the support of influential whites in the town, most of them non-Catholic, who valued the respect for authority, discipline, and purity which they believed the Catholic Church could instill in black people. By the time that Thomas Plunkett, the first Josephite pastor of St. Peter's arrived in 1898 to take charge of his congregation of six, the Colored Industrial Institute had increased its enrollment to 235 students, taught by six Sisters of Charity, and had moved from a two story wood frame building into a modern three story brick structure. Lucey grandiosely envisioned the Institute as a central mission for Arkansas, western Mississippi, northern Louisiana, East Texas, and the Western Indian territory. Fr. Plunkett's mission, therefore, covered a vast one hundred square mile territory which reportedly included five

hundred black Catholics who had left the practice of their faith. Lucey constantly pressed the Josephites for more conversions and Plunkett responded with thirty-seven baptisms during the first two years. The flock at St. Peter's, however, remained small.[52]

In 1901, in an attempt to encourage more converts, Father Lucey brought in the black Sisters of the Holy Family to conduct the Colored Industrial Institute and that part of the Institute which constituted the parochial school of St. Peter's.[53] Shortly after the arrival of the Holy Family Sisters, Lucey and J.J. Ferdinand, the new Josephite pastor, clashed over whether the Sisters should provide Ferdinand with his meals as part of his compensation for serving as their chaplain. Lucey opposed such an arrangement, fearing that a young white priest taking his meals with the black sisters might cause scandal, or "troubles of a worse character." Lucey also bridled at Ferdinand's "scandalous" habit of walking with his black parishoners, a practice that in Lucey's eyes smacked of "social equality" and threatened to inflame white opinion.[54] Other disagreements between Lucey and Ferdinand and Slattery concerning the pastor's role in the school, further soured relations. By the end of 1901, Lucey regretted ever having invited the Josephites to Arkansas.[55]

In October, 1901, the Colored Harvest reported a congregation of fifty souls at St. Peter's, with forty children attending catechism and one hundred and thirty-five enrolled in the parochial school. Ferdinand attributed the poor state of the Church in Arkansas to the lack of priests, especially black priests.[56] For once, Lucey seemed to agree him and in his report to the Negro and Indian Commission, stated his belief that two "colored priests" giving missions could accomplish great good, "provided that they would be as good morally and intellectually as white priests and that people could be convinced of this fact

and the absolute trustworthiness of colored priests."[57] Clearly, Lucey had his doubts on both scores, but he acceded to Dorsey's appointment as assistant pastor of St. Peter's.

The glow from the jubilant public welcome accorded to Fr. Dorsey on his arrival in Pine Bluff, which even featured a speech by the white mayor, quickly faded as the young priest found himself enmeshed in the Byzantine world of the little southern parish.[58] Within three months, Dorsey and Ferdinand quarreled, with Ferdinand complaining to Donovan that Dorsey did nothing but spend all of his time, "from early morning till late at night with the sisters."[59] Soon after, Father Ferdinand abruptly left St. Peter's for the Ft. Smith Mission without telling anyone. Ferdinand's housekeeper abused Fr. Dorsey, controlling the mail, and refusing to cook for him, or to show him the financial records of the mission. Dorsey appealed to the Rev. M. Kraemer, O.S.B., the Vicar General of the Diocese, who praised his conduct in the matter and recommended Ferdinand's transfer.[60] On January 27, 1905, Donovan reassigned Ferdinand to Dallas, thus making Dorsey the only black pastor in the United States.[61] Lucey asked Donovan to impress upon Dorsey his great responsibility, and warned that if Dorsey failed, no other colored priest would be tried for years.[62] Lucey watched Dorsey closely, and at first seemed pleased. In March of 1905, he told Bishop Edward Fitzgerald that Dorsey seemed "prudent," and that the sisters liked him, but added cautiously, "Time will tell."[63]

By the end of the year, Lucey began to find fault with Dorsey. He complained that Dorsey did little work because of a stomach ailment that barely allowed him to say Mass, and that prevented him from giving any missions. Lucey suggested that Dorsey seek treatment at the infirmary in Little Rock, or possibly even Baltimore, and attempted to justify the paltry share of the Negro

and Indian fund collection given by the Diocese to Dorsey by telling Donovan that Dorsey's ill health seemed to forbode his early departure.[64] Perhaps the appointment in 1906 of John B. Morris as coadjutor, or assistant, bishop to the incapacitated Edward Fitzgerald helped to harden Lucey's attitudes toward Dorsey. Reportedly, Morris, the former Vicar General of Nashville, had objected when Bishop Byrne invited Dorsey to dinner during his post-ordination tour and had refused to attend. Morris succeeded to the see of Little Rock at Fitzgerald's death on February 21, 1907.[65]

Trouble between Dorsey and the Sisters of the Holy Family, involving the familiar bugabboo of "immorality," soon gave Lucey further ammunition against Dorsey. Part of the difficulty probably stemmed from the Creole background of many of the Sisters of the Holy Family. Some of them looked down on "American blacks" and felt insulted at the prospect of receiving the sacraments from a black, rather than a white priest.[66] Differences of opinion about Fr. Dorsey, coupled with personality conflicts, split the community of Sisters at Pine Bluff.[67] In August, 1906, Mother Mary Austin, the Mother General of the Holy Family Sisters, informed Lucey that she feared criminal intimacy between Fr. Dorsey and one of her Sisters at Pine Bluff and requested that Lucey ask Bishop Morris for authority to replace Fr. Dorsey as the Sisters' ordinary confessor with Father McGeau, Lucey's white assistant. The bishop granted the request. Mother Austin reassigned all of the Sisters at Pine Bluff bringing in a new contingent suspicious of Father Dorsey. Father Lucey told Mother Austin that if Fr. Donovan insisted on Dorsey, he would recommend that Donovan name a white priest as pastor and make Fr. Dorsey the assistant, reasoning that "There would be less danger on moral grounds."[68]

Lucey became increasingly obsessed with fears about possible immorality and scandal, fears which he strangely failed to communicate to Donovan. Lucey suggested that Mother Austin lay down strict rules governing the relations of the Sisters and their pupils with Fr. Dorsey. He insisted that Dorsey not visit the Sisters after nightfall and noted disapprovingly that several small girls visited Dorsey quite frequently. Although Lucey admitted that the girls were so young that "no harm to them can be done," still, he added, it did not look good, and besides, "The little girls at the Colored School are so untidy in dress that they excite thoughts."[69]

During the next year, both Bishop Morris, and Monsignor Lucey, who had become the new Vicar General of the diocese, sought ways to remove Dorsey from St. Peter's. Bishop Morris wanted to entrust all of the black missions in Arkansas, beginning with Pine Bluff, to the Holy Ghost Fathers. At a meeting in May of 1907, with Father John T. Murphy, the American Provincial of the Holy Ghost Fathers, Morris expressed his dissatisfaction with Dorsey and with the Josephites in general. According to Murphy, Bishop Morris, a southerner, emphasized the need for racial segregation until prejudices diminished. While acknowledging the need to use blacks themselves in missionary work, Morris only envisioned raising them to the diaconate, a step below priesthood, so that they could preach and baptize. Morris believed that, under existing conditions, priests should be white and should occupy the same position with respect to black deacons as bishops did to priests. Deacons, moreover, were free to marry.[70] Morris finally asked Donovan to remove Dorsey from Pine Bluff, alleging concern about Dorsey's happiness in view of his isolation from the white clergy because of southern racial norms. Donovan checked with Dorsey

about whether he wished to leave Pine Bluff, but Dorsey indicated his wish to remain at St. Peter's; thus Donovan left him there.[71]

Dorsey's illness in July, 1907, however, began a chain of events that resulted in his removal from St. Peter's. Suffering from appendicitis, Dorsey travelled to Mercy Hospital in Chicago for an operation. Exhibiting his distrust of southern doctors and institutions, Dorsey explained to Donovan, "They wanted to butcher me in Pine Bluff but I politely refused." Dorsey assured Donovan that he would return to Pine Bluff in approximately three weeks, since the doctors promised that all of his stomach problems would cease as a result of the operation. He also told Donovan that he had asked Msgr. Lucey to look after the church in his absence, and that no replacement for him was needed since so few attended the church after the school closed for the summer.[72]

Two days later, Donovan received a letter from Bishop Morris expressing surprise that Donovan had not yet removed Dorsey from Pine Bluff and insisting that if he did not, the Sisters of the Holy Family would not return to the Colored Industrial Institute.[73] Sister Regina, the local superior, and Sister Colombe, opposed Dorsey, while four other Sisters supported him. In this case, racial factors apparently complicated the normal conflicts that sometimes arose between priests and sisters. According to one of the parishoners, the Creole Sisters Regina and Colombe, Creole ladies from head to toe, disliked "real colored people" and wanted Fr. Dorsey removed so that they could have a white priest. Reportedly, one of the Sisters would walk out of church every time Fr. Dorsey gave a sermon and Sr. Regina refused to allow two of the Sisters to attend to Fr. Dorsey when he became ill with typhoid. The hostility between Dorsey and the Sisters, in addition to Dorsey's ill health, adversely affected the

parish, which failed to record a single baptism or first Holy Communion in 1907. Bishop Morris viewed Dorsey as the culprit in the conflict with the Sisters.[74]

On the heels of Bishop Morris's letter, Donovan received one from Monsignor Lucey, claiming that when Dorsey left for Chicago, he had not secured a priest to look after his parish, and had not bothered to inform either Lucey or Bishop Morris of his departure. Lucey complained that Dorsey failed to show proper respect to Bishop Morris and warned that the Bishop would not likely tolerate any longer "the way that Fr. Dorsey has of leaving without his permission in the independent manner that he does." Lucey closed his letter with the observation that, "Fr. Dorsey is about like colored people generally, he needs someone to be over him if any work is to be done."[75]

Fr. Donovan bowed to the pressure and on August 5, 1907 notified the still hospitalized Dorsey that he should report to St. Peter Claver's in San Antonio, Texas by August 16, to take up his new duties as the assistant to Father Welbers. Hoping for no difficulties, Donovan assured Bishop John Anthony Forest that Dorsey would do well in San Antonio, but suggested that in order to avoid offending the white Sisters at the school, the bishop might appoint Fr. Welbers, the white Josephite, as their confessor.[76]

Dorsey exploded at the news of his transfer, claiming that Donovan's action threw a damper over his whole life. He flatly refused to go to San Antonio and declared himself tired of the constant hounding he had endured. "From...my ordination till the present," he wrote, "my life has been one heavy cross." He demanded to remain in Pine Bluff until after Christmas and warned, "If I am to be dogged about, I prefer to leave the priesthood out of my life...Change me and I do not care for the consequences...." Donovan, nevertheless, insisted that Dorsey report to San Antonio on the seventeenth.[77]

The Vicar General of the Diocese of San Antonio confounded Donovan's plans, however, by wiring Dorsey and telling him not to come to San Antonio.[78] "Now this is another awful situation. Another insult offered me ...," a miserable Dorsey complained to Donovan. The situation so upset him that his doctor ordered him to remain in the hospital for an additional week. Dorsey chided Donovan for failing to protect his priests, for sacrificing them unjustly, and also for having failed to consult sufficiently with Bishop Forest prior to his assignment to San Antonio. "I have "been kicked about enough!...," Dorsey cried, "I will not be the victim."[79]

An embarrassed Donovan lamely suggested Epiphany College to Dorsey as a possible assignment, especially "after your attack of appendicitis," a dubious reason given Donovan's foiled attempt to assign him to a parish.[80] Perhaps Donovan hoped that putting Dorsey into a teaching position a la Uncles would eliminate the disconcerting problem of trying to place him in a diocese. Dorsey, however, insisted on Pine Bluff or nothing. "The men in the priesthood and even the bishops are not what people think they are. Fr. Slattery has written the truth," a bitter Dorsey told Donovan. Dorsey said that he would leave the hospital in a few days and did not know what he would do. "I don't want to give scandal," he assured Donovan, but then added, "... if there be scandal, the fault will not be mine."[81] Donovan finally acquiesced in Dorsey's demands, and consented to his return to Pine Bluff, telling Bishop Morris that manpower shortages necessitated Dorsey's return until after ordinations. By the end of August, Dorsey returned to Pine Bluff, apparently having won his battle.[82]

Bishop Morris reacted with pique at Dorsey's return. "You are aware," he lectured Donovan, "that he is, has been, and will be, a failure at Pine Bluff." He repeated his desire for Dorsey's removal on the grounds of constant friction

between Dorsey and the Sisters, an average attendance of only twelve to fourteen persons for Sunday Mass, and Fr. Dorsey's absences from the diocese without permission. Morris told Donovan that he would not submit without a protest and warned, "You must not think my diocese a dumping ground for your incapable missionaries."[83]

Within a week, Bishop Morris and his Vicar General raised another, more serious, but very familiar charge in their campaign to rid themselves of Dorsey. Writing on behalf of the Bishop, Lucey accused Dorsey of illicit sexual relations with Miss Adaline Robinson, a woman whom he described as a public school teacher, a recent convert, and a morphine addict. Lucey contended that Dorsey's affair with the woman had scandalized parishoners and accounted for the small attendance at Sunday Mass. Lucey further claimed that, according to the "unimpeachable testimony" of Dr. G. W. Bell and Mrs. Perry, Miss Robinson's sister: Miss Robinson had frequently spent the night at Dorsey's rectory, had been thrown out of the Perry's home by Mr. Perry when she refused to stop seeing Fr. Dorsey, had attempted suicide when confronted by her sister about the affair, and had revealed, in her delirium following the suicide attempt, that Dorsey had impregnated her and that she had subsequently had an abortion. Lucey cited Mother Austin's fears about Fr. Dorsey's criminal relations with some of the Sisters at the Colored Institute, which had led her to replace the whole community, and for good measure, Lucey also threw in charges about dereliction of duty, unexcused absences, and leaving "the Blessed Sacrament for nearly a month with an irregular light." [84] Lucey did not explain why he had waited so long to act on the alleged Dorsey-Robinson affair, rumors of which had supposedly circulated for over a year, or why he had failed to mention it to Donovan in their earlier debates about Dorsey's tenure.

Dorsey denied the allegations in a meeting with Bishop Morris and Monsignor Lucey. Lucey insisted on the truth of the charges, though he admitted that he did not care to go into a detailed investigation of them. Morris and Lucey agreed to allow Dorsey to remain at St. Peter's for thirty days because of insurance problems if they left the church unattended. Bishop Morris, however, decided to withhold the money from the Negro and Indian collection for St. Peter's until after Dorsey's departure. The Mother General of the Holy Family sisters reported that she had replaced the faction at Pine Bluff supporting Dorsey and, therefore, had no objection to Dorsey's remaining for another month.[85]

Dorsey explained his version of events in a letter to Donovan. He claimed that the main reason for his removal lay in Morris's opposition to "colored priests" in his diocese. Dorsey quoted the bishop as saying during his interview that the time was not ripe for black priests and would not be for fifty years. Dorsey maintained that the rumors about Miss Robinson had originated with one who hoped to secure Miss Robinson's teaching position, which paid $40 per month. Miss Robinson's brother-in-law, Mr. Perry, a "narrow bigoted Baptist" in Dorsey's words, persecuted her when she became a Catholic and originated several of the charges against her. Dorsey pointed out that Donovan knew that Miss Robinson prepared his meals for him because Lucey would not permit the Sisters to do so. He admitted that Miss Robinson had attended him when he suffered from typhoid, occasionally spending the night in the rectory, but always in the presence of two teenage boys, one of whom was nineteen, and only because the Sisters refused to nurse him. Dr. Bell, the "witness" to Miss Robinson's supposed dalliances, had tried to overcharge him for drugs during his bout with typhoid and had made immoral advances on Miss Robinson, which she

rebuffed. In retaliation, Bell tried to hurt both Dorsey and Robinson. "Once again," Dorsey concluded, "I am the victim of southern prejudice." Despairingly, he asked, "Where," he asked, "are we drifting?"[86]

Dorsey insisted on staying at Pine Bluff until Christmas, in order to avoid the appearance of guilt. Dorsey invited Donovan to come down to investigate matters for himself, and assured Donovan of his willingness to stand trial in any ecclesiastical or civil court. He then added a recommendation that he would come to regret: "...If colored priests must forever suffer and be outcasts, better not ordain them, or if you ordain them, get them places in northern cities." He quickly recovered his spirits, however, and urged a fight. While admitting that he would eventually have to acquiesce in a transfer, he nevertheless advised Donovan, "...I think a good public fight would help the cause immensely. One must not live suppinely on our backs. If we do we shall never gain anything. What is worth having is worth fighting for."[87]

Leading black citizens of Pine Bluff rallied to Dorsey's defense.[88] In October, 1907, they drew up a petition of support for Dorsey and sent a copy to Lucey. They also addressed a petition to Donovan, urging him to keep Dorsey at Pine Bluff for the good of the community. The petition included the names of two of the Directors of the Colored Industrial Institute, the former and present principals of the State Branch Normal College, every black physician except Dr. Bell, five black attorneys, the black teachers in all of the city's public schools, and numerous black Protestant ministers - forty six names in all. The petition praised Dorsey's intelligence, high moral character, and labors for his people.[89]

The petitions also enraged Lucey, who charged that Dorsey had encouraged them, had taken advantage of the ignorance of the black people of Pine Bluff, and had increased the danger that the scandal would become public; a curious

charge given his earlier contention that public knowledge of the affair had already caused a decline in church attendance at St. Peter's. Accusing Donovan and Dorsey of dilatory tactics, Lucey denied Donovan's request to extend Dorsey's faculties past October 16, 1907.[90] Faced with the inevitable, Donovan transferred Dorsey back to St. Joseph's College for Negro Catechists in Montgomery and, perhaps with a touch of perverseness, informed Morris that he intended to replace Dorsey with Joseph Anciaux. Not surprisingly, Morris refused to accept the outspoken Anciaux, "For reasons known to myself."[91]

Fr. Justin McCarthy, acting on behalf of Donovan, who had become ill, then assigned William Murphy to Pine Bluff. The new pastor, after talking with Dorsey, parishoners at St. Peter's, and Monsignor Lucey, concluded that "Dorsey's crime was a black skin..." and that Lucey, possessing "...an evil, suspicious mind...," had "...been at the bottom of all of the trouble in the past." Murphy advised McCarthy to give up the mission at Pine Bluff, reasoning that, in light of the treatment accorded to Dorsey and Anciaux, "It is now high time that we...take an independent stand."[92]

The beleaguered Josephite administrators, however, found it difficult to determine where they might take a stand on the issue of black priests, for just as Dorsey left Pine Bluff, Bishop Edward Allen of Mobile advised Donovan that he did not favor Dorsey's return to Montgomery "because of certain local circumstances." Instead of reporting directly to Montgomery, therefore, Dorsey went on leave for two months.[93] Though he finally consented to grant faculties to Dorsey, Bishop Allen advised the Josephites not to accept any black candidates unless they could show that their families had been Catholics for three generations.[94]

Further complicating Josephite relations with the bishops, the volatile Joseph Anciaux again took up his pen and let fly a stinging letter to Bishop Morris when he received news of Morris's refusal to allow him into the Little Rock diocese. In graphic English, Anciaux called Morris the "Son of Irish immigrant...of a tramp of a slaveholder," and accused the bishop of despising Holy Orders for black men, denying the supernatural order, and valuing southern customs more than the priesthood. Anciaux, who claimed descent from "the royal blood of Orleans," invited Morris to black his boots, since according to social rank, which Morris seemed to prize, that was all he was fitted to do. Predicting that they would meet at the Last Judgement, Anciaux charged Morris and other southern bishops and priests with responsibility for the loss of millions of souls through neglect.[95] After receiving a copy of the letter with an accompanying protest from Bishop Morris, the Apostolic Delegate demanded that Donovan secure an apology from Anciaux for his "grievous insult" to the bishop. Anciaux's subsequently apologized, but Louis B. Pastorelli, the rector of St. Joseph's Industrial School in Clayton, and a trusted confidant of McCarthy, advised McCarthy to try to convince Anciaux to return to Belgium and obtain his release from the Josephites. Then, Pastorelli suggested, "notify the bishops... It will be the whitest and most diplomatic feather - should you succeed - that will adorn your cap."[96]

Dorsey reported to St. Joseph's College in December, 1907, assuming charge of the boys and visiting the Catholic students at nearby Tuskegee Institute every two weeks. Father Jeremiah McNamara, the rector of St. Joseph's, expressed his complete satisfaction with Dorsey's work. Nevertheless, Dorsey's trials continued. Probably in deference to the bishop's fears about "local conditions," McNamara assigned mission work in the city of Montgomery itself

to Father Dan Rice instead of to Dorsey, who had requested it.[97] Walter Yates, a fellow Josephite stationed at the college, also spread tales about Dorsey, implying that he beat the students, failed to recite his office, talked "modernism" at the supper table, and mysteriously locked himself in his room because of "exhaustion."[98]

III

In the wake of Fr. Dorsey's ordeal with southern bishops, and in the midst of worsening race relations in their headquarters city of Baltimore, the Josephite leadership retrenched further on the issue of black priests, evidently deciding to accept no more black candidates for the Josephites into Epiphany Apostolic College. That policy influenced the Holy Ghost Fathers and also outraged some black Catholics in Baltimore.

Justin McCarthy, the fifty year old former president of St. Joseph's Seminary and the man ultimately responsible for the more restrictive Josephite policy toward applicants, was elected as the third Josephite Superior General in March, 1908, following the death of Thomas B. Donovan.[99] About McCarthy, an acid-tongued critic observed, "He belongs to that rather large class of numbskulls who plum themselves on their stupidity and who measure a man's godliness as if it were mathematically proportionate to his intellectual vacuity."[100] Although his critic probably judged him too severely, McCarthy did not distinguish himself as a leader or as an administrator during the ten years that he served as Superior. A thin, sad-eyed, amiable man, McCarthy preferred working on the farm or in his woodshop to running St. Joseph's Society and was ill-suited to deal with the explosive issue of black priests.[101] He inherited a

Society consisting of forty-nine priests, known for their individualism and described by one Josephite wag as "an organized band of lawless men." Administratively, McCarthy did nothing to curb the rampant individualism that at times bordered on insubordination; instead, he adopted a policy of well-intentioned "benign neglect" that resulted in a period of drift and indecision for St. Joseph's Society.[102]

Just as McCarthy assumed his new post, a wave of negrophobia struck the state of Maryland, adding to the difficulties of conducting integrated seminaries. The Democrats pushed for the disfranchisement of Maryland blacks through a constitutional amendment, a move publicly condemned by Cardinal Gibbons. Although the disfranchisement amendment failed in 1909, the campaign surrounding it led to the passage of additional Jim Crow legislation in 1908, and also to a sharp increase in informal segregation of the races. When white Josephite students took walks through Druid Hill Park with Clifford Teureaud, one of their few remaining black classmates, white youngsters taunted them with cries of "Nigger lovers."[103] Such experiences took an emotional toll on both blacks and whites at the college and seminary. The Afro-American reported that a wave of segregation and segregationist sentiment had engulfed the city of Baltimore. It culminated in 1911 with the passage of a city ordinance decreeing residential segregation of the races.[104] Although it exempted areas already racially mixed, the law did not provide a climate conducive to integrated seminary training, especially since Josephite students also attended classes at St. Mary's Seminary.

As a result of the hostile atmosphere in both Church and state, McCarthy and his advisors decided not to accept any more black candidates for the Josephites, a decision that they did not make public. In the summer of 1908,

McCarthy refused to admit Joseph John to Epiphany Apostolic College. On hearing the news, Jeremiah McNamara wrote, "If you intend to take in any more of them, I think he is one of the best you will find." McNamara praised John's "remarkably fine character" and his fine old Catholic family in Grenada, British West Indies, a family which boasted two aunts and a sister who had become nuns.[105] A few weeks later, McNamara assured McCarthy that he did not blame McCarthy for not accepting John since McCarthy had to deal with the bishops and could not dictate to them. Nonetheless, he emphasized once again the need for a black clergy and insisted that he knew at least five morally upright and gifted black students who possessed God-given vocations. He argued that God would hold bishops and priests accountable for their failure to allow those students to follow their vocations. "Of course," McNamara lamented, "we few Josephites can do nothing, only our little best."[106]

Reports about Joseph John and other unsuccessful black applicants for the Josephites upset black Catholics in Baltimore. Led by Father Dorsey's sister-in-law, Mary Dorsey, a number of black Catholic women formed themselves into a society for the support of black students at Epiphany and St. Joseph's Seminary. On July 28, 1908, they communicated their alarm to Fr. McCarthy at hearing that the Josephites had rejected young black applicants to both institutions without apparent reason.[107] Fr. Dorsey himself complained publicly in the pages of the Freeman's Journal about the small number of black Catholic priests, and the next year, Charles Marcellus Dorsey, Father Dorsey's outspoken, fiery, younger brother, who operated a printing business in Baltimore, founded the Colored Catholic to fight against discrimination in the Catholic Church and to promote the ordination of blacks to the priesthood.[108]

Buoyed by support from Baltimore's black Catholic community, Joseph John persisted in his efforts to gain admission to a seminary. The African Fathers' seminary in Canada indicated a willingness to accept him if he could complete his classical and philosophical studies, since they taught only theology. John appealed for help to Mother Katherine, who advised him to reapply to McCarthy. McCarthy finally relented and agreed to allow John to enter Epiphany Apostolic College, but only on the condition that he obtain letters from the Dominicans, with whom he resided and for whom he had done gardening, stating that they would ordain him after his studies at Epiphany. The Dominicans agreed and in September, 1908, Joseph John joined John Teureaud, the only other black student at Epiphany; George Knight remained as the only black candidate at St. Joseph's Seminary.[109]

The Holy Ghost Fathers, who had opened an integrated preparatory seminary at Cornwells, Pennsylvania in 1905, watched with growing alarm as the Josephites wrestled with the problems of black priests. In 1907, in France, the Holy Ghost Fathers had ordained to the priesthood Joseph Burgess, a black man from Washington, D.C. and a former student at Epiphany Apostolic College. Finally, on July 2, 1908, the American Provincial Council of the Holy Ghost Fathers met to discuss the admission of black candidates to their junior seminary. The Council unanimously agreed that prudence dictated against accepting any more of them. Calling the situation unfortunate, the Council nevertheless concluded that prejudice in the South rendered the use of black priests practically impossible, and claimed that, as a result of sad experiences in the South, the Josephites no longer accepted black candidates.[110] Fr. John T. Murphy, the Holy Ghost Provincial, transmitted the observations of the Council to the Generalate, or headquarters in France and the Holy Ghost

Fathers in the United States made the Josephite policy their own. In 1910, Father Murphy even suggested a foreign assignment for his lone black priest, Father Joseph Burgess, because of difficulty of finding him a position in the United States.[111] No doubt, Father Murphy hoped to protect Burgess from the fate which befell John Plantevigne, the third black Josephite priest who had been ordained in 1907.

IV

John Plantevigne, "a colored Catholic Creole," was born on October 22, 1871 on a small farm near Chenel, Louisiana, located twelve miles from New Roads, Louisiana in Point Coupee Parish. After attending public schools and working on a farm for six years, John and his brother Albert enrolled at Straight University in New Orleans. Albert remained at Straight, became a Congregational minister, and in 1901 returned to the vicinity of New Roads to open a church and to conduct a school for his people; John, encouraged by the attitudes of Archbishop Janssens and Father Slattery, and undeterred by his Protestant friends at Straight who warned him that the white Catholic clergy would place insurmountable obstacles in his path, entered Epiphany Apostolic College on August 24, 1898. He graduated to St. Joseph's Seminary in 1901.[112]

A stocky, powerfully built man, with a round, chubby face, large, deep-set, eyes, and thick black hair parted on the left side, Plantevigne impressed teachers, fellow students, and visitors with his maturity, intelligence, and piety. One Josephite described him as the "perfect gentleman." Monsignor John Burke spoke of him as a man of thought and observation, "full of information but still

harping on the grievances of the colored Catholics in the South, but with reason."[113] Plantevigne felt a special sense of grievance against the racism of the South, for while he was in the seminary, he received word that his brother, who had regularly visited him in Baltimore and who had gone ahead with a high school for blacks in New Roads despite white opposition, had been ambushed and killed by two white gunmen, who shot off the back of his head and left his body lying in the road to terrorize blacks in the vicinity.[114]

Deeply shaken by the tragedy, John Plantevigne nevertheless persevered in his studies and was ordained, along with his white classmate, John Albert, on September 21, 1907, just at the height of the Dorsey imbroglio in Pine Bluff. As if to illustrate the growing isolation of the few black priests in the Catholic Church, Plantevigne and Albert received Holy Orders in the chapel of St. Joseph's Seminary instead of at the Cathedral with other ordinands from the Archdiocese; and from the hands of Bishop Alfred Curtis of Wilmington, rather than from Cardinal Gibbons, who had previously ordained the first two black Josephites. Monsignor John Burke, who had come from New York to preach at Plantevigne's first Mass at St. Francis Xavier's, sensed the changed atmosphere, observing in his diary, "No priests outside 'Josephites' attended the Mass. Strange!"[115]

Ignoring the warnings of friends and relatives, who urged him to stay away for his own safety, Plantevigne set off for his home parish in Chenel. He stopped in New Orleans and offered Mass at St. Katherine's Church, the first black church in that city, and then entrained for Chenel. Fr. Louis Savoure, his old pastor who had regularly sent him funds for seminary expenses, but who had also introduced rigid segregation into the parish church, greeted him.[116] Plantevigne celebrated Mass in the middle of the week in an attempt to avoid

publicity, but the occasion still attracted many whites, including three state legislators. He did not say Mass at New Roads, nor attend a benefit given by friends in the town, but he did visit and bless his brother's simple grave on the grounds of the abandoned school. On his way back to Baltimore, he stopped once again in New Orleans where the delighted parishoners of St. Katherine's asked him to stay as their pastor.[117]

In the autumn of 1907, Plantevigne and John Albert enrolled at the Apostolic Mission House in Washington,D.C., where the Paulist Fathers trained priests to conduct parish missions.[118] Albert and Plantevigne studied pastoral homiletics and approaches to convert making. During the fall semester, they concentrated on missions among Catholics, and during the spring, on missions among non-Catholics, with particular emphasis on the use of the "Question Box": a popular technique which afforded non-Catholics the opportunity to obtain answers to questions which they had about the Catholic Church. In February, 1908, under the watchful eye of Father Alexander Doyle, one of the directors of the Mission House, Plantevigne and Albert conducted a successful mission at St. Barnabas Church in Baltimore, netting fifty converts and bringing many lapsed Catholics back into the fold.[119] McCarthy decided to have Plantevigne and Albert form a "mission band," giving missions near Baltimore in the fall of 1908, and then, if they met no opposition, moving down to Scranton, Mississippi, though he worried that Plantevigne's color might create difficulties for the two of them that far South.[120] Using St. Peter's at Scranton as a headquarters, Plantevigne and Albert would conduct missions "in any place they could procure," stay from three to eight weeks, encourage the construction of a mission church, and then either arrange to have another priest follow up to take

care of the converts, or return themselves to make sure converts did not fall away after the initial fervor of the mission had ebbed.[121]

During the summer of 1908, while he prepared to move South on the mission band, Plantevigne threw himself into a project which he called "...the great wish of my life...": a Catholic school for the children of Chenel. The black people of the town had selected the site and raised the money to buy the land for the school. Plantevigne asked Mother Katherine to provide the money necessary for the school building and the teacher's salary. Plantevigne assured both Mother Katherine and Fr. McCarthy, that Fr. LeBeau, located in Palmetto about one hundred miles away, could "keep an eye" on the school and provide any needed assistance. Plantevigne also wrote to Archbishop James H. Blenk of New Orleans for permission to build the school since the Archdiocese of New Orleans required that the Archbishop have title to all Church property. Perhaps naively, Plantevigne expected the Bishop to approve the project.[122] Fr. McCarthy explored the possibilities of stationing Plantevigne at a mission among the black people of Chenel, or at least somewhere in the Archdiocese of New Orleans, that would enable him to look after the school; although McCarthy doubted that the Archbishop would consent to such an assignment, "on account of the opposition to color."[123] Unfortunately, resistance from Father Savoure, the parish priest in Chenel, who disapproved of education for blacks, convinced the Archbishop to abandon the plan for the Catholic school. Blenk expressed the hope to a disappointed Plantevigne that "Later on, under more favorable circumstances," he might undertake such a project.[124]

Plantevigne received news of the Archbishop's decision in the midst of a triumphant mission tour that had begun the previous October at St. Joseph's Church in Wilmington, Delaware. The Wilmington Standard and Times

approvingly noted "the presence of Father Plantevigne, the colored missionary, who won the admiration of his auditors by his prepossessing appearance and his forceful eloquence." [125] As he travelled South, Plantevigne continued to receive "rave" reviews but also inspired some apprehension among fellow Josephites at St. Joseph's College for Negro Catechists in Montgomery, who worried about his outspokenness. Jeremiah McNamara urged McCarthy to instruct Plantevigne to stick to Christian doctrine "...and leave the discussing of Race issues to others whose usefulness will not be thereby jeopardized."[126] Plantevigne exercised "discretion" in his public talks during missions but his "sensitivity" to racial discrimination increased during his tour of the South, because "Jim Crow" laws prevented him from sitting with his good friend and partner, John Albert, as they travelled on trains and boats from one mission to another.[127]

December found Albert and Plantevigne at St. Peter's Church, in Scranton, Mississippi. The Josephites intended to use Scranton as their base for missions along the Gulf coast, between Mobile,Alabama and Bay St. Louis, Mississippi.[128] Plantevigne's presence in Scranton elicited much comment from both blacks and whites: probably none had ever seen a black priest. In fact, many considered such a possibility so remote that they wagered that Plantevigne "was not the real thing," and that the Church had sent him to bluff the black folks and kidnap them into the Catholic Church. Some contended that Plantevigne, while a priest, did not possess all of the powers of a white priest.[129] Plantevigne eventually succeeded, however, in disabusing skeptics of their erroneous notions.

From January to March, 1909, Albert and Plantevigne preached missions throughout Alabama, finishing at the Most Pure Heart of Mary Church in Mobile. Writing to Father McCarthy prior to the beginning of the Mobile

mission, John Albert shared some of his impressions of John Plantevigne. Albert observed that he and Plantevigne had worked together "admirably." He described Plantevigne as a fine missionary who "takes well wherever he goes - preaches magnificently - and is always on the job...." Albert assured McCarthy that, "Given a square deal and some encouragement...splendid results are obtainable"; and noted that the "spectacle of white and black priests working together" gave black people a more favorable impression of the Catholic Church.[130]

Albert also noticed, however, that Creoles and "American blacks" responded differently to Plantevigne. Skin color and hair texture counted heavily among both groups. Creoles prized light skin and straight hair, while "American blacks" favored darker skin and "tight" hair. Despite his Creole background, Plantevigne elicited a warm response from "American blacks," especially non-Catholics in Baltimore, Richmond, Norfolk, and Chastang, Alabama, in part because of his dark skin and woolly hair. On the other hand, in distinctly Creole congregations like Bellefontane, Mon Louis, and Scranton, Mississippi, the "Lily white" Creoles reacted more coolly.[131] Nevertheless, during the mission at Mobile, both "American blacks" and "lily white" Creoles enthusiastically flocked to hear Plantevigne. Hundreds of people, including even some whites, packed the church every night, some spilling out on to the street, leading Conrad Rebesher, the pastor, to exclaim that he had "never witnessed anything equal to this."[132] As a result of the mission, more than 230 people returned to the sacraments and thirty converted to Catholicism.[133] As the exhausted missionaries returned to Scranton from Mobile, they made plans for the two week mission, scheduled to begin on March 28, which they would preach for Father Pierre LeBeau, to help launch St. Dominic's, the first Josephite parish in New Orleans. John Plantevigne looked forward to the mission as a kind of homecoming.[134]

Arriving back in Scranton, Plantevigne found a letter from Archbishop Blenk of New Orleans which contained, in Plantevigne's words, "a thunderbolt which I never expected."[135] Evidently concerned about Plantevigne's reputation for outspokenness, and fearing negative white reaction to the sight of white and black priests travelling and working together, the Archbishop informed Plantevigne that he would not allow him to conduct the scheduled mission at St. Dominic's in New Orleans. "Death would have been more welcome to me than such news," a shocked and despondent Plantevigne wrote to the Archbishop. He attributed Blenk's decision to a lack of knowledge about the success of his missions or about the cordial receptions he had received from bishops, priests, and black and white laymen. "Surely," he implored, "New Orleans, a city where there are so many Catholics ought not be the exception." Plantevigne told the archbishop that he had already written his friends in New Orleans telling them that he would give the mission and warned Blenk that news of the Archbishop's refusal would do untold harm to the Catholic Church among blacks. He pleaded for at least a trial mission in the city and begged the Archbishop to relieve him from "this agony of spirit."[136]

On learning from John Albert that Father McCarthy had expected the archbishop's decision, Plantevigne angrily reproached his superior for not having warned him about "this awful blow." He described his life as a "perfect wreck" and demanded that McCarthy immediately relieve him from the mission band and station him anywhere, except an institution, where he would be alone. Plantevigne suggested Florida, "where the bishop has no objection to me," or Chastang, Alabama.[137]

In a letter dated March 31, 1909, Archbishop Blenk assured Plantevigne that he had put "an entirely wrong construction" on the Archbishop's motives for

"advising" him to refrain from taking part in the mission at New Orleans. He denied bearing any ill will toward Plantevigne or "the colored race," and explained that he did not want to expose himself and the work already in hand to risk "...that might be run by over-zeal or any action that might stir up prejudice and suspicions calculated to endanger the real progress that I have, just as much at heart as you have." Blenk expressed confidence that in the not too distant future, Plantevigne would be able to do excellent work in the Archdiocese. Until then, he urged Christian resignation and the spirit of humble obedience.[138]

Plantevigne, however, refused to resign himself to the Archbishop's decision. Telling McCarthy that he meant "...to see this thing through," he appealed his case to Archbishop Diomede Falconio, the Apostolic Delegate. Plantevigne's friends in New Orleans also threatened to expose the Archbishop's actions in the public press. On April 13, 1909, Plantevigne responded to Archbishop Blenk's latest letter. After reviewing his previous mission successes, Plantevigne pointed out to the Archbishop that his earlier visits to New Orleans had resulted in no unpleasantness and had indeed occasioned much favorable comment; he had even said Mass without incident before a mixed congregation in Point Coupee, "...where the devil's own imps are...." Plantevigne assured the Archbishop that he did not seek social equality as far as associating with whites, but added, "to be put off, under any pretense, from working for my own people is the thing that is tearing my very vitals away."[139]

Plantevigne also feared that his rejection by Blenk would lead the Josephites to refuse admission to any more black students at Epiphany or St. Joseph's Seminary. Evidently unaware of McCarthy's earlier decision regarding black applicants, Plantevigne argued vigorously for continued acceptance of black

candidates, reasoning that "if there is only one bishop who will take them there is already room enough for more than you will ordain in the next twenty years, so there is no reason to worry about that." He exhorted McCarthy to have enough backbone "to hold our ground and stand for the right...."[140]

When the Apostolic Delegate asked McCarthy for information about Plantevigne's charges that Archbishop Blenk had refused him because of his color, McCarthy found himself in a difficult position. He wanted to support Plantevigne, yet he also wished to avoid alienating Blenk, whose support and approval he would need to open more Josephite parishes in New Orleans, with its large numbers of black and Creole Catholics.[141] McCarthy gave the Delegate a brief description of Plantevigne's good work on the mission band and a copy of Archbishop Blenk's letter to Plantevigne, which McCarthy observed "...purports to be an answer...." McCarthy added, "This letter speaks for itself. All we can say is, that we presume his Grace the Archbishop had some good reason for his action."[142] Clearly, McCarthy gave the impression that he thought the Archbishop did not.

The news of Blenk's treatment of Plantevigne aroused black Catholics along the Gulf Coast. Fr. Sam Kelly in Scranton described the "crash at New Orleans" as "the last straw to break the camel's back. It has caused hell around here." He estimated that it would take two generations to restore respect for Church authority.[143] John Albert termed the incident "an unfortunate occurrence" and feared that when it became widely known, it would lead to increased defections from the Church. Albert sadly noted, "The tragedy of the Negro priest is no joke. He needs all our sympathy and fraternal consideration." Kelly and Albert went ahead to New Orleans, attempting to "pull off the mission...before the stink comes." Their action angered Plantevigne and many of his supporters along

the Gulf, who believed that the two Josephites should have made a stand against Archbishop Blenk by refusing to preach the mission.[144]

Meanwhile, McCarthy scrambled to find Plantevigne an assignment. Plantevigne had written to the Archbishop of Chicago, offering to take over the mission left vacant by the death of Father Augustus Tolton. Archbishop James Quigley, however, informed Plantevigne that he preferred to continue the mission in Chicago under the direction of one of his own priests[145] McCarthy tried but failed to convince Archbishop Blenk to accept Plantevigne as pastor in the heavily black, Catholic town of Palmetto, Louisiana. The Josephite Consultors' minute book noted succinctly that the proposed appointment failed "through the refusal of Archbishop Blenk to allow a Colored Priest to take up work in his diocese."[146] McCarthy considered keeping Plantevigne at Scranton or sending him to Houston, but Plantevigne refused the former, and Albert advised against the latter.[147] McCarthy then asked Bishop William Kenny of St. Augustine, Florida to allow Plantevigne to take charge of the new church for black Catholics in that city. McCarthy described Plantevigne as a good preacher and representative of his race, from a good, old, "colored Creole" family. Bishop Kenny replied that he "could never think of placing a colored priest...," claiming that "both white and colored Catholics would be up in arms at such a proposition."[148] Having exhausted all other possibilities, McCarthy then assigned Plantevigne to St. Francis Xavier's in Baltimore as an assistant pastor.[149]

Some parishoners of St. Peter's in Scranton erroneously believed that the Josephites had moved Plantevigne from St. Peter's because of the imminent arrival of the bishop for confirmations. In order to correct that impression, Fr. Kelly invited Fr. Dorsey to assist at the bishop's solemn Mass. Fr. Kelly

reported that Dorsey preached a "beautiful sermon" and that the bishop and Fr. Dorsey "sat down together like true priests in God's Church," thus helping to restore the confidence which the parishoners had lost during the Plantevigne affair. Kelly expressed relief at Plantevigne's departure, blamed him for "not fitting in," and accused him of a lack of discretion in discussing his recent troubles with parishioners.[150] Even for some of Plantevigne's closest clerical friends, the requirements of "prudence" took precedence over the injustice that Plantevigne had suffered. They simply could not appreciate the depths of Plantevigne's isolation or suffering.

On his way to his new assignment in Baltimore, Plantevigne accepted an invitation from Walter Elliott to address the Catholic Missionary Congress meeting at Catholic University. At the Congress, he delivered what some regarded as the strongest speech on behalf of black Catholics since Fr. Slattery's famous sermon in 1902. Plantevigne described the resentment felt by blacks toward the "Jim Crow" system in the Catholic Church, reiterated the need for black priests, urged the opening of seminaries to black Catholics, and asserted the moral and intellectual equality of blacks and whites. He blasted compromise with social circumstances which alienated blacks from the Church, and declared that any white seminarian who objected to the ordination of blacks thereby revealed his lack of a priestly vocation.[151] Northern priests at the Congress applauded his speech, but some southern priests argued that Plantevigne should include a disclaimer of social equality between the races. The absence of such a disclaimer, they insisted, would ruin mission work among white, southern non-Catholics.[152]

Plantevigne's trials, coming on the heels of the Dorsey problems, had a

traumatic effect on the Josephites. In September, 1909, George Knight, the only remaining black seminarian at St. Joseph's, informed Father McCarthy that he would leave the Josephites to attend the Lyons African Missionary Fathers' seminary in Belgium, because of the obstacles which black priests faced in trying to work for their people in the United States. Anxious that no one blame the Josephites for his departure, Knight authorized McCarthy to tell any skeptics, that "...it was my free choice to leave, owing to the present conditions in the South."[153] Although Individual Josephites still occasionally suggested candidates for Epiphany Apostolic College or St. Joseph's Seminary, they always received a negative response from McCarthy or the rectors of the institutions.[154] A frustrated John Albert, convinced that the Church would "never gather in these hordes of Baptists" without a "Negro" clergy, nevertheless voiced the sentiments of many Josephites when he concluded, "...this is too big a nut for the Josephites (as a Society) to crack and the good God only knows when a too conservative hierarchy will learn this lesson."[155]

Unfortunately, Plantevigne's health seemed to mirror the declining fortunes of black priests in the Josephites and the Catholic Church. While serving as assistant pastor at St. Francis Xavier's, he contracted tuberculosis and then suffered a nervous breakdown in March, 1912. On January 27, 1913, at the age of forty-two, he died. The medical diagnosis notwithstanding, many Josephites and black Catholics attributed the cause of death to "a broken heart." The Baltimore Afro-American called his passing "a genuine loss to the race."[156] Cardinal Gibbons preached the funeral sermon. He eulogized Plantevigne's zeal for souls and uncommon intellectual attainments, but, exhibiting an increasingly conservative attitude on racial issues, Gibbons also stressed the superiority of moral freedom over civil freedom, and ended with an admonition to the black

assembly to prove themselves "worthy of the love and respect" of their fellow citizens. "If you do," Gibbons assured them, "civil rights will never be denied you."[157] Given the ordeal of the worthy John Plantevigne, who lay prematurely dead in his coffin in the sanctuary, the Cardinal's words had a hollow ring to them.

Plantevigne's family did not want the body returned to Chenel or Baton Rouge, where they resided, for fear of racial incidents. Archbishop Blenk, exhibiting his characteristic "prudence," would not provide a burial plot in New Orleans. Therefore, Plantevigne was laid to rest in Baltimore, where the faithful of St. Francis Xavier's erected a plaque in the church to his memory.[158] Elsewhere in the country, some opponents of black priests ascribed Plantevigne's breakdown to racial weakness and argued that it clearly demonstrated the unsuitability of blacks for ordination. The mental collapse and subsequent death of black seminarian John Teureaud two years later in December of 1914, seemed to lend credence to that allegation.[159]

V

By 1913, prospects for black priests in the Josephites and the American Catholic Church appeared grim. Convinced that their dependence on the southern bishops made it impossible for them either to protect their black priests or fight the hierarchy on the issue, Justin McCarthy and his influential seminary rector, Louis B. Pastorelli, decided to leave the development of a black clergy to others. They therefore continued their nearly exclusionary policy toward black applicants to Epiphany Apostolic College. In 1912, for

example, just prior to Plantevigne's death, a total of fifteen blacks youths applied to Epiphany; all were rejected.[160]

Despite the grim prospects, John Albert, peripatetic missionary, classmate of John Plantevigne, and tireless proponent of black priests, refused to abandon hope for a black clergy. Sympathetic to the plight of black priests, yet also sensitive to the difficulties faced by his Josephite superiors, Albert proposed a "new approach" to the training of black priests, one that he hoped would rescue the dream of a native black clergy while removing the Josephites from the firing line. He attempted to interest other Catholic religious congregations working on the black missions in his new plan, and even appealed to Rome for support.

Apparently, the unfortunate experiences of black priests in the United States helped to spark new concern in the Vatican about the the black apostolate in the United States. In October of 1912, the new Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop Giovanni Bonzano, asked Monsignor John Burke of the Catholic Board for Mission Work Among the Colored People for a report on missionary efforts among blacks. Burke solicited the views of a number of priests engaged in the work, especially John Albert, and forwarded a comprehensive report to the Delegate. Burke attributed the segregation in Catholic Churches to the existing social conditions in the South, "before which the Catholic Church in the South, on account of its small numbers there...seems powerless." He claimed that a shortage of priests for black work and the absence of a black clergy constituted the chief obstacles to the conversion of Afro-Americans. He pointed out that the Josephites, with 49 priests on the missions, caring for 11,721 souls in their churches and providing education for 2,895 students in their schools, bore the

weight of the mission burden. But he indicated that other orders joined in the work: the Society for African Missions, with nine priests working in Georgia; the Society of the Divine Word, with four priests working in Arkansas and Mississippi, and the Holy Ghost Fathers, with ten men working in Pennsylvania, Louisiana, New York, and Detroit. Several other religious orders and thirty-one diocesan priests supplied the remaining manpower.[161]

Burke's comments about black priests showed the influence of John Albert. Indeed, Burke attached an appendix to his letter, prepared by Albert, entitled, "How to Convert the Colored Race." In that appendix, Albert proposed a separate college and seminary for the education of "colored priests," separate churches for the preservation of "the colored man's Catholicity," and appointment of a special bishop, initially white but later black, with jurisdiction over black missionary work. Albert acknowledged that "this solution is all the way through a Jim Crow measure" and could, therefore, provoke objections. He defended his plan, however, as "so practical and so absolutely necessary under present conditions," that it made "sentimental" objections look ""puerile"" when compared to "the immense good resulting from it."[162]

Albert professed adherence to what he called the "be careful - go slowly - do not ordain unfit subjects" approach, but insisted that the Church could not justifiably deny priesthood to a whole race simply on the basis of the argument that "the time is not ripe." He claimed that he knew black Catholics who possessed all of the qualifications needed for priesthood, and argued that "a colored priesthood would sweep the preachers off their feet."

Albert believed that the basic opposition to black priests had its roots in the ticklish issue of social equality. He maintained that bishops objected to ordaining black men and having jurisdiction over them because "The South

denies social equality, but this colored man is a priest and under these circumstances, must be accorded social consideration."[163] In order to dispose of this weighty objection to the ordination of black men, Albert suggested a separate college and seminary for the training of "the colored clergy." "It is a mistake," he claimed, "in light of existing circumstances to train black students in company with white students"; since the black student received an overdose of adulation from one direction, and an overdose of humiliation from another, thus spoiling his character, to the detriment of hopes for a "colored priesthood." Albert asserted that in a racially mixed setting, "the number of colored students is depressingly small on account of inside and outside opposition to the idea."

In order to avoid the problem of bishops refusing to accept black priests into their dioceses, Albert suggested that the hierarchy consider the elevation to the Episcopacy of a white priest, who would have jurisdiction over the training, ordaining, and placing of black priests. He would also have the privilege of forming a colored parish in any diocese, thus relieving the ruling bishop of all responsibility in the matter and easing the friction and animosity long felt in many mixed parishes. After many years, when a sufficient number of black priests warranted it, Albert advocated the consecration of a "colored bishop" to direct the black apostolate. Such a bishop, he argued, would delight "the colored race," satisfy the mind of the southern white man, "who hates to see even a white priest working for the colored people," and assume responsibility for any scandals involving black priests which might occur. Albert believed that his plan would ultimately satisfy white and black laymen, and priests and and bishops.[164]

On September 1, 1913, Albert expanded on some of the ideas that he had put forth in his appendix to the Burke letter with a direct plea of his own to the

Apostolic Delegate. Albert bemoaned the rejection, during the preceding six months, of all fifteen black applicants to Epiphany Apostolic College and questioned how this could represent the will of God. Instead of advocating a change in Josephite policy, however, Albert, acting on a suggestion from a member of the hierarchy, urged the establishment of a new society of black priests, governed for the present by a white abbot. Albert called for a conscious accomodation with the southern social system saying, "In the training of these priests the idea of social uplift through the priesthood would be discouraged and the idea of converting their race would be made ever present." He expressed confidence that a majority of the southern bishops would approve his idea and revealed that Bishop Morris of Little Rock had gone so far as to offer $10,000 if the Mother-House of this new Society would locate within the confines of his diocese.

Albert also advanced another plan, one that he considered as important as that for the black priesthood - the revival in the Church of the office of married deacons. The deacons would exercise all of those functions given to deacons in the early Church, including preaching, teaching, and administering Baptism in the absence of the priest, though Albert had some reservations about them distributing Holy Communion. Albert's suggestions about married deacons bore a strong resemblance to Slattery's older plan for black catechists, and, paradoxically, also reflected the influence of Bishop Morris of Little Rock, Dorsey's old nemesis.[165]

The energetic Albert also tried to enlist support for his proposals from others who worked on the black missions. In 1913, Father Eugene Phelan, the Holy Ghost Fathers Provincial, explored the idea of a "society for colored priests" with his province and considered whether the Holy Ghost Fathers should

take the initiative in the matter.[166] Albert significantly influenced the Fathers of the Society of the Divine Word, an order commonly referred to as the SVDs, some of whose members worked in Mississippi. When he visited the parishes of Fathers Matthew Christman, Joseph Wendel, and Alois Heick to give missions, Albert urged the SVDs to undertake the "colored seminary," pointing out that as an international missionary society, they had the strength and resources to see the project through to completion, unlike the exclusively American Josephites, who found themselves much more dependent on the American bishops.[167]

At their Christmas meetings on December 28, 1914, the six Divine Word priests on the black missions in Mississippi unanimously recommended to their Provincial that they "...ought to try as soon as possible to educate some of our boys to the status sacerdotalis, whatever difficulties might be against the undertaking." Father Christman personally volunteered to devote himself to the work. The SVD Fathers pointed out that the Josephites "try to educate colored boys, but they confess themselves that the work can't succeed as long as they are so much dependent on the Bishops who don't realize the necessity." The Divine Word men argued that the hierarchy, handicapped by racial prejudice, could not act as they wished and ought to do. They feared that if they waited until the bishops made a start, the Catholic Church would lose the black race forever. Since they already had some boys who showed all of the signs of priestly vocations, the members of the conference resolved to make a start in Jackson, Mississippi, if their superiors granted permission. Acknowledging the difficulty of interesting the bishops in their plan, they noted that Bishop John E. Gunn of Natchez favored ordaining young black men as deacons and might go a step further when the time came. The priests at the conference recommended having the colored priests under the control of a religious order, perhaps

forming a branch thereof.[168] Unfortunately, almost a year later, in November, 1915, the SVD's had made little apparent progress with their proposed seminary. Father Wendel confided to Thomas Wyatt Turner, a young black professor "...we find almost insurmountable difficulties, whose nature I cannot explain in a few words," and urged black Catholics to exert pressure of their own in favor of the project.[169]

Rome responded slowly to suggestions and complaints which it received from priests involved in black missionary work in the United States. On February 13, 1914, however, Cardinal De Lai, Secretary of the Sacred Consistorial Congregation, sent Cardinal Gibbons a copy of a report which he had received from an American missionary that criticized the efforts of the American bishops and proposed remedies for the evils which existed. Cardinal De Lai asked Cardinal Gibbons for his opinion about the report. Gibbons responded with a long letter in which he claimed that the American bishops had already carefully considered and applied, as far as practicable, every recommendation contained in the report. Gibbons repeated his familiar response that "...the Bishops of the South are devoting all their energy to the spiritual welfare of the Negro."

Gibbons acknowledged that blacks desired priests of their own race and admitted that the presence of black priests would inspire greater trust in the Catholic Church among black people; but he cautioned that the issue required "delicate handling" because of obstacles "seemingly unique" to the United States, and over which the Church had no control. Gibbons maintained that black priests would have to possess "an extraordinary tact, prudence, and self-denial"; accept education in their own separate schools and seminaries, and, after ordination, content themselves with their own conferences, retreats, etc. "In a word," Gibbons said, "they would have to submit to all the rigors of the

caste system just as do the Methodist, Baptist, Episcopalian, and other Negro ministers of the sects." Ever the cautious and prudent diplomat, Gibbons closed by paying lip service to the need for black priests; but other than his apparent acceptance of the need for a "separate but equal" approach, he did not commit himself to any specific plans for producing more black priests.[170]

VI

Meanwhile, as Cardinals and missionaries discussed the future of black priests, John Henry Dorsey continued his work in the South, enduring the daily humiliations of the "Jim Crow" system. For example, unlike the white priests at St. Joseph's College for Negro Catechists, Dorsey did not receive a request from the bishop to attend the annual clergy retreat, scheduled for July 5, 1909. In an attempt to avoid embarrassment for Dorsey and himself, Father Dan Rice asked Fr. McCarthy to furnish an excuse to the bishop, thus exempting Rice from attendance. "This is the South," Rice told McCarthy, "and you and I can't change it. Can we?"[171] Dorsey also had to contend with harassment from the assistant postmaster who circulated rumors that he mistreated the boys at the college. Those charges nearly led to Dorsey's removal, until an investigation by Fr. Rice revealed that the assistant postmaster had fabricated the them.[172]

In the summer of 1909, McCarthy, attempting to repair the damage caused by the Plantevigne affair, assigned Dorsey to give missions along the Gulf Coast, in addition to his duties at St. Joseph's College for Negro Catechists. Dorsey also used the mission trips as a means of recruiting students for St. Joseph's College. Both Fathers Kelly and Albert applauded the move which they had earlier recommended after Dorsey's masterful performance with the bishop

in Scranton and his impressive two week mission for non-Catholics in Birmingham in the Spring of 1909. They described him as " level-headed," "well-equipped," and "able to stand patiently under the fire of prejudice."[173] Endeavoring to calm the parishoners of St. Dominic's Church in New Orleans, Dorsey visited the parish in August, at the invitation of LeBeau and with the consent of Archbishop Blenk[174] In October, 1909, Dorsey also played an important role in the preliminary meetings which led to the foundation of the Knights of Peter Claver, a national association for black men organized by Father Conrad Rebesher of Mobile, along the same lines as the Knights of Columbus. Fr. Dorsey served as the national chaplain for the Knights of Peter Claver from 1909 to 1923, and often sided with lay leaders of the organization in their not infrequent disagreements with Fathers Rebesher and Kelly.[175]

In June, 1913, the Josephite consultors moved Dorsey from St. Joseph's College to Pascagoula, Mississippi, and assigned him full-time to the mission band. From 1913 through 1917, Fr. Dorsey, billed as the "Great Pulpit Orator," conducted missions throughout the South before large, enthusiastic audiences.[176] The missions had a two-fold purpose: to offer special opportunities for Catholics to renew their faith or return to the sacraments, and to give non-Catholics a chance to hear the Catholic faith explained. Fr. Dorsey's lectures during those missions included such topics as: "Why Am I a Catholic," "Bible Reading," "Marriage and Divorce," "Heaven, Hell, and Purgatory," and "Is One Religion as Good as Another." Dorsey also used "The Question Box," where he answered non-Catholics' questions about the Catholic Church.[177]

Dorsey appealed effectively to black Protestants. During his travels, he drew generally favorable notices from black newspapers like the Memphis Sun.

Realizing that many Protestants would never come to a Catholic Church, he employed innovative and unique methods, such as lecturing at meeting halls, Protestant churches, and black college campuses and surrounding himself on lecture platforms with local black preachers and politicians. In Memphis, he secured the services of Handy's Band, a famous black musical organization known throughout the South for its interpretation of the most modern forms of Afro-American music. Most Catholics would not have recognized the hymns sung at the mission.[178] In that same city in 1915, leading black citizens held a luncheon for Father Dorsey, the first time in the city's history that any representative body of non-Catholic church, social, or commercial leaders had so honored a Catholic priest.[179]

Of course, not all black Protestants reacted favorably to Dorsey. During a 1916 mission at Mobile, Baptist and Methodist preachers brought their congregations to the vicinity of the Catholic Church where Dorsey conducted his mission and staged competing revival meetings. "Every night," said Dorsey, "when our bell peals forth, all the bells of the Protestant churches ring out in a melody of discord."[180] In many areas of the South, some who might have converted as a result of hearing Dorsey, hesitated for fear of social ostracism and possible loss of employment. As one woman in Dallas told Dorsey, "Why, if I were to become a Catholic, I would simply have to leave Texas."[181]

Dorsey's visits became annual fixtures in the life of black Catholic communities in the South. The people responded to Dorsey with affection and devotion. In 1914, at St. Dominic's in New Orleans, he gathered in 152 converts and 250 fallen away Catholics. He created such a good impression, even among whites, in New Orleans that the Vicar General of the Diocese even offered some grudging praise.[182] Following the death of Father Pierre LeBeau in 1916, a

number of parishoners petitioned McCarthy to give them "good Fr. Dorsey" as their pastor. They argued that a black priest would stem the exodus of blacks in New Orleans from the Catholic Church.[183] At Most Pure Heart of Mary Church in Mobile, following a Dorsey mission in 1915, Father Rebesher, the pastor noted that "a large number of careless Catholics were brought back to their duties, some of whom had neglected the sacraments for as long as forty three years."[184] Dorsey also gave missions in non-Josephite black Catholic parishes. His missions for the SVD Fathers in Jackson and Meridian, Mississippi helped convince those mostly German missionaries of the feasibility and desirability of black priests.[185]

Unfortunately, even during his successful mission tours, Dorsey could not escape the burden of racial prejudice. He became a target of the scurrilous anti-Catholic attacks of Tom Watson, the populist hero turned negrophobe and religious bigot. No issue of Watson's weekly or monthly publications was complete without its exposure of the "papal menace to America." Anti-Catholic articles in Watson's Jeffersonian Weekly included, "The Sinister Portent of Negro Priests." The Jeffersonian also carried a cartoon depicting Fr. Dorsey as a big ape, with a stole around his neck, sitting and hearing the confession of a very beautiful, young white girl. The caption read, "This is what the Catholic Church is going to send us, to forgive the sins, and to hear the confessions of our beautiful, white, pure virgins."[186] Watson's attacks deeply concerned Catholic bishops in the South, especially since his ravings helped inspire convent inspection bills in Alabama, and laws in Georgia and Florida making it illegal for whites to teach blacks. In 1916 in Florida, several Sisters at St. Peter Claver parish in Tampa were arrested for instructing black students in the parish school. Fortunately, a higher court ruled that the law did not apply to

private schools, and threw out the charges.[187] Fr. Dorsey's presence in the South gave the anti-Catholic bigots a chance to appeal to both racial and religious bigotry and therefore made many priests and bishops nervous. When the Divine Word Fathers in Vicksburg invited Dorsey to give a mission to their parish in early 1915, the secular priests in Vicksburg objected, advising the Divine Word Fathers to secure another priest because of the danger of adverse comment.[188]

Dorsey also raised the hackles of Bishop Morris of Little Rock when he accepted an invitation from John Albert, the pastor of St. Peter's in Pine Bluff, to give a lecture at the parish one evening when he was enroute between Memphis and Dallas. Albert explained that the people of the parish could not understand why Dorsey never stopped in Pine Bluff during the course of his travels. Albert extended the invitation without informing the bishop, and Dorsey stayed only one night, leaving the next morning without even saying Mass. Albert drew a stern rebuke from the bishop, and was forced to apologize, not only for his unauthorized invitation, but also for his spirited defense of Dorsey's reputation against the charges made eight years earlier.[189]

Loneliness, prejudice, and overwork finally took their toll on Dorsey. He lost control of his weight, swelling to an eighteen and one half collar size on a 5'8" frame.[190] In June, 1916, he succumbed to 100 degree temperatures in San Antonio and wrote to McCarthy, "Really, I do not feel able to do any more missionary work just now."[191] Alcohol further exacerbated his health problems. Despite the danger signals, Dorsey's ambitious itinerary in 1917 included Galveston, Memphis, Vicksburg, San Antonio, Walter, Mississippi, and Baltimore. During that tour, he began to experience problems with alcohol. In Mobile, he first exhibited publicly, the heavy drinking that had apparently begun somewhat

earlier. By the time that he arrived in Galveston in March, 1917, however, Father Charles Gatley, the Josephite pastor, expressed satisfaction with his behavior and observed, "He was on the water wagon the whole time." Gatley, speculated that "there is a little prejudice back of the whole thing," and expressed the belief that Christian charity "should prompt us to try and forget the mistake."[192] John Albert also defended Dorsey to Louis B. Pastorelli, the rector of the seminary and the man who ran the Society for McCarthy. "We ought," Albert told Pastorelli, "to stand behind Dorsey and do all we can to help him make good, because we must be careful not to give the Colored priest a black eye, even though he might be instrumental in earning one. His life is naturally a hard one and the loneliness which we cannot feel might at times be productive of temporary lapses of sobriety."[193]

Dorsey's health finally forced him to give up active missionary work and return to St. Joseph's Seminary in Baltimore in 1917. Yet, episcopal snubs still followed him. When illness and death in the Society in the autumn of 1917 forced Fr. Pastorelli to assign Dorsey temporarily to Nashville until Fr. Plunkett's return, Bishop Thomas Sebastian professed fear that Dorsey was "not a man fitted for this place" and would encounter failure. Sebastian suggested that Memphis might suit Dorsey better than Nashville. Taking the bishop at his word, Pastorelli temporarily assigned Dorsey to Memphis in December. Sebastian, however, curtly informed Pastorelli that "Fr. Dorsey will not do in Memphis, and added petulantly, "You will remember that you are not allowed to send a Priest into a Diocese without first asking the Ordinary's leave to do so and whether or not he will be received." After reminding the bishop of his earlier words, Pastorelli withdrew the appointment. Dorsey settled into a sullen and embittered residence at St. Joseph's seminary.[194]

In June, 1918, Louis B. Pastorelli, who for several years had unofficially filled the leadership vacuum created by the ineffectual McCarthy, won election as Superior of St. Joseph's Society. He focused his attention on centralization of the Society and systematization of mission work. The fifteen years between Joseph Anciaux's "Red book" and Pastorelli's election witnessed a profound transformation among the Josephites. Bereft of Slattery's charismatic leadership, confronted with the opposition of southern bishops, and shaken by the suffering of their black priests, Donovan, McCarthy, and Pastorelli, chose accomodation with the bishops and attempted to leave the issue of black priests to others. Nevertheless, that issue, so intimately linked to the origins of St. Joseph's Society, would not disappear; black Catholics refused to allow Pastorelli or his Josephites to leave the field of battle quietly.

END NOTES

[1]John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom (3rd ed.; New York, 1967), pp. 435 - 436, 439 - 434, 446 - 447.

[2]Rev. Blase Dixon, T.O.R., "The Catholic University and the Racial Question, 1914 - 1948," Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, 84 (December, 1973), 221 - 224.

[3]Franklin, From Slavery, p. 447.

[4]Sydney E. Ahlstrom, A Religious History of the American People, II (New York, 1975), p. 316; R. Trisco, "Apostolic Delegation," New Catholic Encyclopedia I, 693.

[5]James Hennesey, S.J., American Catholics, A History of the Roman Catholic Community in the United States (New York, 1981), pp. 207 - 217, 221 - 222.

[6]Canon law designated the Vicar General of a diocese as the bishop's chief delegate; in a religious congregation, the Vicar General served as the first assistant to a superior general.

[7]Josephite Fathers' Archives (hereinafter designated JFA), Anciaux File, "Concerning the Wretched Condition of Negro Catholics in America," copy, August 9, 1903.

[8]The Bureau of Catholic Missions was created in 1874 to protect and advance Indian missionary work. When it was established, the Catholic Indian population numbered fewer than 25,000. See J.B. Tennelly, "Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions," New Catholic Encyclopedia, II, 889 - 890.

[9]JFA, 27-E-1, Joseph Anciaux to John Slattery, Gray Horse, Oklahoma, April 11, 1903; 27-E-2, Slattery to Anciaux, Baltimore, April 21, 1903; Anciaux File, "Concerning the Wretched Condition of Negro Catholics."

[10]Pope Leo XIII created the Apostolic Delegation in Washington in 1892 and named Archbishop Francesco Satolli as the first Apostolic Delegate. The Delegate functioned as the Pope's permanent representative to the American Church. Satolli's instructions defined the chief purpose of the Delegation as the fostering of a more intimate union among the American bishops themselves and with the Holy See. The Delegate was also to see to the organization of ecclesiastical courts, to insure that dioceses followed proper juridical procedures, and to settle disputes between bishops and priests without right of further appeal. In addition, Satolli and his successors discharged the normal duties of an apostolic delegate which included furnishing advice to the Holy See about episcopal appointments and the division and erection of dioceses, granting dispensations, and overseeing religious orders. See R. Trisco, "Apostolic Delegation in the U.S.," New Catholic Encyclopedia I, 692 - 693; For an analysis of the factors leading to the establishment of the Delegation, see Robert J.

Wister, "The Establishment of the Apostolic Delegation in Washington," U.S. Catholic Historian 3 (Spring - Summer, 1983), 122 - 136.

[11]JFA, 24-A-18, Anciaux to Thomas Donovan, Oklahoma Territory, January 5, 1905; Anciaux File, "Concerning the Wretched Condition." Anciaux's accusations against priests and bishops displeased Theophile Meerschaert, the bishop under whose jurisdiction Anciaux labored in Oklahoma. While retaining his personal affection for Anciaux, Meerschaert nevertheless believed that he had exaggerated in his letter to Rome. Anciaux, therefore, left Oklahoma in the summer of 1905.

[12]JFA, Henry J. Koren, "Appeals to Rome and Action With Respect to the Missions to the Blacks," rough draft, 6-27.

[13]Ibid., 6-27,28.

[14]Ibid.

[15]Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore(hereinafter cited AAB), 101-G-6, G. Cardinal Gotti, Prefect, to Apostolic Delegation, Rome, January 18, 1904.

[16]AAB,101-G-2, Minutes of the Meeting of the Archbishops at the Catholic University of America, April 14, 1904; 101-G-6, Archbishops to Rt. Rev. and Dear Bishop, form letter.

[17]AAB, 101-J-3, Gibbons to Gotti, Baltimore, May 14, 1904.

[18]The Colored Harvest, October, 1904, p. 506.

[19]JFA, 24-A-7, Anciaux to Justin McCarthy, Langston, Oklahoma, May 18, 1904.

[20]Koren, "Appeals to Rome," 6-28.

[21]Ibid.

[22]Koren, "Appeals," 6-29,31.

[23]Quoted in Koren, "Appeals," 6-31.

[24]JFA, Anciaux File, Sr. M. Georgiana Rockwell, S.B.S., "The Influence of Mother M. Katherine Drexel on the Formation of the Catholic Board for Mission Work Among the Colored People," (unpublished paper), pp. 8-9. Archbishop Ryan collaborated closely with Mother Katherine throughout his life. Mother Katherine had favored the creation of a "Colored Bureau" similar to the Indian Bureau as early as 1889. For an analysis of Archbishop Ryan and the black apostolate, see Joseph F. Martino, "A Study of Certain Aspects of the Episcopate of Patrick J. Ryan, Archbishop of Philadelphia, 1884-1911," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Gregorian Pontifical University, 1982).

[25]JFA, Anciaux File, Rockwell, "The Influence of Mother M. Katherine," pp. 11-12.

[26]AAB, 103-L-5, Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Archbishops, April 10, 1907.

[27]Martino, "A Study," p.82; AAB, 105-G-5, Minutes of the the Annual Meeting of the Archbishops, April 10, 1907.

[28]Martino, "A Study," p. 83; JFA, Diary of Monsignor John E. Burke (1907), copy, May, 6, 1907, p. 126; May 15, 1907, p. 135.

[29]JFA, Burke Diary, May 22, 1907, p. 142; Martino, "A Study," pp. 83-84.

[30]Koren, "Appeals to Rome," 6-34.

[31]The Great American Catholic Missionary Congress (Chicago, 1913), pp. 112-118; quoted in William Osborne, Segregated Covenant (New York, 1967), p. 31.

[32]The Great American Catholic Missionary Congress, pp.112-118; Archives of the Diocese of Jackson (hereinafter referred to as ADJ), Bishop John E. Gunn Papers, Burke to Bishop John E. Gunn, New York, November 20, 1912.

[33]JFA, CMB-1, June 16, 1903, p. 46; The Colored Harvest, January, 1905, pp. 530, 532; JFA, Donovan File, Biographical information.

[34]The Colored Harvest, January, 1905, p. 532.

[35]JFA, Donovan File.

[36]JFA, 26-G-3, Walter Elliott to Justin McCarthy, Washington, D.C., December 5, 1904; EAC Student File, 1890-1914, p. 274; 27-N-10, J. McNamara to Donovan, Montgomery, August 30, 1906; 27-N-11, Joseph Butsch to Donovan, Montgomery, November 10, 1906.

For reasons that remain unclear, Donovan also paid the expenses for Dominic Gaspeau, a black protege of J.A. St. Laurent, the rector of Epiphany, at Quebec's St. Hyacinthe's College, Father Uncles's alma mater. Gaspeau never made it to St. Joseph's Seminary, though as late as 1908, he clearly intended to transfer on completion of his course at St. Hyacinthe's.

In 1905, several other seminary doors opened for select black men. As early as 1902, the American provincial of the Holy Ghost Fathers, Fr. Zielenbach had accepted two black candidates for the priesthood, one of whom, Joseph A. Burgess of Washington, D.C., had studied at Epiphany for four years before transferring to the Holy Ghost Fathers' school at Cornwells Heights, Pennsylvania. He studied theology in France, was ordained on July 14, 1907, and returned to teach at the seminary at Cornwells Heights, Pennsylvania. In February, 1905, Zielenbach's provincial council approved the opening of an "apostolic school," a junior seminary, in Cornwells for the specific purpose of supplying missionaries to the Indians and blacks. "Consequently," said the resolution, " it cannot refuse Indian and black candidates who would offer themselves to it." The Holy Ghost Fathers intended the junior seminary to

educate not merely aspirants for their congregation but also others who might prefer to join the secular clergy or other orders. See Koren, "Appeals," 6-32.

In 1905, Archbishop Ireland also accepted a black man from British Guiana, Stephen Theobald, who had unsuccessfully applied to the Diocese of Nashville, into his seminary in St. Paul. Theobald was eventually ordained in 1910 for the Archdiocese of St. Paul.See Albert S. Foley, S.J., God's Men of Color (New York, 1954), p. 97.

[37]The Colored Harvest, October, 1903, p. 421; Dorsey Family Scrapbook, newspaper clipping from unidentified New Orleans newspaper, June, 1903, copy in JFA.

[38]For an excellent study of the role of parish missions in Catholic life in the ninetteenth century, see Jay. P. Dolan, Catholic Revivalism: The American Experience, 1830 - 1900 (Notre Dame, 1978).

[39]The Colored Harvest, October, 1903, p.421.

[40]The Colored Harvest, January, 1903, p. 381; The Colored Harvest, June, 1903, p. 414; JFA, 23-M-39, Dorsey to Slattery, January 13, 1903; Dorsey Family Scrapbook, unidentified New Orleans newspaper clipping, June, 1903, copy in JFA; The Colored Harvest, October, 1903, p. 421.

[41]JFA, 23-M-41, Slattery to Dorsey, Baltimore, March 18, 1903.

[42]JFA, 25-P-8, Dorsey to Donovan, Chicago, August, 13, 1907.

[43]Archives of the Archdiocese of Mobile(hereinafter referred to as AAM), Hugh A. O'Brien to Edward P. Allen, Montgomery, July 23, 1902.

[44]JFA, 23-M-42, Dorsey to Slattery, Montgomery, March 21, 1903.

[45]JFA, 23-M-43, Slattery to Dorsey, Baltimore, March 27, 1903.

[46]JFA, 18-E-26, Slattery to Donovan, Baltimore, June 21, 1902; 23-M-21, B.T. Washington to Donovan, Montgomery, May 15, 1903.

[47]Dorsey Family Notebook, unidentified New Orleans newspaper clipping, June, 1903.

[48]AAM, Francis Tobin to Rt. Rev. E.P. Allen, Montgomery, September 18, 1904; JFA, 25-P-8, Dorsey to Donovan, Chicago, August, 13, 1907.

[49]JFA, 24-B-34, Donovan to McCarthy, Nashville, January 13, 1905.

[50]Ibid.; The Colored Harvest, October, 1901, pp. 272-273.

[51]"Diocese of Little Rock," St. Joseph's Advocate, April, 1890, p. 87.

[52] The Colored Harvest, October, 1898, pp. 43-44; The Colored Harvest, January, 1901, p. 212.

[53]Archives of the Sisters of the Holy Family (hereinafter cited as ASHF), J.M. Lucey to Sisters of the Holy Family, Pine Bluff, July 10, 1900; "Memorandum: Relations of the Pastor of St. Peter's Church, Pine Bluff, Arkansas and the Sisters of the Holy Family in Charge of the Colored Industrial Institute." N.D.; Mission Work Among the Negroes and Indians (Baltimore, 1902), p. 18.

[54]JFA, 27-N-34, William Murphy to McCarthy, Pine Bluff, November 27, 1907.

[55]ASHF, J.M. Lucey to Mother Austin, Pine Bluff, May 17, 1902; Same to same, Pine Bluff, November 16, 1902.

[56]The Colored Harvest, October, 1901, pp. 272 - 273; The Colored Harvest, October, 1903, pp. 436 - 437;

[57]Mission Work Among the Negroes and Indians (Baltimore, 1902), p. 18.

[58]Archives of the Diocese of Little Rock (hereinafter cited as ADLR), Report by J.M. Lucey, Vicar General, to Rt. Rev. J.B. Morris, Bishop of Little Rock, "The Matter of J.H. Dorsey, Pastor of St. Peter's Church (colored), Pine Bluff, Arkansas," November 18, 1907.

[59]ADLR, Ibid.; JFA, 24-C-14, Ferdinand to Donovan, Pine Bluff, December 2, 1904.

[60]JFA, 26-A-26, M. Kraemer to Donovan, Little Rock, January 23, 1905; ADLR, Report by J.M. Lucey.

[61]JFA, 25-P-6, Donovan to Ferdinand, Baltimore, January 27, 1905; 25-P-7, Donovan to Dorsey, Baltimore, January 27, 1905; 25-R-10, Diomede Falconio to Donovan, Washington, D.C., November 14, 1905; 26-B-7a, Lucey to Donovan, Pine Bluff, December 18, 1905.

[62]JFA, 25-P-14, Lucey to Donovan, Pine Bluff, September 6, 1907; ADLR, Report by J.M. Lucey.

[63]ADLR, Report by J.M. Lucey.

[64]JFA, 26-B-7a, Lucey to Donovan, Pine Bluff, December 18, 1905.

[65]JFA, Burke Diary, May 17, 1907, p. 137; J.E. O'Connell, "Little Rock, Diocese of," New Catholic Encyclopedia 8, 855.

[66]JFA, 25-P-13, Adaline Robinson to Donovan, N.L., August 19, 1907.

[67]ADLR, Report by J.M. Lucey; The Colored Harvest, June, 1906, pp. 650-651.

[68]ADLR, Report by J.M. Lucey; ASHF, Lucey to Mother Austin, Pine Bluff, August 31, 1906.

[69]Ibid.

[70]Spiritan Archives, USA (hereinafter cited as SPAUSA), 2C-07-8, John T. Murphy to Archbishop LeRoy, Conway, Arkansas, May 25, 1907, translated from the French.

[71]JFA, 26-B-31, Morris to Donovan, Little Rock, July 20, 1907; 26-B-32, Donovan to Morris, Baltimore, July 25, 1907.

[72]JFA, 25-P-4, Dorsey to Donovan, Chicago, July 18, 1907.

[73]JFA, 26-B-31, Morris to Donovan, Little Rock, July 20, 1907.

[74]JFA, 25-P-13, Adaline Robinson to Donovan, N.L., August 19, 1907.

[75]JFA, 26-B-8, Lucey to Donovan, Pine Bluff, August 1, 1907.

[76]JFA, 27-H-39, Donovan to Dorsey, Baltimore, August 5, 1907; 26-C-45, Donovan to Joseph Waering, Baltimore, August 6, 1907; 25-R-9, Donovan to Bishop John Anthony Forest, Baltimore, August 6, 1907.

[77]JFA, 25-P-7, Dorsey to Donovan, Chicago, August 7, 1907; 27-H-40, Donovan to Dorsey, August 9, 1907.

[78]JFA, 25-P-7, Dorsey to Donovan, Chicago, August 7, 1907.

[79]JFA, 25-P-8, Dorsey to Donovan, Chicago, August, 13, 1907.

[80]ASHF, Lucey to Mother Austin, Pine Bluff, May 1, 1906.

[81]JFA, 25-P-11, Dorsey to Donovan, Chicago, August 18, 1907.

[82]JFA, 26-B-35, Donovan to Morris, Baltimore, August 19, 1907; 25-P-14, Dorsey to Donovan, Chicago, August 22, 1907.

[83]JFA, 26-B-36, Morris to Donovan, Little Rock, August 31, 1907.

[84]JFA, 25-P-14, Lucey to Donovan, Pine Bluff, September 6, 1907; ADLR, Report by J.M. Lucey.

[85]JFA, 25-P-17, Lucey to Donovan, Pine Bluff, September 16, 1907.

[86]JFA, 25-P-18, Dorsey to Donovan, Pine Bluff, September 16, 1907; Interview, Sister Audrey Marie Detiege, archivist of the Sisters of the Holy Family, New Orleans, December 22, 1983.

[87]JFA, 25-P-18, Dorsey to Donovan, Pine Bluff, September 16, 1907.

[88]ADLR, John Albert to Bishop John B. Morris, Little Rock, January 24, 1915.

[89]JFA, 25-P-20, Petition, L.R. Jones (retail grocer) et al. to Donovan via Dorsey, Pine Bluff, October 2, 1907.

[90]JFA, 25-P-21, Lucey to Donovan, Pine Bluff, October 3, 1907.

[91]JFA, 25-P-22, Donovan to Dorsey, Baltimore, October 10, 1907; Dorsey File, Morris to Donovan, telegram, Little Rock, October 12, 1907.

[92]JFA, 26-B-29, William Murphy to Donovan, Pine Bluff,October 21, 1907; 27-N-34, Murphy to McCarthy, Pine Bluff, November 27, 1907; Three years later, at Lucey's insistence, the Sisters of the Holy Family left the Colored Industrial Institute. Attendance had fallen to less than fifty. The reasons for the precipitous drop remain unclear. See, ASHF, Lucey to Mother Elizabeth, Pine Bluff, October 18, 1910. Perhaps, as Dorsey and his supporters charged, the Sisters kept themselves aloof from the people; or perhaps the black people of Pine Bluff registered their dissatisfaction with Lucey's attitudes and his treatment of Father Dorsey by leaving the Colored Industrial Institute.

[93]JFA, 32-C-36, Donovan to the M.H. Witzius Company, Baltimore, November 26, 1907.

[94]JFA, 25-N-1, Edward P. Allen to Donovan, Mobile, October 22, 1907.

[95]JFA, 25-N-12, Anciaux to Morris, Oklahoma City, November 12, 1907.

[96]JFA, 25-N-10, Falconio to Donovan, Washington, D.C., November 28, 1907; 29-E-13, Anciaux to McCarthy, Oklahoma, December 11, 1907.

[97]JFA, 26-K-34, McNamara to McCarthy, Montgomery, January 17, 1908; 27-K-33, McNamara to McCarthy, Montgomery, January 29, 1908; By March of 1908, however, McNamara apparently decided to use Dorsey for missions in the city. After witnessing the opening night of one of Dorsey's two week missions in Montgomery, the Bishop seemed pleased and McNamara speculated that he had changed his mind about Dorsey. See JFA, 26-K-37, McNamara to McCarthy, Montgomery, March 16, 1908; 26-K-43, McNamara to McCarthy, November 10, 1908.

[98]JFA, 27-T-15, Walter Yates to McCarthy, Montgomery, January 27, 1908.

[99] The Baltimore Sun, January 14, 1908, p. 97.

[100]Sulpician Archives of Baltimore (hereinafter cited SAB), RG 39, Box 1, Joseph M. Kellogg to E. R. Dyer, Palmetto, La., March 2, 1904.

[101]JFA, 33-D, Louis B. Pastorelli, "Report of Missions East of the Mississippi, September, 1916. In his report, Pastorelli told McCarthy: "...the men on the missions say that they wished the Superior manifested more interest in the missions and less on the farm."

[102]JFA, 26-K-40, McNamara to McCarthy, Montgomery, July 5, 1908.

[103]JFA, Vincent Warren Interview, pp. 45-46.

[104]Margaret Law Callcott, The Negro in Maryland Politics, 1870-1912, (Baltimore, 1969), pp. 129 - 138.

[105]JFA, 26-K-40, McNamara to McCarthy, Montgomery, July 5, 1908; EAC Student File, 1890 - 1914, p. 261.

[106]JFA, 26-K-41, McNamara to McCarthy, Montgomery, July 28, 1908.

[107]JFA, 28-B-14, Mrs. Rebecca Parker and Mrs. Mary Dorsey to McCarthy, Baltimore, July 28, 1908.

[108]JFA, 28-B-15, A.P. Doyle to McCarthy, Washington, D.C., July 28, 1908; Penelope L. Bullock, Afro-American Periodical Press, 1838-1909 (Baton Rouge, 1981), p. 164.

[109]JFA, 24-N-28, Joseph John to McCarthy, Hawthorne, New York, August 28, 1908; 24-N-29, McCarthy to Joseph John, Baltimore, September 4, 1908; 24-N-30, John to McCarthy, Hawthorne, September 14, 1908; EAC Student File, 1890-1914, pp. 261, 276, 526. Clifford Teureaud was born in Donaldsonville, Louisiana on January 8, 1893. He and his family subsequently moved to Detroit. He entered Epiphany on September 8, 1907. It is not clear why Donovan admitted him to Epiphany since he certainly did not qualify as a "South American" black.

[110]SAUSA, 17-A-3, Register des Conseils, seance du Juillet 1908; SAUSA, 2C-08-20, Murphy to LeRoy, July 5, 1908.

[111]Koren, "Appeals to Rome," 6-37.

[112]Foley, God's Men of Color, pp. 82-83; EAC Student Journal, 1890-1914, p. 419; Archives of the Archdiocese of New Orleans(hereinafter cited as AANO), in JFA, Plantevigne to James H. Blenk, Scranton, Mississippi, March 23, 1909.

[113]JFA, Burke Diary, August 20, 1907, p. 233; Foley, God's Men, p. 83; JFA, Warren Interview, p. 49.

[114]JFA, EAC Student Journal, 1890-1914, p. 231; JFA, Burke Diary, May 15, 1907, pp. 134-135; Foley, God's Men , p. 83.

[115]JFA, Burke Diary, September 22, 1907, pp. 264-265.

[116]Ibid., May 15, 1907, p. 135; August 22, 1907, p. 234; Foley, God's Men, p. 84.

[117]Foley, God's Men, p. 84; JFA, 26-B-4, LeBeau to Donovan, October 8, 1907.

[118]JFA, EAC Student File, 1890-1914, pp. 261, 276, 526.

[119]Albert S. Foley Papers (hereinafter cited as ASFP), copies, John Plantevigne File; Hennesey, American Catholics, p. 207; JFA, 32-C-35, Donovan

to H.M. Wiltzius Company, Baltimore, November 5, 1907; JFA, Burke Diary, May 17, 1907, p. 138; The Colored Harvest, June 1908, pp. 115-117; Foley, God's Men, p. 85.

[120]Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament Archives (hereinafter cited as SBSA), McCarthy to Mother Katherine, Baltimore, March 20, 1908; JFA, 26-M-15, Plantevigne to McCarthy, September 21, 1908; 26-G-52, M.M. James to McCarthy, St. Elizabeth's, September 26, 1908.

The railroad named the L+N station, Scranton, Mississippi but the townspeople refused to sanction the railroad's high-handed action and kept the name Pascagoula, Missisippi.

[121]SBSA, McCarthy to Mother Katherine, Baltimore, March 20, 1908; April 7, 1908;

[122]SBSA, Plantevigne to Mother Katherine, Norfolk, June, 1908, two letters, both bearing the date: June, 1908.

[123]SBSA, McCarthy to Mother Katherine, Baltimore, September 18, 1908; McCarthy to Mother Katherine, Baltimore, November 26, 1908.

[124]AANO in JFA, Blenk to Plantevigne, New Orleans, January 13, 1909.

[125]JFA, CMB-2, September 4, 1908, pp. 57, 74; Foley, God's Men, p. 86; The Colored Harvest, January, 1909, pp. 162-163; JFA, 26-G-36, E.J. Houlihan to McCarthy, Norfolk, November 2, 1908.

[126]JFA, 26-K-42, McNamara to McCarthy, Montgomery, October 9, 1908.

[127]JFA, Warren Interview, p. 66.

[128]The Colored Harvest, March, 1909, p. 178.

[129]Ibid.

[130]JFA, 28-A-1, Albert to McCarthy, N.L., March 8, 1909; 28-K-1, Albert to McCarthy, New Orleans, March 29, 1909.

[131]Ibid.

[132]JFA, 28-K-1, Albert to McCarthy, Scranton, March 29, 1909; 28-R-2, Rebesher to McCarthy, Mobile, March 25, 1909.

[133]Foley, God's Men, p. 86.

[134]JFA, 26-D-12, Albert to McCarthy, Scranton, N.D., (probably February, 1909); 28-N-17, LeBeau to McCarthy, New Orleans, February 28, 1909; 28-N-19, LeBeau to McCarthy, New Orleans, March 12, 1909; AANO in JFA, Plantevigne to Blenk, Scranton, March 23, 1909.

[135]JFA, 28-P-27, Plantevigne to McCarthy, Scranton, March 29, 1909.

[136] AANO in JFA, Plantevigne to James H. Blenk, Scranton, March 23, 1909; For years, a rumor circulated that Pierre LeBeau had prevailed on Archbishop Blenk to refuse permission for Plantevigne to participate in the mission in New Orleans. I have found no evidence to support that rumor. In fact, LeBeau's letters in the Josephite archives indicate that he was disappointed that the Archbishop would not permit Plantevigne to come to New Orleans.

Rumor had it also that LeBeau, the son of a former slaveholder, possessed some Negro blood. Lambert Welbers claimed that LeBeau had told him such during a conversation in New Orleans. See JFA, 64-T, Lambert Welbers to John T. Gillard, San Antonio, November 22, 1941.

[137] JFA, 28-P-27, Plantevigne to McCarthy, Scranton, March 29, 1909.

[138] AANO in JFA, Blenk to Plantevigne, New Orleans, March 31, 1909. John Albert characterized the Archbishop's letter as "very diplomatic" meaning "much or nothing" and quite useful in his favor with the Apostolic Delegate. See, JFA, 28-K-3, Albert to McCarthy, San Antonio, April, ?, 1909.

[139] JFA, 27-R-1, Plantevigne to McCarthy, Scranton, April 1, 1909; JFA, 28-P-8, Plantevigne to McCarthy, Scranton, April 2, 1909; AANO in JFA, Plantevigne to Blenk, Scranton, April 13, 1909.

[140] JFA, 28-P-8, Plantevigne to McCarthy, Scranton, April 2, 1909.

[141] JFA, 28-S-2, St. Laurent to McCarthy, Montgomery, November 3, 1909; 28-S-3, St. Laurent to McCarthy, Montgomery, November 18, 1909.

[142] JFA, 25-C-16, Falconio to McCarthy, Washington, D.C., April 6, 1909; 25-C-17, McCarthy to Falconio, Baltimore, April 8, 1909.

[143] JFA, 28-N-2, S. Kelly to McCarthy, Scranton, April 12, 1909.

[144] JFA, 28-K-1, Albert to McCarthy, Scranton, March 29, 1909; 28-N-2, Kelly to McCarthy, Scranton, April 12, 1909.

[145] ASFP, Plantevigne File; JFA, 28-P-30, Plantevigne to McCarthy, Scranton, April 22, 1909.

[146] JFA, CMB-1, April 3, 1909, p. 60.

[147] JFA, 28-P-30, Plantevigne to McCarthy, Scranton, April 22, 1909; 28-K-5, Albert to McCarthy, Houston, April 22, 1909.

[148] Archives of the Diocese of St. Augustine (hereinafter referred to as ADSA), McCarthy to William Kenny, Baltimore, May 3, 1909; JFA, 25-H-8, Kenny to McCarthy, St. Augustine, May 8, 1909.

[149] JFA, CMB-1, May 3, 1909, p. 60; Foley, God's Men, p. 89.

[150] JFA, 28-K-13, Albert to McCarthy, Scranton, May, ?, 1909; 28-N-3, Kelly to McCarthy, Scranton, May 30, 1909; 28-N-5, Kelly to McCarthy, Scranton, June 7, 1909; 28-K-10, Albert to McCarthy, Scranton, June 13, 1909.

[151] Baltimore Afro-American, March 16, 1912, p. 1; The Colored Harvest, March, 1913, pp. 9-10.

[152] Ibid.

[153] JFA, 28-D-26, George Knight to McCarthy, Luxembourg, September 9, 1909.

[154] JFA, 29-M-17, Van Baast to McCarthy, May 3, 1910.

[155] JFA, 29-A-3, Albert to McCarthy, Dallas, January 31, 1910.

[156] Quoted in the The Colored Harvest, June, 1913, pp. 10-11.

[157] Foley, God's Men, p. 91; The Colored Harvest, March, 1913, pp. 9-10; JFA, Sister M. Magdaline to Joseph Butsch, Baltimore, March 23, 1912; 30-M-26, Sr. Mary Magdaline to Butsch, Baltimore, July 5, 1912.

[158] Ibid.; JFA, Dolores Egger, "Jim Crow Comes to Church: The Establishment of Segregated Parishes in Southern Louisiana," (unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1965), typescript, pp. 42,65; Foley, God's Men, pp. 91-92.

[159] Foley, God's Men, p. 92; JFA, Warren Interview, pp. 45-46; JFA, 34-E, Eugene Teureaud to Louis B. Pastorelli, Detroit, December 14, 1914. Eugene Teureaud, Clifford's father reported that his son kept trying to pick nonexistent bugs off of the walls.

[160] JFA, Warren Interview, pp. 45-46; Southern Province Archives of the Society of the Divine Word (hereinafter cited as SPA), Albert to Archbishop Giovanni Bonzano, (copy), Pine Bluff, September 1, 1913.

[161] Archives of the Diocese of Nashville (hereinafter cited as ADN), John Burke to Archbishop Bonzano, copy, New York, March 8, 1913.

[162] ADN, "How to Convert the Colored Race," Appendix to Burke to Bonzano, March, 8, 1913.

[163] Ibid.; Fr. Joseph Wendel explained that if he invited a black priest to preach at his church, the black parishoners would respond enthusiastically; but the whites of the town would ask "Are you taking the colored priest into your rooms?" If he replied, "Yes." then he could count on receiving scorn and even threats from whites. See ASFP, Joseph Wendel, "Our Negro Missions, A Short Historical Sketch."

[164] Ibid.

[165] SPA, Albert to Bonzano, Pine Bluff, September 1, 1913.

[166] SPAUSA, D-12-1, Phelan circular, circa 1913.

[167]ASFP, Albert Interview; Fr. Wendel, "Our Negro Missions, A Short Sketch"; Foley, God's Men, p. 59.

[168]ASFP, Alois Heick to the Very Rev. P. Burgmer, Jackson, Mississippi, copy, January 1, 1915.

[169]Thomas Wyatt Turner Papers, copies in the possession of Ms. Marilyn Nickels, (hereinafter cited as TWT), TWT-11, P.J. Wendel to Thomas Wyatt Turner, Meridian, November 16, 1915.

[170]AAB, 113-D-2, DeLai to Gibbons, Rome, February 13, 1914; SPAUSA, Memo, LeRoy to Propaganda, February 5, 1914; AAB, 113-G-1, Gibbons to DeLai, Baltimore, March 28, 1914, copy 2.

[171]A retreat is a spiritual exercise lasting from a few days to a month or more. During a retreat, the retreatant, lay or clerical, withdraws from usual activities to meditate, pray, and carry out other devotions aimed at advancing the spiritual life. See Nevins, The Maryknoll Catholic Dictionary, p. 492; JFA, 28-R-26, Rice to McCarthy, Montgomery, June 4, 1909; 28-R-27, Rice to McCarthy, Montgomery, June 15, 1909.

[172]JFA, 28-R-28, Rice to McCarthy, Montgomery, July 29, 1909; 28-R-30, Rice to McCarthy, Montgomery, April 4, 1909.

[173]Foley, God's Men, p. 56; JFA, 28-N-5, Kelly to McCarthy, Scranton, June 7, 1909; 28-K-10, Albert to McCarthy, Scranton(?), June 13, 1909.

[174]JFA, 29-D-15, LeBeau to McCarthy, New Orleans, August 24, 1909; Foley, God's Men, p. 56.

[175]JFA, 28-R-5, Rebesher to McCarthy, Mobile, September 16, 1909; The Colored Harvest, March, 1910, pp. 18-19; ADJ, Gunn Papers, Bishop Gunn to Burke, Natchez, October 2, 1912; Foley, God's Men, p. 57; E.B. Perry, "Knights of Peter Claver," New Catholic Encyclopedia, VIII, 220.

[176]JFA, CMB-1, June 16, 1913, p. 69; The Colored Harvest, March, 1909, p. 178; June, 1914, pp. 3-4,6-7;October, 1914, pp. 3-4; October, 1916, p. 4; Foley, God's Men, pp. 58-60; Mission Work Among the Negroes and Indians, (Baltimore, 1918), pp. 21-22.

[177]The Colored Harvest, June, 1914, pp. 3-4; June, 1915, pp. 2-4.

[178]Mission Work Among the Negroes and Indians (Baltimore, 1918), pp. 21-22; The Colored Harvest, June, 1914, pp. 3-4.

[179]The Colored Harvest, June, 1915, pp. 2-4.

[180]Ibid., October, 1916, p.4.

[181]Ibid., June, 1915, pp. 2-4.

[182]Ibid., October, 1914, 3-4; AANO in JFA, F.L. Gassler to McCarthy, New Orleans, September 10, 1914; Foley, God's Men, pp. 58-60.

[183]JFA, 32-K-12, A.J. Bell, et. al. to McCarthy, New Orleans, January 3, 1916.

[184]The Colored Harvest, June, 1915, pp. 2-4.

[185]JFA, 32-K-10, Dorsey to McCarthy, Meridian, November 29, 1915; P.J. Deschel to McCarthy, Jackson, December 14, 1915; 32-D-18, A. Heick to McCarthy, Jackson, January 4, 1916.

[186]C. Van Woodward, Tom Watson: Agrarian Rebel (Oxford, 1963), pp. 419, 421; JFA, Warren Interview, p. 165.

[187]JFA, 32-D-4, James Albert to McCarthy, St. Augustine, April 25, 1916; 32-D-5, James Albert to McCarthy, St. Augustine, May, 9, 1916; 32-D-6, Same to Same, May 18, 1916; Same to Same, May 20, 1916; James Albert was John's younger brother.

[188]JFA, 32-D-18, John Albert to McCarthy, Vicksburg, March 25, 1915.

[189]ADLR, John Albert to Bishop Morris, Pine Bluff, January 24, 1915; JFA, John Albert to McCarthy, Pine Bluff, February 18, 1915.

[190]Interview with Mrs. Olga Dorsey and Mr. Earl Counters, Baltimore, November 2, 1983.

[191]JFA, 32-K-14, Dorsey to McCarthy, San Antonio, June 13, 1916.

[192]JFA, 32-D-30, C. Gately to John Albert, Galveston, March 22, 1917.

[193]JFA, 32-D-30, John Albert to Pastorelli, Mobile, April, 1917?

[194]JFA, 67-A, Thomas Sebastian to Pastorelli, Nashville, September 17, 1917; Sebastian to Pastorelli, Nashville, December 4, 1917.

CHAPTER V
LOUIS B. PASTORELLI: CIRCLING THE WAGONS, 1918 - 1924

This element does not represent the race as a whole but are following in the footsteps of the agitators of their race who during and since the war are clamoring for all sorts of things and rights. - Louis B. Pastorelli to Archbishop John W. Shaw of New Orleans, April 5, 1920

Louis B. Pastorelli served as the Superior of the Josephites from 1918 to 1942. During his long tenure, he brought order and stability to St. Joseph's Society: centralizing authority, improving standards and discipline, and systematizing missionary efforts. Deeply influenced by the unfortunate experiences of the Society's three black priests; convinced that southern bishops would not accept black priests into their dioceses; handicapped by his own paternalistic racism; and determined to ingratiate himself with the bishops, for whom he had an almost slavish reverence, and on whom the Josephites depended, Pastorelli maintained a restrictive policy toward blacks. Epiphany Apostolic College and St. Joseph's seminary turned away most applicants, while occasionally accepting a token, light-skinned black student, thus enabling him to claim that the Josephites had not closed the doors of the college or seminary to black candidates.

The years following World War I, however, witnessed renewed controversy over the issue of black priests. Black Catholics in Baltimore and Washington, D.C., inspired by the democratic idealism of World War I, by their belief in the universality of the Catholic Church, and by the leadership of men like Professor Thomas Wyatt Turner, organized themselves and waged a determined, sometimes bitter campaign to force Pastorelli to open the college and seminary to more black candidates. The virulence and persistence of black Catholic protest surprised Pastorelli. Nevertheless, he steadfastly refused to change his policies

at Epiphany Apstolic College or St. Joseph's seminary. Assured of the support of the powerful Archbishops of Baltimore and New Orleans, Pastorelli, using a combination of "stonewalling," half truths, and carefully planned counterattacks, successfully fended off the challenges of black Catholic "dissidents," whom he regarded as reckless "agitators." By 1924, black Catholic protest against the Josephites eased as Turner and his associates modified their tactics and organization and attention shifted to the efforts of two European-based missionary societies to establish seminaries for black priests in the United States. Pastorelli had apparently steered the Josephites safely through the turbulent postwar years. He believed that he had strengthened St. Joseph's Society; black Catholic leaders believed that he had abandoned one of the Society's most important missions.

I

Louis B. Pastorelli was born in Genoa, Italy in 1874. While still a young boy, he came with his family to the United States, settling in Boston, Massachusetts. He entered Epiphany Apostolic College with the first class in 1889 and was ordained a priest in September, 1898. Throughout his years as a Josephite, Pastorelli distinguished himself in a series of difficult assignments. From 1899 to 1902, he was stationed at St. Anthony's Church in Mobile, Alabama; he also served attached missions in remote rural settlements like Fish River, Bon Secour, and Belle Fontaine.[1] Pastorelli's work in Mobile earned him the respect and friendship of Bishop James Allen and the priests at the cathedral rectory where he took his meals for a time. According to Bishop Allen, the young priest also earned the good will of the people and made himself "master of the

situation."[2] Indeed, Pastorelli appeared to thrive in the primitive Alabama setting. During one two week stretch, for example, he covered ninety-seven miles by buggy, forty five by rail, and about thirty by water;[3] yet he could still write J.R. Slattery, "I enjoy this wild romantic life. Nothing suits me better."[4] Pastorelli particularly came to love the light-skinned, "colored Catholic creoles" who kept aloof from the largely Protestant "American blacks." Writing again to Slattery, Pastorelli expressed the hope that the Creoles would "ever ... continue" their splendid isolation.[5]

In 1902, Slattery, needing "a firm hand" at St. Joseph's Industrial School in Clayton, called Pastorelli away from his adventurous missionary life in Alabama, and appointed him rector of the Delaware school.[6] Thus began a fifty year administrative career for Pastorelli. He remained at St. Joseph's Industrial School until he became rector of St. Joseph's Seminary in 1912, a post he held for six years. Beginning in 1910, Pastorelli also began to exert increasing influence in Society councils, both as a consultor and as secretary to Fr. Justin McCarthy, the Superior General.[7] For all practical purposes, he operated as the de facto superior of the Society during McCarthy's last years in office. In June, 1918, Pastorelli formally became the fourth Superior General of St. Joseph's Society. The Society included 71 priests; had charge of 39 black parishes and 28 attached missions; cared for a total of 28,177 souls, about one quarter of all black Catholics; operated 49 schools with an enrollment of 6,080 children; and counted 30 seminarians at St. Joseph's and fifty students at Epiphany Apostiolic College.[8]

A diminutive, bald-headed man with a classic Roman nose and dark piercing eyes, Pastorelli was a strong, demanding administrator who, brought order, centralization, and businesslike management to the Josephites in a mold similar

to the "consolidating, urban bishops" like Cardinals William O'Connell of Boston, Dennis Dougherty of Philadelphia, George Mundelein of Chicago, and later Francis Spellman of New York.[9] Under Pastorelli, for example, the Josephites adopted a more systematic approach for establishing missions. He insisted on approving all new missions and making all arrangements with bishops, thus ending the free lance activities of missionaries like Sam Kelly, who first erected churches and schools and only later informed his Josephite Superior.[10] Conscious of manpower constraints and also of the need to impress the bishops, Pastorelli de-emphasized missions in rural, heavily Protestant areas that yielded relatively few converts, and concentrated on conserving the faith of black Catholics through parish work in urban centers like Baltimore and New Orleans; cities that had significant black Catholic populations and promised greater results.[11]

In contrast to Justin McCarthy, Pastorelli closely supervised the men on the missions through frequent letters and visits. Few details, however small, seemed to escape his notice. He filled his letters with questions, instructions, advice, encouragement, and admonitions. When, for example, P.J. McConnell, a Josephite priest in New Orleans kept nagging Pastorelli for a transfer, he received a stinging reply that read in part, "I am doing my level best to spur you on to act as a man, with some backbone, and as a priest, with some sense of your priestly character and obligations. But you insist upon playing the role of a child."[12] Despite the sometimes lecturing or scolding nature of some his letters, however, most of the Josephites appreciated the interest that Pastorelli showed in their work. On a personal level, Pastorelli could be a genial, charming, "back slapper," especially to young seminarians; yet, around many of his fellow Josephites, he tried to maintain an aura of authority and control by

keeping them off balance with petty criticism of their work or personal habits.[13]

During his years as Superior, financial concerns weighed heavily on Pastorelli. He found it necessary to raise funds not only to meet operating expenses at Epiphany Apostolic College and St. Joseph's Seminary, but also to provide regular subsidies for missions whose weekly collections could not support them, and whose pastors spent considerable amounts of their time thinking up begging schemes and planning fund raisers to keep themselves afloat; or to respond to emergency appeals from desperately poor Josephite missionaries who had simply run out of money.[14] Although he ordinarily sent a check in response to an urgent plea from one of his missionaries, Pastorelli usually accompanied it with a warning that "it is of course out of the question to keep up such allowances," followed by concrete suggestions for raising more revenue or by exhortations for greater efficiency and creativity in financial management.[15]

Pastorelli depended on several sources of revenue for his hard-pressed Society, including: the Annual Collection of the Negro and Indian Commission, and after 1924, the American Board for Catholic Missions; the Catholic Board for Mission Work Among the Colored; individual contributors, like Mother Katherine Drexel and her sister, Louise Morrell; subscribers to The Colored Harvest, and occasional bank loans. Through resourceful and ingenious financial management, Pastorelli managed to sustain, and in some cases, expand Josephite missions, to relocate and construct a new Epiphany Apostolic College in Newburgh, New York in 1925, and to lay plans for a new St. Joseph's Seminary in Washington, D.C..[16]

While Pastorelli possessed extraordinary administrative skills; his views on race, were conventional. Pastorelli viewed blacks as a childlike race, suffering from the damaging effects of hundreds of years of slavery and racial discrimination, desperately in need of education and moral uplift from the Catholic Church. He had little confidence in blacks as leaders and he always approached the black apostolate in terms of what white men could do for blacks. Although he acknowledged that, ultimately, the conversion of blacks in the United States would depend on the efforts of blacks themselves, for the present, he believed that white men needed to educate and lead blacks to a higher level of civilization.[17] Regarding social conditions in the South, where most Josephite missionaries worked, Pastorelli insisted on "prudence" and accomodation. While Pastorelli applauded priests who prevented "the ravages of an unscrupulous police court or blocked the greed of swindling employees," he did not want his priests to become "agitators" for social equality. If they did so, he feared that they would lose influence among "the better element of colored people" and "become personally obnoxious to the white members of the community," including the bishop. Pastorelli urged his missionaries to seek the "constant guidance" of the bishop in touchy racial matters and to ally themselves with "fair-minded southerners" and "reputable southern editors," who could help Josephite missionaries attain their ends without requiring direct action by the priest.[18]

Pastorelli's paternalism and conservatism, as well as his personal experiences with black Josephites, influenced his views concerning the admission of blacks to the preparatory and major seminaries of St. Joseph's Society. In 1902, he had "hosted" Charles Uncles at St. Joseph's Industrial School in Clayton, while the latter eluded the outstanding warrant for his arrest in Baltimore. Later, either

as rector, consultor, secretary to the Superior, or de facto Superior, Pastorelli participated in unsuccessful efforts to secure permanent assignments outside of Baltimore for Fathers Plantevigne and Dorsey and witnessed first hand their suffering and torment.[19] The difficulties of the early black priests convinced him that for the good of St. Joseph's Society, and the black seminarians and priests themselves, the Josephites should admit only an occasional light-skinned black to the college and the seminary. Between 1910 and 1918, Justin McCarthy and Pastorelli implemented that policy.

II

Pastorelli became Superior of the Josephites six months before the armistice that ended World War I, formally succeeding Justin McCarthy who became a Society consultor and spent the greater part of the succeeding two years recovering from a serious case of pnuemonia.The war, with its democratic slogans, increased black migration to the cities of the North, and evidence of black valor in the trenches of France, raised hopes among blacks that they would achieve greater opportunity and democracy at home after Germany's surrender. Instead, they encountered a new period of white reaction, marked by the rebirth of the Ku Klux Klan; the resurgence of lynchings, with seventy alone counted during the first postwar year; and the widespread urban race riots of "The Red Summer" of 1919 that plagued cities and towns across the nation. Blacks, however, did not accept white reaction passively. They exhibited a spirit of aggressiveness, nurtured by wartime experiences in France and by dreams of a world made "safe for democracy." They fought back during the race riots of 1919, and attempted, through organizations like the N.A.A.C.P., to

combat racial discrimination and bigotry by appealing to the courts and by publicizing racial atrocities. Urban blacks on the lower social and economic levels, feeling alienated from the middle and upper class blacks and white liberals of the N.A.A.C.P., registered their own protest against the anti-black reaction of the post-war period, by responding enthusiastically to Marcus Garvey and his appeals to race pride.[20]

Black Catholics shared the dreams and aspirations of the wider black community stemming from World War I. Gilbert S. Faustina, Supreme Knight of the Knights of Peter Claver, expressed the beliefs of many black Catholics when he said that the war had "...created a world interest in human justice - has given the Negro an opportunity to demonstrate his worth as a soldier and his value as a man and a citizen...."[21] During the war, under the leadership of Dr. Thomas W. Turner, a professor of biology at Howard University, and a member of St. Augustine's parish in Washington, D.C., black Catholics in Washington, D.C., began to organize themselves and to employ some of the techniques used by the N.A.A.C.P., such as investigation, publicity, and appeals to lawful authority, in an attempt to end racial discrimination in the American Catholic Church.[22]

Thomas Turner worked actively against racism in both Church and secular society. He believed that <u>true</u> Catholicism, proclaimed the universality of redemption and the common brotherhood and sisterhood of all human beings in Jesus Christ and was incompatible with racial prejudice and discrimination. A member of the N.A.A.C.P., Turner helped to establish the first chapter of the N.A.A.C.P. in Baltimore, where he taught high school, with the exception of one year, from 1902 until 1912. On his arrival in Washington in 1913, the slight, thirty-six year old professor helped to recruit members for the Washington, D.C.

branch.[23] In that same year, Turner asked Cardinal Gibbons to write to President Wilson as part of a campaign to secure civil justice for blacks. Gibbons declined to write the President, since he did not feel well enough acquainted with him to warrant a letter that "would mean a criticism of his administration." Gibbons assured Turner, however, that he would not hesitate to raise the subject in conversation with the President if the opportunity presented itself.[24]

Turner tried to enlist Catholic clergymen to support the opening of Catholic schools and seminaries to black students, but without much success. In a reply to one Turner appeal, for example, Walter Elliott, the "liberal" Paulist rector of the Apostolic Mission House in Washington, D.C., described as "impossible" the mixing of black and white students, even in schools in the North, because if schools or colleges admitted black students, "...they would have to close their doors...." Elliott advised Turner to accept the facts of the situation and turn his thoughts to practical solutions, such as more exclusively black Catholic schools.[25]

Unlike many of his lay contemporaries, Turner did not hesitate to confront members of the clergy about racism in the Church. He wrote to Elliott, guaranteeing him that if priests and other authorities dealt with race prejudice as they did other violations of the Ten Commandments "the monstrous falsehood would soon die" and black students could gain entrance into all Catholic institutions. Turner declared that race prejudice "is too flagrant and positive a wrong to be tolerated for a moment by the Church after its attention has been sufficiently called to it." Unfortunately, Turner concluded, many pastors allowed racial prejudice to develop without a word of rebuke.[26]

Turner refused to allow church authorities to ignore racism in the Church. In February, 1916, he complained to the Rt. Rev. O.B. Corrigan, auxiliary bishop of Baltimore and spiritual director of the Archdiocesan Holy Name Union[27] of his area, about diocesan newspaper accounts of the local Holy Name parade that referred to black boys as "picanninies." A few months later, he once again protested to Corrigan, this time about the "Jim Crowing" of his Holy Name group at Corpus Christi parish in Baltimore during a special Archdiocesan Holy Name Mass.[28]

Corrigan and others viewed Turner as a "pest," a complainer, and a troublemaker. Much to their chagrin, they soon discovered that his letter writing campaign served only as a prelude to more formal, organized action. During 1917, Turner invited a few black friends to his home for meetings to discuss the situation of blacks in the Catholic Church. Out of the meetings emerged the "Committee Against the Extension of Race Prejudice in the Catholic Church," or the "Committee of Fifteen." As stated in one of its earliest public releases, the Committee sought to bring about a better feeling and closer union among all Catholics; to eradicate any and every obstacle that prevented black men and women from participating fully in the activities of the Church; to raise the status of "Colored Catholics" within the Church; to cooperate with all efforts within the Catholic Church to promote the spiritual welfare of all Catholics; and to collect and keep records of all unchristian acts committed in the jurisdiction of the Church and to bring notice to proper authorities. The Committee insisted that only black Catholics themselves could articulate their needs, and "respectfully" asked the American hierarchy to help black Catholics to secure equal opportunities for educational, economic, and spiritual uplift.[29]

Shortly thereafter, the Committee turned its attention to the plight of black Catholic troops in the United States army. During World War I, black troops served in segregated units. The Protestant-affiliated Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. provided services such as reading classes, libraries, and canteens in segregated cantonements for black troops. The war forced the Catholic Church to coordinate its various agencies and under the leadership of Monsignor John J. Burke, the National Catholic War Council (NCWC) emerged. The Council represented a major organizational step for the heretofore loosely organized American Catholic Church. An administrative committee of bishops, headed by Peter Muldoon of Rockford, oversaw the Council's activities. The Knights of Columbus operated canteens for white Catholic troops under the auspices of the NCWC; they did not, however, provide any facilities or personnel for black Catholic troops. When Turner learned of the problem, he and a small committee met with Cardinal Gibbons. At Gibbons's suggestion, Turner's group contacted Colonel P.H. Callahan, the director of welfare services for the Knights of Columbus, who agreed to provide black Catholic workers for cantonements at several camps in the United States.[30] One month after the armistice, the Committee wrote to Gibbons, applying for recognition and inclusion into what they regarded as the two most powerful organizations within the Church: the Knights of Columbus and the National Catholic War Council. Gibbons replied that years of experience had convinced him that separate societies for blacks best served the interests of "Colored Americans."[31] Gibbons's attitude, held by even most "enlightened" clergy in 1919, did not auger well for black Catholic dreams of greater justice and opportunity in the post-war American Catholic Church.

III

The Josephites did not remain immune from the racial discord that racked the United States after the first World War; indeed, the bitter relations between Louis B. Pastorelli and Father John Dorsey, one of the two remaining black Josephites, seemed to mirror the racial turmoil of the postwar years and soon became entangled in a public controversy over Josephite policy regarding the training of blacks for the priesthood. Pastorelli had recalled Dorsey from the mission band in 1917, charging him with "drink, laziness - same old sermons, would not go to country places, and keeping ... money" without submitting returns or accounts to the Superior. Pastorelli cited complaints about Dorsey's drinking from Father Conrad Rebesher in Mobile and Father Clarke in New Orleans as evidence to support his charges.[32] During the Chapter meeting that elected Pastorelli as Superior in June 1918, Dorsey, together with Fathers J. Glancy and J.J. Nally, bitterly attacked Pastorelli, probably over Pastorelli's alleged refusal to accept black candidates into the seminary and college. When Pastorelli was elected Superior, on the strength of thirteen proxy votes, Dorsey opposed making the election unanimous.[33] Four days after the General Chapter, Pastorelli and his Consultors decided "For reasons of policy and in the interests of the Society and the welfare of the subject" to remove permanently Fr. Dorsey from the mission band and to appoint him as pastor of St. Monica's, a poor, rundown black parish in South Baltimore, whose weekly collection rarely exceeded three dollars.[34] The assignment of Father Dorsey to St. Monica's upset members of Father Dorsey's family, who believed that the Josephites should have rewarded Father Dorsey's years of service on the missions with an appointment to a more prosperous parish.[35]

Relations between Pastorelli and Father Dorsey deteriorated further after he took up his post at St. Monica's. Dorsey angered Pastorelli by accepting chairmanship of a committee seeking to raise $15,000 for the black Oblate Sisters of Providence without first securing Pastorelli's permission.[36] In February, 1919, Pastorelli accused Dorsey of neglecting his duties at St. Monica's. He told Dorsey to inaugurate Sunday evening services and to end his involvement with the Sister's campaign so that he could devote his time to the work assigned him by his Superior. Pastorelli rebuked Dorsey for failing to gather an accurate census of his parish and told him to recanvass St. Monica's since he would not shame Fr. Dorsey before the public "by putting down the figures you give as the number of Catholics for a parish here in Baltimore."[37]

Dorsey heatedly denied Pastorelli's allegations. He claimed that he had worked himself "like a slave" both on the missions and at St. Monica's, and had suffered two nervous breakdowns as a result of overwork. He disputed the accuracy of previous census reports for St. Monica's; pointed out that he had given only one speech on behalf of the Oblate Sisters; blamed Cardinal Gibbons and Pastorelli for seven years of prior neglect at St. Monica's; and accused Pastorelli of expecting "miracles" from him.[38]

One month later, the bitterness between Pastorelli and the Dorseys burst into public view. On March 10, 1919, the campaign for the Oblate Sisters ended with a program at Albough's Theatre-House. C. Marcellus Dorsey, whom Pastorelli regarded as an "agitator" and as the "mouth" for his brother, Fr. Dorsey, read a paper publicly attacking the Josephites, accusing them of mistreating his brother and living off black people while doing nothing for them. Fr. Dorsey, seated on the stage, spoke immediately after his brother, but in no way challenged the latter's remarks. The incident upset many of the Catholics

in the audience and outraged Pastorelli who believed that the Dorsey brothers had caused great damage, especially in view of the many Protestants attending the function.[39]

Marcellus Dorsey's public attack on the Josephites in March 1919, signalled the beginning of a campaign by a small group of black Catholics in Baltimore, closely identified with the Dorsey family and centered in the Dorseys' home parish of St. Peter Claver's, to force the Josephites to open their college and seminary to more black students. In September 1919, the Baltimore black Catholic dissidents formed themselves into a branch of Thomas Turner's Washington organization, which had changed its name to the Committee for the Advancement of Colored Catholics.[40] The Dorseys apparently served as the link between the Baltimore and Washington groups; evidently having known Turner when he taught in Baltimore.[41] The Baltimore branch of the Committee for the Advancement of Colored Catholics became known as the "insurgents" and chose Charles Woodland as president and Royal G. Addison as secretary; Marcellus Dorsey also played a key role in the Committee. While the Washington Committee concentrated on lobbying the hierarchy, the Baltimore "insurgents" adopted the more controversial tactic of publicizing its grievances against the Josephites and the Catholic Church in the pages of the Baltimore Afro-American.[42]

When the National Catholic Welfare Council,[43] the permanent post-war organization that had replaced the National Catholic War Council, announced the first annual meeting of the hierarchy for September 1919, and when Cardinal Gibbons asked the organizing committee of bishops to include the black apostolate on the agenda and to reflect about "whether our methods were at fault or zeal lacking," Turner and his Committee saw a splendid opportunity to

present their case to the hierarchy.[44] They addressed an appeal to the Archbishops, calling attention to the growing practice of discrimination against black Catholics in the Church, as illustrated by the policy of refusing admission to black students at Catholic University. The Committee deplored the inadequate elementary and high school facilities provided by the Catholic Church for black children, and also asked for representation for black laymen on all boards of the Church planning his welfare. Emphasizing the need for more black priests, the Committee professed its belief that ample facilities existed for the education of a black clergy at the Josephites' seminary, and respectfully asked the Archbishops why St. Joseph's Society had "adopted a policy against admitting colored candidates for the priesthood"; a policy the Committee described as "without justification." The Committee requested the privilege of presenting its case in person before the Archbishops at their September meeting.[45]

The approaching bishops' meeting in Washington, D.C. and the departure from St. Joseph's seminary in September, 1919 of William E. Floyd, the only black Josephite seminarian, who had completed two years of theology, prompted Marcellus Dorsey to pen a strong attack in the Afro against racism in the Catholic Church. Dorsey denounced what he described as "white priests and ecclesiastical tyranny."[46] He noted that the forthcoming meeting of the Catholic bishops had inspired more interest in the Catholic Church among the black community than any event since John Slattery's renunciation of the Church. Dorsey repeated Slattery's statement that "The Catholic Church's attitude toward the Colored people is one of sheer dishonesty," and cited the alleged rejection of William Floyd at St. Mary's Seminary, where Josephite seminarians attended classes, as evidence of Church hypocrisy. Declaring that

"White priests are not angels" and that discrimination existed in nearly every white Catholic Church in Baltimore, Dorsey demanded "Catholicity without conditions." Dorsey's article caused a stir among Baltimore's black Catholics, many of whom did not approve of public criticism of the Church.[47]

Nevertheless, the Afro claimed that Dorsey's article illustrated general unrest among black Catholics over intolerable conditions in their Church.[48] In an editorial on September 25, 1919, the Afro explained its articles on the Catholic Church as part of an effort to bring all black Catholics into the fight for equal and just treatment. "Longer than every other denomination," the paper claimed, "the Catholic Church has kept its white priests and it stands alone today as the single American Church where practically all of its parish heads are white and all of the communicants colored."[49]

The bishops' meetings in September, so long awaited by black Catholics, produced fewer results than anticipated. On September 24, 1919, Turner and some members of his committee, met with a number of bishops on the campus of the Catholic University but were not permitted to address the assembled bishops.[50] Following the conclusion of their meetings, the Bishops issued a pastoral letter that deprecated all attempts to stir up racial hatred, particularly since it placed serious obstacles to the advance of religion among blacks. The bishops affirmed their belief that "education is the practical means" of bettering the condition of blacks, but failed to address the problem of discrimination in the Church.[51] Still, black Catholics felt encouraged: the Committee for the Advancement of Colored Catholics had presented its case to the Archbishops through its letter and through meetings with some of the bishops. Turner and his Committee hoped that the information and testimony that they had given to the bishops would move them in the near future to take

more decisive action against racism in the Church. The publication on November 30, 1919 of Pope Benedict XV's encyclical, Maximum illud, that called for native clergy and seminaries in mission areas, encouraged them to believe that Rome would pressure the American bishops to provide for more black priests.[52]

IV

Turner and his Committee did not sit back and wait for the American bishops or the Holy See to act; they continued to press their campaign against discrimination within the Church. Attempting to discover the extent to which racial prejudice had figured in the case of William E. Floyd at St. Mary's and St. Joseph's seminaries, Turner addressed a letter to the Rev. E.R. Dyer, the rector of St. Mary's Seminary and the secretary of the Commission for Mission Work Among the Negroes and Indians. Turner asked Dyer about the truth of rumors and press reports that St. Mary's Seminary would not accept a student for the priesthood if he were dark enough to be identified as a "Negro." Dyer answered that the authorities at St. Mary's Seminary would receive black students, and that a black Josephite student, William Floyd, had attended courses during the previous two years. He added, however, that St. Mary's had to take into consideration "conditions which are not at all of our making or of our choice." Dyer insisted that St. Mary's could not admit black students to live as members of the seminary community since that would make it impossible for the seminary to serve the many bishops who depended upon St. Mary's for the education of their clergy; the bishops simply would not enroll their students at St. Mary's if it accepted black students to live in the seminary community. Reaffirming his belief in the desirability and necessity of black priests, Dyer

proposed preparatory clerical colleges and seminaries specifically for black men. He argued that "distinction without any sense of inferiority on either side" should govern relations between the races under existing conditions. Dyer argued that black race pride should keep blacks from wishing to mingle with those who would in any way object to their association.[53]

Turner refused to accept Dyer's arguments. He told Dyer that blacks had suspected that the trouble lay higher up with the bishops and declared that black Catholics would have less respect for bishops who turned the Church into a politico-social institution simply to appease "the unreasoned prejudice of a locality." Turner insisted that black Catholics would continue to "cling to the banner of the Lord Jesus Christ," despite the unchristian behavior of clerics. Calling racism the "paramount evil of the age," Turner contended that true followers of Jesus should challenge and change prejudice - not accommodate to it by declaring it beyond the power of individuals to change. He accused Dyer of having swallowed southern propaganda and argued that separate black seminaries would make a mockery of the supposed universality of the Church. Turner warned that black Catholics would cease to confide in any Spiritual Director who counseled against their taking possession of every civil and religious privilege.[54]

Turner also wrote to Pastorelli to inquire about the truth of reports that in recent years the Josephites had "put up a bar against the further admission or ordination of colored men." Turner's query placed Pastorelli in a difficult position. He could not disclose to Turner or the "insurgents" that, because of bishops' refusals to accept black priests into their dioceses, he had decided to admit only an occasional, light skinned, black student at Epiphany or St. Joseph's. Such an admission by Pastorelli would enrage the bishops and would

also confirm the charges of discrimination levelled against the Josephites by the Baltimore and Washington branches of the Committee for the Advancement of Colored Catholics; nor could Pastorelli make known his dissatisfaction with the two remaining black Josephite priests or his doubts about the leadership capabilities of most black men, since to do so would surely alienate additional numbers of black Catholics. Pastorelli, therefore, resorted to evasions and half-truths in his response to Turner. He acknowledged that "certain agitation" had gone the rounds and had even found its way into the pages of the Afro, but he hoped that "men of your intelligence and judgement would be able to discriminate between facts and unreasoning sentiment." After reviewing the service of the Josephites to the black community over the years, Pastorelli asked rhetorically, "What conceivable object could the Fathers of St. Joseph's Society have in attempting to establish as a principle that no colored men shall be admitted to the priesthood? May I not appeal to your common sense...?"

Pastorelli claimed that William Floyd, who had become the center of public controversy, had been judged by the same standards as white seminarians. He further explained that Floyd had come "under influences that we sincerely regret...expressing views that we considered incompatible for work on our missions." Pastorelli indicated that he had provided Floyd with a good recommendation and the opportunity to pursue his priestly studies with another religious society. He closed by declaring, "The Josephite Society has never said that there should not be a priesthood for the Colored race, and while I am at its head it will never say so."[55]

Not surprisingly, Pastorelli's response, which begged the question, failed to satisfy Turner. He bluntly told Pastorelli that he had not answered the question about Josephite admissions policy and had insulted him by gratuitously

attributing his inquiry to sentiment. "You know as well as I do," Turner lectured the Josephite Superior, "that the rankest kind of discriminations are being practiced even from the sanctuary." Turner questioned Pastorelli's fitness to handle the "Negro's case" in the Church when he so casually dismissed inquiries about whether or not the Josephites "are shutting the door to our sons." He called for Pastorelli to explain "your silence in the midst of the wholesale discrimination practiced in and out of the Catholic Church upon the Colored Catholic?"[56]

Expressing regret at the "tone" and the "rather extreme view..." of Turner's letter, Pastorelli defended the Church's efforts among blacks. He explained that he had intended the statement in his earlier letter to apply to the Josephite admissions policy toward black students, and then asserted that the the Josephites "have not closed Epiphany's or St. Joseph's doors to them." He left himself an escape route, however, by adding "but the right to determine their fitness to continue in their studies when admitted is ours." Race, of course, could easily influence the determination of "fitness" since "fitness" remained a highly subjective judgement. For a statement of St. Joseph's Society's position on the question of black priests, Pastorelli referred Turner to an article by T.B Moroney, the rector of St. Joseph's seminary, in the Ecclesiastical Review. Moroney wrote, "A native clergy is, of course, inevitable, and the question is at present an absorbing topic of thought for those who are charged with the practical administration of the colored missions."[57] The passage, remarkable for its obscurity and vagueness, characterized Pastorelli's answers to questions about Josephite policy.

Pastorelli's ingenious denials of discrimination at Epiphany or St. Joseph's failed to convince the "Insurgents," who, after all, could remember when Fr.

Slattery had recruited black students and could now see for themselves the dearth of black students at both institutions. Fr. Dorsey fueled their skepticism by charging that as early as 1917, the Josephites had attempted to keep Floyd from advancing from Epiphany to the St. Joseph's Seminary by falsely telling him that the Sulpician Fathers, who conducted St. Mary's Seminary where the Josephites took their classes, opposed a black student. According to Dorsey, on learning of the Josephite lie, the Sulpicians informed the Josephites and Floyd that they had no objection to his attending classes and the young man advanced to the seminary. Two years later, Dorsey charged that Josephite opposition forced Floyd out of the seminary.[58]

In November 1919, at a smoker-buffet sponsored by the Baltimore branch of the Committee for the Advancement of Colored Catholics, at the hall of the Knights of St. John in St. Peter Claver's parish, several speakers condemned the Josephites for their alleged opposition to black Catholic priests. C. Marcellus Dorsey cited several examples of how racial prejudice had prevented otherwise qualified black men from studying for the priesthood. At the end of the meeting, a collection netted fifty-five dollars for William E. Floyd, by then a seminarian studying at St. Paul's Seminary in the Archdiocese of St. Paul, for the Lyons Society of the African Missions.[59]

Tension between the "insurgents" and Josephites led to a confrontation after Sunday Mass at St. Barnabas parish in Baltimore between Conrad Rebesher, the pastor, and Charles Woodland, president of the "insurgents." During the face-off, Rebesher reportedly threatened Woodland with personal violence.[60] Following the incident, Royal Addison and Marcellus Dorsey stridently attacked Rebesher and the Josephites in the Afro. Addison charged that Rebesher and "his clique" had no sympathy for the progress of blacks, from whom he drew his

bread and salary. He accused the Josephites of "having done nothing" during the previous fifty years for black education and of having established segregation wherever they went. "It is time," he declared, "for them to get off the job and give it to someone who will put it over."[61] Marcellus Dorsey also denounced the Josephites for operating "backward" schools and for failing to provide any schools for higher training, high school, or college. He repeated the charge that "the present directors and the clique in charge of the headquarters of the Josephite Fathers...are prejudiced and after years among the colored people...are miserably incompetent and hostile to the religious and educational developments of colored Catholics." Although black Catholics like Gustave Aldrich, a former student at Epiphany Apostolic College, urged the "insurgents" to fight on, many of the "insurgents'" fellow black Catholics, raised in the tradition of never questionning the parish priest, disapproved of their actions.[62]

While the Baltimore "insurgents" waged their campaign against the Josephites in the black press, Thomas Turner and his branch of the Committee for the Advancement of Colored Catholics continued to lobby Church authorities. On Monday, December 1, 1919, Turner and several members of his Committee met in Washington, D.C. for two hours with Archbishop Giovanni Bonzano, the Apostolic Delegate. In addition to recounting experiences of discrimination that they had personally experienced in the Church, the members of Turner's delegation also discussed the creation of black "courts" in the Knights of Columbus, admission of blacks to all Catholic institutions including the Catholic University, and promotion of a black priesthood.[63] Writing in the Afro, Marcellus Dorsey judged the meeting a success, and claimed that the committee left the Apostolic Delegation convinced that it had a friend in "court" who held the same interests as they did. Displaying the overoptimistic expectations about

Vatican intentions that frequently characterized the views of Black Catholics, Dorsey predicted that Rome would intervene on behalf of black Catholics in the American Church and would satisfy their grievances. [64] The Apostolic Delegate, however, describing his meeting with the Turner committee to the Rev. Peter Janser, Provincial of the Divine Word Fathers, sounded a far more cautious note. He remained noncommittal on the issue of black priests, telling Janser that he had spoken to many bishops and received but one answer about black Catholic priests: "the time had not yet arrived, they could not be relied upon, etc." Janser quoted Bonzano as saying, "The fact that the Josephites have discontinued taking candidates undoubtedly strengthened their view."[65]

The barrage of criticism about Josephite policy naturally weighed heavily on Pastorelli, and individual Josephites tried to encourage and console him. Charles Hannigan, writing from Richmond, urged Pastorelli to remember that "The Society has certainly been the friendliest friend the colored people have had in this country, and we know the facts will bear out this statement"; he recommended that Pastorelli ignore the attackers. Father Harry Kane in San Antonio, reassured his worried Superior that he had not heard the "...first word ... or read of propaganda for a colored priesthood" in his parish of St. Peter Claver's.[66] That soon changed.

V

In January 1920, the Crisis, the journal of the N.A.A.C.P., published an article by George Joseph MacWilliam of Philadelphia entitled, "The Catholic Church and the Negro Priest," that sent shock waves through the black Catholic

community. MacWilliam alleged that the Josephites had agreed to accept him into Epiphany Apostolic College, but required that he pay $250 in tuition, unlike white students who attended free. When he agreed to that condition, MacWilliam claimed that the Josephites reneged on their promise and revoked his acceptance. MacWilliam further charged that the Holy Ghost Fathers' preparatory seminary in Cornwells, Pennsylvania had also rejected him and that Father T.J. Park, his pastor at Our Lady of the Blessed Sacrament Church in Philadelphia, had made a special trip to plead his case with the Rev. J. Griffin, whom the article identified as the Provincial of the Holy Ghost Fathers. When Park returned from his meeting with the Provincial, he purportedly quoted Father Griffin as saying that the Holy Ghost Fathers had no black students and would not take any because Almighty God did not want a black man for a priest; that black men were absolutely unfit for the priesthood; that black people did not want black priests and white people could not use them; and that the decision of the United Catholic Councils was final. When MacWilliam mentioned Joseph Burgess, the only black Holy Ghost priest, Park supposedly said, "Fr. Burgess has never been what a priest should be. A colored man has not been successful as a priest anywhere in the world, not even Africa." MacWilliam claimed in the article that he had sought admission to Catholic seminaries for eight years and that his story illustrated the sad fate of many worthy young black men who desired Holy Orders. "We are," he declared, "governed by the most prejudiced men on this continent, who impose their conditions on us and tell us it is God's will."[67]

MacWilliam's story, appearing as it did in the widely read Crisis, and in the midst of the feud between the Josephites and the Committee for the Advancement of Negro Catholics, created a furor among Catholic and

noncatholic blacks. MacWilliam's tale appeared so similar to the experiences of many other black aspirants for the priesthood that many blacks overlooked its glaring inaccuracies - the Provincial of the Holy Ghost Fathers, for example, was Fr. Eugene Phelan and neither Father J. Griffin nor the "United Catholic Councils" even existed. The Indianapolis Ledger, only one of a number of black newspapers to voice their outrage, editorialized, "If these statements are true, it is time that every self-respecting person of Color who is identified with the Roman Church, should set up, brush the dust of shame from off his garments, and walk out of a so-called Christian Church that would dare thus insult a developing race."[68] A.A. Steer, a black Catholic resident of the Canal Zone, wrote to Cardinal Gibbons telling him that the Crisis article had caused discussion among the black Catholic converts of the Canal Zone; he asked the Cardinal for the Church's version of the case.[69] Monsignor John Burke, of the Catholic Board for Catholic Missions Among the Colored People, describing priests, subscribers of Our Colored Missions, and black Catholics as "stunned" by the article, urged Father Phelan, the Holy Ghost Provincial, to reply to the Crisis. Burke worried because "the Crisis is read by very many of the better class of Colored Protestants and great harm will come to our Missionary work if the complainant is not satisfactorily answered."[70] Although Father Phelan at first believed that he should simply ignore the flap, he allowed Father Park to categorically deny the statements attributed to him by MacWilliam. The next month Father Joseph Hanley, the Josephite rector of St. Joseph's seminary, explained to the Crisis that the Josephites had indeed rejected MacWilliam, but had done so because he had misrepresented himself and been caught in untruths and inaccuracies that manifested character defects undesirable in a candidate for the priesthood.[71]

The Baltimore "insurgents" of course viewed the MacWilliam story as further evidence of Josephite perfidy and kept up their pressure on Pastorelli. In early February 1920, when the pastorate of St. Peter Claver's parish became vacant, Royal Addison, writing as commander of the St. Peter Claver post of the Knights of St. John, and claiming to represent more than half of the parish membership, requested that Pastorelli name Father Dorsey to succeed the Rev. James Nally, an old ally of the Dorseys. After informing Addison that such an appointment would violate established procedures and the rights of men who had more seniority than Fr. Dorsey, Pastorelli appointed Justin McCarthy, the former Josephite Superior as pastor of St. Peter Claver's. The Afro believed, with good reason, that Pastorelli had appointed McCarthy to curb those at St. Peter Claver's who criticized the Josephites and the Church. The paper indicated its distaste for the new pastor by identifying him as the Josephite Superior who had refused to admit MacWilliam, and who had "formulated the policy by which colored candidates are virtually excluded from St. Joseph's Seminary." The paper quoted a parishoner as saying of McCarthy, "We are tired of supporting broken down hacks and Negro haters." For his part, McCarthy wasted no time in challenging the "insurgents." In his first sermon, he attacked those who had openly criticized the Church and the Josephites, and warned his congregation that "the devil was among them."[72]

Disillusionment with the Josephites finally led Turner and his Committee to write to Cardinal Gibbons on March 1, 1920 to call his attention once again to their charge, voiced earlier at the September 1919 meeting of the hierarchy, that the Josephites refused to take black candidates for the priesthood. Turner protested against the further expansion of St. Joseph's Society in the black community "so long as it maintains this pernicious and un-Catholic

discrimination against our boys." He claimed that it grieved him to make such a protest, since he knew that some of the Josephites "are fine Christian spirits and do not believe in these anti-Christian practices of the latter-day Superiors of the Order in stifling the priestly vocation of ... colored boys." Turner accused Justin McCarthy and Pastorelli of paternalistically assuming "that white men can interpret the feelings and aspirations of colored men" without allowing them a voice in matters that affected them. He viewed the Josephite failure to "provide a single school beyond the elementary grade" as part of an approach to teach black Catholics to subordinate their higher ambitions. After all, Turner esponded, if black youth could not obtain decent educations, they could never qualify for seminaries. In the absence of a black priesthood, Turner declared that black Catholics preferred secular priests to a Josephite Society that failed to understand their needs and aspirations. Charging that the Josephites tried to shift blame on to secular priests and the bishops, Turner said, "Many facts lead us to feel that this is not wholly the case."[73]

After receiving Turner's letter, Gibbons asked Pastorelli about the truth of the charges. Pastorelli responded with a long, clever memo in which he rebutted Turner's accusations. Pastorelli denied that either he or McCarthy had inaugurated a policy of refusing to accept any more black candidates for the priesthood, and pointed out that during the previous six years, two black seminarians, Clifford Teureaud and William E. Floyd had attended St. Joseph's seminary. Teureaud had died in 1915 but, according to Pastorelli "would have been ordained had he lived"; while Floyd had been "urged to discontinue" because of "traits judged not in the best interests of the Society." Still, Pastorelli reported, he had helped Floyd to find a seminary where he could continue his studies. Pastorelli maintained that seventy-five percent of the

letters of application on file from black students for admission to Epiphany Apostolic College indicated that the applicants had exceeded the acceptable age limit or lacked the necessary education to take up college studies. Although failing to explain adequately what had happened to the other twenty-five percent of the applicants, Pastorelli did reveal that during the previous two years, Epiphany had accepted two black applicants, but that neither had presented himself when classes began. As further proof of his support for black priests, Pastorelli also disclosed that, on his instructions, Father Manley, the rector of Epiphany, had written to some of the applicants deemed unsuited for Josephite community life, and had offered to educate them at the college if they could find bishops who would adopt them.

Pastorelli denied that Josephite authorities had blamed the bishops for the small number of black priests and charged that some blacks confused a vocation with race advancement. Pointing out that normally only ten percent of white seminarians persevered to ordination, Pastorelli argued that blacks could not realistically expect many priests from their people since Catholics constituted such a small percentage of the race - a race only a half century removed from slavery. As for Turner's charges about inadequate schools, Pastorelli pointed to high school departments at parish schools in Mobile, Pine Bluff, and St. Barnabas in Baltimore and to plans for a high school as part of the new St. Peter Claver's school in Baltimore. He reminded Gibbons of the key role played by two Josephites, Pierre LeBeau and Justin McCarthy, in the founding of Xavier University in New Orleans, the only black Catholic college. Pastorelli blamed inadequacies in Josephite education on a shortage of priests, sisters, and money. Gibbons appeared satisfied with Pastorelli's defense of himself and the Josephites and used many of the points from Pastorelli's memo in his reply to

Turner. The Cardinal added a further appeal to Turner, however, to use his influence to get blacks to realize and appreciate the efforts made by the Church, with limited funds and personnel, on their behalf. He closed with his familiar assertion that "There is not a bishop in the United States but what is concerned with the spiritual progress of the Colored Race and doing all in his power along the line."[74] The Josephites clearly enjoyed the Cardinal's confidence despite the attacks of the small coterie of black Catholics in Baltimore and Washington. Pastorelli then went on the offensive.

VI

Pastorelli laid the groundwork for his counterattack against the "insurgents" by appointing Justin McCarthy to St. Peter Claver's and by cultivating the favor of the bishops. In the March 12, 1920 edition of the Afro, Royal Addison unwittingly provided Pastorelli with an excuse to move against the "insurgents" by publishing an insulting personal attack against several Josephites that exceeded in stridency and bitterness any of his previous articles. Addison savaged Father Joseph Butsch, a Josephite in Buffalo, who had written to the Afro to complain about articles that he believed criticized the Josephites and the Catholic Church unjustly. Addison called Butsch "a miserable failure as a pastor," and a member "... of the headquarters clique which barred Negroes from the seminary." Addison accused the Josephites of instituting segregated churches in order to create "desirable berths for inefficient and incapacitated priests to live by and at the expense of their propaganda." Addison also took exception to Father Moroney's articles in the Ecclesiastical Review that

described blacks as irreligious and implied that they lacked the capacity for proper moral family relationships. "Such types of men as McCarthy, Moroney, Butsch, Rebesher, and Pastorelli are lamentable accidents to the priesthood," Addison declared, "...self styled benefactors ... who pretend they are making such great self-sacrifice...who put stumbling blocks in the way of the pious progressive Negro...."[75] Addison and the "insurgents" also published a pamphlet that repeated many of their standard charges against the Josephites, and the Church in general, and also included a copy of MacWilliam's Crisis article.[76]

After seeing a copy of the "insurgents'" pamphlet and reading Addison's latest broadside, Pastorelli took steps to silence the "insurgents." He ordered Father McCarthy to refuse to recommend any candidates or sign any more applications for Commandery #4 of the Knights of St. John in St. Peter Claver's parish, the organization that Addison headed. Pastorelli also showed a copy of the pamphlet to Cardinal Gibbons, who agreed that Pastorelli should take punitive action against Addison. Pastorelli subsequently wrote to C. W. Wallace, Supreme Secretary of the Knights of St. John, charging Addison and his compatriots with attacking priests and bishops in articles, letters, and pamphlets "of the most abusive kind," spreading false statements and twisting the meaning of words and events, fostering disloyalty to their pastors, and generally disturbing the body of black Catholics and scandalizing Protestants. At Wallace's urging, Addison and Pastorelli met at the seminary to discuss their differences. Addison, however, stood by what he had written and told Pastorelli that he believed he had done nothing for which he should make amends.[77] Pastorelli advised Cardinal Gibbons about Addison's attitude and the Cardinal insisted that he could not tolerate Addison's conduct. Pastorelli then informed the Supreme Board of the Knights of St. John about the unsatisfactory results

of his meeting with Addison and also of the Cardinal's insistence that the man be punished. Thereupon, the Supreme Board brought charges against Addison. The leaders of Commandery #4, displeased with Addison over his public dispute with Church leaders, first demanded his resignation and when it was not forthcoming, removed him from office.[78]

Pastorelli interpreted the removal of Addison by the members of Commandery #4 as proof that the "silent majority" of black Catholics supported the Josephites and disapproved of the tactics of the "radical insurgents." Expanding on his views about the "insurgents" to his good friend Archbishop John Shaw of New Orleans, Pastorelli wrote that no one denied that blacks deserved to have some of their sons raised to the priesthood, but he described the means used by the "insurgents" against the Josephites, who for years had labored for the uplift of the black race without thought of remuneration, as "dastardly" and "the limit." Pastorelli believed that "fortunately," the "insurgents" did not represent the majority of blacks but followed in the footsteps of black "agitators," who during and since the war, had clamored "for all sorts of things and rights, social equality, inter-marriage, etc." Pastorelli blamed "godless education" and "the untiring labors of ... educated agitators," for the changes that had occurred in the race during the previous ten years. Archbishop Shaw, who had written Pastorelli to complain about Josephites like Sam Kelly who allegedly advocated social equality between the races, sadly agreed with Pastorelli that agitation and propaganda for the ideal of social equality, an ideal that he "as a southerner" did not believe that God ever intended, had created "a discontented and rebellious spirit" among black Catholics.[79]

Pastorelli attempted to extinguish the "rebellious" spirit in Baltimore by depriving the "insurgent agitators" of their "propaganda" forum. In April, 1920, with the blessing of Cardinal Gibbons, Pastorelli and Conrad Rebesher met with Dr. M. B. Rhetta of the Baltimore Afro-American and told him that St. Joseph's seminary remained open to properly qualified black men. The interview satisfied the concerns of Carl Murphy, the editor of the Afro, and an admirer of Gibbons for "the sledge hammer blows" that Gibbons had struck against segregation laws and disfranchisement amendments in Maryland. Murphy assured Gibbons that when the Josephite policy became generally known, "there will be no further need for the kind of articles that have been recently contributed to this paper by men who ardently stood for a colored priesthood." Gibbons accepted Murphy's letter as an apology for the appearance "of many misleading and at times abusive letters in the pages of the paper," and averred that the Catholic Church did not draw any color line, or refuse admittance to her priesthood solely because of color.[80] Gibbons did not however, exclude social conditions or even a partial consideration of color as possible reasons for refusing a black student.

Despite the apparent accomodation between the Afro and the Josephites, Father Dorsey encouraged Thomas Turner and the members of the Committee for the Advancement of Colored Catholics to continue pressuring the Josephites. "Constant judicious agitation is bound to bring good results," Dorsey wrote. He urged Turner to "Agitate! Agitate!" Dorsey accused the Catholic Church in America of doing nothing to stem the tide of race prejudice, and claimed that instead, "...prejudice in the Church has kept pace with prejudice in the state." Dorsey confessed to Turner that while on the missions, when he claimed that prejudice did not exist in the Catholic Church, "I knew I was not

telling the truth and my inner self rebelled. It is a God-given mission to rid the Church of race prejudice."[81]

Constant agitation, however, created a backlash among more conservative black Catholics. In June, by a vote of 64 - 3, the Knights of Peter Claver, meeting in New Orleans, expelled Marcellus Dorsey for refusing to sign a retraction of his articles and remarks critical of Catholic clergymen. Stunned by his repudiation, Dorsey required the aid of two men as he staggered from the room. His brother, Father John Dorsey, in town for the convention, publicly manifested his alienation from many of his fellow Josephites and "made tongues wag" when he refused Fr. Joseph Lally's offer of hospitality and stayed instead at a house not belonging to St. Joseph's Society, thus creating the impression that the Josephites would not receive him.[82]

The installation on November 20, 1920 of Michael Curley as the new Archbishop of Baltimore dealt Turner and his associates another blow since the Irish-born Curley had little sympathy for the cause of black priests. Curley had come to Baltimore from the Diocese of St. Augustine, Florida, where, as bishop, he had led the fight against the Florida law that prohibited white Sisters from teaching black children, but had also absorbed a paternalistic racism that viewed blacks as little more than children in need of supervision from whites. Curley knew first hand the deep racial animosity in the South and the vulnerable position of the Catholic Church in the region and worried incessantly about racial violence. Concerning segregation in Catholic churches in St. Mary's County, Maryland, Curley suggested to the Charge d' Affaires of the Apostolic Delegation, that the Church "leave well enough alone," explaining that "it would be the height of imprudence" for any priest or bishop in the South even to suggest that blacks and whites should mingle in Catholic Churches. "It would

mean," he continued, "if not a race riot, at least a kind of inconvenience which might lead in a moment of passion to unforseen results."[83]

Although he occasionally met with and listened to Turner and other members of the Committee for the Advancement of Colored Catholics, Curley had little understanding of or sympathy for them or their goals; his fear of disturbing the racial status quo also prevented him from acting on many of their requests or complaints. On March 15, 1922, for example, he met with Thomas Turner who told him about the dissatisfaction of the Committee with the Josephites for thwarting the ambitions of their black boys for the priesthood; asked for better Catholic "colored schools"; and demanded to know why the Catholic University refused admission to black students. Following the meeting, Curley discussed Turner's concerns with Bishop Thomas Shahan, the rector of Catholic University, and E.R. Dyer, the president of St. Mary's Seminary. When both men assured the Archbishop that the health of their respective institutions depended upon the maintenance of the racial status quo, that settled matters for Curley.[84] A few months later, in a letter to the Very Reverend Aluigi Cossio, Charge d' Affaires of the Apostolic Delegation, Curley referred to Turner's Committee and its call for black priests; he told Monsignor Cossio that the vast number of black people did not want black priests and wished to retain the bond of white priests. "Besides," the testy Archbishop continued, "we can't give them what we have not, namely colored priests. There are only a few in the country." Alluding to Father Dorsey, Curley said, "We have one of them in Baltimore and I cannot say that he is a success." Obviously convinced that Rome did not appreciate the difficulties faced by the American Church, Curley closed by appealing to the Delegation to explain to the Holy See the "keen race distinction which the Catholic Church in America has not made and cannot solve." [85]

Not surprisingly, Archbishop Curley sympathized with the Josephites in their struggle with the Committee for the Advancement of Colored Catholics. He was not favorably disposed, therefore, when on December 30, 1922, he received yet another complaint from Turner's Committee about the Josephites. The complaint sprang from an incident at Holy Redeemer Church in Washington, D. C.. On November 3, 1922, during a meeting in the church basement, a group of black laymen and several white priests working to raise funds and arouse enthusiasm for Cardinal Gibbons Institute, a proposed national Catholic high school for black Catholics in Ridge, Maryland, Father Francis Tobin, the Josephite pastor, "took violent exception" to some of the comments made about the part that Catholic blacks should play in their education. He allegedly went up to vespers and denounced those meeting in the basement as "enemies of the Church"; then returned to the basement and turned out the lights on the members of the school committee before they could leave the basement. As a result of that incident, characterized by Matthew Henson, Secretary of the Committee for the Advancement of Colored Catholics, as indicative of "an absolute lack of appreciation of the aspirations and desires of the Colored," the Committee for the Advancement of Colored Catholics asked Archbishop Curley to withdraw the Josephites from Holy Redeemer parish and from the black apostolate in general, substituting in their place such secular clergy as the Archbishop might choose. Henson, speaking for the Committee, closed his letter to Curley by stating "We cannot have advancement of the Negro in the Church with the Josephite methods of dealing with our problems."[86]

Curley vigorously defended the Josephites, calling them "the best and sincerest friends of our colored people"; he adamantly refused to consider withdrawing them from Holy Redeemer or the black apostolate. The Archbishop

scolded Henson, telling him "We are going to advance the welfare of the colored people but little by an agitation that will mean disintegration of unity of purpose...."[87] Pastorelli, always acutely aware of the attitudes of bishops, particularly his own, knew that Curley did not favor black priests and would probably not support any new departures in that direction by the Josephites; on the other hand, Pastorelli could draw comfort from the knowledge that his new Archbishop would not pressure him to embark on any new experiments regarding black students at Epiphany Apostolic College or St. Joseph's Seminary, and would support him in his battles with the Committee for the Advancement of Colored Catholics.

Attacks on the Josephites by black Catholics abated for several years after the unsuccessful attempt by the Committee for the Advancement of Colored Catholics to have Archbishop Curley replace the Josephites with secular clergy in the black apostolate. Turner and his supporters fell back and regrouped, establishing a more powerful organization of black Catholics in late 1924 called the Federated Colored Catholics of America.[88] Pastorelli had weathered the initial campaign of black Catholic dissidents to force him to change his policy at the college and seminary, although he tried to keep at least one light-skinned Afro-American student at either Epiphany or St. Joseph's as proof of Josephite support for the principle of black priests. The demands of black Catholics for priests of their own race, however, had been heard, in Rome, Steyl, Holland, Lyons, France, Mississippi, and Georgia. In the early years of the "roaring twenties," Pastorelli, black Catholics, and the American hierarchy watched as Missionaries from the Society of the Divine Word and the Lyons Society of the

African Missions, with encouragement from the Holy See, established seminaries to train black men for the priesthood.

END NOTES

[1]Josephite Fathers Archives (hereinafter referred to as JFA), 19-G-25, Louis Pastorelli to John R. Slattery, Mobile, May 27, 1900. The name of St. Anthony's was later changed to Most Pure Heart of Mary.

[2]JFA, 45-M, List of Pastorelli's Assignments; 25-A-11, Bishop Edward P. Allen to Slattery, Mobile, December 10, 1899; 25-A-16, Same to Same, April 21, 1900; 25-A-23, February 17, 1902.

[3]JFA, 19-G-25, Pastorelli to Slattery, Mobile, May 27, 1900.

[4]JFA, 19-G-15a, Pastorelli to Slattery, Mobile, February 2, 1900.

[5]JFA, 19-G-25, Pastorelli to Slattery, Mobile, May 27, 1900.

[6]JFA, 25-A-24, Slattery to Allen, Baltimore, February 19, 1902; J.A. Lally File, Edward V. Casserly to J.A. Lally, Baltimore, July 8, 1944.

[7]JFA, 45-M, List of Pastorelli's Assignments; 66-H, Justin McCarthy to the Josephite Fathers, February, 24, 1910; 51-D, Pastorelli to Thomas Foley, Baltimore, December 2, 1931.

[8]Interview, Rev. Peter E. Hogan, S.S.J., Baltimore, Md., July 25, 1983; Archives of the Catholic University of America (hereinafter referred to as ACUA), NCWC - USCC Records, Chairman's File, Muldoon, Box 10-8-4, Memo, Pastorelli to Bishop Peter Muldoon, undated but certainly the summer of 1919.

[9]Edward R.Kantowicz, Corporation Sole, Cardinal Mundelein and Chicago Catholicism (Notre Dame, 1983), p. 2.

[10]JFA, CMB-1, June 23, 1919, p. 81; Peter E. Hogan, Interview, Baltimore, Md., July 25, 1983.

[11]JFA, 33-B, Pastorelli to McCarthy, Report on Missions East of the Mississippi, September, ?, 1916; "The Catholic Situation, The Colored Harvest, March, 1918, pp. 4 - 5; JFA, 36-A, John Albert to Pastorelli, Theodore, Alabama, 1918?; ACUA, NCWC-USCC Records, Box 10-8-4, Pastorelli to Muldoon, 1919.

[12]JFA, 37-M, Pastorelli to P.J. McConnell, Baltimore, September 3, 1919.

[13]James Didas, S.S.J., Interview, Baltimore, November 3, 1983; Interview, Hogan, July 25, 1983.

[14]ACUA, NCWC - USCC, Box 10-8-4, Pastorelli to Muldoon, (1919).

[15]See for example, JFA, 36-D, Pastorelli to Donahue, Baltimore, October 16, 1918; At St. Joseph's Church in Jackson, Tennessee, the monthly collection for October 1918 amounted to six dollars. At St. Joseph's in New Bern, North Carolina, Father Stephen Brodie collected five to seven dollars per week. See,

JFA, 36-D, ? to Pastorelli, Jackson, November, 14, 1918; 36-B, Brodie to Pastorelli, New Bern, October 31, 1918.

[16]JFA, 68-D, Pastorelli to Bishop Christopher Byrne, Baltimore, June 18, 1925; 43-M, Pastorelli to Father Will ?, Baltimore, September 20, 1925.

[17]ACUA, NCWC-USCC Records, Box 10-8-4, Pastorelli to Muldoon, (1919); George K. Hunton, All of Which I Saw, Part of Which I Was: The Autobiography of George K. Hunton, as told to Gary MacEoin (Garden City, N.Y., 1967), pp. 16 - 17.

[18]ACUA, NCWC-USCC Records, Box 10-8-4, Pastorelli to Muldoon, (1919).

[19]JFA, 19-H-29, Slattery to Pastorelli, Baltimore, June 19, 1902.

[20]John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom, A History of Negro Americans (New York, 1967), pp. 477-492.

[21]JFA, T-34, Gilbert S. Faustina, "Official Bulletin," Minutes of the National Board of Directors, Knights of Peter Claver, August 20-21, 1919.

[22]Thomas Wyatt Turner Papers (hereinafter referred to as TWT), copies in possession of Ms. Marilyn Nickels, HaT, "A Sketch of the Life of Dr. Thomas Turner."

[23]Marilyn Nickels, "The Federated Colored Catholics: A Study of Three Variant Perspectives on Racial Justice as Represented by John LaFarge, William Markoe, and Thomas Turner" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The Catholic University of America, 1975), pp. 21-22.

[24]TWT-5, Cardinal James Gibbons to Thomas Wyatt Turner, Baltimore, September 17, 1913.

[25]TWT-6, Walter Elliott to Turner, Washington, D.C., September 8, 1914.

[26]TWT-11, P.J. Wendel to Turner, Meridian, November 16, 1915.

[27]The Holy Name Society is a confraternity of men originating at the Council of Lyons in 1274 and promoted by the Dominican Order. The organization has a twofold purpose: to promote love and reverence for the name of God and to discourage profanity, blasphemy, perjury, and all improper language. Its members, usually organized in parish units, held processions in honor of the Holy Name. See Albert Nevins, M.M., The Maryknoll Catholic Dictionary (New York, 1965), p. 272; John A. Hardon, S.J., Modern Catholic Dictionary (New York, 1966), p. 254.

[28]Nickels, "The Federated Colored Catholics," pp. 28 - 29.

[29]Ibid., pp. 2-3, 32.

[30]Ibid., p. 31; Franklin, From Slavery, pp. 467-468; James Hennesey, S.J., American Catholics, A History of the Roman Catholic Community in the United States (New York, 1981), pp. 226-227.

[31]Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore (hereinafter referred to as AAB), 124-C-4, Turner et al. to Gibbons, Washington, D.C., December 23, 1918; 124-G-4, Same to Same, January 7, 1919.

[32]JFA, Private Data Book, June, 1918, p. 9.

[33]Ibid., June, 1918, p. 45; Minutes of the General Chapters, June 26, 1918, p. 60. For years, the story circulated among the Josephites that J.A. St. Laurent, the man who finished second to Pastorelli in the balloting advocated returning to the Slattery policy of accepting more black students at the college and seminary. I have found no evidence to support that rumor. See JFA, Dorsey File, Tom O'Connor to Robert McCall, Glen Arn, Md., December 6, 1977, copy. The circumstances surrounding the election, with Pastorelli holding the proxies of thirteen men left a bad taste in the mouths of some Josephites.

[34]JFA, CMB-1, August 29, 1918, p. 79; 36-D, Dorsey to Pastorelli, Baltimore, February 5, 1919.

[35]Interview, Mrs. Olga Dorsey and Mr. Earl Counters, Baltimore, November 2, 1983.

[36]JFA, Private Data Book, October, ?, 1918, p. 45.

[37]JFA, 36-D, Pastorelli to Dorsey, Baltimore, February 4, 1919.

[38]JFA, 36-D, Dorsey to Pastorelli, Baltimore, February 5, 1919.

[39]JFA, Private Data Book, March 10, 1919, pp. 45-46.

[40]JFA, Pastorelli Miscellaneous Correspondence (hereinafter referred to as PMC), Pastorelli to C.W. Wallace, Supreme Secretary of the Knights of St. John, Baltimore, April 12, 1920; TWT-21, Committee et. al. to "Most Reverend Archbishop," 1919.

[41]TWT-25, Dorsey to Turner, Baltimore, August 14, 1919.

[42]JFA, PMC, Pastorelli to C.W. Wallace, Baltimore, April 12, 1920.

[43]The National Catholic Welfare Council barely escaped suppression by Rome in 1921-1922. The American bishops renamed the organization the National Catholic Welfare Conference to stress its non-conciliar, non-legislative character. See Hennesy, American Catholics, pp. 226-231; Gerald P. Fogarty, S.J., The Vatican and the American Hierarchy From 1870 to 1965 (Stuttgart, 1982), pp. 214-228.

[44]AAB, Gibbons to Peter Muldoon et. al., Baltimore, May 5, 1919. Ironically, Cardinal Gibbons's handling of a letter from a young black man illustrated some of the Church's problems with "methods" and "zeal," though Gibbons never

realized it. On June 7, 1919, Norman DuKette, a black man from St. Augustine's Parish in Washington, D.C., in Gibbons's Archdiocese, who had studied at St. Joseph's College for Negro Catechists and who had completed three years of study at Loras College in Dubuque, Iowa, wrote to Gibbons asking the Cardinal to accept him as a secular priest for the Archdiocese of Baltimore when he completed his regular studies. The Archdioceses of Dubuque, Iowa and St. Paul, Minnesota under a succession of tolerant Archbishops like John Joseph Keane, James John Keane, John Ireland and Austin Dowling were two of the very few dioceses or archdioceses in the country that would accept blacks for seminary training. Cardinal Gibbons did not take young DuKette; he completed his theological studies at St. Paul Seminary in St. Paul, Minnesota and was ordained for the Detroit Archdiocese on February 7, 1926. Evidently Gibbons believed that any black aspirants for the priesthood in his archdiocese should apply to the Josephites. See AAB, 126-P-4, Norman A. DuKette to Cardinal Gibbons, Dubuque, June 7, 1919; Albert S. Foley, God's Men of Color (New York, 1955), pp. 117 - 118; John T. Gillard, The Catholic Church and the American Negro (Baltimore, 1929), p. 86.

[45] TWT-21, Turner et al. to "Most Reverend Archbishop," 1919.

[46] JFA, PMC, Pastorelli to Rev. Ignatius Lissner, Baltimore, September 20, 1919; New York Age, September 25, 1919; Baltimore Afro-American, September 18, 1919.

[47] JFA, Baltimore Afro-American, "Catholic Church Good to Die In," September 18, 1919; "The Catholic Agitation," September 25, 1919; "Catholic Bishops Meet in Washington," September 25, 1919.

[48] JFA, "Catholic Church Good to Die In," Baltimore Afro-American, September 18, 1919.

[49] JFA, "The Catholic Agitation," Baltimore Afro-American, September 25, 1919.

[50] TWT-21, Turner et al. to "Most Reverend Archbishop," 1919; TWT-31, ? O'Callaghan to Turner, Washington, D.C., October 21, 1919; Nickels, "The Federated Colored Catholics," p.3; AAB, 131-H, Turner et al. to Gibbons, Washington, D.C., March 1, 1920.

[51] Raphael M. Huber, Our Bishops Speak, National Pastorals and Annual Statements of the Hierarchy of the United States (Milwaukee, 1952), p. 20.

[52] J. Derek Holmes, The Papacy in the Modern World (New York, 1981), pp. 23 - 25; JFA, PMC, newspaper clipping.

[53] TWT-27, E.R. Dyer to Turner, Baltimore, October 14, 1919.

[54] TWT-28, Turner to Dyer, Washington, D.C., October 18, 1919; TWT-29, E.R. Dyer to Turner, Baltimore, October 23, 1919.

[55] JFA, PMC, Turner to Pastorelli, Washington, D.C., October 15, 1919; Pastorelli to Turner, Baltimore, October 18, 1919.

[56]JFA, PMC, Turner to Pastorelli, Washington, D.C., October 24, 1919.

[57]JFA, PMC, Pastorelli to Turner, Baltimore, October 31, 1919; T.B. Moroney, "Catholic Activity in Behalf of the Negro," Ecclesiastical Review, December, 1919, p. 53.

[58]JFA, PMC, "Negro Priests Urged," Baltimore Afro-American, November 21, 1919; Saint Augustine Seminary Archives(hereinafter referred to as SASA), Janser-Christman File, John Dorsey to P.J. Wendel, Baltimore, January 3, 1920.

[59]JFA, PMC, "Negro Priests Urged," Baltimore Afro-American, November 21, 1919.

[60]Ibid.

[61]Ibid.

[62]JFA, PMC, Baltimore Afro-American, November 28, 1919; Mrs. Olga Dorsey and Mr. Earl Counters, Interview, Baltimore, November 2, 1983.

[63]Albert S. Foley Papers (hereinafter referred to as ASFP), Janser to Wendel, copy, Techny, Illinois, February 20, 1920.

[64]JFA, PMC, C.Marcellus Dorsey, "Catholic Insurgents Take Fight to Papal Delegate," Baltimore Afro-American, December 11, 1919.

[65]JFA, PMC, Turner to Pastorelli, Washington, D.C., October 15, 1919.

[66]JFA, 37-K, H. Kane to Pastorelli, San Antonio, December 16, 1919; 37-H, Charles Hannigan to Pastorelli, Baltimore, December 22, 1919.

[67]George Joseph MacWilliam, "The Catholic Church and the Negro Priest," The Crisis, January, 1920, pp. 122-123.

[68]JFA, PMC, New York Age, January 15, 1920; Indianapolis Ledger, undated but clearly 1920.

[69]JFA, PMC, A.A. Steer to Gibbons, Cristobal, Canal Zone, February 1, 1920.

[70]Spiritan Archives U.S.A.(herein after referred to as SPAUSA), D-12-6, Burke to Phelan, New York, February 8, 1920(copy); Eugene Phelan to Burke, Morrilton, Arkansas, February 19, 1920(copy).

[71]Ibid., JFA, PMC, Pastorelli to Steer, Baltimore, February 28, 1920; Foley, God's Men, p. 77.

[72]JFA, Baltimore Afro-American, February, 12, 1920.

[73]AAB, 131-H, Turner et al. to Gibbons, Washington, D.C., March 1, 1920.

[74]JFA, PMC, Pastorelli Memo, March 6, 1920; AAB, Gibbons to Turner, Baltimore, March 15, 1920. One black youth who received an offer from Fr. Hanley to study at Epiphany if he could find a bishop to adopt him was Vincent Smith of Covington, Kentucky. He did not go to Epiphany Apostolic College but instead studied at the Divine Word seminary in Bay St. Louis, Mississippi. He was ordained a priest of the Society of the Divine Word in 1934. See Foley, God's Men, pp. 140-141.

[75]JFA, PMC, Baltimore Afro-American, March 12, 1920.

[76]JFA, PMC, Pastorelli to C.W. Wallace, Baltimore, April 12, 1920.

[77]JFA, Ibid.; J.A. St. Laurent Correspondence Notebook(hereinafter referred to as SLCN), Pastorelli to Archbishop John Shaw, Baltimore, April 5, 1920, p. 320; PMC, C.W. Wallace to Royal G. Addison, Columbus, April 14, 1920, copy; Pastorelli to C.W. Wallace, Baltimore, April 26, 1920.

[78]JFA, PMC, Pastorelli to Wallace, Baltimore, April 26, 1920; Wallace to Robert Hicks, Columbus, May 3, 1920, copy; Hicks to Wallace, Washington, D.C., May 4, 1920; C.W. Wallace to Hicks, Columbus, May 13, 1920.

[79]JFA, SLCN, Shaw to Pastorelli, New Orleans, April 12, 1920, p. 319; Shaw to Pastorelli, New Orleans, April 12, 1920, pp. 318-319.

[80]JFA, 68-H, Carl Murphy to Gibbons, Baltimore, April 24, 1920; Gibbons to Murphy, draft.

[81]TWT-36, John Dorsey to Turner, Baltimore, May 22, 1920.

[82]JFA, 38-K, J. Lally to Pastorelli, New Orleans, undated.

[83]AAB, Roman File, Michael Curley to the Very Reverend Aluigi Cossio, Baltimore, December 12, 1922; SASA, Aloysius Heick File, Janser to Heick, Techny, June 6, 1922; Peter E. Hogan, S.S.J. "Archbishop Curley and the Blacks," unpublished paper presented at the American Catholic Historical Society's Spring Meeting in Louisville, Kentucky, April 16, 1983.

[84]AAB, Consultors' Minutes Book, March 15, 1922.

[85]AAB, Roman File, Curley to the Very Rev. Aluigi Cossio, Baltimore, December 12, 1922.

[86]AAB, H-792, J. Arthur Henson, Secretary of the Committee for the Advancement of Colored Catholics to Curley, Washington, D.C., December 30, 1922. It is difficult to judge the effects of the controversy between the Josephites and the Baltimore and Washington branches of the Committee for the Advancement of Colored Catholics on the rest of the black Catholics served by the Josephites. The Josephites' own statistics, not always reliable before 1929, indicated that yearly adult conversions dropped by 40% between 1918 and 1922, the years of bitterest contention, from approximately 775 in 1918 to 475 in 1922. They then began to increase gradually. Other factors, such as the dislocation caused by migration might help to explain the drop; but the public

attacks on the Josephites in the black press certainly did not help Josephite efforts to evangelize the black community. See Gillard, The Catholic Church and the American Negro, p. 65-66.

[87]AAB, H-791, Curley to J.A. Henson, Baltimore, January 5, 1923.

[88]Nickels, "The Federated Colored Catholics," p. 42.

CHAPTER VI
WATCHFUL WAITING, 1918 - 1924

It is our wish to wait upon the guidance of the Bishops, as we believe ourselves ancillary to the Bishops and not so much an independent group working by and for ourselves. - Louis B. Pastorelli to Bishop John Morris of Little Rock, February 25, 1920

While Louis Pastorelli contended with Thomas Wyatt Turner and the Baltimore "insurgents," two European missionary communities, the Society of the Divine Word, and the Lyons Society of the African Missions, headquartered respectively in Steyl, Holland and Lyons, France, seized the initiative and opened seminaries to train black priests in Mississippi and New Jersey. Their efforts, encouraged by the Holy See, forced the American bishops to reconsider once again the ordination of black men to the priesthood. Pastorelli, who regarded the foreign missionaries as naive about racial conditions in the United States, skeptically watched the progress of the new seminaries. He refused to change Josephite policy toward black candidates without a clear signal that the American bishops would accept black priests into their dioceses. The painful experiences of the few black priests and seminarians in the United States during the early nineteen-twenties confirmed Pastorelli's belief that a conservative approach to the issue best served the interests of St. Joseph's Society.

I

As early as their Christmas meeting of 1914, the Fathers of the Society of the Divine Word (SVDs) on the southern missions recommended preparing some of the boys in their schools for the priesthood and proposed making a start in Jackson, Mississippi. Father Matthew Christman, pastor of Sacred Heart parish

in Greenville, Mississippi, volunteered to devote himself to the task.[1] The SVDs encountered formidable opposition, however, and had to postpone the venture for several years. Nevertheless, Father Christman and Father James Wendel, pastor of St. Joseph's Church in Meridian, Mississippi, worked to keep the issue alive. Wendel tried to enlist support for a black seminary through articles in the SVD magazines, The Christian Family and The Annual Messenger, through pamphlets like "Our Negro Missions," and through letters to priests and black laymen.[2] In 1916, despite opposition and criticism from some whites, Matthew Christman started a high school for blacks in Greenville, Mississippi, complete with laboratory and library. Christman saw the high school as a way of providing black boys with the educational background that they would need for future seminary studies.[3]

Bishop John E. Gunn of Natchez, in whose diocese the SVDs labored, had his own tentative plan for handling what he called "the colored problem." Gunn expressed himself to friends as "very much opposed to a colored priesthood." He believed that "The race is not ready for such a venture and might never be...," but also thought that ultimately, blacks would have to have a hand in their own salvation. Echoing Bishop John B. Morris of Little Rock, Gunn suggested "married colored deacons," who would rank socially with the neighboring black Protestant preachers because they would have charge of mission churches and chapels, preach, catechise, conduct schools, administer Extreme Unction, and distribute Holy Communion. If they remained single until the age of forty or fifty, Gunn entertained the possibility of ordaining some of the deacons to the priesthood. The bishop even received an offer from Father Paul, the prior of the Graymoor Monastery in New York, to train the catechists. Gunn decided,

however, that such a step should come from higher Church authorities and took no further action.[4]

After Fr. Wendel toured the North in 1919 to sample lay and clerical opinion about the "Negro problem," the SVD Fathers again decided to press for a "Negro seminary."[5] At their Easter meeting on April 23, 1919 in Jackson, Mississippi, the assembled Fathers of the southern missions petitioned their new Provincial, Peter Janser, to approve a seminary for black students.[6] Janser received the request sympathetically and met with Bishop Gunn in Pass Christian, Mississippi to discuss the matter. Gunn, aware like the other southern bishops, that Pope Benedict XV wanted more done for blacks in the South, had decided on an industrial school near Hattiesburg, Mississippi. At the beginning of his meeting with Janser, the bishop began to talk about his industrial school, but Janser cut him off, pointing out that the bishop had no money and the SVDs had no men for such a project. Janser informed the bishop that he had come to discuss another matter: black priests. He told Gunn that he knew the bishop openly opposed black secular priests; the bishop confirmed it. Janser, however, raised another possibility. He asked whether the bishop would object to religious black priests and brothers, either as members of the SVD community, or as a separate community under SVD control. Although surprised by the proposal, Gunn offered no objections and even gave his consent for such an experiment. Janser also called on Archbishop John Shaw of New Orleans to explain his idea. The Archbishop gave his verbal approval, even promising his written consent, a promise he never kept.[7] When Fr. Wendel approached Bishop Gunn for permission to open a segregated seminary in the Natchez diocese for the training of black students for the priesthood, Gunn reacted favorably.[8] Janser submitted a formal request for approval of the seminary to the Superior General

and General Council of the Society of the Divine Word. The acting Superior General, Nicholas Blum, indicated to Father Wendel that he would approve the plan.[9]

The SVDs also took heart from the publication, on November 30, 1919, of Pope Benedict XV's encyclical, Maximum illud. Following the war, Benedict XV began a radical reorganization of missionary activity, emphasizing the recruitment of indigenous clergy and the formation of native hierarchies. In the encyclical, Benedict recommended the development of native clergies and the creation of native seminaries in centers of Catholic missionary activity. Some American churchmen argued that the Pope had not had the United States, with its "unique race conditions," in mind when he wrote his encyclical.[10] The SVDs claimed, however, that the Pope intended his encyclical to apply to the southern United States as well as to mission lands in Africa and Asia and cited the papal letter to strengthen their arguments for a black seminary in Mississippi.

In late 1919 and early 1920, Father Janser travelled to Baltimore and Washington D.C. to discuss the proposed seminary with interested parties, including: the Apostolic Delegate, Father John Dorsey, Cardinal James Gibbons, and Mother Katherine Drexel. He missed Father Pastorelli who was out of town. Janser found the Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop John Bonzano, unwilling to commit himself. The Delegate said that all of the bishops to whom he had spoken opposed black priests because they could not rely on them and could not use them because of impossible social conditions. The Delegate did not object to the SVD plans to establish a religious community for black priests, but warned of potential difficulties should a black priest wish to leave the community but be unable to find a bishop to accept him into a diocese.[11] Father John Dorsey

objected strenuously to Janser against the segregated nature of the proposed seminary. Dorsey declared, "a most bitter fight is on," and warned that "if the Josephites do not open the doors of their college and seminary to colored students, they will lose out in their missionary endeavors...." Dorsey insisted that the Catholic Church in America should countenance no segregation and deplored what he termed the "weak kneed and spineless priests and bishops...!"[12] Cardinal Gibbons expressed himself as sympathetic to the project, but Janser noted that "he is a man of the past, whose views may be quoted on paper, but whose voice will not carry far with the hierarchy." Mother Katherine Drexel demonstrated her support for the seminary in a concrete way by pledging $2000 if the SVDs would open it that year.[13]

Janser did not receive so encouraging a response on February 9, 1920, when he met with Archbishop George Mundelein, whose Archdiocese of Chicago included the SVD Provincial headquarters at Techny, Illinois.[14] Mundelein opposed a "colored priesthood at this time." He said that he would not accept black students into his seminary. "Right or wrong," Janser told Wendel, "we cannot change him." On the other hand, Mundelein showed interest in the plan for a black religious community of teaching Brothers and even volunteered to issue a special letter on its behalf. Janser demurred, however, insisting on preparing boys for the priesthood. He tried to allay Mundelein's fears by pointing out that if the boys came from good Catholic families, a training period of twelve to thirteen years, the usual span of time between the first year of prep seminary and ordination, would surely reveal their true character and vocation.[15]

Despite Mundelein's misgivings, Janser forged ahead, trying to secure Vatican support for the proposed seminary. He engaged the help of Father Friedrich, the

SVD liaison with the Vatican curia, who personally presented Janser's proposal for a seminary not only to Propaganda and the Congregation for Religious, but also to Pope Benedict XV. When Fr. Friedrich discussed the plan with the Pope, the pontiff expressed his approval and told Fr. Friedrich that the SVDs should not hesitate. When Father Friedrich mentioned that some bishops might oppose a seminary for blacks, Benedict reportedly straightened up and told him that in that case, the SVDs should refer the matter to him; then he would see whether the Pope was not above the bishops.[16]

In the meantime, Fr. Wendel kept up a steady drumbeat of publicity for black priests. When mention of the infamous MacWilliam article by the Annual Messenger prompted a letter from Pastorelli to Janser urging caution and discretion, Janser assured Pastorelli that he would instruct his Fathers to observe greater reserve and prudence and "not aid a movement which is more or less radical." On the other hand, Janser firmly told Pastorelli that "we must give the Negro an education and must provide for Negro priests." The war had aroused their consciousness, Janser observed, and while it might not include social equality, "it does include political, economic, and religious equality." Declaring that he had no doubt that the Holy Father had blacks in the United States in mind when he wrote his recent encyclical, Janser insisted that blacks should have a priesthood of their own and warned that "it is almost too late to establish institutions for negroes only. There is no taste for segregation now."[17] Janser then wrote to Wendel, and while congratulating him for the latest issue of the Annual Messenger, with its strong call for black priests, advised discretion since there is still too much opposition in official quarters."[18]

Pastorelli viewed the SVD plans for a seminary with a combination of caution and suspicion. When Bishop John Morris of Little Rock solicited his confidential

opinion about the establishment of a community of black priests, an idea that Morris had once suggested to John Albert but now distrusted, Pastorelli responded with a revealing exposition of his own thinking on the issue. Pastorelli told Morris that most Josephites agreed that the ultimate conversion of blacks would depend on blacks themselves. "Our hesitancy," he explained, "falls only on questions of immediate policy." Pastorelli claimed that the Josephites intended to draw "what young men we shall have raised to the priesthood" from "colored" young men in Louisiana with several generations of Catholic blood and traditions behind them. He dismissed the other element, made up mostly of converts, who reflected "the Negro journals of the day" and who, he believed, regarded priesthood not so much as a sacred vocation as an issue of "race advancement." Pastorelli flatly stated that "A Negro clergy must come," but added, "How and when it is to be brought about is the problem." Displaying a wariness born from personal experience in dealing with bishops on the issue, Pastorelli suggested that before any religious community tried to develop black priests, the bishops of the South should meet to discuss the problem and "formulate a plan acceptable to all of us to follow." "It is our wish," said Pastorelli, "to wait upon the guidance of the Bishops as we believe ourselves ancillary to the Bishops and not so much an independent group working by and for ourselves."

Pastorelli attributed the apparent intention of the SVDs to go forward with their plan for a black seminary, to their "German tenacity" and to an ignorance of conditions in the South due to their foreign backgrounds. He warned that before proceeding, the SVDs should obtain assurances from bishops that they would allow black priests into their dioceses. Otherwise, "it would be a sort of martyrdom for those poor colored men raised to the priesthood." Referring to

his experiences with the three black Josephite priests, Pastorelli told Morris, that the Josephites could find no permanent place for them outside the Baltimore Archdiocese and confided that "The three we had ordained have been a source of worry to us and we would gladly give them over to take part in the proposed work."[19] In an attempt to promote discussion among southern bishops that might result in guidelines about black priests for religious communities, Pastorelli sent Archbishop Shaw a copy of his letter to Morris.[20]

In response to his letters, Pastorelli received clear indications of the thinking of two of the South's most important prelates. Bishop Morris thanked Pastorelli for his ideas and informed him that he had decided to discourage any proposal until the southern bishops as a group met and made recommendations. He indicated that he would suggest such a meeting to Archbishop Shaw. Morris ventured his opinion that earlier experiments with black priests had not met with success; the clear implication being that the future promised little better.[21] Archbishop Shaw of New Orleans, while protesting his great sympathy for the race that he had "known since childhood," and despite his verbal okay to Father Janser, deemed the time "inopportune" to make "the experiment." He expressed no desire or need to discuss the issue with his suffragans.[22] Clearly the "guidance" of the Archbishop of New Orleans and the Bishop of Little Rock indicated to Pastorelli that the time had not yet arrived for black priests.

Despite Pastorelli's skepticism and the less than enthusiastic support from most southern bishops, the "tenacious Germans" persisted in their efforts. While still awaiting official permission from their headquarters to proceed with the seminary, the SVD Provincial Council in February, 1920 approved a temporary measure to allow Fr. Matthew Christman to provide quarters at Greenville, Mississippi for a few black boys, each approved by the Provincial, who would

follow the high school course. The Provincial Council informed the Superior General of the action.[23] Finally, in May 1920, the General Council of the Society of the Divine Word approved the founding of Sacred Heart College in Greenville, Mississippi for the special purpose of raising "Colored priests."[24]

Father Christman planned to open the institution in September or October and estimated that he would need $20,000 for a two-story building measuring 50' x 45.' On July 1, 1920, Janser sent a letter to all the priests in the United States, advising them of plans for a separate black community of religious priests under the full control of the Society of the Divine Word. Janser noted that Church authorities would decide at some future time whether the new community would affiliate with the SVD's or become an independent organization. The SVD Provincial attempted to wrap the seminary in the Pope's mantle by claiming that the Society of the Divine Word had undertaken the project "At the request of Rome." Janser solicited advice, funds, and cooperation, asking priests to direct black boys who showed signs of a vocation to the SVDs. The letter indicated that ordinarily, Sacred Heart College would accept only the children of Catholic parents.[25]

In September 1920, Sacred Heart College in Greenville, Mississippi accepted its first two students. Father Wendel had died on February 24, 1920 and Father Christman took charge of the venture. Three separate gifts of $2000 each from Monsignor John Burke of the Catholic Board for Mission Work Among the Colored People, Mother Katherine Drexel, and a northern donor by the name of "Mr. Murphy," gave the seminary its financial start. Christman erected a small two-story frame building containing classrooms, a dining room, and a kitchen on the spacious grounds of Sacred Heart Mission, and also fixed up the attic of the high school building as a dormitory for the prospective seminarians. The

energetic Christman, aided by Father Anthony Jacobs, served as rector, prefect, and teacher in the seminary, while still remaining pastor of the parish. By the close of the first school year, Sacred Heart College had fourteen students.[26]

II

The new SVD seminary drew mixed reactions from the Josephites. Many of them enthusiastically applauded and supported the SVDs. Stephen Sweeney, for example, the pastor at St. Philomena parish in Pass Christian, assured Christman, "it will be one of my greatest joys if I can secure for you some candidates for your school." Joseph Lally, at Holy Redeemer Parish in New Orleans, bested Sweeney by proudly sending four boys to Christman during the seminary's first year of operation, including one who was later ordained a priest.[27] Lambert Welbers the veteran of controversies at Epiphany Apostolic College in the early years of the century and now at Holy Redeemer in San Antonio, Texas reacted more guardedly, asking Pastorelli to advise him on the proper Josephite attitude. Welbers suggested that "if it...has the sanctions of the hierarchy, we ought to support it." Pastorelli recommended that Welbers simply "Look on and mark the result for future use."[28]

John Albert, however, expressed no reservations about the SVD seminary; he welcomed it as the culmination of the plan he had first proposed back in 1912. He wrote Christman expressing his "great joy" and offering his services as a field agent to give missions creating support for Sacred Heart College, to preach vocation sermons, and to recruit students. He also suggested the possibility of the SVDs taking over the 216 acres of St. Joseph's College for

Negro Catechists in Montgomery, Alabama as a site for their Sacred Heart College, since St. Joseph's at that time had only three students.[29]

Albert urged Pastorelli to make a public gesture of support for Sacred Heart College as a diplomatic way of countering the impression that the Josephites did not favor black priests. To oppose the seminary, Albert told Pastorelli, would be unfair and would receive little support. "They have the field," Albert advised Pastorelli, "let us not be jealous but enter heart and soul in the movement." Albert warned that the episodes with the "insurgents" in Baltimore had placed the Josephites "in a most unfavorable light in the North" and had created the impression, even at the Catholic Board for Mission Work Among the Colored People, that the Josephites opposed "the Colored clergy idea." Such an impression, Albert believed, would eventually hurt Josephite finances, vocations, and credibility among blacks.

Albert spelled out his interpretation of the Josephite position on black priests. The Josephites rejected the notion, prevalent among many secular clergy, that St. Joseph's Society "... is the receptacle for the trying out of all Colored vocations." The Josephites wanted bishops and other religious societies to assume their own responsibilities for accepting and developing whatever vocations came to their notice. The Josephites felt themselves limited by their constitutions and believed that the SVDs, because of their protection and strength in Europe, could more effectively push the special seminary for black vocations.

Albert suggested to Pastorelli that he offer St. Joseph's College for Negro Catechists to the SVDs. Such an offer, even if rejected, would make for good public relations in the black community and would signal Josephite willingness to give every assistance to Sacred Heart College. Albert also asked Pastorelli

to allow him to serve as an advance agent for the new seminary even to the extent of being loaned by the Josephites to the Divine Word Fathers to give missions, preach vocation sermons, and recruit students for Sacred Heart College. Albert assured Pastorelli that if he approved such a move, he would go far toward placing the Josephites in a "proper and acceptable light" before the rest of the country.[30]

With manpower and financial worries of his own, however, Pastorelli showed no willingness to consider donating St. Joseph's College land or loaning Albert to the SVDs. Nevertheless, Albert continued to entreat Pastorelli to make a concrete gesture of support for Sacred Heart College by giving at least a monetary donation through Monsignor John Burke's office, with an accompanying letter expressing the good will of the Josephites. "This could hardly do any harm," Albert wrote, "and in the event that my surmises are correct, this gift and letter would check hostile opinions."[31] Once again, however, Pastorelli ignored Albert's suggestion and maintained his studied "indifference" toward the SVD seminary.

Besides urging Fr. Pastorelli to support the S.V.D. seminary, Albert also offered advice and encouragement to Father Matthew Christman during the trying early months of Sacred Heart College's operation. When Christman grew impatient and discouraged over the small number of black students that had come to Sacred Heart, Albert counseled patience and persistence, and explained that some priests were reluctant to recommend candidates because they did not know what the bishops had decided on the matter and did not want to go off "on a wild goose chase." He reassured Christman that missions and vocation sermons would eventually encourage applicants, though he did not hold out much hope for Greenville, Mississippi as a permanent site for the seminary.[32]

Albert also consoled Christman when some black Catholics objected to the "Jim Crow" nature of Sacred Heart College and insisted that black SVD students receive their education along with whites at the major SVD seminary in Techny, Illinois. J.A. St. Laurent reported unrest among his parishoners at St. Dominic's parish in New Orleans and the 1920 convention of the Knights of Peter Claver, after a speech by Marcellus Dorsey, quashed a motion to commend and support the SVD work. In addition, John Henry Dorsey and Stephen Theobald, two well known black priests, also publicly criticized separate seminary training for black students. Despite the disapproval evidenced by some black Catholics, however, Albert reassured Christman that a separate seminary for black students represented the only practical approach to the development of black priests and predicted that the "loud mouthed Colored fellows" clamoring for black priests and motivated by "pride rather than zeal," would not have a long lasting effect on the opinions of most black Catholics.[33]

Bishop Gunn did not share Albert's optimism about the future of Sacred Heart College. Writing to Father E.R. Dyer of the Negro and Indian Commission, Bishop Gunn described the SVD attempt to establish a "Negro religious priesthood" as a compromise, since he had always opposed a black secular clergy as unworkable given the social conditions in the South. While admitting that reports about the prep school at Greenville seemed satisfactory, he confided that the plan "is hoping against hope and without much chance of doing any good or pleasing anybody."[34]

III

During the post-war period, the Lyons Society of the African Missions, which conducted missions for blacks in Georgia, joined the Society of the Divine Word

in attempting to provide seminary education for blacks. The efforts of their grizzled superior in Georgia, the Rev. Ignatius Lissner, resulted not only in a fledgling integrated seminary in New Jersey, but also in renewed Vatican pressure on the American bishops to develop black priests.

Ignatius Lissner arrived in Savannah, Georgia from France to minister to blacks at the request of Bishop Benjamin Keiley in 1906.[35] Keiley entrusted all black work in his diocese to the Lyons Society of the African Missions. After almost ten years of work among blacks in Georgia, Lissner wrote to the Negro and Indian Commission that "the future of the mission to the Negro lies in the colored sisters, brothers, and priests."[36] On November 22, 1919, Father Jean-Marie Chabert, the Superior General of the Lyons Society of the African Missions, acting at the request of Lissner, proposed a plan to the Propaganda that called for the nomination of a bishop for blacks in Georgia and the establishment of a seminary for them in Savannah. Cardinal William Van Rossum, the Prefect of Propaganda, approved the plan, assuring Chabert that the Propaganda "is in truth animated by the very keenest regard for the poor Negroes of America, whose abandoned condition we appreciate." The Cardinal promised to watch the projected seminary with keen interest, certain that "the formation of priests of that race will be the easiest way to redeem those people."[37]

In February, 1920, Propaganda informed Bishop Benjamin Keiley that it had approved plans both for a seminary and a bishop for blacks in his diocese. The feisty bishop bitterly complained to Cardinal Gibbons about the proposals, ascribing them to Lissner, a man whom he disdainfully noted "is of Jewish ancestry, and has many of the qualities of the 'Chosen People.'" Keiley believed

that a Catholic seminary accepting black youths in Georgia would only provide additional ammunition for the anti-Catholic campaigns of Tom Watson and the resurgent Ku Klux Klan and would spell disaster for the Church in Georgia and throughout the South. He bemoaned the difficulty of getting Rome to understand conditions in the South; advised Gibbons that his diocesan consultors had unanimously condemned the idea of a seminary that accepted blacks; and urged the Cardinal to send a communication on the subject to Rome.[38]

Cardinal Gibbons, cognizant of Benedict XV's desire for more native clergy, framed a careful response to the Bishop of Savannah. He told Keiley that he favored the establishment of a seminary for training black youths for the priesthood and advised Keiley to interpose no objection to it. Gibbons suggested that if such a seminary would harm the interests of white Catholics in Georgia, perhaps Lissner could find another location, such as Catholic University, though Gibbons would have to consult the rector and faculty. Cardinal Gibbons, however, shared Bishop Keiley's objections to the naming of a special bishop to look after the spiritual needs of blacks either in the United States or only in Georgia. Gibbons branded such a move "entirely premature," since he judged the existing ordinaries of dioceses as quite capable of adequately caring for the relatively small number of black Catholics under their charge. As for writing to Rome, Gibbons demurred, suggesting instead that Keiley communicate his own views to Propaganda, informing the Congregation that he had consulted with Gibbons.[39]

There matters stood until the summer of 1920. Just as the SVDs announced their decision to open Sacred Heart College in Greenville, Mississippi, Ignatius Lissner, recently returned from Rome, met with Cardinal Gibbons. Lissner recounted for Gibbons his conversation with Pope Benedict XV about the plight

of blacks in the United States. According to Lissner, Benedict XV had expressed his wish for seminaries and possibly bishops for blacks in the United States; indeed, Lissner produced a letter from Propaganda approving a seminary for blacks in Georgia. The conference with Lissner, along with the document from Propaganda, convinced Gibbons that Rome wanted action and that the time had come for the American bishops to consider thoroughly the evangelization and education of blacks - "... particularly the education of colored boys and young men for the priesthood." Gibbons, therefore, asked Bishop Peter Muldoon of Rockford, the Vice Chairman of the Administrative Committee of the National Catholic Welfare Council, to place the topic on the agenda of the September meeting of the bishops. Muldoon granted Gibbons's request.

In order to prepare for the discussion, Gibbons asked the members of the hierarchy to consider several points, some of which, he noted, had come from the Holy Father himself, via a missionary (Lissner). Gibbons contended that a lack of black priests helped to explain the meagre results of Catholic evangelization among blacks. After reminding the bishops that Pope Benedict XV in his encyclical on the missions had strongly reaffirmed the Church policy of fostering a native clergy, Gibbons requested the bishops to consider whether black candidates should prepare for the priesthood along with whites in the same seminaries. While Gibbons acknowledged that integrated education represented the ideal, he questioned whether "...results justify a preference for that policy," and suggested that perhaps wisdom required separate preparatory and major seminaries. The Cardinal also invited the bishops' opinions about whether black priests should serve under the present Ordinaries or whether another arrangement might prove preferable.[40]

After receiving Gibbons's questions, Bishop Jules Jeanmard of Lafayette, Louisiana, whose newly created diocese lay north and west of New Orleans and contained over fifty thousand black Catholics, the largest number of any diocese in the country,[41] solicited the views of three of his most prominent clergymen. Their responses provided a revealing picture of "enlightened" southern Catholic thought on the topic of black priests. The three priests, J.M. Langlois, pastor of St. Peter's Church in New Iberia and the Vicar General of the diocese, Philip Keller, founder of the Holy Rosary Institute in Lafayette, and L.F. Isenberg, pastor of St. Michael's in Crowley, Louisiana, agreed that the Church should attempt to secure priestly vocations from blacks. In Father Langlois's words, to exclude blacks from the priesthood would "be against the spirit of God." All three priests, however, also recommended that black seminarians receive their training in segregated seminaries and belong to a separate order of black religious priests, along the lines proposed by the Divine Word Fathers.[42]

Father Keller opted for a separate community of black priests because he feared that black secular priests could cause the bishop a great deal of "unpleasentness." A separate community of black priests appealed to Langlois because he believed that it would provide much needed control and supervision of black priests, thus reducing the danger of their giving scandal. Father Isenberg explained that a separate religious order would provide community and companionship for black priests who otherwise would find themselves isolated and friendless among hostile or indifferent white clergy. Isenberg cautioned that the appointment of a black priest to a black parish might lower the prestige of the Catholic priesthood in the eyes of some noncatholic southerners, and thus embarrass some white Catholics. He also pointed out that in some areas, blacks,

long accustomed to inferiority, would probably prefer white priests. Reservations notwithstanding, Isenberg expressed the sentiments of the three Louisiana priests when he acknowledged that he could imagine conditions and localities where "a colored pastor at the head of a colored parish would do well."[43]

J.A. St. Laurent, at St. Dominic's in New Orleans, took the pulse of the southern bishops and kept Pastorelli informed about their reactions to Gibbons's questions. Writing about a recent meeting with Bishop Jeanmard, St. Laurent described the bishop as convinced that the black man had to receive more recognition from the Church but "non-commital" on the question of black priests. St. Laurent speculated that the time had come for the bishops to make up their minds on the matter "in a big way." He regarded Gibbons's questions, which Jeanmard viewed as having originated in Rome, as "almost like an ultimatum." St. Laurent wagered that the southern bishops would accept the SVD plan, thus easing pressure about the issue, but warned that "it will not settle it." He advised Pastorelli to venture no opinion, "for Rome is decidedly in favor of a native clergy"; instead, he counseled Pastorelli to pledge the cooperation of the Society, as heretofore, and allow the bishops to decide for themselves how they should answer Rome.[44] St. Laurent's advice accorded well with Pastorelli's own inclination to take his cue from the bishops.

The bishops' meeting, however, again proved anticlimactic. The "Negro question" was only one of six topics on the agenda, and by no means constituted the most important item in the eyes of most bishops. Despite the migration between 1910 and 1920 that increased the black population living outside of the South by almost fifty percent to a total of 1,550,900, most bishops continued to regard the "Negro problem" as a southern concern, especially since the South

still remained home to 8,912,231 blacks.[45] Gibbons introduced the subject of the black apostolate to the meeting on September 22, 1920, by reading a copy of his letter to Muldoon and apprising the bishops of the Pope's wish, communicated to him by "a clergyman fresh from Rome"(Lissner), for seminaries and perhaps even bishops for blacks. Gibbons spoke against the idea of separate bishops for blacks and expressed anxiety about seminaries. Archbishop Mundelein, ignoring the SVD decision to begin a seminary to train black priests, spoke only of that part of the SVD plan that he favored: the formation of black Brothers and Sisters under white superiors who would teach, especially in black technical schools in the South. Bishop Russell of Charleston moved that the bishops accept the recommendation of Archbishop Mundelein for black Sisters and Brothers. Cardinal Gibbons explained that the bishops only needed to give the project their blessing without committing themselves to anything or without touching the financial issue. The bishops then referred the matter to the Committee on Missions, effectively burying it.[46]

Meanwhile, Father Chabert continued to stress to the Vatican the need for a seminary to prepare black priests both for the Lyons Society and for the diocesan clergy; he also emphasized the crucial importance of a separate bishop for blacks to the ultimate success of the seminary and its future ordinands. He painted a grim picture for Cardinal Van Rossum of conditions in Georgia under Bishop Keiley. Chabert reported what the Cardinal knew only too well: that Bishop Keiley would refuse the help of a Vicar Apostolic or Vicar General with episcopal character having jurisdiction over blacks in his diocese, and would never accept black priests into his diocesan clergy. Such resistance, Chabert told Van Rossum, created special difficulties. For example, Keiley's refusal to accept black priests for his diocese had forced the Lyons Fathers to accept

William Floyd and Joseph John, both students at St. Paul's Seminary in Minnesota, into the Lyons Society of the African Missions, since the rector of St. Paul's advised Lissner that he could not keep the two men at the seminary unless each had an ecclesiastical superior in the person of a bishop or a religious community. Without a separate bishop wielding special jurisdiction over black work, black priests, regardless of their secular or religious status, would have no place to go, since southern bishops like Keiley would not allow them to work in their dioceses.[47]

In early December, 1920, Bishop Keiley received a letter from Cardinal Gaetano De Lai, Secretary of the Consistorial Congregation, asking for reasons why the Congregation should not recommend that the Pope appoint a missionary priest, most likely Lissner, as Keiley's Vicar General and then consecrate him a bishop with special jurisdiction over blacks. Keiley fancied that he had many reasonable objections to such an appointment and again wrote to Cardinal Gibbons to enlist his aid. Fuming about Lissner, "the grandson of a Jewish convert" with "all of the objectionable traits of the race," Keiley claimed that the appointment would displease the people of the diocese and that "every priest in the diocese would sign a letter of protest against the unpopular priest." Keiley promised Gibbons that if Rome forced Lissner on him, he would resign; and implored the Cardinal to write to De Lai telling him of the incalculable harm that such an appointment would do to the work in Georgia. Gibbons, always sensitive to unwarranted invasions of episcopal autonomy, fired off a strong letter of protest.[48]

Seeing that the plan had no support among the American bishops, and not wishing to precipitate a confrontation with Bishop Keiley, Rome once again abandoned plans for a bishop with special jurisdiction over black work. Whether

Propaganda and the Consistorial Congregation supported the proposal for a special bishop as a "trial balloon" to see how far it could move the American bishops, or whether the plan represented a not so subtle warning to the American bishops of possible repercussions if they did not make some provisions for training more black priests, remains unclear. The Vatican usually moved cautiously, discreetly, and slowly, careful to avoid pushing the Americans too hard on the sensitive race issue, especially since, in the opinion of most theologians at the time, it did not involve questions of faith or morals. The Holy See believed that it could accomplish more good in the long run through persistent pressure rather than through fiat.[49]

Although Rome abandoned the plan for a special bishop, Lissner pressed on with his plans for a seminary. Keiley's opposition, however, forced Lissner to find a different location. Lissner asked Bishop J. O'Connor of Newark, New Jersey for permission to open a major seminary in Highwood, New Jersey. Aware of the the wishes of Pope Benedict XV and Cardinal Van Rossum in the matter, O'Connor gave his approval, and on November 16, 1921, Joseph John, a black theology student, arrived at St. Anthony's Mission House, a simple white frame structure situated on twelve acres of land, to complete his studies.[50] Unlike the SVD seminary in Mississippi, however, St. Anthony's educated both black and white seminarians.

IV

Just as adverse conditions forced Lissner to relocate his seminary, so too in 1921, the Divine Word Fathers decided to move Sacred Heart College from Greenville, Mississippi to a more hospitable location. As early as February,

1921, the SVDs and Bishop Gunn began to explore the possibility of relocating the Greenville seminary in order to separate it from the co-ed high school in Greenville and to place it nearer a Catholic population center.[51] John Albert suggested New Orleans in the South, or New York or Chicago, because of their proximity to potential financial donors.[52] The SVDs, however, favored the Gulf Coast of Mississippi, which boasted a larger Catholic population than the interior of the state and would provide the Fathers with work on Sundays helping parish priests and would allow them to enjoy a pleasant climate.[53] After some initial misgivings, Bishop Gunn agreed to the Gulf Coast and suggested Bay St. Louis, Mississippi. He put the SVDs in contact with a sympathetic parish priest, Fr. A.J. Gmelch and "Mr. Korndoffer," a wealthy benefactor. The SVDs found some available property and Gunn advanced them $6000 from the bequest of a "Monsignor Zimmerman" to purchase it.[54] The Bishop also wrote letters of recommendation for Fr. John Hoenderop, a SVD missionary who toured the East and returned with a donation of $10,000 and a promise from Father Dyer of a large donation from the Negro and Indian Commission.[55]

Although still entertaining doubts about its ultimate success, Bishop Gunn tried to insure that the SVD seminary would not fail because of a lack of funds. Throughout the summer of 1921, he peppered the Negro and Indian Commission with appeals for financial help for the struggling seminary. He believed that if the Divine Word men did not succeed in "raising a colored priesthood in the South," the bishops could justifiably leave the work to "the theoretical advocates of the clerical brunettes."[56] In effect, he told Dennis Cardinal Dougherty, the President of the Commission for Missionary Work Among the Negroes and Indians, that northern clergy who had criticized southern bishops for failing to develop black priests, should now "put up or shut up."[57] Gunn

insisted to E.R. Dyer that if northern clergy did not want to "come across" financially, southern bishops would "... not be tormented any longer about our unChristian color line."[58] He predicted that the seminary would never secure southern sympathy and speculated that more clergy would oppose it outright except for their reluctance to hurt his feelings. According to Gunn, they "are hopeful that the thing will die for want of support." Gunn confessed that he never supposed that any religious order would have the bravery to attempt a black seminary and admiringly attributed the SVD effort to their "invincible ignorance" of southern conditions; an ignorance, he suggested, that just might "bring these good SVD men to save themselves and ... their brunettes."[59]

Though willing to encourage and to solicit support for the SVDs, Gunn also made sure to protect himself. In June of 1921, the Superior General of the Society of the Divine Word informed the American province that Rome wished the SVDs to accept the black candidates into the Society of the Divine Word, while keeping them in a separate province. The black students would follow the same exercises, rules, and orders as the white seminarians at Techny.[60] Gunn asked for a letter from Father Janser or from the Superior General guaranteeing that the young men would become members of the Society of the Divine Word. Gunn explained, "This will make it easier for myself or any other bishop to ordain them as members in a canonically erected religious community that would supply the ordination title required for sacred orders."[61]

Janser responded with a long letter in which he assured the bishop that the Society of the Divine Word would accept the black students as candidates for the Society. The black seminarians would receive their training in a separate institution and when ordained would eventually form an autonomous province under the same Superior General. For the foreseeable future, they would remain

under the exclusive care of white members until such time as their numbers and experience made it safe to allow them into the government of the Society. Janser promised to proceed cautiously so as not to arouse the "antagonism of hostile elements." He hoped to employ the ordained black men for work not only among blacks in the United States, but eventually also for the SVD foreign missions, especially in Africa.[62]

Janser's statement relieved Gunn "of a kind of dread" about the future of the seminarians. A religious community had its own subjects and gave its priests a canonical title that made them a family party, thus enabling Gunn or his successors to ordain them for the Society of the Divine Word rather than the diocese of Natchez. The Bishop assured Janser that he would not hesitate to ordain any candidate presented to him by the SVDs, or to allow the black SVDs to work among the diocese's million black people. A black priest "need never come in social contact with either white priests or white laymen," the relieved bishop concluded. Gunn also probably felt freer in his promises to the SVDs since the first black candidates would not reach ordination for thirteen more years. Gunn pointed out to Janser that should difficulties occur, well trained SVD men could "always find a field for usefulness in Africa." The African "option," not available to the Josephites, provided the SVDs with an important backup in case American bishops would not accept their black priests. Father Janser emphasized the importance of the "African option" when he wrote to Christman: "No doubt, even if there were no room for colored priests in the States, the various islands and Africa would offer ample opportunity."[63]

In October of 1921, Janser sent a circular letter to the hierarchy of the United States informing them of plans to move the seminary, now grown to twenty-eight students, to Bay St. Louis. Janser quoted Benedict XV on the need

for a native clergy and reassured the hierarchy that while the SVDs believed that conversion of blacks to Catholicism would provide the ultimate solution to the race problem, they did not seek immediate solution of the present political, social, or economic aspects of the problem. Janser said that he hoped the circular would dispel rumors that the SVDs sought radical remedies to racial problems, but he also served notice that the SVDs would "not be deterred by the opposition and clamor of the few that are non-Catholic in their utterances."[64]

The bishops and archbishops responded positively to Janser's circular, spurred on no doubt by the Pope's expressed desire for a black seminary and by pressure from Propaganda and the Consistorial Congregation for separate bishops for the black apostolate. Bishop Allen sent $100 and Cardinal William O'Connell of Boston dispatched $1000 with the message, "You Germans are the only ones who can do it.".[65] A priest from the North funneled another $12,000 through Bishop Gunn, and the Knights of Peter Claver, overcoming their initial misgivings, also gave a donation. Mother Katherine Drexel promised $2,000 to Janser, and Bishop Gunn spoke of another $10,000. In all, the bishops of the United States donated $35,000, either directly or indirectly through the Negro and Indian Commission.[66] For many bishops, a modest donation for a seminary tucked away down in Mississippi was a small price to pay to defuse the issue and to forestall any more drastic action by the Vatican.

The promises of financial support for a new seminary in Bay St. Louis arrived just in time because trouble with the Klu Klux Klan emphasized the need to relocate the black seminarians. In the Spring of 1922, issues of The Rail-Splitter, the Klan newspaper published in Ft. Worth, Texas, appeared on the streets of Greenville, Mississippi. Box-car headlines across the top of the paper, clearly designed to engender bitter feeling and possibly to incite to

violence, screamed "White Women Act as Scullery Maids for Young Negroes at Greenville, Mississippi."[67] The ensuing story also claimed that blacks and whites mingled freely at the school. Other KKK papers pressed the charges, alleging that the existence of the seminary meant that soon white women would have to kneel down to confess their sins to black priests. Even some Catholic papers carried the inaccurate reports about life at Sacred Heart College. At the request of the superiors of the seminary, a civic committee composed of an Episcopal minister, the mayor of Greenville, and a Baptist, former mayor who also belonged to the Freemasons, investigated the institution and issued a report denying that white women served black students and noting the similarities between the practices at Sacred Heart and non-Catholic Bible institutes.[68] The commission's report calmed the atmosphere, but the young black students still had to endure the taunts of some townspeople who called them "little nigger priests." As a precaution following the KKK newspaper attack, a black Catholic man always accompanied the seminarians on their outings in the country, conspicuously displaying a loaded gun to let the local Klan know that he intended to defend the students.[69]

In June 1923, Sacred Heart College moved to Bay St. Louis, Mississippi, approximately forty miles east of New Orleans. On September 16, 1923, before a great crowd that included over eight hundred people who had chartered train coaches from New Orleans, Bishop Gunn dedicated the new seminary building, a large brick structure capable of accomodating over one hundred students and costing in excess of $60,000. Fr. Harry Kane, a Josephite from New Orleans, preached the sermon at the dedication Mass.[70] St. Augustine's offered a six year combined high school-college program and a six year seminary course, with

an additional year's novitiate at Techny. A faculty of four priests instructed twenty-two students during the 1923-24 academic year.[71]

On April 5, 1923, Pope Pius XI, who had succeeded Benedict XV in 1922, gave an unmistakable signal of his support for St. Augustine's and for the efforts of the SVDs to develop a black clergy when he addressed a public letter of congratulations "To His Son, William Gier, Superior General of the Society of the Divine Word," on the occasion of the transfer of the seminary to Bay St. Louis. The Pope declared that the seminary accorded with the ideals of the Society of the Divine Word, God's admonition to the Church to teach all nations, and with the precepts of the Apostolic See. It is indispensable, the Pope declared, that black priests should make it their life's work to lead their people to Christian faith and a higher level of culture. Pius XI praised the SVDs for adhering to the guidance of Benedict XV's letter, Maximum illud, by planning to ordain black men as members of the Society of the Divine Word. He closed by expressing his willingness to do everything he could to promote the undertaking.[72]

Although St. Augustine's threatened to transform the Society of the Divine Word into a potent future rival to the Josephites in the black apostolate, especially if it managed to produce significant numbers of black priests, its existence also inadvertently helped to ease pressure on Pastorelli and St. Joseph's Society. The segregated nature of St. Augustine's seemed to confirm the commonly held opinion among whites that integrated seminary education, such as had existed at St. Joseph's Seminary under John R. Slattery, had failed. Now, clergy and laity would regard St. Augustine's rather than St. Joseph's as the "Negro seminary." Pastorelli could refer black applicants to St. Augustine's, all the while claiming to support black vocations. Pastorelli had decided to

"play it safe" on the issue of black priests; he waited and watched the fate of the black seminarians at Bay St. Louis.

V

Unlike St. Augustine's, which despite financial difficulties, expanded its enrollment and received papal approbation, Fr. Lissner's seminary, St. Anthony's Mission House in Tenafly, New Jersey, languished and eventually failed. Its first black ordinand, Father Joseph John, suffered many of the indignities earlier black priests experienced, including the refusal of bishops to accept him into their dioceses. As a result, the Lyons Society of the African Missions, like the Josephite and Holy Ghost Fathers before them, decided to discontinue the training of black students. The sorry fate of Lissner's experiment reinforced Pastorelli in his view that conditions did not yet allow for a significant increase in the number of black priests, and that any new departures should await clear signals from the bishops that they had changed their attitudes toward black priests.

St. Anthony's Mission House, which had only six students and four faculty members in 1922, suffered from a host of problems. It lacked adequate financial support, which Lissner blamed on episcopal prejudice against his foreign background. Internal conflicts between Lissner and the superior of the seminary further crippled the institution. The European model of education that the seminary faculty adopted made little provision for recreation other than yard

work and failed to appeal to American youth; the African orientation of the faculty and Lissner's own reported preference for simple African natives to American blacks alienated black students.[73] In addition, friction between white and black seminarians soon became apparent. The three white seminarians avoided walking with the black students and admitted to Fr. Werle, the superior, that they had lost their sympathy for blacks and had serious doubts about continuing. All three eventually left.[74]

Difficulties at the seminary notwithstanding, Joseph John persevered, entered the Lyons Society of the African Missions, and was ordained before a joyous throng at the black church of St. Benedict the Moor in New York City by Bishop John J. Collins, S.J., on June 13, 1923.[75] Unfortunately, a cloud of uncertainty hung over John and Lissner as they participated in the festivities marking the ordination, because Lissner could not secure a pastoral assignment for the new ordinand. The Catholic News of New York City reported what most black Catholics assumed: that John would labor at one of the six black churches conducted by the Lyons African Missionary Society in Georgia.[76] When Fr. Lissner proposed Fr. John as pastor of St. Anthony's Mission in West Savannah, however, Bishop Michael J. Keyes, Bishop Keiley's successor, objected because he feared that the appointment of a black priest might provoke opposition from whites that would harm the Church in Georgia. Keyes told Lissner that for the time being, he wanted the work for blacks done only by the white Lyons Society priests.[77]

Sister Mary Theodore, Mother General of the black Franciscan Handmaids of the Most Pure Heart of Mary, told Fr. Lissner that whites had stopped her on the street to make clear to her their displeasure over the prospect of Fr. John's assignment to Savannah. "Now we meet the Colored Sister," more than one

remarked scornfully, "next we will be meeting the colored priest." Even some of the white Franciscan Sisters complained that it was enough to have black Sisters in Savannah without bringing in a "colored priest." Sister Theodore suggested, however, that whites were not the only angry people in Savannah; many black Catholics were furious with the bishop because they had learned that he did not want Fr. John in Georgia. Sister Theodore worried that they would leave the Catholic Church as a result. "The Japanese...Italians...Chinese...Africans have priests," Sister Theodore plaintively wrote to Lissner, "Why can't the American Negroes...?[78]

Unable to station Father John in Georgia, but hoping to enable blacks in the state to see the newly ordained priest, Father Lissner and Father Laube of Augusta, with the bishop's permission, arranged for John to officiate at a high Mass in Augusta on December 8, 1923, and to attend a series of receptions in his honor in Macon, Savannah, and Atlanta. News about preparations for the celebrations, however, gave Bishop Keyes second thoughts. He wrote to Lissner saying that he feared that the Church in Georgia might suffer great harm unless the Lyons Fathers handled John's visit with care. Keyes reminded Lissner that people in Georgia would not accept a black man, priest or layman, as their equal. The Bishop worried that white southerners would view a solemn High Mass, a sung Mass with John as the main celebrant assisted by a deacon and subdeacon, as "two white men waiting on a colored man." The bishop also warned that a High Mass necessitated "That intimacy between white and colored which is as yet practically impossible in Georgia." Therefore, the Bishop suggested a missa cantata, a Mass celebrated by a priest without a deacon or subdeacon for Augusta.[79]

As for the receptions in Macon, Savannah, and Atlanta, the bishop fretted that white Protestants would view the celebrations as an attempt by the hated Catholics to force social equality between the races and he cautioned against too much display. He hoped that John would arrive and depart quietly; since to have a celebration would involve white priests and great trouble would result if a white man rode around with a black man, had a celebration in his honor, and dined with him. [80] After reminding Bishop Keyes of his earlier permission for the High Mass in Augusta and asserting that the receptions planned for the cities outside Augusta were meant to be "all black affairs," Lissner informed the bishop that John would have to cancel appearances other than in Augusta because of "engagements in St. Mary's County, Maryland."[81]

The refusal of bishops to allow Father Lissner to station Father John in their dioceses doomed Lissner's hopes for developing black priests. Lissner appointed John to the faculty of St. Anthony's Mission House as professor of English, literature, Latin, and homiletics for the seminary's nine students.[82] When Lissner informed his Superior General, Father Chabert, about the difficulty of getting bishops to accept John and about the grim prospects for any future black priests, Father Chabert ordered Lissner "not to form Negro priests for the present time."[83]

For the next five years, Joseph John searched unsuccessfully for a pastorate. A brief "trial" period of several months in late 1924 and early 1925 at St. Augustine's parish in Louisville, Kentucky ended unhappily. John returned to the seminary, which had moved to Tenafly, New Jersey, where Father Lissner urged him to satisfy himself with his job as a teacher. John, however, longed for an assignment in a parish. His prayers were finally answered, when Bishop Emmanuel Ledvina of Corpus Christi, Texas issued a desperate call for a priest

to staff Holy Cross Colored Church. Father Edward C. Kramer, the new director of the Catholic Board for Mission Work Among the Colored People, arranged for black sisters to staff the school and for Father John to become pastor in September, 1926. Father Pastorelli congratulated Bishop Ledvina for taking John and giving him a chance, since "The poor fellow has been going from pillar to post ever since his ordination as nobody wanted him."[84] Unfortunately, after two years, conflict between Father John and the Sisters of the Holy Family resulted in the Sisters withdrawing from the parish. Since the bishop could only secure white Sisters as replacements, and since he believed that white southerners would never tolerate a black priest and white Sisters in the same parish, Bishop Ledvina felt compelled to ask Father John to leave. Finally, in 1929, John accepted the invitation of Bishop Pius Dowling to work in the Diocese of Trinidad, and ten years later Dowling incardinated John into that diocese.[85]

Other black priests in the United States endured their own special "purgatories" during the early twenties. Father Joseph Burgess, the Holy Ghost seminary professor, who like Father John, spent much of his priestly life fruitlessly searching for a parish, died prematurely on December 4, 1923, while serving as an assistant pastor at the French-Canadian parish of St. Joachim's in Detroit, where, according to Father Stephen Theobald, he "passed" for a Spaniard.[86] The outspoken Theobald, Archbishop Ireland's former protege and pastor of St. Peter Claver's parish in St. Paul, felt constrained by his clerical superiors and told Thomas Wyatt Turner that he doubted that he could help Turner and his organization as much as the professor might like. "As a priest," Theobald confessed, "...I would be in constant danger of being 'beheaded' if I dared associate myself with any lay movement calculated to head off the

theories of the men directing the destinies of the Church amongst our people...."[87]

The most tragic misfortune befell John Henry Dorsey. In September, 1924, during a dispute over disciplinary action taken by Fr. Dorsey toward one of the school children at St. Monica's, the father of the child, an ex-convict, seized a heavy block of wood and struck Fr. Dorsey over the head, knocking him down and fracturing his skull. Dorsey never recovered from the blow, suffering progressive paralysis and several strokes. He died at Mt. Hope sanitarium on June 30, 1926, in the same year as his old patron, John R. Slattery.[88] Father Dorsey's longtime friend, Father Charles Uncles, and Fathers Joseph John and Norman DuKette, the latter a newly ordained black priest from the Archdiocese of Detroit, celebrated the funeral Mass before three thousand mourners.[89] The Afro-American eulogized "Our Father Harry Dorsey," but white churchmen viewed his death as the end of a "problem." Welbers and Pastorelli believed that Dorsey had at last found peace, and that his death "would likely quiet an unpleasant commotion"; while Archbishop Shaw of New Orleans wrote to Pastorelli, "All things considered, the death of Fr. Dorsey seems providential, as I believe that he was not much consolation."[90] Rumors and gossip led many whites to regard the attack that led to Father Dorsey's infirmity as evidence of a full-scale rejection of the black priesthood by black Catholics. Indeed, the rumor circuit in the South twisted the story into the alleged "lynching" of Fr. Dorsey by his black congregation.[91]

The failure of St. Anthony's Mission House, and the misfortunes of Joseph John, Joseph Burgess, and John Henry Dorsey indicated to Pastorelli that nothing had changed for black priests in the United States and further convinced him, Thomas Turner's protests notwithstanding, that the Josephites,

with almost all of their missions in the South, simply could not risk accepting more than a token black seminarian, since they could not hope to place them in the South after ordination. Even Vatican pressure on the bishops failed to impress or reassure Pastorelli; he had seen the bishops "finesse" Rome on the issue too often. He decided to watch developments in Bay St. Louis and continue his conservative approach.

The members of St. Joseph's Society signaled their approval of Pastorelli's leadership and policies at the General Chapter held in 1924. On June 25, 1924, they overwhelmingly re-elected him as Superior of St. Joseph's Society, despite the bitter opposition of a small minority led by Father Sam Kelly, who charged Pastorelli with ignoring the Holy Father's wishes for native vocations.[92] The nature of the vote for Superior, however, showed that Pastorelli's approach to the question of black priests reflected the consensus of opinion in the Society.[93]

The same General Chapter that re-elected Pastorelli, also heard him appeal for a change in the Josephite Constitutions. Pastorelli proposed to drop the promise that bound the Josephites to work exclusively for blacks. He argued that the Josephites should not restrict their future activities since "A Negro clergy is bound to come. They will increase and so will their activities. We must have a field for our future labors."[94] Pastorelli's suggested constitutional change reflected his basic view of the nature of St. Joseph's Society and its relationship to black priests. Pastorelli implicitly defined "Josephite" as white and regarded black priests as necessarily "other." He could not envisage a future St. Joseph's Society that would include a significant number of black priests. After all, existing conditions in the South made it impossible for white and black priests to live together and even the SVDs planned a "separate

province" for their black members. In Pastorelli's view, another religious Society would have to develop black priests, and when they did, the Josephites, bound by the restrictions of southern life, would surrender the field to them, unable to join them in an interracial effort to bring black Americans into the Church.

As he looked back over the turbulent and difficult years of his first term as Superior, Pastorelli, could feel reasonably satisfied. He believed that he had brought badly needed order, consolidation, and leadership to his Society. His careful and adroit management of money had allowed him to begin strengthening Society institutions, through construction, for example, of a new Epiphany Apostolic College in Newburgh, New York. He had cultivated the friendship of the American bishops and had skillfully and convincingly represented his Society before them at a series of missionary conferences in 1919 and 1920, winning increased respect, prestige, and financial support for the Josephites. He believed that his emphasis upon consolidating missions and conserving the faith of existing black Catholics, especially in urban areas like Baltimore and New Orleans, would provide a solid base for more effective efforts to reclaim lapsed black Catholics and convert Protestant or unchurched blacks. In 1924, Pastorelli could proudly count seventy-six Josephites in black work; sixty of them attending to forty-nine churches and twenty-two attached missions. Sixteen other priests administered or worked in Society institutions such as Epiphany Apostolic College, St. Joseph's Seminary, St. Joseph's Industrial School in Clayton, or St. Joseph's Orphanage in Wilmington. Thirty-one seminarians studied at St. Joseph's and one hundred and three students attended Epiphany Apostolic College.[95]

Pastorelli's restrictive policies toward black students at the college and seminary had involved him in a bitter conflict with articulate black Catholic leaders, who denounced restrictions on black vocations as uncatholic and unchristian and attempted to force Pastorelli to open the doors of Epiphany and St. Joseph's Seminary to more black students. Caught between angry black Catholic leaders on the one hand and bishops who would not accept black priests into their dioceses on the other, and ensnared by his own paternalistic racism that gave short shrift to black leadership, Pastorelli basically "stonewalled" the issue, resorting to half-truths and deceptions in dealing with black Catholic leaders like Thomas Wyatt Turner. By 1924, it appeared that Pastorelli had managed to weather the storm. The campaign waged by the Baltimore and Washington black Catholics had subsided, and the Holy See appeared mollified by the establishment of the seminaries for blacks in Mississippi and New Jersey. The pressure had eased on Pastorelli and the Josephites; they appeared to have weathered the storm of post-war discontent.

END NOTES

[1]Albert S. Foley Papers (hereinafter referred to as ASFP), Heick to Burgmer, Jackson, January 1, 1915. Two Master's theses discuss SVD attempts to develop a black clergy. See Leonard Olivier, S.V.D., "The Origin and Development of St. Augustine's Seminary," (unpublished Master's thesis, Catholic University of America, 1961) and Charles W. Malin, S.V.D., "Integration of the Catholic Clergy in the United States, The Divine Word Missionaries' Chapter (unpublished Master's thesis, Marquette University, 1964).

[2]Thomas Wyatt Turner Papers (hereinafter referred to as TWT), TWT-11, Wendel to Turner, Meridian, November 16, 1915; Josephite Fathers Archives (hereinafter referred to as JFA), Negro Priest File, "Greenville Site of First Divine Word Seminary," Catholic Action of the South, October 11, 1945; Georgetown University Archives (hereinafter referred to as GUA), John LaFarge, S.J. Papers, Box 8, Folder 20, St. Augustine's Seminary, p. 18.

[3]GUA, LaFarge Papers, "St. Augustine's Seminary," a commemorative booklet, pp. 12-13.

[4]JFA, copies of documents from the Archives of the Diocese of Jackson (hereinafter referred to as ADJ), Bishop John Gunn File, "Colored Seminary, 1921-1922," A.W. Doran to Gunn, Philadelphia, January 29, 1917; Gunn to Doran, Pass Christian, February 10, 1917.

[5]ASFP, Gunn to Wendel, Pass Christian, August 23, 1919.

[6]Rev. Leonard J. Olivier, S.V.D., "The Origins and Development of St. Augustine's Seminary" (unpublished Master's thesis, The Catholic University of America, 1961), p. 21.

[7]St. Augustine's Seminary Archives (hereinafter referred to as SASA), Christman File, Janser to Bruno Hagspiel, Indore, C.I., June 29, 1934.

[8]JFA, Negro Priest File, "Greenville Site of First Divine Word Seminary," Catholic Action of the South, October 11, 1945.

[9]ASFP, Nicholas Blum to Wendel, Steyl, Holland, October 21, 1919, copy.

[10]Derek J. Holmes, The Papacy in the Modern World, 1914 - 1978 (New York, 1981), pp. 23-25; See for example, Archives of the Diocese of Lafayette (hereinafter referred to as ADL), Bishop Jules Jeanmard Papers, A.F. Isenberg to Bishop Jules Jeanmard, Crowley, Louisiana, September 12, 1920.

[11]ASFP, Janser to Wendel, Techny, February 10, 1920, copy.

[12]Ibid.; SASA, Janser-Christman File, Dorsey to Wendel, Baltimore, January 3, 1920.

[13]ASFP, Janser to Wendel, Techny, February 10, 1920, copy.

[14]Archbishop, later Cardinal Mundelein, as president of the American Board for Catholic Missions, a committee of archbishops and bishops created by the American hierarchy and approved by the Pope in 1924 to serve as a body to collect and distribute funds for missions in the United States and its territories that did not receive aid from the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, exercised considerable influence in matters relating to missions among blacks. See, R. Trisco, "American Board of Catholic Missions," New Catholic Encyclopedia, I, 398 and Kantowicz, Corporation Sole, p. 43.

[15]ASFP, Janser to Wendel, Techny, February 10, 1920, copy.

[16]SASA, Christman File, Janser to Burgmer, Indore, C.I., June 29, 1934.

[17]JFA, Pastorelli Miscellaneous Correspondence (hereinafter referred to as PMC), Janser to Pastorelli, Techny, February 6, 1920.

[18]ASFP, Janser to Wendel, Techny, February 10, 1920, copy.

[19]JFA, 69-M, John B. Morris to Pastorelli, Little Rock, February 12, 1920; 69-M, Pastorelli to Morris, Baltimore, February 25, 1920.

[20]JFA, J.A. St. Laurent Correspondence Notebook (hereinafter referred to as SLCN), Pastorelli to Shaw, Baltimore, April 5, 1920, p. 320.

[21]Archives of the Diocese of Little Rock (hereinafter referred to as ADLR), Bishop John B. Morris Papers, Morris to Pastorelli, Little Rock, March 4, 1920.

[22]JFA, SLCN, Shaw to Pastorelli, New Orleans, April 12, 1920, pp. 318-319.

[23]ASFP, Report of the Meeting of the Provincial Council, Techny, February 19-23, 1920, copy.

[24]ADJ, Bishop John E. Gunn Papers, Christman to Gunn, Greenville, June 19, 1920.

[25]SASA, Leo Haid, O.S.B. to Christman, Raleigh, July 7, 1920.

[26]JFA, Negro Priest File, "Greenville Site of First Divine Word Seminary," Catholic Action of the South, October 11, 1945; Albert S. Foley, S.J., God's Men of Color, p. 126.

[27]SASA, Janser-Christman File, Stephen Sweeney to Christman, Pass Christian, November 2, 1920; JFA, 38-K, J. Lally to Pastorelli, New Orleans, November 10, 1920. Maurice Rousseve, from Holy Redeemer parish in New Orleans, was ordained at St. Augustine's Seminary in Bay St. Louis, Mississippi on May 23, 1934. See, Foley, God's Men, pp. 126 and 135.

[28]JFA, 38-W, L.K. Welbers to Pastorelli, San Antonio, November 4, 1920.

[29]SASA, Janser-Christman File, Albert to Christman, Montgomery, October 20, 1920.

[30]JFA, 38-A, Albert to Pastorelli, Montgomery, October 28, 1920.

[31]JFA, 38-A, Albert to Pastorelli, Montgomery, October 29, 1920.

[32]SASA, Janser-Christman File, Albert to Christman, Montgomery, October 23, 1920.

[33]JFA, SLCN, St. Laurent to Pastorelli, New Orleans, September 15, 1920; Ibid..

[34]JFA, ADJ,, Bishop Gunn File, "Colored Seminary," Gunn to Dyer, Natchez, December 20, 1920; Gunn to Dyer, Natchez, January 26, 1921.

[35]Toward the end of 1906, Fr. Ignatius Lissner, having received the blessing of Cardinal Gibbons and the encouragement of Father Dyer, arrived at St. Benedict's in Savannah. See Society of the African Missions Archives (hereinafter referred to as SMAA), Fr. Jean Marie Chabert, "Foundations - Report on the Colored Missions in Georgia, 1921-1922."

[36]Mission Work Among the Negroes and the Indians (Baltimore, 1916), p.22; Foley, God's Men, p. 106; In 1915, the Georgia legislature considered a bill prohibiting white teachers from educating black children. Father Lissner feared that such a law would deprive the black children on his mission of the services of the white Franciscan Sisters who taught in his mission school. He, therefore, conceived the idea of a congregation of black Sisters who would carry on the work. Lissner collaborated with Elizabeth Williams, a black woman who took the name Mother Theodore and remained Mother General until her death in 1931. In 1916, Bishop Benjamin Keiley formally approved the new congregation, called the Franciscan Handmaids of the Most Pure Heart of Mary. In 1922, after several years of struggle in the Savannah diocese, the Sisters accepted an invitation to move to the Archdiocese of New York. Connections with the Lyons Society of the African Missions gradually diminished. See, SMAA, "SMA Presence in the United States," author unknown, and Mission Work Among the Negroes and the Indians (Baltimore, 1917), pp. 35 - 36.

[37]SMAA, Cardinal William Van Rossum to Jean Marie Chabert, Rome, January 30, 1920.

[38]Archives of the Diocese of Savannah (hereinafter referred to as ADS), Bishop Benjamin J. Keiley Papers, Keiley to Gibbons, Savannah, February 26, 1920. Benjamin Keiley, Bishop of Savannah, Georgia from from 1900 until his retirement in 1922, was a feisty Irishman and Confederate army veteran. In September 1916, he described the anti-Catholic atmosphere in his state, telling Gibbons: "I am becoming quite an issue in this benighted state of Georgia. I have been publicly assailed in the Senate ... denounced by a candidate for the U.S. House ... been accused by Mr. Watson of a great desire to murder him, and a host of little politicians have made me a campaign card. And I am really enjoying it." See, Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore (hereinafter referred to as AAB), 117-K, Keiley to Gibbons, Atlanta, September 11, 1916.

[39]AAB, 131-G-12, Gibbons to Keiley, Baltimore, February 29, 1920.

[40]SMAA, Gibbons to Peter Muldoon, Baltimore, July 10, 1920, copy.

[41] The diocese of Lafayette, comprising thirteen parishes (counties) west of the Atchafalaya River in Louisiana was erected onJanuary 11, 1918. Jules Jeanmard, the first bishop, was also the first native of Louisiana to become a bishop. He had served as chancellor and administrator of the Archdiocese of New Orleans, prior to his consecration as bishop of Lafayette. See, R.E. Tracy, "Lafayette, Diocese of," in New Catholic Encyclopedia, 8, 317-318.

According to the first, official national census of black Catholics in 1928, the three Catholic archdioceses or dioceses containing the largest numbers of black Catholics were the Diocese of Lafayette - 60,000; the Archdiocese of New Orleans - 35,000; and the Archdiocese of Baltimore - 21,927. The census put the total number of black Catholics in the United States at 203,986. See Gillard, The Catholic Church and the American Negro, pp. 48 - 49.

[42]See, Archives of the Diocese of Lafayette (hereinafter cited as ADL), Bishop Jeanmard Papers, J.M. Langlois to Bishop Jules Jeanmard, New Iberia, September 8, 1920; Philip Keller to Jeanmard, Lafayette, September, ?, 1920; A.F. Isenberg to Jeanmard, Crowley, September 12, 1920.

[43]ADL, Bishop Jeanmard Papers, Keller to Jeanmard, Lafayette, September, ?, 1920; J.M. Langlois to Jeanmard, New Iberia, September 8, 1920; Isenberg to Jeanmard, Crowley, La., September 12, 1920.

[44]JFA, SLCN, St. Laurent to Pastorelli, New Orleans, September 15, 1920.

[45]United States Catholic Conference Archives (hereinafter referred to as USCCA), Minutes of the Administrative Board of the NCWC, July 28, 1920. The six points on the agenda were the incorporation of the National Catholic Welfare Council, the Negro situation, the financial proposition, educational matters, European situation, and the Catholic press.

The U.S. Government census for 1920 indicated that of a total black population of 10,463,131 in the United States, 8,912,231 lived in the South. The bulk of the rest, 1,472,309, lived in the the "North," a 43% increase over 1910, and 78,591 lived in the states classified as the "West," a 55% increase over 1910. See Gillard, The Catholic Church, p. 97.

[46]USCCA, Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Bishops of the United States, September 22, 1920.

[47]SMAA, Chabert to Van Rossum, Lyons, November 12, 1920; Fr. Chabert, "Report on the Colored Missions in Georgia, 1921-1922."

[48]ADS, Bishop Keiley Papers, G. Cardinal De Lai to Keiley, Rome, November 18, 1920; Keiley to Gibbons, Savannah, December 7, 1920; AAB, 139-B-11, Keiley to Gibbons, Savannah, December 30, 1920; ADS, Bishop Keiley Papers, Gibbons to De Lai, Baltimore, December 30, 1920, copy.

In a related move, on November 18, 1920, Gibbons, in the name of the entire American hierarchy, sent a letter, drafted by a committee composed of Cardinal Dennis Dougherty of Philadelphia, and Archbishops George Mundelein and Sebastian Messmer of Milwaukee, to the Cardinal Secretary of State, Pietro Gasparri, strongly protesting attempts by a group of Polish American priests to

enlist the Polish legation at the Vatican to help them secure more Polish auxiliary bishops in the Archdioceses of Philadelphia, Chicago, and Milwaukee, and better treatment generally from the American Church. In the draft of his section of the letter, Cardinal Dougherty warned that if the Poles succeeeded in obtaining more bishops for themselves, they would set a precedent for appointing bishops for every other national and racial group, resulting in "confusion which would surpass any discord recorded in history." As with the proposal for a bishop for blacks, the Holy See dropped the matter. See Gerald R. Fogarty, The Vatican and the American Hierarchy from 1870 to 1965 (Stutgart, 1982), pp. 211 - 213.

On December 10, 1920, Keiley received a petition, signed by all sixteen secular priests in the diocese, protesting the plans to make Lissner Vicar General and then bishop for blacks. See ADS, Bishop Keiley Papers, Petition to Keiley, December 10, 1920.

In his letter to Cardinal De lai of December 13, 1920, Gibbons claimed that Lissner did not understand the tense racial situation in the United States following the return of black soldiers from Europe and he warned that the Church would suffer great harm in Georgia if the Pope or one of the Vatican Congregations promoted Lissner's plans. Using the same arguments that he had employed in his earlier protest against attempts by Poles to secure bishops of their own, Gibbons held out the specter of a church divided into distinct national and racial groups, each with its own bishop. (Gibbons obviously overlooked the fact that the segregation of blacks into separate churches already divided the Church along racial lines). He claimed, moreover, that young blacks, just after becoming priests, showed an aversion for working among their own people and often asked for the same social status as white priests, thereby creating problems for bishops. Finally, Gibbons argued, black people always preferred white priests. He strongly urged Rome to let the local bishops take care of black people.

[49]Interview, Rev. Peter E. Hogan, S.S.J., Baltimore, August 15, 1984;

Edward S. Stanton in "John LaFarge's Understanding of the Unifying Mission of the Church, Especially in the Area of Race Relations," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, St. Paul University, Ottowa, 1972), pp. 49 - 52, points out that the theology and philosophy textbooks used in Catholic seminaries, universities, and colleges until the late 1950s failed to address racism or injustice to American blacks. The Catholic Encyclopedia, for years a principal source book on Catholic questions for the Church, had a three page article on "Race" which contained an explanation of the term "Negro," a history of slavery, facts and figures on blacks in the United States, and a few quotations from the Second and Third Plenary Councils of Baltimore. Under the sub-title "Religion," it repeated a series of common stereotypes about the "cheerful," "docile," and "religious" nature of blacks.

Father Fogarty's The Vatican and the American Hierarchy from 1870 to 1965 is invaluable for understanding the complex relations between the bishops and Rome.

[50]SMAA, Press Release from Fr. Lissner, undated; Edward Lacqueyrie, Vicar General, to Bishop J. O'Connor, Lyons, December 7, 1921, copy.

[51]JFA, 39-N, M.J. O'Neil to Pastorelli, Natchez, February 23, 1921.

[52]SASA, Janser-Christman File, Albert to Christman, Montgomery, October 23, 1920.

[53]JFA, ADJ,, Bishop Gunn File, "Colored Seminary, 1921-1922," A. Heick to Gunn, Jackson, March 2, 1921.

[54]JFA, ADJ,, Bishop Gunn File, "Colored Seminary, 1921-1922," Gunn to Dyer, Natchez, April 9, 1921.

[55]SASA, Christman-Gunn File, Christman to Gunn, Greenville, April 14, 1921.

[56]Ibid.

[57]JFA, ADJ,, Bishop Gunn File, "Colored Seminary, 1921-1922," Gunn to Cardinal Dougherty, Natchez, June 17, 1921.

[58]JFA, ADJ,, Bishop Gunn File, "Colored Seminary, 1921-1922," Gunn to Dyer, Pass Christian, June 29, 1921.

[59]Ibid.

[60]JFA, ADJ,, Bishop Gunn File, "Colored Seminary, 1921-1922," Christman to Heick, Greenville, June 13, 1921.

[61]ASFP, Gunn to Janser, Pass Christian, June 29, 1921, copy.

[62]ADJ, Bishop Gunn Papers, Janser to Gunn, Techny, October 19, 1921.

[63]SASA, Christman-Janser File, Janser to Christman, Techny, February 23, 1924.

[64]JFA, copies of Josephite files from the Archives of the Archdiocese of New Orleans (hereinafter referred to as AANO), Janser to Archbishop Shaw, Techny, November 25, 1921.

[65]ASAS, Christman File, Christman to Heick, Greenville, December 6, 1921.

[66]SASA, Christman File, Christman to Gilbert Faustina, Bay St. Louis, March 28, 1923; JFA, Negro Priest File, "Greenville Site of First Divine Word Seminary," Catholic Action of the South, October 11, 1945.

[67]SASA, House-Province File, 1941, Emmet Harty to Harry Sylvester, Greenville, April 28, 1941.

[68]Ibid.; SASA, Christman File, Christman to Heick, Greenville, April 27, 1922; Foley, God's Men, pp. 128-129; ADJ, Bishop Gunn Papers, Janser to Gunn, Techny, June 30, 1922; J.A. Hunt, Mayor, to Hon. William H. Clark, Greenville, July 20, 1922; Christman to Gunn, Bay St. Louis, September 26, 1922.

[69]Foley, God's Men, pp. 128-129.

[70]SASA, Christman File, Christman to Heick, Bay St. Louis, September 26, 1923.

[71]JFA, Negro Priest File, "Greenville Site of First Divine Word Seminary," Catholic Action of the South, October 11, 1945.

[72]SASA, Christman File, Pope Pius XI to William Gier, Rome, April 5, 1923, copy.

[73]SMAA, Lissner, "African Missions in the United States - Colored Vocations," undated memo; Foley, God' Men, p. 198; SMAA, Chabert to Cardinal Van Rossum, "Historical Summary of Our Missions for the Colored in America," (1926?).

[74]SMAA, Werle to Lissner, Tenafly, March 2, 1923.

[75]The Catholic News, June 23, 1923.

[76]Ibid.

[77]SMAA, Lissner to Bishop Michael Keyes, Macon, August 30, 1927.

[78]SMAA, Sr. M. Theodore to Lissner, Savannah, July 27, 1923.

[79]Donald Attwater, ed., A Catholic Dictionary (New York, 1949), pp. 230, 325; SMAA, Keyes to Lissner, Savannah, December 1, 1923.

[80]SMAA, Keyes to Lissner, Savannah, December 1, 1923.

[81]SMAA, Lissner to Keyes, Highwood, N.J., December 4, 1923.

[82]Foley, God's Men, p. 108.

[83]SMAA, Chabert to Lissner, Lyons, September 30, 1927; Lissner, undated memo.

[84]Foley, God's Men, pp. 109-111; JFA, 69-K, Bishop Emmanuel Ledvina to Pastorelli, Corpus Christi, September 22, 1926; 69-K, Pastorelli to Ledvina, Baltimore, October 2, 1926.

[85]Foley, God's Men, p. 110; JFA, 72-L, Ledvina to Pastorelli, Corpus Christi, August 3, 1928;

[86]Foley, God's Men, pp. 78-79; TWT-44, Stephen Theobald to Turner, St. Paul, May 23, 1924.

[87]TWT-44, Theobald to Turner, St. Paul, May 23, 1924.

[88]Foley, God's Men, p. 61; JFA, 42-D, Francis Tobin to Pastorelli, Washington, D.C., September 13, 1924; 42-C, James S. Cobb to Pastorelli, Clayton, December 1, 1924; 44-C, C.M. Dorsey to Pastorelli, Baltimore, May 3, 1926; John Henry Dorsey to Pastorelli, Baltimore, May 10, 1926; 44-L, Matt

Morrissey to Pastorelli, Jacksonville, July 8, 1926; Dorsey File, Biographical Sketch.

[89]The Colored Harvest, September-October, 1926; Baltimore Afro-American, July 10, 1926. Both Stephen Theobald and Norman DuKette, ordained for the Archdioceses of St. Paul, Minnesota and Detroit, Michigan respectively, spent their lives in the North. Pastorelli did not regard the ordination of DuKette in 1925 as heralding better times for black priests or as representing a major change in the attitudes of most American bishops toward black priests. An isolated ordination in the North would do nothing for the Josephites, who had almost all of their missions in the South.

[90]Baltimore Afro-American, July 10, 1926; JFA, 44-U, L.K. Welbers to Pastorelli, San Antonio, August 4, 1926; 69-S, Shaw to Pastorelli, New Orleans, August 10, 1926.

[91]Foley, God's Men, p. 61.

[92]JFA, 40-H, Sam Kelly to Pastorelli, New Orleans, June 9, 1922; June 19, 1922. As he advanced in age, Sam Kelly, a dedicated missionary and outspoken advocate of justice for blacks in the South, suffered from diabetes and emotional instability.

[93]See for example, JFA, 42-E, Sabino Grossi to Pastorelli, Chastang, June 19, 1924; or 42-A, James Albert to Pastorelli, Breaux Bridge, La., July 5, 1924.

[94]JFA, Pastorelli remarks to the General Chapter, Minutes of the General Chapters, June 25, 1924, pp. 72 - 73.

[95]The Colored Harvest, March-April, 1924.

CHAPTER VII
THE LETTER OF THE LAW, 1926 - 1932

Rome now demands action and we cannot stand by idly simply looking on ... Just how is the great question. - Louis B. Pastorelli, October 12, 1928

Throughout the twenties, the black apostolate remained a low priority for the American Catholic church. Bishops and priests, given a respite from the flood of European immigration that had required so much energy and attention during the first two decades of the century, focused on institutional development and consolidation. They introduced modern business management techniques in dioceses and parishes and built churches and schools to improve the self-image, skills, and prestige of their people. Lay Catholics, who numbered twenty million by the end of the decade, while painfully aware at times that many of their fellow countrymen still regarded them with suspicion, maintained the r optimistic faith in the basic compatibility between catholicism and American democracy and, like other Americans, shared in the economic prosperity of the Republican "New Era."[1]

For a few years, between 1923 and 1926, it appeared that the establishment of St. Augustine's Seminary in Bay St. Louis had defused the issue of black priests, satisfied the Holy See, and taken the heat off the Josephites. By the mid-nineteen twenties, however, advances in transatlantic communication and transportation and the diffusion of leadership within the American Catholic church following the death of Cardinal James Gibbons enabled the strong-willed Pope Pius XI (1922 - 1939) and the Roman congregations to exercise a more immediate influence on American church life, than had been possible during previous generations.[2] Beginning in the mid-twenties, therefore, the Holy See renewed its pressure on the American Catholic Church to expand its missionary efforts among black Americans. Pius XI, an outspoken advocate of indigenous clergy in mission lands, believed that the eventual conversion of American

blacks depended on the development of a black clergy. Through encyclicals, personal audiences, the Roman congregations, and the Apostolic Delegate, the Pontiff prodded American churchmen to increase the number of black priests. As a result, several northern archbishops and bishops agreed to sponsor or to accept into their seminaries a few black candidates for the diocesan clergy on a trial basis. Although most of the "experiments" soon soured, a number of the black seminarians eventually achieved their goal of priesthood.

Louis Pastorelli felt the increased pressure about black seminarians and priests not only from the pope, with whom he met personally to discuss the issue, but also from the newly formed Federated Colored Catholics, the Federations's Jesuit allies, and even his own men. While considering himself a loyal son of the Holy Father, Pastorelli was also a master of the bureaucratic technique of delay. He searched for a way to satisfy the pope's wishes while at the same time safeguarding the interests of his beloved St. Joseph's Society. Although aware that a few northern archbishops and bishops had accepted a handful of black seminarians on a trial basis, Pastorelli believed that black priests would not become acceptable to most bishops for decades. Therefore, he decided to honor the letter, if not the spirit of Pius XI's wishes by admitting an occasional mulatto or a black man raised in white surroundings to Epiphany Apostolic College or St. Joseph's Seminary; at the same time, he relied on spokesmen to fend off the challenges to his policy from black Catholics and white clerical activists.

I

Beginning in 1926, Pius XI and his Apostolic Delegate, Pietro Fumasoni Biondi, signalled the beginning of a new Vatican campaign on behalf of black priests. Rome's renewed interest in the issue encouraged the efforts of Thomas Wyatt Turner and his Federated Colored Catholics; led a few northern bishops to reconsider their policies toward black priests and seminarians; and provoked a reexamination of the question by the Josephites.

In January 1926, Pastorelli discussed the subject of black priests with the pope himself. He had arranged for a personal audience with the pontiff through fellow Bostonian, Monsignor Francis Spellman: a rising clerical star, the first American to serve in the Vatican Secretariat of State, and the future Cardinal-Archbishop of New York. Pastorelli requested the audience to begin proceedings to transform St. Joseph's Society from a diocesan into a pontifical institute, thus giving the Josephites, at least theoretically, a direct line to Rome and, therefore, greater independence from the bishops. On January 7, 1926, prior to the papal audience, Pastorelli submitted a "Report of St. Joseph's Society" to Cardinal Gaetano De Lai, Secretary of the Sacred Consistorial Congregation. The report sounded many of Pastorelli's familiar conservative themes, stressing the difficult social situation confronting the Church in the South and calling any marked improvement in social relations between the races, at least for the short term, "nearly morally impossible." [3] As if to illustrate the validity of Pastorelli's assessment, the Ku Klux Klan kidnapped and threatened to lynch Vincent Warren, the Josephite pastor of St. Joseph's church in Norfolk, Virginia later that year.[4] In a swipe at white and black Catholic activists in the

north who criticized the Josephites for failing to speak out more forthrightly against the southern social system, Pastorelli advised that the Church in the South follow "that line of action ... deemed best suited to the times and circumstances" by prudent bishops and clergy "acquainted with the true situation."[5]

On January 26, 1926, Pastorelli met with Pius XI for twenty-two minutes in the pope's study. The pope referred almost immediately to Pastorelli's report and then, according to Pastorelli, went over the "Negro question," and especially the "colored clergy" question "from every angle" with him. Implying that the pontiff approved of his approach to the problem, Pastorelli later claimed that the pope recognized the difficulties posed by "the bi-racial set up in the United States" for black priests. What Pius XI actually said remains unclear since Pastorelli left no minutes of their meeting. The Pope probably told Pastorelli of his desire for more black priests in the United States; encouraged Pastorelli to do what he could under existing circumstances to develop black vocations; and left the timing and manner of implementation up to him.[6]

The visit to Rome, however, clearly strengthened Pastorelli's resolve to seek a new status for St. Joseph's Society. Following his return to Baltimore, the Josephite Consultors decided to take steps to secure the Decretum Laudis, or formal approbation of the Holy See, that would remove St. Joseph's Society from the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Baltimore and place it under the Sacred Congregation of Religious.[7] J.A. St. Laurent expressed the hopes of many Josephites when he wrote to Pastorelli: "When we have secured an independent status ... we shall be in a better position to demand reasonable

terms .... I hope that Rome will give us what we need so that we can take the stand that we consider as necessary to our self-respect...."[8]

On February 28, 1926, a month after his meeting with Pastorelli, Pius XI issued the encyclical, Rerum Ecclesiae, in which he called for the formation and systematic training of native clergies in mission lands. The pope said, "Let Us recall to your attention how important it is that you build up an indigenous clergy. If you do not work with all of your might to accomplish this ... your apostolate will not only be crippled, but it will become an obstacle and an impediment to the establishment ... of the Church." Pius XI felt compelled to issue the encyclical because missionaries had generally ignored Maximum illud, his predecessor's earlier apostolic letter on the same subject. To dramatize his commitment to indigenous clergies, and notwithstanding considerable opposition, Pius XI consecrated the first six Chinese bishops in St. Peter's basilica on October 28, 1926. Between 1922 and 1939, the number of native priests in mission lands rose from 2,670 to more than 7,000, and the number of mission dioceses headed by native clergymen increased from none to forty.[9] The spirit and logic of the pope's message clearly lent support and encouragement to champions of a black priesthood in the United States.

Nevertheless, Rerum ecclesiae and the earlier papal audience appeared to have little immediate effect on Pastorelli's policies toward black students; in part, at least, because Pastorelli believed that the encyclical applied only to foreign missions, not those in the United States. H. F. Kane, the rector of Epiphany Apostolic College, which had just relocated from Walbrook to Newburgh, New York, thought that he understood Pastorelli's expectations regarding black applicants when he corresponded with Pastorelli in April, 1926, about a black man named "Steel." "I did not think that you wanted to handle

any more of them," Kane wrote; he added, "I do not think that it will be good for the cause in these parts to have them around. But if you say so, I will take him."[10] Pastorelli seemed to confirm Kane's perception of current policy, informing the rector that he wanted "Steel" only as a grounds keeper, not as a seminarian.[11]

A week later, however, Pastorelli indicated to Kane that he had not completely closed the doors to black applicants. Kane received a copy of a will with a bequest for "the education of a colored student at EAC." Expressing regret to Pastorelli that the benefactor had attached that particular condition, Kane advised Pastorelli to write the lawyer and explain the situation, hoping that "He may let it pass." On April 14, 1926, Pastorelli instructed Kane to accept the legacy because "We shall always have one at least of the colored."[12] Kane thereupon suggested that Pastorelli might consider Clarence Howard, one of Vincent Warren's boys from St. Joseph's in Norfolk "who made application long since." Father Warren had earlier seen both Kane and Pastorelli in an attempt to get Howard into Epiphany. Pastorelli, however, preferred lighter skinned candidates and advised Warren that, in light of previous Josephite experiences with black priests, prudence dictated that they wait a few years before accepting applicants like Howard. Howard enrolled at St. Augustine's seminary in Bay St. Louis where he was eventually ordained in 1937.[13]

Unlike Pastorelli, Thomas Wyatt Turner and his newly formed Federated Colored Catholics (FCC) interpreted Rerum ecclesiae as a clarion call for action and renewed their appeals to the American hierarchy and to Rome for more black priests. Turner intended that the Federation, founded on December 29, 1925, to protest racial discrimination in the Catholic Church, would affiliate every black Catholic organization in the country, act as a clearinghouse for

black Catholic opinion, and serve as a medium for making presentations to the Holy Father. The Federation made Catholic education and black priests its two most important priorities.[14] Turner and the FCC viewed the two issues as interrelated, for if Catholic schools remained closed to black youth, they would never secure the education needed to enter the seminary. Turner persistently demanded more black priests because he believed that, in the clerically dominated Catholic church, significant numbers of black priests would prove more effective than black laymen in calling the attention of church authorities to the problems of black Catholics. Referring to black priests, Turner explained "As they multiply, they will be able to carry the Catholic Negroes' cause to places now inaccessible to laymen."[15]

Attempting to capitalize on the momentum created by the pope's encyclical, the FCC sent a letter, probably written by Turner, in October, 1926 to the bishops of the United States. The letter described the plight of black Catholics and asked the hierarchy to take steps to eliminate discrimination in the Church. The first three sections of the letter focused on prejudice and discrimination in Catholic churches and schools, especially in areas of the North unhindered by formal Jim Crow laws. The fourth section dealt with a "Native Clergy." As evidence of the scandal that Catholic racism created among non-Catholic blacks, the FCC letter approvingly quoted an editorial in The Crisis which accurately pointed out that only "... in lawless Mississippi was there a seminary where Colored Catholics were urged and permitted to become priests." Nowhere else, the editorial claimed, "is it possible, without extraordinary effort, influence, and pressure, for a Colored man to be educated for the Catholic priesthood." The Crisis blamed the "Irish hierarchy" for creating the situation by ignoring the wishes of the pope and apostolic delegate on the issue.[16]

The FCC letter acknowledged some progress in the years since the 1919 letter to the hierarchy from the Committee for the Advancement of Colored Catholics, the forerunner of the FCC, but also raised questions about the Josephites. The FCC praised the founding of St. Augustine's Seminary and the graduation of its first college class, the ordinations of two black men, Joseph John and Norman DuKette, and the willingness of the St. Paul and Detroit seminaries to admit black candidates. Nevertheless, the FCC letter noted that "... neither of the ordinands came from that Society from whose fields of labor we would logically expect vocations...the Society of St. Joseph." The FCC declared that black Catholics still wanted to know "...whether or not this Society is continuing its policy of discouragement of a colored priesthood, which we brought to your attention in 1919"; and insisted that the "only convincing argument that priests and bishops can make that they are friendly and looking out for the interests of the colored people will be found in their attitude and activity in preparing the men and women of these respective races to serve their people in the fullest way." The FCC expressed the hope that the bishops would not view its letter as overly critical, assuring the bishops of its "constructive aims," and explaining "that long-suffering makes for impassioned speech!"[17]

The letter drew praise from Jesuit John LaFarge: the fifteen year veteran of black missionary work in Eastern Maryland, founder of Cardinal Gibbons Institute in Ridge, Maryland, editor of America magazine, and advisor to Thomas Turner.[18] He informed Turner that he had given a copy of the letter to a prelate visiting New York, who "...is very close to the Holy Father." According to LaFarge, the letter had deeply moved the prelate and all to whom

LaFarge had shown it. He promised Turner that the letter "will have its effect, even though that effect may not be at once apparent."[19] .

Two months later, following their December convention in Washington, D.C., a committee of twelve delegates from the FCC met with Archbishop Pietro Fumasoni-Biondi, the Apostolic Delegate, to press their case and to enlist his help in bringing pressure to bear on the bishops. Fumasoni-Biondi, who had recently completed a tour of the black missions in the South, received the committee cordially. He revealed a wide knowledge of the difficulties faced by black Catholics, assured the committee that the Holy Father knew of their problems, and led them to believe that efforts were underway to eliminate the racial discrimination faced by black Catholics in the church.[20] The publication of the resolutions of the FCC December convention in the December 30, 1926 issue of L' Osservatore Romano, the semi-official Vatican newspaper, bestowed an added degree of legitimacy to the FCC demands and confirmed that Rome at least knew of the grievances of American black Catholics.[21] More concretely, between 1926 and 1930, the Holy See, working through the apostolic delegate, responded to black Catholic entreaties by persuading some northern archbishops and bishops to "experiment" with a few black seminarians for the diocesan priesthood. Archbishop Michael Curley of Baltimore, no friend of black priests, lamented, "The colored question is becoming a keen one .... It is a very difficult matter just to know how to handle them."[22]

II

Following the publication of Rerum ecclesiae in early 1926, Archbishop Fumasoni-Biondi toured the southern missions and quizzed bishops throughout

the country about their attitudes toward black priests.[23] Under Canon Law, the delegate could not order bishops or superiors of religious communities to accept black candidates into their seminaries. As the Pope's personal representative, however, and as a key figure in recommending bishops for vacant dioceses in the United States, the delegate wielded considerable, though subtle influence with bishops.[24] During his visit to San Antonio, Fumasoni-Biondi summoned Lambert Welbers, the Josephite pastor of Holy Redeemer "colored" parish. He told Welbers that Pius XI had charged him strictly to report any injustice shown black people. Fumasoni-Biondi, therefore, requested that Welbers report all such cases to him so that he could duly inform the pope.[25]

The next year, perhaps as a result of the FCC campaign and the Apostolic Delegate's "quizzing," the issue of black priests surfaced during a special two day conference of the bishops of the South and Southwest, called by the American Board for Catholic Missions (A.B.C.M.) to study the "Mexican and Colored Problem." Pastorelli attended at least one of the meetings, explaining the work of St. Joseph's Society and pleading for more aid to seminaries of religious orders working among blacks. During the wide ranging discussions, Archbishop John W. Shaw of New Orleans, responding to a paper prepared by Bishop John B. Morris of Little Rock on recruiting priests for the southern "Negro missions," argued that black priests "were not a proven success" and still in the "experimental stage" because of social conditions over which the Church had no control.[26]

Cardinal George Mundelein of Chicago, chairman of the A.B.C.M. and one of the most prominent members of the American hierarchy, endorsed the SVD plan for a community of "colored priests," wherein each would sustain the morale of the other. He warned his fellow bishops that the American Catholic church had

to make a beginning with black priests "for the Church had been reproved with the charge that Colored people were not welcome to the ranks of her clergy." Bishop Richard O. Gerow of Natchez, whose diocese housed St. Augustine's seminary, declared the SVD venture a success thus far and argued that "it should be worked out, as it was decidedly worth the trial." He referred to St. Augustine's financial difficulties and appealed to the Board for special consideration on its behalf.[27]

Other than St. Augustine's, however, most seminaries remained closed to black aspirants during the late twenties. Even liberal northern bishops like Archbishop Daniel Austin Dowling of St. Paul, whose seminary accepted black students from other dioceses and religious orders, and who counted Stephen Theobald, a black priest, among his diocesan clergy, refused to sponsor black seminarians of his own. He could foresee no way to use them since he had so few blacks in his archdiocese; his "progressivism" never included the "radical" idea of black priests ministering to white congregations.[28]

Seminaries conducted by religious orders often proved even more reluctant to accept black applicants. On July 27, 1927, for example, Bishop Hugh C. Boyle of Pittsburgh asked Archabbot Aurelius Stehle, O.S.B. of St. Vincent Archabbey whether he would admit William Grau and William L. Lane, a black student and a black seminarian, to the minor and major seminaries of the archabbey if the bishop promised to adopt them. Boyle wrote "I can see reasons for and against....The Catholic thing would seem to be to open to them." He assured Stehle, however, that he would not quarrel with whatever decision the archabbot made. Stehle consulted with the Reverend Ambrose Kohlbeck, the rector of the seminary. Kohlbeck responded that if the Bishop wanted to adopt the black youths, he could send them to another seminary and not "impose a

lonely Negro on St. Vincent Seminary at the present time until we shall open our special negro department some future day." Expressing a common sentiment of many Catholic priests in the United States at the time, he added, "I sincerely hope that I will have nothing to do with the seminary when that day shall come." Archabbot Stehle informed Boyle that "we deem it inexpedient at the present time to accept colored men who prefer to be in a place where they are at least numerically stronger."[29]

Despite the generally inhospitable atmosphere, a few blacks managed to edge their way into the ranks of the priesthood. On February 7, 1926, Norman DuKette, from St. Augustine's parish in Washington, D.C., was ordained for the Archdiocese of Detroit. DuKette had been deeply influenced as a teenager by his friendship with John Plantevigne, one of the early black Josephites, and had briefly attended the Josephites' St. Joseph's College for Negro Catechists in Montgomery, Alabama. Following his ordination, DuKette toured the country for a year, filling speaking engagements and spending a month with Father J.A. St. Laurent, the pastor of St. Peter Claver's in New Orleans and an old friend from DuKette's days at St. Joseph's. In 1927, Archbishop Michael Gallagher of Detroit commissioned DuKette to found a new church, St. Benedict the Moor, in Detroit.[30]

In that same year, on June 11, 1927, Augustine Derricks, O.S.S.T., a native of Santo Domingo who had converted to Catholicism in 1905 while attending the high school department of Howard University, and who, like DuKette, also belonged to St. Augustine's parish, received Holy Orders in Rome, Italy, as a member of the Trinitarian Order. After a year of advanced study in Rome, the Trinitarians missioned Derricks to the United States, where he served as an assistant pastor at St. Ann's, an Italian parish in Bristol, Pennsylvania.[31] At St.

Ann's, Derricks had few opportunities to work among blacks. Father V.A. Devers, a veteran of black missionary work in the Philadelphia Archdiocese, presented Cardinal Denis Dougherty with a plan for Derricks to work among black people as he desired. Unfortunately, Derricks died tragically of complications from appendicitis on October 22, 1929.[32]

A handful of black applicants, several from Josephite parishes, also found the doors of several seminaries opened to them. In 1927, Archbishop John J. Cantwell of Los Angeles-Monterey, a liberal on race questions and one of the few Catholic prelates to maintain friendly relations with the N.A.A.C.P., secured the admission of Charles Logan of Los Angeles to St. Patrick's major seminary at Menlo Park, California and agreed to incardinate Logan after his ordination. Cantwell also permitted Max Murphy, a protege of Josephite Tim Sullivan at St. Peter's in Dallas, to enroll at St. Patrick's while he searched for a sponsoring bishop.[33] Meanwhile, Bishop Joseph Schrembs of Cleveland came to the rescue of William Grau and William Lane, both rejected a year earlier by St. Vincent Archabbey. Schrembs accepted William Grau into the Cleveland diocesan seminary of Our Lady of the Lake and consented to sponsor Lane at St. Vincent. The archabbey reversed its earlier position as a result of Schremb's willingness to sponsor Lane, a new archabbot, and Lane's appeals to the apostolic delegate; Lane entered St. Vincent in September, 1928.[34] John T. McNicholas, the Archbishop of Cincinnati, also admitted a black student, Theldon F. Jones from the Josephite parish of St. Peter Claver in San Antonio, into Mount St. Mary of the West, the major seminary for the archdiocese.[35]

Pastorelli knew about the "experiments" that Archbishop McNicholas and Bishop Schrembs had initiated with black seminarians; indeed, they provided him with additional seminaries besides St. Augustine's to which he could refer black

correspondents.[36] Moreover, while the more liberal policies of Cantwell, Gallagher, McNicholas, and Schrembs offered some hope for the future of black priests, they also provided Pastorelli with one more excuse for his "go slow" approach. After all, Pastorelli could argue that he should not embark on significant new departures for his Society until the bishops in the more tolerant north demonstrated their general willingness to accept black priests and seminarians. On the other hand, the greater flexibility shown by the few northern prelates helped to encourage the same in Pastorelli, especially since he believed that Rome lay behind the bishops' new found readiness to consider black applicants.

III

The increased papal, episcopal, and lay attention to the issue of black priests prompted Josephites to call for a reevaluation of Society policies regarding black students. Three General Chapters during the late twenties considered the issue, but basically reaffirmed their confidence in Pastorelli and left policy decisions up to him. For his part, Pastorelli wrestled with how to respond realistically to the Holy See's desires for more black priests. Essentially, he decided to adhere to his already established policy of caution, but displayed slightly more flexibility toward mulatto or "near white" candidates.

A significant number of Josephites demonstrated their sympathy for the cause of black priests. In 1926, for example, Vincent Warren tried to convince Pastorelli to accept Clarence Howard into Epiphany and subsequently sent him

and a number of other youths from his parish in Norfolk, to St. Augustines seminary. Other Josephite missionaries, like Joseph Lally, John Albert, and Edward Brunner also sent promising young men from their missions to Bay St. Louis.[37] J.A. St. Laurent and Tim Sullivan supported the eventually successful efforts of Norman DuKette and Max Murphy to secure ordination as secular priests, while Charles Evers and Francis P. Linton preached retreats to students at St. Augustine's Seminary and sent glowing reports about its programs and students to Pastorelli.[38]

Nevertheless, support for the cause of black priests did not necessarily translate into accepting significantly larger numbers of black candidates for St. Joseph's Society. Though they sometimes bridled under his authoritarian yoke, most Josephites gratefully remembered Pastorelli as the man who earlier had saved their Society from collapse. They regarded him as indispensable and trusted his judgement. When, for example, the July, 1927, General Chapter of the Josephites, called to consider a new constitution, also discussed the question of "colored students," it ended by simply reaffirming what it called "the old regulation": "that colored candidates should be selected only from our missions and cases should be referred to the Superior General."[39] In effect, the Chapter gave Pastorelli a vote of confidence and left decisions regarding black students in his hands.

In those decisions, Pastorelli showed himself far more willing to consider mulatto candidates for Epiphany and St. Joseph's than those who possessed obviously negroid features. He probably believed that bishops, priests, and seminarians would more readily accept "light-skinned negroes," or even hoped that they might actually "pass" for white. His partiality toward mulatto candidates probably also stemmed from his early years as a missionary around

Mobile, Alabama where he experienced success among the "colored creoles" but frustration among "American blacks."

The case of Louis A. Clemente, a young man recommended by the Rev. Mariano Vassalo, Secretary to the Bishop of Puerto Rico, illustrated Pastorelli's preference for mulatto candidates. Fr. Vassalo enthusiastically recommended Clemente to Pastorelli, describing him as "pious and intelligent ... possessing a winning personality." Vassalo noted that Clemente, "...while black, has fine features and a well-formed body."[40] Pastorelli informed Vassalo that he could not take Clemente, explaining: "If he were light, so as to pass almost for a white boy, I would accept him." Under the circumstances, however, Pastorelli expressed the fear that "our students might object to his presence, as has been our experience in the past; then the problem of placing him is one that one must consider." Pastorelli assured Vassalo that the young man would have no trouble gaining admission to St. Augustine's.[41]

Despite his wariness about accepting black students, once Pastorelli admitted a mulatto candidate he genuinely tried to help him successfully complete his studies for the priesthood. In December of 1927, for instance, Pastorelli applied to the Apostolic Delegate for a dispensation from illegitimacy for Augustine McCarthy, the son of a black father and white mother. McCarthy evidently entered EAC in 1919 or 1920 and by 1927 attended classes at St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore, along with all of the other Josephite seminarians. Father James Hickey, one of his professors, spoke highly of McCarthy's ability and the quality of his work. In his letter to Fumasoni-Biondi on behalf of the young seminarian, Pastorelli told the delegate that he had "no doubts about his making a very good priest." Fumasoni-Biondi granted the dispensation, but McCarthy

withdrew from the seminary the following year, discouraged by the prospects of future trials that awaited him as a black priest.[42]

In January, 1928, just as Archbishop McNicholas and Bishop Schrembs began to admit a few black students into their seminaries, Pastorelli also attempted to find a few "acceptable" black prospects for Epiphany Apostolic College, which had experienced a gradual, but steady drop in student enrollment.[43] He asked Edward Brunner, pastor of Blessed Sacrament parish in New Orleans, if he had any "likely" candidates for Epiphany. Brunner replied in the negative since he, like other Josephites, had sent his prospective vocations to Bay St. Louis. He reminded Pastorelli that "likely vocations are not plentiful," but promised to keep an eye open for any.[44] Pastorelli finally located an "acceptable" black candidate at the Cathedral College in New York City, though he did not come from a Josephite parish. Demonstrating that he alone determined the criteria for admission to the minor and major seminaries, Pastorelli simply ignored the General Chapter provision that black students "... be selected only from our missions..." and admitted Marcus Glover, a young man who had spent his whole life among whites, to Epiphany Apostolic College in September, 1928.[45]

Pastorelli's efforts to find a black student for Epiphany evidently related to pressure that he felt from Rome and from some of his own men to comply with the pope's desire for more black priests. The 1928 General Chapter, meeting in July, discussed "colored priests" in light of the pope's encyclical. Several months after the Chapter, the Rev. Edward A. Knight, pastor of the Church of St. Benedict the Moor in St. Augustine, Florida complained to Pastorelli that Rome remained ignorant about many of the difficulties under which the Josephites labored and about the real status of blacks in America. "We appreciate Rome's wishes about the ordination of foreign priests ... but a

colored man is unlike a Chin in China or a Japanese in Japan ...," Knight wrote; "... Rome ought to be made aware of conditions here." He suggested sending a representative secretly to Rome to place the matter before the Holy See. Knight advised secrecy because "We cannot jeopardize our position with any one bishop here."[46]

Pastorelli responded that Rome was well-informed about a "Negro clergy" and that he had personally covered the question with the pope "from every possible angle." He observed that Rome had quizzed all of the American bishops; that the apostolic delegate had toured all of the southern missions; and that the Josephites could add no new information. "Rome now demands action" Pastorelli wrote to Knight, "and we cannot stand by idly, simply looking on. We must meet the situation as most of our Fathers feel and know." But Pastorelli let slip some of his own frustration and uncertainty over the seemingly insoluble problem, when he admitted, "Just <u>how</u> is the great question." [47]

At the last General Chapter held at the old seminary in Baltimore in July, 1929, two Josephites proposed a solution to Pastorelli's dilemma. According to Edward Brunner, Dan Rice and John Albert arrived with a "crusading spirit" and passionately argued that the Josephites should open a prep school for black candidates at Clayton, Delaware.[48] Edward Brunner expressed himself "willing and anxious" to accept the Albert-Rice plan, but raised the perennial question that haunted the Josephites: "where would we put them once ordained?" Both for the welfare of the Society and the men involved, Brunner recommended that the Josephites accept and educate black candidates free of charge, on the condition that they come from a bishop who would agree in advance to sponsor, ordain, and incardinate them. Brunner argued that the Josephites should place

the burden where it belonged - on the bishops; his arguments proved convincing to most of those attending the Chapter - with the exception of Sam Kelly.[49]

Kelly, the zealous but emotionally unstable missionary, who had, during the course of his career, managed to alienate most of his Josephite colleagues, refused to point the finger at bishops for the dearth of black Josephites; he placed the blame closer to home. In a strident, rambling paper prepared for the Chapter, Kelly bitterly denounced Pastorelli for a host of "sins," including unfairly persecuting him and cheating him out of money. More importantly, Kelly accused Pastorelli of purposely ignoring Rerum ecclesiae and of conspiring with Archbishop Curley to change the pope's mind about a native clergy in the United States.[50] Though Kelly's charges regarding Pastorelli's attitude toward black priests contained some truth, the shrillness and obvious paranoia of much of Kelly's diatribe backfired, creating a backlash of sympathy for Pastorelli and discrediting his critics by associating them with a "crazy man." An abashed Vincent Warren, a strong advocate of black priests and the preferred candidate of some of the younger men for Superior General in 1930, tried to disassociate himself from Kelly. Writing to Pastorelli, Warren expressed his "utter contempt" for Kelly's statements and pledged his own loyalty and obedience to the Superior General.[51]

Concern about Josephite policy regarding black priests extended to people outside the Society and even the Catholic church. George Peabody, the Episcopalian director of the Peabody Fund, added his voice to the chorus calling for a reassessment of Josephite policy.[52] Two weeks after the General Chapter, Peabody wrote to Pastorelli and expressed his puzzlement "at the rather definite refusal" of the Josephites "to encourage the entrance of the Negroes into the priesthood in any numbers." Peabody recalled that his own experience

in education had convinced him of the need for blacks ultimately to control the work. He warned Pastorelli that it would certainly prove a hindrance to the rapid spread of Catholicism among blacks if "... there shall not be a large contingent of Negro priests to further the work." Peabody assured Pastorelli that he did not mean to criticize, but only to help him "realize the thought in the minds of friends of the Negroes who are observing you from the outside."[53]

In his reply, Pastorelli contended that the outlook for more black priests had recently improved. He acknowledged that the Josephites had "been rather slow in the development of this phase of the work," but assured Peabody that "there is no definite refusal to encourage their elevation to the priesthood." Instead, Pastorelli attributed the slow pace to the need "of educating them to an idea of its dignity and the required fitness." Nevertheless, Pastorelli claimed that the Josephites had established the groundwork and that prospects "look bright today for an increase in the number of colored ecclesiastical students."[54]

Defending the Josephite record, Pastorelli informed Peabody that the Josephites had enrolled a number of black students at both the preparatory college and seminary since beginning the work. He told Peabody that many of the black students had left on their own accord because of academic deficiencies and that seminary officials had deemed many more unfit or unsuited for lives as priests. Referring to Slattery's "forced sabbatical" rule, Pastorelli said "Some who finished their college course, to test and prove their sincerity and stability, were put to a test but refused to submit to this." Pastorelli advised Peabody that the Josephites had ordained three black priests, that two other seminarians who would have received Holy Orders had died, and that at present, two "colored students" matriculated at Epiphany. "This number we intend to increase year by year," Pastorelli explained, " - our purpose being to

prepare a colored faculty for a preparatory school for colored students studying for the priesthood." He ruled out integrated seminary education on a wide scale, claiming that the earlier Josephite policy of educating black students together with whites, unfit them for their work in the South "where ... the social lines are tightly drawn .... They crave for past equality and do not care to be sent where they find themselves ostracized." Pastorelli suggested that hope for black priests in the South lay in "a larger number of colored priests," on the order of the SVDs, who would form "a social centre of their own," thus enabling them to endure the color bar.[55]

Pastorelli further justified his selectivity in regard to black students by raising his old bugaboo - the alleged inability of blacks to remain celibate. While he blamed historical and social factors rather than inherent racial characteristics for the supposed lack of chastity among blacks, Pastorelli, nevertheless, reasoned that "it again compels us to be most careful and cautious for so much harm would result from a clergy weak in this respect." Despite his characterization of blacks, Pastorelli closed his letter to Peabody with the observation that, problems notwithstanding, "a change of sentiment is evident in the minds of the Bishops of our land and I know within the next decade or two many more ... will be raised to the priesthood."[56]

Encouraged by that "change in sentiment" Pastorelli went to great lengths to help Marcus Glover, the black student from New York who graduated from Epiphany Apostolic College in June, 1930, and prepared to enter the major seminary. The Sulpician decision to relocate St. Mary's seminary, where the Josephites studied philosophy and theology, however, complicated matters for Glover and Pastorelli. The Sulpician move forced the Josephites to construct a new seminary building of their own.[57] Pastorelli and his council chose a

location near Catholic University, in Washington, D.C. as the site of the new St. Joseph's Seminary so that the Josephite seminarians could take their classes at the university. The new seminary building, begun in 1929 and finished in 1930 at a cost of $500,000 dollars, imposed a heavy financial burden on Pastorelli and his Society just as the Great Depression began.[58] Moreover, the site posed two serious problems for black Josephite seminarians like Glover: Catholic University did not admit black seminarians and St. Joseph's seminary was located in a "restricted residential district" where, according to Pastorelli "no colored are allowed."[59] Some Catholic churchmen, like John LaFarge, believed that the presence of the Josephite seminary at the Catholic University would dramatically expose some of the anomalies of the "Jim Crow" situation at the university "and hasten their abolition."[60]

Pastorelli, meanwhile, had to decide what to do about Glover. In April, 1930, Pastorelli appealed to his friend and fellow Bostonian, Francis Spellman, to find a seminary for Glover in Rome. Pastorelli promised to pay whatever fee was required, adding, "He is a good student and I would like to see him become one of our priests."[61] Spellman attempted to enroll him in the Urban College of the Propaganda, "...but unfortunately, all of the places were taken."[62]

Pastorelli then turned to the Rev. Emile Filion, S.S., the rector of the Sulpician Seminary of Philosophy in Montreal. Pastorelli asked Filion to accept Glover, describing him as a "good, model student, whom we would like to do all in our power to see become a priest of our Society."[63] On July 28, J.S. Moreau, the Superior, informed Pastorelli that the seminary would "be pleased to receive...the seminarian...."[64] Fr. Filion told Pastorelli that after two years of philosophy, new arrangements for theology would have to be made with the Grand Seminary...."[65]

On the 18th of September, Glover entered the Seminary of Philosophy. He described the reactions of faculty and students as "...most wonderful and agreeable...."[66] Father Filion reported that after some initial bashfulness, Glover adjusted, seemed happy, and performed well academically. Though Pastorelli realized that the Sulpicians "are doing us a great favor," he wrote to Glover expressing his sorrow "that conditions over which we have no control forbid you the pleasure of being with us in Washington. Let us hope," he added, "that at no distant date this obstacle will be removed and ... no student of ours will be compelled to make his course of studies elsewhere than in our own seminary."[67]

IV

Pastorelli's efforts on behalf of Marcus Glover notwithstanding, Thomas Wyatt Turner and his allies continued to press the Josephites to accept more black students and seminarians. Pastorelli, however, resisted their pressure, defending Josephite policy through spokesmen like John T. Gillard, an able young Josephite scholar, whose book and private correspondence sparked additional controversy between the Josephites and their critics.

The defensiveness that characterized the Josephites' dealings with their critics surfaced dramatically at the fifth annual convention of the Federated Colored Catholics in Baltimore on September 1, 1929. Before hand, Pastorelli heard rumors that the leaders of the convention had invited him to preside at one of the sessions in order to "force his hand and that of the Josephites on the question of colored priests." Pastorelli was wary of traps, since he believed that

more than once blacks had applied to the Josephites, not from a sincere desire to join the Society, but for the purpose of discovering whether the Josephites welcomed black students. Rather than attend the convention himself, Pastorelli sent his personal representative, the Rev. Thomas Duffy, who delivered a lengthy and defensive policy statement. Duffy declared, "What the Church desires, we desire ... St. Joseph's Society believes absolutely and unqualifiedly in colored priests...." At the same time, he added, "St. Joseph's Society reserves the right to say who shall be admitted into membership, just as every other Society ...." Duffy then reviewed the pioneering role played by the Josephites in developing black priests, such as Fathers Uncles, Dorsey, and Plantevigne. He further pointed out that Fathers Burgess, John, and DuKette had all received at least part of their training from the Josephites and ticked off a list of seventeen black students who had studied at Epiphany Apostolic College or St. Joseph's Seminary, conveniently failing to mention, however, that almost all of the black students named had attended those institutions around the turn of the century.[68]

Adopting a tone of injured innocence, Duffy complained that despite all that the Josephites had done to foster black vocations "...there are some who seem to think that we do not favor a colored clergy." He steadfastly maintained that St. Joseph's Society had no apologies to make for its stand on the question of "colored priests" and that the work of the Society had "met the approval of the episcopate and the Holy Father himself." Moreover, he claimed that few "colored boys" came forward when offered the opportunity to study for the priesthood. He argued that through their mission schools, each involving expenses beyond the power of the people to bear, the Josephites had "paved the way for that higher education necessary for the priesthood and the professions."

In a slap at John LaFarge and other clerical allies of the FCC, Duffy belittled "armchair missionaries" who criticized and condemned the Josephites without having first hand experience of conditions in the South. To those impatient to know Josephite plans for the future, Duffy declared "they are ours and ours only until we sit fit to divulge them." He closed by urging those in his audience to raise the issue of black priests "openly and above board," rather than through trickery or deceit.[69] Openness and honesty were, of course, the very qualities that the Josephites failed to demonstrate in their public discussions about the issue of black students, seminarians, and priests. Indeed, presentations like Duffy's revealed a contemptuous disregard for the intelligence of black Catholic audiences and assumed a high level of gullibility. Although Duffy's aggressive defense caught Turner and the FCC by surprise, it failed to allay the doubts and suspicions that articulate black Catholics entertained about the Josephites.

The reaction to Duffy's speech, however, was nothing as compared to the uproar that greeted the publication of John T. Gillard's The Catholic Church and the American Negro in 1930. Gillard, a native of Scranton, Pennsylvania, was ordained a priest in 1928, and became the editor of the Colored Harvest and Pastorelli's personal secretary and alter ego. The two men enjoyed a close, personal and professional relationship built on mutual esteem and respect. The scholarly Gillard, who obtained his Ph.D. from Catholic University in 1929, wrote prolifically for many Catholic publications and, for more than a decade, served as the chief spokesman for Pastorelli and the Josephites.[70]

Gillard's book, his revised doctoral dissertation, contained six sections. In the first five, he presented a ground-breaking historical and statistical analysis of Catholic missionary efforts among blacks in the United States. In Part Six, however, he ventured into a discussion of contemporary issues, including black

priests. Gillard based his hypotheses in Part Six on conversations with and letters from Josephites and priests of other societies who had worked among blacks for many years. Unfortunately, he absorbed and repeated some of their common and demeaning stereotypes about blacks, including a claim that they possessed "a child-like mentality." Moreover, although he acknowledged the need for and the theoretical feasibility of black priests in the United States, he hedged his statements with so many qualifications that he conveyed a largely negative message: one that clearly revealed the ambivalence that the Josephite leadership felt about blacks and black priests.[71]

Gillard claimed that the feasibility and advisability of a black clergy was inextricably bound up with the "race question" and that he could draw no empirical conclusions about black priests because of the paucity of experiments. He denied that the Church had prevented blacks from studying for the Catholic priesthood, citing the Josephite record of having enrolled thirty-five black students over the years, and pointing to the ten or twelve black students in diocesan seminaries, and the thirty nine students, novices, and scholastics at St. Augustine's seminary in Bay St. Louis.[72] Conceding that "A native priesthood is the general desire of the Holy Father," Gillard warned that an adequate solution required due regard "to the matter of fact difficulties" in American society, and concluded, therefore, that the pope had not intended Rerum ecclesiae to apply to the United States "with its unique race conditions." Besides, Gillard contended, the Church could not draw on a very large pool of potential black seminarians since a majority of the race would not qualify on moral and intellectual grounds. Gillard insisted that the few black priests had proved no more effective in gaining converts than white priests and further implied that many blacks did not want black priests. "Will the Negro receive, respect, and

obey a colored pastor?" Gillard asked rhetorically, "some will: some will not. Perhaps the future will be kinder than the past."[73]

Gillard maintained that black leaders who "insistently and loudly" clamored for black priests allowed their zeal to blind them to "difficulties which are not lightly ignored.": particularly the emotional and psychological toll on black priests and the problem of placing them in a diocese. He declared, "It is not without a certain significance that those missionary societies that have experimented with colored priests have learned to be conservative in considering Negro applicants....." Gillard attempted to shift the responsibility for developing black priests away from religious communities like the Josephites and on to the northern bishops. Pointing out that the only black priests in the country worked in northern dioceses, Gillard wrote "the problem of the Negro clergy will find satisfactory solution in the secular ranks of the northern clergy....where prejudice is not so all pervading or fatal." Only after bishops, priests, and laity in the more tolerant North accepted black priests, Gillard averred, would the idea pervade the South. If a black priest belonged to a diocese, that would also solve the problem of placement, since a bishop would have already adopted him for the diocese. To that end, Gillard proposed the establishment of a pontifical seminary for black priests in the United States. The seminary would be maintained by the hierarchy or the likely diocesan beneficiaries. Assignment from the seminary would be made upon request by the bishops or through the Apostolic Delegate. Eventually, Gillard predicted, the time would come when white priests on the black missions would gradually withdraw from the work and leave to a black clergy the spiritual concerns of the race.[74]

Not surprisingly, Gillard's book provoked a storm of unfavorable criticism. John LaFarge published a critical review in the Chronicle, the official organ of the Federated Colored Catholics. While LaFarge praised the historical and statistical information contained in the first five sections of the book, he took exception to what he called the "sweeping statements" and "half truths" found in part six that, in his view, conveyed "an impression of distrust, almost pessimism concerning the race."[75] LaFarge especially faulted Gillard for asserting that blacks possessed "a childlike mentality" and for denying that Pius XI had intended Rerum Ecclesiae to apply to the black priesthood in the United States.[76]

LaFarge's review shook Gillard. In a letter to LaFarge, he described it as "devastating," complained that it dwelt disproportionately on Part Six, and charged that it seemed calculated to place him "in a very unfavorable light" with blacks. Gillard fretted that if blacks got the impression that he distrusted them, he "might as well abandon the work."[77]

LaFarge attempted to explain his criticisms in a long reply. He pointedly told the young Josephite that if he believed that public controversy would destroy his effectiveness among blacks, then he should have confined himself to non-controversial topics. LaFarge claimed that he had written his review in the Chronicle "to prevent readers from forming the impression that Gillard's statements represented the general opinion of Catholic priests or the official attitude of the Catholic Church." The harm that he saw in many passages, LaFarge said, "lay in that of placing the emphasis precisely in the direction contrary to what the true interests of the Negro Catholic demand." LaFarge charged that many of Gillard's statements simply fed the racial stereotypes that many white Catholics, including many priests and sisters, already held about

blacks; he expressed puzzlement that anyone who had the interests of black Catholics at heart would take up "with those stock phrases or overworked notions which have a sinister connotation to Negroes."[78] LaFarge found Gillard's statements about Rerum ecclesiae particularly deplorable since opponents of black priests would seize upon them "as an excuse to disregard the spirit of the encyclical, which spirit ... is one of the Negro's chief hopes."[79]

Gillard's worry that LaFarge's review would encourage "... a certain group among the more intellectual Negroes, who are only too willing to take down the pants of the Josephites," soon proved well-founded.[80] Writing in the July, 1930 issue of the Journal of Negro History, Carter Woodson, its editor, levelled a withering critique at both Gillard's book and the Josephites. Like LaFarge, Woodson scored Gillard for uncritically accepting negative stereotypes about blacks; but he also faulted him for "failing ingloriously to face courageously such questions as the need for a Negro clergy, race distinctions, and segregation." Woodson compared Gillard and the Josephites unfavorably to John LaFarge and his outspoken Jesuit colleague, William Markoe, the editor of the Chronicle, pastor of St. Elizabeth's Colored church in St. Louis, and fiery advocate of black priests.[81] Woodson claimed that the two Jesuits had won a place in the hearts of the black people whom they served, "while the Josephite Fathers, with a different policy are all but hated by the very Negroes among whom they toiled for generations."[82]

The controversy over Gillard's book continued into the autumn of 1930, igniting a lively debate over black priests between the conservative Josephite spokesmen, John Gillard and Edward Brunner and their more activist Jesuit critics, William Markoe and John LaFarge. Their disagreements stemmed in large part from different perspectives: the two Josephites spoke for a small society

whose missions lay in the South; while the two Jesuits, members of the Catholic Church's most prestigious and powerful religious order, drew upon their missionary experiences in the border states of Missouri and Maryland.

Edward Brunner initiated the discussion by complaining to Markoe about "offending things" appearing in the Chronicle and by describing the Josephites as victims of "misrepresentation - as well as slander" on the question of a black clergy. He explained that as a result, the Josephites had become "rather sensitive and resentful of criticism" based either on a lack of knowledge or, in some cases, ill will. Brunner particularly took exception to criticism from Jesuits, whose order in the United States did not accept black candidates. In an obvious dig, Brunner told Markoe that he prayed daily for "one of the more powerful societies to take up this question of a colored clergy and force it to a conclusion," since the Josephites, a small and weak community "were too easily squelched." Brunner asked pointedly, "is it possible for a colored student to aspire to become a Jesuit?"[83]

Markoe attempted to calm the indignant Josephite by assuring him that if he could meet more frequently with the Josephites, they would probably discover that "we are standing on pretty much the same platform even as regards most accidental details." Acknowledging that many in the Catholic Church regarded him as an "extremist" and a "nut," Markoe reassured Brunner that those who knew him did not regard him as such. He advised Brunner that the Josephites had misjudged Thomas Turner and the FCC. He described the FCC and its journal, the Chronicle, as effective agents for fighting the inroads of communism among blacks and for promoting Catholic Action: laymen and women cooperating with the hierarchy to spread the Kingdom of God. Markoe promised that if the Josephites displayed less sensitivity and suspicion and more

cooperation toward the FCC, they could transform what had seemed like a radical movement into a powerful ally.[84]

Markoe's letter neither reassured nor mollified Brunner. He told Markoe that he expected him to let the leaders of the Federation know the true Josephite attitude toward a black clergy, namely their willingness to create such a clergy, "IF THEY GET ASSURANCE THEY CAN PLACE THEM." Brunner then explained the rationale behind the Josephites' general unwillingness to speak out publicly for change in the South. He said that the Josephites had learned from experience that to have any positive effect at all, they had to confine their activities in the South to bringing religion to blacks. "Their social, economic, and political difficulties would have to wait for a better attitude on the part of those among whom they are forced to live," Brunner declared. Displaying the myopia and misplaced optimism that characterized many Catholic commentators on race relations in the thirties, Brunner professed to see a better attitude slowly developing in the South and claimed that "our present method has contributed somewhat to this change." He admitted that the strategy would not set the world on fire but insisted that it would produce the best results over the long run.[85]

Markoe admitted that he had not personally contended with the race problem in the deep South, although he described St. Louis, where he labored, "as practically speaking a southern city." He claimed, however, he would emphasize the same ideas in Georgia as in St. Louis. Indeed, speaking at Okmulgee, Oklahoma to the Knights of Peter Claver Convention the previous August, Markoe provoked a storm of protest from priests on black missions by emphasizing the grievances of black Catholics and calling on priests laboring for blacks to "work tooth and nail" to correct injustices.[86] Markoe insisted to

Brunner that the uncatholicity of white Catholics posed the greatest obstacle to the conversion of blacks. "If the priests engaged in Negro work would become known to the race throughout the country as champions in behalf of the cause of justice," Markoe argued, and "... more publicly insist that the Negroes be accorded their inalienable rights, the results would soon be the conversion of the Negro race in this country."[87]

John LaFarge, a more genteel, diplomatic man than Markoe, nevertheless agreed with the basic thrust of his arguments, and attempted to persuade John T. Gillard that a more aggressive stance would serve the interests of the Josephites and the black apostolate. To Gillard's fear, voiced during a conversation between the two men in New York, that the Josephites would incur the wrath of the bishops if they spoke the plain truth about blacks, LaFarge responded that "The Bishops seem ... far more dependent on you than you are on them." Ignoring the Josephites' dependence on the Negro and Indian Commission and the A.B.C.M. for crucial funds each year, LaFarge quoted one bishop as saying that without the aid of the Josephites in his diocese, "I should be at my wits' end." LaFarge argued that in other situations undue fear of possible consequences from higher authority had hindered good men when they actually controlled the situation. "Bishops, too, will be encouraged to come out for the right if priests and intelligent laity voice their opinion," he insisted. "It is no longer prudence," he declared, "but a grave imprudence, to be too timid in stating boldly and clearly the essential right of the Negro as a human being; both in the natural order and in the ... Church." When Gillard objected that he and LaFarge should talk privately among themselves about the issues, but not before "unlettered Negroes," who would become unnecessarily agitated, LaFarge pointed out that educated and uneducated blacks discussed those issues and said

"We can't put them off when they ask us about matters of essential human rights." Besides, LaFarge added, the widely read Afro-American press covered all of those topics. LaFarge called for all friends of black Americans to unite "on a fundamental platform of basic human rights, which we shall proclaim without fear, in the name of Christ."[88] Brunner, Gillard, and Pastorelli, however, remained unconvinced by the arguments of Markoe and LaFarge, suspecting, as Brunner put it, that "there is very little good will toward us in that quarter."[89]

Actually, circumstantial evidence suggests that Markoe and LaFarge possessed more good will toward the Josephites than Brunner, Gillard, or Pastorelli believed. Following their "letter-debate," the two Jesuits evidently heeded Brunner's admonition and passed the word to black Catholics that the Josephites did not oppose black priests in principle, but were the victims, at least in part, of circumstances.[90] In a letter to the Chronicle on November 6, 1930, shortly after the exchanges between the Josephites and the Jesuits ended, Thomas Turner made a conciliatory gesture toward the Josephites. Although he had earlier published his own stinging review of Gillard's The Catholic Church and the American Negro, in the pages of the Chronicle, Turner, nevertheless, disputed Woodson's claim that black Catholics hated the Josephites.[91] Turner pointed out that many Josephites "are as fondly loved as any priests among our people." He added that, while "certain practices of the Order have been subjects of criticism by thinking colored men and women ... My impression is that a fuller understanding is maturing between the Josephites and the thoughtful of the group."[92] Privately, Turner remarked that Gillard's book accurately reflected "the policies of the Order" and constituted "possibly the greatest reproach to the Negro that has come from the pen of any Catholic

writer."[93] Still, he expressed only the highest regard for Pastorelli, who in the summer of 1930 had been reelected Superior General; for Turner believed that, Gillard's book notwithstanding, the Josephites had recently begun "more and more to return to its original moorings and to develop a policy that will meet the approval of intelligent colored people."[94]

V

Meanwhile, the Federated Colored Catholics kept up a steady stream of remonstrances and petitions to the American hierarchy. As Turner explained, "The question of a Race clergy is so vital to our efforts ... that we might say it is part and parcel of our aims."[95] In November, 1930, LaFarge persuaded L'Osservatore Romano, to print on its front page, "where everybody from the Holy Father himself down could and undoubtedly would read it," a statement from the FCC asking for the opportunity to educate black youth in Catholic schools, colleges, universities, and seminaries in the United States.[96] The next year, the FCC appointed a committee to make a formal presentation before the American hierarchy at its annual meeting on November 11 and 12, 1931 at Catholic University.[97] Before the conference, Turner wrote to the Catholic archbishops and bishops in the name of the FCC asking that they "take such steps as are needed to open to our Colored Catholics our elementary schools, high schools, colleges, universities, and seminaries."[98] In his proposed meetings with the bishops, Turner planned to focus on education and also hoped to discuss with southern bishops the outlook for black clergy.[99]

Although the rules governing the bishops' meeting prevented Turner and his committee from formally addressing the assembled bishops, the persistent black

Catholics buttonholed as many of them as they could during the episcopal gathering. Turner expressed particular satisfaction over conversations with Cardinal William O'Connell of Boston about desegregating Catholic University and with Bishop William J. Hafey of Raleigh, North Carolina regarding the "the often quoted statement that the southern Bishops won't have Negro priests." His talk with Hafey convinced Turner that "the position of the Bishops is not being put before the Catholic Negro group in the proper light."[100] In early 1932, Father Stephen Theobald presented a report, prepared in conjunction with Fathers Edward Kramer and John LaFarge and black laymen, H.M. Smith, Elmo Anderson, and Thomas Turner, to the Administrative Committee of the N.C.W.C.. Claiming that close contact with Catholic priests in Catholic schools provided the initial incentive for many youths to aspire to the priesthood, Theobald urged the hierarchy to insure that capable Catholic blacks had the opportunity for Catholic education.

Theobald used the predicament of the Josephites at Catholic University to dramatize his plea for the desegregation of the university. He argued that black seminarians should have the opportunity for the best possible training at Catholic University, but obviously alluding to the plight of Marcus Glover, Theobald pointed out that the exclusion of blacks from the university had created an unfortunate situation in St. Joseph's Society which could not "give all of its candidates for the priesthood the advantage of training which their residence at the University affords." Such a condition he maintained, would cause "undeniable psychological effect" on Josephites, who, although theoretically equal, knew of the inequalities forced on some of their members.[101]

In May, 1932, the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees of Catholic University, composed entirely of bishops and chaired by Cardinal William O'Connell of Boston who, the previous year, had led Turner to believe that he would take action on the FCC's request to end "Jim Crow" at Catholic University, decided that "without prejudice to the case, the time is not ripe to admit colored students...."[102] In August, the FCC followed up Theobald's presentation with a petition to Pius XI, asking for his help in opening Catholic University to black students; it also sent another appeal to the American bishops in November, 1932, to remove any color bar in their dioceses that civil law did not.[103] In response, the Administrative Committee of the NCWC agreed to conduct a survey of the problem of black Catholics and to appoint a liaison official between the FCC and the NCWC. Despite their smiles and apparent willingness to listen to committees from the FCC, however, the American hierarchy made no dramatic moves to address the problems raised by Turner and his group.[104] With Catholics only beginning to enjoy a modest amount of respectability and acceptance in American society and with anti-Catholic feeling still strong, especially in the South, the bishops insisted on the need for prudence and patience in dealing with racial questions.

Archbishop John T. McNicholas of Cincinnati, writing to George B. Conrad, a prominent member of the FCC, expressed the conservative spirit of the hierarchy, when he promised that the Church would "always proceed with great prudence" since "all cannot be gained at once and much can be lost by immoderate zeal and an impudent crusading spirit." He told Conrad that blacks should learn from the Church "how to be patient and forbearing, yet steadfast in ... their purpose to do away ultimately with injustice."[105] The Baltimore Afro-American described the situation more accurately when, in an editorial

entitled "Do You Call That Religion?" it claimed that the Catholic Church, like the United States Army, exhibited by its actions the belief that "white men are ordained to lead Negroes."[106]

John T. Gillard certainly believed that white clerics should at least lead black laypersons; the audacity of the Federated Colored Catholics in petitioning pope and bishops, therefore, enraged him. In the October 1931 issue of the Colored Harvest, he had attacked the Federation as un-Catholic.[107] Several months later, when Archbishop Michael Curley asked him to help Miss Anite Williams reorganize the Federation in Baltimore, Gillard refused, describing the organization as dominated by a group that "sets its face against matter of fact difficulties, refuses to recognize ... existing agencies in the field, and is seemingly set on a program of co-ercing the Hierarchy ...." Combining a strong streak of clericalism with his paternalism, Gillard sniffed, "I always thought the Catholic Church was directed from the Head down, not the feet up."[108]

Consequently, Gillard shed few tears when, in late 1932 and early 1933, the FCC split apart in a dispute between William Markoe and John LaFarge, on the one hand, and Thomas Turner, on the other, over the essential character of the organization. The two Jesuits insisted that the Federation should transform itself into an interracial organization that would educate white Catholics about the race problem and thereby enlist their support and aid in eradicating discrimination in the Church. Turner, while inviting white clerical and lay help, wanted to maintain the lay, black identity of the Federation and bridled at what he perceived as the high-handed white clericalism of Markoe and LaFarge.[109]

Markoe and his supporters subsequently formed a short-lived midwestern alliance called the National Catholic Interracial Federation. LaFarge although agreeing with Markoe's interracial thrust, remained largely silent during the controversy, diminishing his ties with the Federation, devoting more of his attention to the Catholic Laymen's Union, a group of twenty five black professionals and businessmen that he had formed in New York in 1928 and which eventually evolved into the Catholic Interracial Council of New York. Both the old Federated Colored Catholics of the East and the new Catholic Interracial Federation of the Midwest lost initial momentum and eventually disappeared. The Catholic Interracial Council of New York and a parallel clerical organization, the Northeast Clergy Conference on Negro Welfare, however, became increasingly active during the thirties - making black priests a key part of their program for racial justice in the Church.[110]

Reaction to the power struggle within the FCC varied. C.J. Foster, Grand Knight of the Knights of Peter Claver, deplored the division, calling it a backward step "In the very midst of our battle for our rights as Catholics." Father R.A. McGowan, of the NCWC viewed it as unfortunate, especially in light of the recently successful meeting between officials of the Federation and the Administrative Committee of the N.C.W.C.[111] John T. Gillard, on the other hand, doubtless expressing the sentiments of many Josephites, described himself to Archbishop Curley as "delighted to learn that thieves are falling out," though he worried that Turner's group might leave the Church. Feeling vindicated by events, Gillard vented his spleen on his his tormentors. He characterized Turner as "only half a Catholic with a messianic complex and an inadequate mental machinery...." As for the two Jesuits, he sarcastically portrayed Markoe as "cracked wide open ... the Moses sent by God to deliver the Negroes from

hierarchical bondage," and depicted LaFarge as "the dreamer," whose creature -Turner - had turned on him. Gillard contemptuously accused both Jesuits of having manufactured "many radicals these past years."[112] He obviously hoped that "radicalism" had been dealt a mortal blow.

VI

In addition to the break up of the FCC, the decisions of Archbishop McNicholas and Bishop Schrembs to abandon their experiments with black seminarians cast a pall over hopes for black priests in the United States. Difficulties began in May, 1929, when Father Norman DuKette, Detroits's only black priest, went out late at night looking for a drugstore where he could buy some medicine for a severe headache. A policeman, mistaking DuKette for a prowler, stopped him and announced his intention of taking DuKette into the station for questionning. Fearing that his reputation might suffer when it became known that the police had taken him, DuKette fled from the officer, who gave chase and shot him in the leg. Although the police filed no charges when they learned DuKette's identity, the incident damaged DuKette's standing with Bishop Gallagher. The next year, Bishop Gallagher sent him to Flint, Michigan to minister to black automobile workers.[113]

In June of 1929, Bishop Schrembs, reportedly disturbed by rumors surrounding DuKette's run-in with the police and alarmed by William Lane's outspoken opposition to racial discrimination, notified Lane that he would not need him for work in the Cleveland Diocese. Claiming that he had transferred the black parish in the diocese to a religious order, Schrembs assured Lane that he would continue to pay his board and tuition at St. Vincent until another bishop

adopted him. Schrembs also dismissed William Grau from his Cleveland seminary, attributing his decision to "conditions in the Diocese" that made it "inadvisable ... to adopt a colored student." In a letter about Grau to Father Edward Kramer, Schrembs wrote "Personally, I feel that a religious community would offer far better chances to a colored student than the diocesan priesthood."[114] At the annual meeting of the bishops in Washington, Schrembs offered to educate Lane and Grau free of charge in Cleveland if one of the other bishops would adopt them.[115] There were no takers. In January, 1930, Schrembs informed Lane that he would give his case additional consideration, but finally, on October 24, 1930, the Chancery Office told Lane that the Diocese of Cleveland would not accept him.[116] Lane spoke with Pastorelli about continuing his studies with the Josephites and Pastorelli later claimed that he advised Lane that he would consider him. Lane, however, wanted to become a secular priest and did not follow up his inquiry to Pastorelli.[117]

Lane instead appealed to the Apostolic Delegate. Indeed, his case became something of a cause celebre among black Catholics when he asked Thomas Turner to write on his behalf to Archbishop Fumasoni-Biondi.[118] On November 18, 1932, the uproar led Fumasoni-Biondi to request the help of Archbishop McNicholas in resolving the problem. Admitting that Bishop Schrembs had never incardinated Lane into the Diocese of Cleveland, Fumasoni-Biondi nevertheless argued that Lane "has been treated most unfairly by the good bishop, who has vacillated until the young man is on the very threshold of the priesthood." The Delegate claimed that he "could insist on his ordination for the Diocese of Cleveland" but refrained from doing so in the interests of Lane. Fumasoni-Biondi asked McNicholas to consider accepting Lane for the

Archdiocese of Cincinnati, although he assured McNicholas, that "Your Grace must consider yourself absolutely free in this matter.[119]

In his reply to the Delegate's request, McNicholas spelled out his views about black priests and seminarians. McNicholas claimed that he had no objection to ordaining "Negro students" for his Archdiocese "provided I can be reasonably sure that I am not taking too great risks for our clergy and people." McNicholas informed Fumasoni-Biondi that he had inquired about all the black priests so far ordained in the United States and had concluded that "The trouble with nearly all has been, not moral weakness but rather a breaking down of their mental powers." McNicholas further complained that in most cases he found it almost impossible "to make any satisfactory inquiry" into the family histories of black applicants, although seminary procedures required a thorough investigation of family background to check for evidence of stability, legitimacy, and Catholicity.[120]

McNicholas concluded, therefore, that he should scrutinize black seminarians for a longer period of time than their white counterparts. Resurrecting John Slattery's old idea, McNicholas decided to interrupt the theological course of black students "and put them out in Negro parishes to do the work of catechists for two or three years, or whatever period seems necessary to test them thoroughly." As a result, after his second year of theology, Theldon Jones was sent to live and work with one of the priests of the diocese engaged in the black apostolate. McNicholas observed that if Jones were not black, "Perhaps ... we would already have councelled him to leave"; he added, however, that he and the seminary professors wanted to give Jones further opportunities "in order to be most just to him."[121]

As for William Lane, McNicholas expressed his willingness to put him in the Archdiocesan seminary for at least two years so that he would have some friends among the younger clergy, "provided he will stand the test that I shall demand of every Negro seminarian." McNicholas insisted that he should demand much more of the black seminarians than he did of the others, "considering the history of their families and that many are likely to be converts (Mr. Jones ... is a convert), and considering also the rather sad experience we have had with several of our Negro priests."[122]

Two years later, Archbishop McNicholas dismissed Theldon Jones from Mt. St. Mary's Seminary.[123] Lambert J. Welbers, the Josephite pastor of Holy Redeemer Parish in Jones's home town of San Antonio, appealed to J.A. St. Laurent and Pastorelli to accept Jones, who had only two years of study left, into St. Joseph's Seminary. Welbers advised Pastorelli that Archbishop Pius Dowling of Trinidad would adopt Jones and pay his board at the seminary and his passage to Trinidad. Welbers added, "It seems to me that the seminary would lose nothing; rather the contrary."[124] Pastorelli replied that he could not admit Jones, since Josephite seminarians took their classes at Catholic University and the seminary building itself was located within a restricted residential area; besides, he did not want to raise an issue at Catholic University "with a student not our own."[125]

Theldon Jones, William Lane, William Grau, and Max Murphy eventually had to leave the United States in order to salvage their hopes for priesthood. Through the efforts of Father Edward Kramer, Director General of the Catholic Board for Mission Work Among the Colored, Max Murphy and Theldon Jones completed their theological studies at the Charles University Seminary in Prague, Czechoslovakia; they were ordained in Prague in 1934 and 1935

respectively. Archbishop Pius Dowling then adopted them for his island diocese.[126] The Archbishop, responding to the pleas of the Rev. Ignatius Lissner, also rescued William Lane: agreeing to adopt Lane for his diocese - thus enabling him to complete his studies at St. Vincent, which had been interrupted in 1931. Lane was ordained in New York, on December 30, 1933.[127] Moreover, in 1930, Edward Kramer convinced Bishop Bernard J. Mahoney of Sioux Falls to sponsor William Grau for seminary studies only, at the Gregorian University in Rome. Grau received Holy Orders in Rome in 1934 and, failing to find a bishop who would incardinate him, stayed in Rome until 1938, when he obtained his licentiate in Sacred Theology. In that year, he returned to the United States after Bishop John A. Duffy of Buffalo agreed to accept him for a five year probationary period.[128] Only Charles Logan of Los Angeles was able to complete his seminary training in the United States and to secure adoption in an American diocese. Logan was ordained on June 10, 1933 and was appointed assistant pastor in a Los Angeles parish.[129]

The difficulties of the black secular priests and seminarians represented an apparent setback for the cause of black priests in the United States and strengthened Pastorelli's conservative convictions. The death of Stephen Theobald on July 8, 1932 of appendicitis deprived black Catholics of an articulate spokesman and served to dramatize the depressing developments of the early thirties.[130] Archbishops and bishops like McNicholas and Schrembs could offset Vatican pressure by arguing that they had given black seminarians a trial but that they had not measured up to expectations. The failure of experiments in northern states gave prelates like Archbishop Michael Curley of Baltimore, under whose jurisdiction the Josephites still technically operated, additional excuses against accepting black candidates for the seminary. John

LaFarge described Curley as "a frank reactionary" who opposed on principle the idea of black priests.[131] Nevertheless, the young seminarians found ways to continue their seminary educations; their presence in seminaries, and eventually the ranks of the secular clergy outside of the United States, still inspired hope in black Catholics and graphically illustrated to the rest of the Catholic Church the negative sentiments that American bishops still held toward black priests.

On July 1, 1932, as if taking his cue from the bishops, Pastorelli advised Marcus Glover, who had completed his philosophy course in Montreal and expected to attend the Grand Seminaire of theology in the Fall, that the General Council had decided to dismiss him so that he could seek admission to a community more given to the contemplative life. Pastorelli explained to Glover that the Council had reached its decision because Glover had voiced doubts the previous summer about spending his life laboring among blacks.[132] Claiming that Pastorelli had misunderstood him and that he harbored no reluctance about working among blacks, Glover asked for reinstatement and a probation period of one year.[133] Pastorelli, however, remained adamant and Glover finally applied to the White Fathers, a French based missionary community that worked in North Africa. Pastorelli recommended Glover to the White Fathers without hesitation and in a letter to Father Filion probably revealed his primary motive for dismissing Glover. Pastorelli wrote, "To become a priest in his case, being a colored man, would have meant endless hardships and heartbreaks here in the states. The feeling against the Colored amongst the whites is growing stronger. Two of the colored students we had ordained priests led a martyrs life."[134] When Father E. J. Flanagan, of Father Flanagan's Boy's Home in Omaha, wrote to Pastorelli about one of his black students, Pastorelli noted that "....the number of colored priests that we could use is as yet very small."[135]

The year 1933 witnessed a further diminution in the number of black priests and marked the end of an era for the Josephites. On July 21, 1933, Charles Randolph Uncles, the first black priest ordained in the United States in 1891, died at Epiphany Apostolic College in Newburgh, New York at the age of seventy-four.[136] For the first time in its history as an American community, Saint Joseph's Society included no black priests among its members. Pointing out that Uncles's death left Norman DuKette and Charles Logan as the only two black priests active in the United States, the Baltimore Afro-American editorialized that "...there must be something wrong with the present administration of the Church which is unwilling to train young black men for the priesthood." "If tragedy entered Uncles's life, " the editorial concluded, "...it was because his college talked Christianity and practiced it not."[137]

Pastorelli found a successor to Uncles that same summer in the person of Chester L. Ball of Washington, D.C...; eight years later, he became the first black man ordained a Josephite priest since 1907. Paradoxically, in light of Pastorelli's many rejections of prospective black applicants on the grounds that they did not come from Josephite schools, the nineteen year old Ball, who had completed four years of high school and two years at Miner Teachers' College, belonged, not to a Josephite parish, but to Washington's venerable St. Augustine's parish, whose pastor, Monsignor Alonzo Olds, encouraged numerous black vocations. Prior to writing Pastorelli about the Josephites, Ball had unsuccessfully applied to the Archdiocese of Baltimore and at least six other dioceses. On receiving Ball's letter of inquiry, Pastorelli advised him to call on Thomas Duffy of Holy Redeemer parish for an interview. Pastorelli cautioned

Ball, however, that "trying" economic times might force the Josephites "to put off all students who could not pay tuition."[138]

The meeting on February 26, 1933, between Ball and Duffy went well, with the latter reporting to Pastorelli that Ball "presented a good appearance and would pass for white ... and spoke with no trace of a dialect." Duffy also pointed out that Ball had studied Greek and Latin, attended daily Mass, and served as secretary of the parish Holy Name Society. Duffy reassured Pastorelli that Ball had applied out of a sincere desire to become a Josephite and not to test Josephite policy toward blacks. Indeed, some of Ball's friends had objected to his decision, telling him that the Josephites had mistreated their black priests. "If there were any question of accepting a colored student," Duffy advised, "this one seems the best prospect I have seen in many years."[139] Pastorelli agreed with Duffy's evaluation and Ball entered Epiphany Apostolic College in September 1933.[140]

Two significant changes within St. Joseph's Society helped make Pastorelli more receptive to Ball's admission. On May 6, 1932, the Holy See approved and confirmed the new Josephite Constitution and granted the Decretum Laudis that elevated St. Joseph's Society to the status of a Pontifical Institute, subject to the jurisdiction of the Congregation of Affairs of Religious rather than to Archbishop Michael Curley of Baltimore.[141] Their new standing gave the Josephites a direct conduit to Rome and held out the promise of greater freedom and flexibility regarding black students and priests. The following year, in May of 1933, Pastorelli, citing economic conditions, informed Monsignor James Ryan, the rector of Catholic University, that beginning in September, the Josephites would remove their seminarians from Catholic University and would conduct classes, taught by their own faculty, at St. Joseph's Seminary.[142]

Although motivated by economic considerations, Pastorelli's decision to remove Josephite theologians from the segregated Catholic University eliminated a serious obstacle to future black Josephite seminarians.

Nevertheless, Pastorelli showed no signs of significantly expanding the number of black Josephite students. The comments of Archbishop John W. Shaw of New Orleans, whose archdiocese contained the largest number of Josephite parishes in the country, and who claimed that black Catholics in New Orleans did not want black priests, contributed to his reluctance. [143] Pastorelli informed Shaw that he had "a very fine colored student entering EAC this year." Whether from conviction, or his desire to placate the bishop, or both, Pastorelli added, "Being in the Colored work we feel that we should have at least one or two of the colored to keep the race from crying out against us. Since Bay St. Louis started operations, we direct all applicants there." Shaw applauded Pastorelli's tokenism.[144] Within two years, however, the reactionary Shaw had died, and events in Mississippi and Louisiana signalled the dawn of a new day for black seminarians and priests in the United States.

END NOTES

[1]James Hennesey, S.J., American Catholics, A History of the Roman Catholic Community in the United States (New York, 1981), pp. 237 - 243.

[2]Ibid., p. 240.

[3]Josephite Fathers Archives (hereinafter referred to as JFA), Copy Book 2 (hereinafter referred to as CB-2), Insert, pp. 6 - 8, "Report Presented by Very Rev. L. B. Pastorelli, S.S.J. to our Holy Father, His Holiness, Pope Pius XI, January, 1926."

[4]Albert S. Foley, S.J., God's Men of Color (New York, 1954), pp. 194 - 195.

[5]JFA, CB-2, Insert, pp. 6 - 8, "Report Presented by Very Rev. L.B. Pastorelli," January, 1926.

[6]JFA, Pastorelli Miscellaneous Correspondence (hereinafter referred to as PMC), "Introduction to a Copy of the Report Submitted to Pius XI"; Louis B. Pastorelli, "The Late Pope Pius XI," The Colored Harvest, April-May, 1939, pp. 10 - 12; JFA, 51-H, Louis B. Pastorelli to Edward Knight, Baltimore, October 12, 1928.

[7]JFA, Consultors Minutes Book-1 (hereinafter referred to as CMB-1), March 4, 1926, p. 110.

[8]JFA, St. Laurent Correspondence Notebook (hereinafter referred to a SLCN) J.A. St. Laurent, New Orleans, to Pastorelli, June 8, 1929.

[9]G. Schwaiger, "Pius XI, Pope," New Catholic Encyclopedia, 1967, XI, 412; J. Derek Holmes, The Papacy in the Modern World, 1914 - 1978 (New York, 1981), pp. 24 - 25; P. Weyland, "Clergy, Indigenous," New Catholic Encyclopedia, 1967, III, 946 - 947.

[10]JFA, 44-K, H.F. Kane to Pastorelli, Newburgh, April 13, 1926.

[11]JFA, 44-K, Scrawled note from Kane to Pastorelli attached to April 13, 1926 letter.

[12]JFA, 44-K, Kane to Pastorelli, Newburgh, April 17, 1926; Pastorelli's reply is found on a note scrawled on the top of Kane's letter and dated April, 20, 1926.

[13]JFA, 44-K, Kane to Pastorelli, Newburgh, May 18, 1926; Foley, God's Men, p. 197.

[14]Thomas Wyatt Turner Papers (hereinafter referred to as TWT) -62, Federated Colored Catholics to the Hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States, October, 1926; Marilyn Nickels, ""The Federated Colored Catholics: A Study Of Three Variant Perspectives on Racial Justice As

Represented By John LaFarge, William Markoe, and Thomas Turner" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Catholic University of America, 1975), p. 42 - 43.

[15]TWT-542, Thomas Turner to Rev. Francis G. Wade, Hampton, December 27, 1938.

[16]Quoted in TWT-62, Federated Colored Catholics to the Hierarchy, October, 1926.

[17]TWT-62, Federated Colored Catholics to the Hierarchy , October, 1926.

[18]John LaFarge (1880 - 1963), became the most prominent American Catholic spokesman for interracial justice. On his mother's side, he was related to Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry and Benjamin Franklin; his father, John, was one of America's most distinguished mural painters. He entered the Society of Jesus in 1905. Beginning in 1911, with one year's interruption, he labored for fifteen years on the black missions in Eastern Maryland. One of his pet projects was the Cardinal Gibbons Institute in Ridge, Maryland, an industrial school for blacks that opened in 1923. LaFarge viewed it as a national project for mobilizing black Catholics and organized a steering committee composed of blacks and whites, Catholics and protestants from southern Maryland and other parts of the country. LaFarge became an associate editor of America magazine in 1926 and Cardinal Gibbons Institute closed in 1933 as a result of the financial strains created by the Great Depression. See Nickels, "The Federated Colored Catholics,", pp. 210 - 214, 226 - 236; George K. Hunton, All of Which I Saw, Part of Which I Was: The Autobiography of George K. Hunton as Told to Gary MacEoin (New York, 1967), pp. 47, 55-56; for LaFarge's autobiography see John LaFarge, The Manner Is Ordinary (New York, 1954).

[19]TWT-61, John LaFarge to Turner, New York, October 3, 1926.

[20]TWT-65, "Catholics from 35 States Meet in Washington, D.C.," undated clipping from the Baltimore Afro-American; TWT-63, "Report of the Committee on Visit to the Papal Delegate," Minutes of the First Session of the Federated Colored Catholics, December 5, 1926; JFA, 44-6, Charles Hannigan to Pastorelli, New Bern, November 8, 1926.

[21]TWT-70, Turner to Matthew Christman, Hampton, April 2, 1927.

[22]Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore (hereinafter referred to as AAB), Archbishop Michael Curley to Cornelius Dacey, Baltimore, October 21, 1927.

[23]JFA, 56-W, Lambert Welbers to Thomas A. Carney, San Antonio, October 28, 1936; 51-H, Pastorelli to Edward Knight, Baltimore, October 12, 1928.

[24]The 1918 Code of Canon Law required apostolic delegates to report to the Roman Pontiff on the state of the Church in the particular country to which they were assigned. The Code specified that delegates were to leave to the local ordinaries (bishops) the free exercise of their jurisdiction. See Canons 267 and 269 in the Code of Canon Law of Pius X.

[25]JFA, Welbers to Carney, San Antonio, October 28, 1936.

[26]Archives of the United States Catholic Conference (hereinafter referred to as AUSCC), American Board for Catholic Mission Files, Minutes of the American Board for Catholic Missions, Subject: Mexican and Colored Problems, June 3 and 4, 1926, pp. 13, 18 - 19.

[27]Ibid., pp. 18 - 19.

[28]Society of the African Missions Archives (hereinafter referred to as SMAA), Archbishop Austin Dowling to Max Murphy, St. Paul, July 10, 1928.

[29]St. Vincent Archabbey Archives (hereinafter referred to as SVAA), Bishop Hugh C. Boyle to Archabbot Aurelius Stehle, O.S.B., Pittsburgh, July 23, 1927; Ambrose Kohlbeck, O.S.B. to Stehle, Rome City, Indiana, July 29, 1927; Stehle to Boyle, Latrobe, July 30, 1927.

[30]Foley, God's Men, pp. 116 - 119.

[31]Foley, God's Men, pp. 111 - 114; The Order of the Most Holy Trinity for the Redemption of Captives (OSSST), or Trinitarians, was founded by St. John of Matha and approved by Innocent III in 1198. The first Trinitarian arrived in the United States in 1911 and in 1912 took charge of a parish in Asbury Park, New Jersey. Augustine Derricks was the first American to be ordained as a Trinitarian priest. See A.T. Walsh, "Trinitarians," New Catholic Encyclopedia, 1967, XIV, pp. 293 - 295.

[32]JFA, Negro Priest File, Augustine Derricks, Standard and Times (Philadelphia), November 2, 1929; Foley, God's Men, 114.

[33]Rev. Francis J. Weber, "A Catholic Bishop Meets the Racial Problem," Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, 84 (December, 1973), 217 - 220; See also Weber, Documents of California Catholic History (Los Angeles, 1965), pp. 255 - 260, and The Pilgrim Church in California (Los Angeles, 1973), pp. 63 - 64; Foley, God's Men, pp. 123, 168.

[34]SVAA, William Lane to Archabbot Alfred Koch, O.S.B., Latrobe, November 13, 1929; Ambrose Kohlbeck To Whom It May Concern, Latrobe, March 28, 1931; Foley, God's Men, pp. 174 - 184.

[35]Foley, God's Men, p. 170.

[36]JFA, PMC, Pastorelli to Henry Armstrong, Baltimore, April 15, 1929.

[37]JFA, 44-K, Kane to Pastorelli, Newburgh, May 18, 1926; Interview transcript, the Rev. Vincent Warren, S.S.J., Baltimore, p. 174; Foley, God's Men, pp. 119,168,170.

[38]Foley, God's Men, pp. 119,168; JFA, 43-D, Charles Evers to Pastorelli, Mon Luis, Alabama, August 22, 1925; 44-L, Francis P. Linton, to Pastorelli, Mobile, August 4, 1926.

[39]JFA, Minutes of the General Chapters, July 19, 1927, p. 90.

[40]JFA, PMC, Mariano Vassalo to Pastorelli, San Juan, May 2, 1928.

[41]JFA, PMC, Pastorelli to Vassalo, Baltimore, May 14, 1928.

[42]JFA, 68-B, Pastorelli to Archbishop Pietro Fumasoni-Biondi, Baltimore, December 5, 1927; 70-A, Fumasoni-Biondi to Pastorelli, Washington, D.C., March 24, 1928; JFA, PMC, Gus McCarthy to Pastorelli, New York, October 3, 1928; McCarthy to Pastorelli, November 12, 1928 and November 20, 1928.

[43]JFA, 46-K, Pastorelli to Kane, Baltimore, January 7, 1928.

[44]JFA, 46-A, Brunner to Pastorelli, New Orleans, January 26, 1928.

[45]JFA, Minutes of the General Chapters, July 19, 1927, p. 90; Negro Priest File, Marcus Glover, transcript from Cathedral College, June 30, 1928; transcript, Epiphany Apostolic College, June, 1930.

[46]JFA, 46-K, Edward A. Knight to Pastorelli, St. Augustine, October 4, 1928.

[47]JFA, 51-H, Pastorelli to Knight, Baltimore, October 12, 1928.

[48]JFA, EAC Correspondence, Edward Brunner to Edward V. Casserly, Newburgh, July 26, 1944.

[49]Ibid.

[50]JFA, PMC, Paper read by Sam Kelly at the General Chapter, July 2, 1929, copy.

[51]JFA, 48-T, Vincent Warren to Pastorelli, Norfolk, July 9, 1929.

[52]George Peabody (1795 - 1869), merchant, financier, and philanthropist, created the Peabody Fund in 1867 to assist in the general education and teacher training of Southern blacks and whites. His family administered the Fund until it was disssolved.

[53]JFA, PMC, George F. Peabody to Pastorelli, Saratoga Springs, July 18, 1929.

[54]JFA, PMC, Pastorelli to George F. Peabody, Baltimore, August 12, 1929.

[55]Ibid.

[56]Ibid.

[57]JFA, Pastorelli to Joseph E. McKee, Baltimore, September 15, 1930.

[58]JFA, CMB-2, June 21, 1929, p. 133.

[59]JFA, PMC. Pastorelli to Francis J. Spellman, Baltimore, April 30, 1930.

[60]TWT-158, LaFarge to Turner, New York, November 28, 1930.

[61]JFA, PMC, Pastorelli to Spellman, Baltimore, April, 30, 1930.

[62]JFA, PMC, Spellman to Pastorelli, Rome, June 28, 1930.

[63]JFA, PMC, Pastorelli to Emile Filion, S.S., Baltimore, July 24, 1930.

[64]JFA, PMC, J.S. Moreau, S.S. to Pastorelli, Montreal, July 28, 1930.

[65]JFA, PMC, Filion to Pastorelli, Montreal, August 2, 1930.

[66]JFA, PMC, Marcus Glover to Pastorelli, Montreal, October 9, 1930.

[67]JFA, PMC, Filion to Pastorelli, Montreal, October 19, 1930; Pastorelli to Glover, Baltimore, October 11, 1930.

[68]JFA, Gillard Papers, Address delivered by Rev. Thomas J. Duffy at the Convention of the Federated Colored Catholics, September 1, 1929.

[69]Ibid.

[70]JFA, Gillard File, obituary; Paul E. Czuchlewski includes a discussion of Gillard's writing in his "Liberal Catholicism and American Racism," Records of the American Catholic Historical Society, 85 (March - June, 1974), 144 - 162.

[71]JFA, Gillard Papers, LaFarge to Gillard, New York, July 1, 1930; John T. Gillard, Colored Catholics in the United States (Baltimore, 1929), 85 - 93, 255, 284, 286.

[72]Gillard, The Catholic Church, pp. 87 - 88.

[73]Ibid., pp. 87 - 90.

[74]Ibid., pp. 91 - 92, 284 - 287.

[75]JFA, Gillard Papers, LaFarge to Gillard, New York, July 1, 1930.

[76]Ibid.

[77]JFA, Gillard Papers, Gillard to LaFarge, Baltimore, June 30, 1930.

[78]JFA, Gillard Papers, LaFarge to Gillard, New York, July 1, 1930.

[79]Ibid.

[80]JFA, Gillard Papers, Gillard to LaFarge, Baltimore, July 3, 1930.

[81]Carter Woodson, Review of The Catholic Church and the American Negro in Journal of Negro History, 15 (July, 1930), pp. 106 - 107; William Markoe was

born in St. Paul, Minnesota on May 11, 1892. He made his perpetual vows in the Society of Jesus on September 15, 1915 and dedicated the rest of his life to the black apostolate. Between June 19, 1920 and May 2, 1925, he contributed twenty-four articles to America magazine on the race issue and consistently supported a black clergy. Markoe specifically addressed the issue of black priests in two articles in America: "Catholics, the Negro, and a Native Clergy," America, September 24, 1921, pp. 535 - 536 and "Negro Morality and a Colored Clergy," America, November 12, 1921, pp. 79 - 80. In the spring of 1928, Markoe began publishing St. Elizabeth's Chronicle, a monthly parish bulletin dedicated to the promotion of interracial justice. In 1930, he offered St. Elizabeth's Chronicle as the official organ of the Federated Colored Catholics; Turner accepted and the name was shortened to the Chronicle. In 1932, in a move that precipitated a crisis within the FCC, Markoe changed the name of the Chronicle to the Interracial Review. See Nickels, "The Federated Colored Catholics," pp. 61 - 135, 136 - 209, 266 - 285, 319 - 321. See also, William Markoe, "An Interracial Role, Memoirs of William Markoe, 1900 - 1966," (unpublished typescript, St. Stanislaus Jesuit Historical Museum, Florissant, Mo., 1982).

[82]Carter Woodson, "Review of The Catholic Church and the American Negro", Journal of Negro History, 15 (July, 1930), pp. 106 - 107.

[83]JFA, Gillard Papers, Edward Brunner to William Markoe, New Orleans, September 17, 1930.

[84]JFA, Gillard Papers, Markoe to Brunner, St. Louis, September 20, 1930.

[85]JFA, Gillard papers, Brunner to Markoe, New Orleans, September 22, 1930.

[86]Markoe, "An Interracial Role," p. 58.

[87]JFA, Gillard Papers, Markoe to Brunner, St. Louis, September 24, 1930.

[88]JFA, Gillard Papers, LaFarge to Gillard, New York, September 30, 1930.

[89]JFA, 49-A, Brunner to Gillard, New Orleans, October 8, 1930.

[90]TWT-158, LaFarge to Turner, New York, November 28, 1930.

[91]JFA, 49-A, Brunner to Gillard, New Orleans, October 8, 1930; TWT-154, Turner to Alan C.J.M. Bates, Hampton, November 18, 1930.

[92]TWT-152, Turner to The Editor of the Chronicle, Hampton, November 6, 1930.

[93]TWT-154, Turner to Bates, Hampton, November 18, 1930.

[94]JFA, 49-K, Joseph Lally to Pastorelli, Port Arthur, August 21, 1930; TWT-154, Turner to Bates, Hampton, November 18, 1930.

[95]TWT-316, Turner to the Most Reverend Pietro Fumasoni-Biondi, Hampton, February 20, 1932.

[96]TWT-158, LaFarge to Turner, New York, November 28, 1930; Thomas Turner, "Statement of the Federated Colored Catholics," Chronicle, November, 1930.

[97]TWT-248, Turner to H.M. Smith, Hampton, September 21, 1931; TWT-262, Turner to Theobald, Hampton, October 8, 1931.

[98]TWT-267, Turner to the Hierarchy of the United States, Mampton, October 20, 1931.

[99]TWT-285, Turner to Edward Kramer, New York, November 4, 1931.

[100]TWT-290, Turner to LaFarge, Hampton, November 16, 1931.

[101]TWT-306, Stephen Theobald to Administrative Committee, St. Paul, January 8, 1932.

[102]TWT-290, Turner to LaFarge, Hampton, November 16, 1931; TWT-332, James H. Ryan to Eugene A. Clark, President of Miner Teachers' College, Washington, D.C., May 27, 1932.

[103]TWT-375, Thomas Turner to the American Hierarchy, Washington, D.C., November 14, 1932.

[104]AUSCC, Minutes of the Administrative Board of the NCWC, November 14, 1932.

[105]Quoted in Markoe, "An Interracial Role," p. 108.

[106]JFA, PMC, "Do You Call That Religion?" undated clipping from the Baltimore Afro-American.

[107]TWT-264, "An Ill-Timed Comparison," copy of an article dated October 13, 1931 that appeared in the Chronicle; LaFarge to Turner, New York, October 16, 1931.

[108]AAB, G-848, John Gillard to Archbishop Michael Curley, Baltimore, April 13, 1932.

[109]For a thorough analysis of the controversy that split the FCC see Nickels, "The Federated Colored Catholics," pp. 61 - 135, 175 - 209, 266 - 285, 286 - 315.

[110]See Hunton, All of Which I Saw, pp. 55 - 61, 86 - 89, 100 - 101, 114 - 117, 147 - 153; Nickels, "The Federated Colored Catholics," 281 - 286.

[111]TWT-404, R.A. McGowan to Turner, Washington, D.C., December 22, 1932.

[112]AAB, G-849, Gillard to Curley, Baltimore, October 10, 1932.

Gillard sent his message to an archbishop, Michael Curley, who opposed black priests. When Father Henry Wiesmann of Jefferson City, Missouri wrote to Curley on May 7, 1932 recommending a twenty-nine year old black man for the secular prieshood, the irrascible archbishop protested that his whole Archdiocese lay south of the Mason-Dixon line and "whatever we may think about it, the fact is that the color line is drawn everywhere" in churches, schools, etc; "Any talk of social intermingling or equality would cause a riot." He referred disparigingly to Father Dorsey's career and death and suggested that Wiesman check with the Josephites, whom Curley erroneously assumed to have no black students among their students. Pastorelli advised Wiesmann to direct his protege to Archbishop McNicholas, who still had a black seminarian studying for the Archdiocese of Cincinnati. See JFA, PMC, Henry W. Weismann to Curley, Jefferson City, May 7, 1932; AAB, 773, Curley to Weismann, Baltimore, May 10, 1932; JFA, PMC, Pastorelli to Weismann, Baltimore, May 13, 1932.

In a memo to his Provincial, John LaFarge deplored Curley's attitude toward blacks, which he attributed to the archbishop's seventeen years in Florida. LaFarge claimed that Curley had told him frankly of his absolute opposition, on principle to the idea of Negro priests as something unworthy of the high ideals of the clergy. Curley argued that the Propaganda in Rome had made fatal mistakes in educating young Africans for the priesthood. LaFarge described the Archbishop as a frank reactionary" who lived by the slogan "avoid trouble! All is well when all is quiet." See Georgetown University Archives (hereinafter referred to as GUA), LaFarge Papers, Box 12 - 11, LaFarge to Father Provincial, New York, May 20, 1934.

Curley had to deal with volatile race relations in his archdiocese. In late October, 1933, in Princess Anne, Maryland, for example, a hideous lynching occured during which a crowd of two thousand whites watched as a black man was doused with gasoline, set afire, and hanged in front of a warehouse. According to the Baltimore Afro-American, men, women, and children passed by to gaze on the naked, tortured body. See GUA, LaFarge Papers, newspaper clipping from the Baltimore Afro-American, October 28, 1933.

[113] Foley, God's Men, pp. 119 - 120.

[114] Archives of the Diocese of Cleveland (hereinafter referred to as ADC), Bishop Joseph Schrembs Papers, Joseph Schrembs to Edward Kramer, Cleveland, September 20, 1930.

[115] USCCA, Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Hierarchy, November 6, 1929.

[116] Archives of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati (hereinafter referred to as AACi), Archbishop John T. McNicholas Papers, Archbishop Pietro Fumasoni-Biondi to Archbishop John T. McNicholas, Washington, D.C., November 22, 1930.

[117] JFA, 57-G, Pastorelli to M. Gumbleton, Baltimore, November 27, 1937.

[118] TWT-316, Turner to Fumasoni-Biondi, Hampton, February 20, 1932.

[119]AACi, Archbishop McNicholas Papers, Fumasoni-Biondi to McNicholas, Washington, D.C., November 22, 1930.

[120]AACi, Archbishop McNicholas Papers, McNicholas to Fumasoni-Biondi, Cincinnati, December 14, 1930.

[121]Ibid.

[122]Ibid.

[123]Foley, God's Men, pp. 170 - 171.

[124]JFA, 52-T, L.J. Welbers to Pastorelli, San Antonio, February 3, 1932; Pastorelli note on the back of Welbers's letter.

[125]Ibid.

[126]Foley, God's Men, pp. 167 - 169, 170 - 171.

[127]SVAA, Rev. Ambrose Kohlbeck to Whom It May Concern, Latrobe, March 28, 1931; John N. Hruza, Rector, to Cardinal Patrick Hayes, Latrobe, March 22, 1933, copy; List of William Lane's Assignments; Hruza to Hayes, Latrobe, March 22, 1938; Bishop John J. Swint to Hruza, Wheeling, December 7, 1933; Foley, God's Men, pp. 173 - 174.

[128]ADC, Bishop Schrembs Papers, Bishop Bernard Mahoney to Joseph Schrembs, Sioux Falls, April 8, 1933; Foley, God's Men, pp. 184 - 185.

[129]Foley, God's Men, p. 123.

[130]JFA, 52-G, Pastorelli to M. Gumbleton, Baltimore, July 1, 1932.

[131]GUA, LaFarge Papers, Box 12-11, LaFarge to Father Provincial, May 20, 1934.

[132]JFA, PMC, Pastorelli to Glover, Baltimore, July 1, 1932.

[133]JFA, PMC, Glover to Pastorelli, New York, July 13, 1932.

[134]JFA, PMC, Pastorelli to Very Reverend Father Superior, Baltimore, July 27, 1932.

[135]JFA, PMC, Pastorelli to E.J. Flanagan, Baltimore, April 24, 1931.

[136]JFA, 70-D, John J. Dunn to Pastorelli, New York, July 22, 1933; GUA, LaFarge Papers, Box 8-20, clipping from America.

[137]GUA, LaFarge Papers, Box 8-20, undated clipping from the Baltimore Afro-American.

[138]JFA, PMC, Chester Ball to Pastorelli, Washington, D.C., February 23, 1933; Pastorelli to Ball, Baltimore, February 24, 1933; Foley, God's Men, pp.

230 - 231. In June of 1932, Pastorelli and Fr. Joseph Schmutz of St. James parish in Pritchard, Alabama thought that a young black man from Mobile would enroll at Epiphany Apostolic College in September. It is not clear why he did not. See JFA, PMC, Pastorelli to Richard Thomas, Baltimore, June 9, 1932; 52-S, Joseph Schmutz to Pastorelli, Pritchard, June 22, 1932.

[139]JFA, PMC, Thomas Duffy to Pastorelli, Washington, D.C., February 27, 1933.

[140]JFA, Pastorelli to Archbishop John W. Shaw, Baltimore, September, ?, 1933; Foley, God's Men, p. 231.

[141]JFA, Minutes of the General Chapters, July, 1936, p. 120.

[142]Archives of the Catholic University of America (hereinafter referred to as ACUA), Monsignor James H. Ryan Papers, Ryan to Pastorelli, Washington, D.C., March 9, 1933; JFA, PMC, Pastorelli to Ryan, Baltimore, May 5, 1933.

[143]JFA, 70-R, note penned by Shaw to Pastorelli on a letter that he forwarded to Pastorelli: Brother Francis Xavier to Shaw, New York, September 11, 1933.

[144]JFA, 70-R, Pastorelli to Shaw, Baltimore, September, ?, 1933; Shaw to Pastorelli, New Orleans, September 11, 1933.

DEFERRED MISSION: THE JOSEPHITES AND THE STRUGGLE FOR BLACK CATHOLIC PRIESTS, 1871 - 1960

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CHAPTER VIII
WINDS OF CHANGE, 1933 -1942

We might as well face the cold fact that we will be compelled to staff our southern parishes little by little with colored priests of our own Society .... We have allowed feeling, yes even ... prejudice to blind us to our own best interests. - Louis B. Pastorelli, April 30, 1936

During his last two terms as Superior General of the Josephites, from 1930 to 1942, Louis B. Pastorelli remained a prisoner of his fears and prejudices and clung to the same policies toward black students at the college and the seminary that had guided him during his first two terms. While developments during the thirties, most notably the ordinations of black priests at St. Augustine's seminary, forced him to a grudging recognition that the Josephites, out of self-interest, would eventually have to develop black priests of their own, he insisted on following a painfully slow time table that allowed for only imperceptible change, at best. The ordination in 1941 of the first new black Josephite priest in thirty-four years represented as daring a departure as Pastorelli intended to make. Although he no longer dismissed black applicants out of hand, he found only two "suitable" black candidates for Epiphany Apostolic College between 1933 and 1942. He left to his successor the task of accomodating St. Joseph's Society to the winds of change that swirled all around it.

Those winds had begun to blow more noticeably through American society and the American Catholic Church during the New Deal years. As a result of black migration to northern cities, northern blacks began to command some political attention. The Harlem Renaissance and Marcus Garvey's ill-fated but nevertheless influential popular movement during the twenties awakened the pride of Afro-Americans and raised their consciousness about the possibilities of change. Despite its frequent setbacks, the NAACP repeatedly attacked racism in American society, gradually gaining adherents among blacks and whites in

northern cities and eroding the myth that blacks were happy with the status quo. In the 1930s, the proponents of civil rights fought alongside radicals, labor leaders, ethnic and political minorities, and liberals. A new ideological consensus in the academic community undermined racism and threw white supremacy on the defensive by emphasizing the importance of environment on peoples rather than innate racial characteristics. Most of all, the New Deal's substantive and symbolic aid to blacks stimulated hope for racial change. The support of prominent white citizens like Eleanor Roosevelt for a wide variety of racial issues legitimatized the aspirations of blacks. Although disenfranchisement, segregation, and poverty remained the rule for most blacks, civil rights began to emerge as a major national concern. The ideological trappings of the Second World War and the government's need for loyalty and manpower further emboldened blacks to demand greater justice.[1]

Movements within the Catholic Church paralleled those in secular society. Having gained recognition from Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal as a major force in American life, the Catholic Church during the thirties gave more attention to the black apostolate. Although segregation persisted in many Catholic schools, hospitals, and churches, north and south, the great migration of blacks to the North, including black Catholics from Louisiana and Gulf Coast parishes, began to transform the "Negro problem" in the eyes of church leaders, from a purely southern into a national concern. White Catholic priests, like the Jesuits John LaFarge and William Markoe, and the Josephite John T. Gillard, though differing in emphases and tactics, shared a thirst for justice and a fear of communist inroads among American blacks. As an antidote to the twin poisons of racism and communism, they promoted interracial justice in church and society through Catholic publications, clergy conferences, Catholic

interracial organizations, and Catholic student groups.[2] Just as blacks in secular society looked optimistically to Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt and their New Deal, black Catholics placed their hopes in the Apostolic Delegate and the Pope. Although weakened by the rupture of the Federated Colored Catholics, black Catholics, mirroring the tactics of the NAACP, continued to publicize discrimination in the Church and appeal to Church authorities for redress. The Holy See responded with more than just symbolic actions, directing the bishops to increase their efforts on behalf of the black apostolate and, more specifically, to open seminary doors to qualified black candidates. The most important event in the struggle for black priests in the American Catholic Church, however, occurred with the ordinations of black priests at St. Augustine's seminary in Bay St. Louis, Mississippi.

I

The ordinations of the first four black priests from St. Augustine's seminary in 1934 represented a watershed event in the history of black priests in the United States. Unlike earlier efforts by the Josephites or other religious communities or bishops, the Society of the Divine Word (SVDs) did not thrust individual black priests into isolated situations; rather, they provided for a community of black priests to sustain and cushion one another against the inevitable racism that they encountered. The SVD venture enjoyed the backing of its parent international missionary society that included eight bishops, 1,210 priests, and 1,390 Brothers in 1933; it also had the support of the Holy See.[3] Nevertheless, it took several years of complicated and tortuous negotiations involving the SVDs, several bishops, and the Apostolic Delegate to insure that

the black priests would have somewhere to go after the holy oils of ordination had dried on their hands.

During the twenties, St. Augustine's Seminary managed to survive and even expand despite daunting financial problems. By September of 1929, the SVDs had erected a separate major seminary building: a humble, temporary frame structure that cost $7,500 and housed the six major seminarians. That year, four students went to the novitiate[4] in East Troy, Wisconsin and total enrollment in the minor seminary college reached thirty-six. The entire teaching staff of both the major and minor seminaries consisted of six SVD priests and two lay teachers.[5] Students and seminarians worked as janitors and gardeners each day in order to cut down on expenses. The parents of most of the students barely eked out an existence of their own and consequently could contribute little or nothing for their sons' educations. Some students could not leave the seminary, even during summer vacations, because their parents could not afford their train fare home.[6] Each year, Father Matthew Christman, the rector, requested $10,000 from the Commission for the Catholic Missions Among the Colored People and received only $5,000. As a result, Christman not only had to shorten the school year by one month in order to save on operating costs, but also had to borrow $2,000 annually to help cover the yearly expenses of $25,000.[7]

Spartan conditions notwithstanding, visitors to the seminary came away favorably impressed by the quality of religious and academic programs and by the students themselves. On April 30, 1925, Bishop Richard Oliver Gerow, the prim, gentle man who succeeded Bishop John E. Gunn to the Natchez see, stopped at St. Augustine's. After an informal entertainment, he quizzed some students in Algebra, placing on the board a difficult problem that few students

in other schools had managed to solve. Francis Wade, however, rose from his seat and readily unraveled it, much to the bishop's delight.[8] That same year, Archbishop Pietro Fumasoni-Biondi, the Apostolic Delegate, who closely monitored the progress of St. Augustine's, sent a glowing report about the seminary to the Sacred Consistorial Congregation following his apostolic visitation.[9] C. Cardinal Peroni, Pro-Secretary of the Congregation, expressed his pleasure over developments in Bay St. Louis to Bishop Gerow and encouraged him to rally support among his diocesan clergy for the work of the seminary.[10]

Each step in the training of the black seminarians, however, seemed to generate controversy. Father Christman and Bruno Hagspiel, the SVD Provincial, decided that the black seminarians, called scholastics or fraters, should take all of their philosophy and theology classes at St. Augustine's. They worried that if the seminarians studied abroad and experienced equality in Europe, they would become dissatisfied on their return with conditions in the South.[11] Educating the the black seminarians with the white American SVD students at Techny, Illinois remained out of the question because of the opposition of Cardinal George Mundelein, a prelate with a "liberal" reputation who held conventional racial views. As president of the American Board for Catholic Missions, Mundelein had no trouble supporting the SVD plan for black priests - as long as they remained in the South, away from his archdiocese.[12]

In June of 1929, however, William Gier, the Father General of the SVDs, expressed skepticism about Hagspiel's recommendation that the black candidates receive all of their education, except for the novitiate, in, as Gier put it, "That one little spot of St. Augustine's." He worried that they would become narrow-minded and short-sighted and that such training would "represent a

crying injustice to the men and an utter disregard of the Colored race." Gier suggested to Hagspiel that the six scholastics attend the SVD seminary of St. Gabriel's, near Vienna, where they would study philosophy and theology in German.[13]

Hagspiel enlisted the help of Bishop Gerow, pleading with him to meet with the Father General and/or his consultors, when he visited Rome that fall, to defend the existing plans for educating the black candidates. Sounding very much like John Gillard, Hagspiel complained to Gerow: "If only our men in Europe could be brought to realize what a delicate matter this Negro question is ...: to stand upon the broadest Catholic principles here, without careful qualifications to meet temporal necessities ... will never do."[14] Gerow agreed with Hagspiel and promised to have "a good heart to heart talk" with Father Gier. Hagspiel and Gerow eventually prevailed; the black seminarians remained at Bay St. Louis for the course of their studies. On November 1, 1930, Bishop Gerow conferred tonsure, the first clerical degree, on six of them.[15]

About a year later, on October 19, 1931, Bishop Gerow stopped by Techny on his way to Chicago and, after dinner, conferred with Hagspiel and his consultor's about the future of St. Augustine's seminary and the "Negro priests." Gerow got the impression from the assembled SVDs that they wanted his guidance, especially when the conversation turned to the ticklish question of where to assign the black priests. Gerow suggested placing two of the black priests at St. Rose's parish in Bay St. Louis, "where they could do parish work under the eyes of the Fathers of the Seminary." Gerow further recommended that Hagspiel assign two other black priests as prefects over one of the departments at the seminary. As for the two remaining priests, Father Hagspiel proposed that they study in Rome to prepare for work as professors at St.

Augustine's.[16] Unfortunately, all of the plans envisaged the black priests remaining tied, in one way or another, to St. Augustine's and raised the specter of a solely institutional future for them.

At the end of the discussion, Gerow agreed to a timetable whereby the six who received tonsure the previous year would progress through the minor and major orders between 1931 and 1933 and receive Holy Orders in 1934, the last year of their theological studies.[17] Although some SVDs, like Father Gerard J. Heffels, rector of the seminary and Fr. H. Patzelt, the Southern Superior, opposed it, four black seminarians eventually took perpetual vows and became full members of the Society of the Divine Word on September 8, 1933.[18] At that point, the Society of the Divine Word became responsible for them.

Part of that responsibility entailed finding a place for them to work after ordination. To that end, Bruno Hagspiel became involved in a series of complicated negotiations throughout 1933 and into 1934 involving the Cardinal-Archbishop of Chicago, the Apostolic Delegate, and several southern bishops. In March, 1933, Father Hagspiel met with Cardinal Mundelein, his Archbishop and also chairman of the A.B.C.M.. He found the Cardinal anxious to talk about "the Negroes" and therefore raised the thorny question of finding suitable work for the the black priests who were scheduled to be ordained in May of the following year. Both Hagspiel and Mundelein agreed that they should not scatter the men around the Diocese of Natchez for several reasons: they would have little contact with one another, and the difficult task of making converts among southern black Baptists might discourage and dishearten them. Also, they would not receive the close supervision from white priests that both Hagspiel and Mundelein considered essential. Finally, since all SVD schools in Mississippi had white teachers, to place the new priests in a school would

require the construction of a new parish or parishes and Bishop Gerow simply did not have the necessary funds.[19]

Hagspiel proposed another alternative to the Cardinal. Since Mundelein agreed on the need for white supervision of the newly ordained men, Hagspiel raised the possibility of assigning two of the men to St. Elizabeth's, and another to St. Anselm's, two SVD parishes in Chicago's "black belt." The three black SVDs could work for at least a year or two under the white pastors, before returning to the South for their life's work. Mundelein, however, rejected Hagspiel's suggestion as "impractical," arguing that Chicago black Catholics would not stand for it and that one or two years of city life would make it impossible for the men to return to isolated country places. From the beginning to the end of their lives, Mundelein insisted, the black priests should remain in the South. He claimed that the former Apostolic Delegate and newly appointed Prefect of the Propaganda, Pietro Fumasoni-Biondi, had always held that the black priests should never go north of the Mason-Dixon Line.[20]

Since neither Natchez nor Chicago appeared acceptable, Hagspiel told Mundelein that the black ordinands should go to a diocese containing large numbers of black Catholics: either the Diocese of Lafayette or the Archdiocese of New Orleans. There, the black priests could work among black Catholics, gain encouragement and sharpen skills necessary for some eventual missionary work in Mississippi. Mundelein reacted enthusiastically to Hagspiel's idea and advised him to "have a good talk" with Daniel Desmond, the newly consecrated bishop of Alexandria, Louisiana, who had, the Cardinal believed, a great interest in the black apostolate.[21]

Hagspiel's conversation with Mundelein convinced him that "the only way out" of his dilemma lay in persuading one of the bishops in Louisiana to give the

SVDs a cluster of black parishes not too far removed from one another. That would enable the black priests to stay busy working for souls and at the same time, attend in proper manner to their own religious life. He directed Heffels to discuss the matter with Gerow and to pass the word through him to the other southern bishops that if they "are helpless in giving us some practical, definite advice ... and are unwilling to come across and make a definite, practical proposal or offer in their respective dioceses," then the SVDs would have no recourse but to lay the whole matter before the Apostolic Delegate and ask him to take the whole matter in his hands....." Hagspiel also instructed Heffels to take up the matter personally with Archbishop Shaw, and Bishops Desmond and Jeanmard, noting carefully what each man said in case the SVDs needed to refer the matter to the Apostolic Delegate. "We have done ... our share," Hagspiel declared, "now let the bishops of the United States do their bit also toward carrying out the Holy Father's desires with regard to native priests."[22]

Throughout 1933, the SVDs continued to wrestle with the problem of finding assignments for their new black priests.[23] In October, 1933, the House Council of St. Augustine's, informed by Hagspiel that "New Orleans is out of the question," embraced the idea, which Hagspiel also favored, of securing a deanery,[24] or district, in the Lafayette diocese, wherein the three or four black priests could live together in a house under the supervision of a white SVD and minister to the whole district from the central location. The House Council emphasized the need for the the black priests to do parish work, as both they and the people expected, in order to familiarize the country with black priests and to demonstrate their feasibility in pastoral work.[25]

As the time for ordinations approached, however, with no apparent progress in finding a place for the black priests, Hagspiel finally had to rely on the

Apostolic Delegate for help in resolving "the delicate problem." On November 9, 1933, Hagspiel informed Heffels that the American Board for Catholic Missions (A.B.C.M.) would meet in Chicago during the third week of November and that the new Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop Amleto Cicognani, a tactful and discreet diplomat, would attend and discuss the disposition of the black priests with Cardinal Mundelein and Bishop Gerow. Hagspiel hoped that the Chicago meeting would finally produce a solution to the problem that had vexed him for so long.[26]

II

When he announced the adjournment of the morning session of the A.B.C.M. meeting shortly before noon on November 21, 1933, Cardinal Mundelein requested Bishops Daniel Desmond of Alexandria, Jules Jeanmard of Lafayette, and Richard Gerow of Natchez to remain behind. A half hour conference ensued, with Mundelein presiding and Archbishop Cicognani in attendance. Cardinal Mundelein pointed out that the imminent ordinations of the black priests from Bay St. Louis required a definite plan for placing them. He left no doubts that he expected one of the assembled bishops to agree to accept the black priests into his diocese before the meeting ended. Cicognani, applied additional pressure by speaking of the keen interest of the Holy Father in the work.[27]

Bishop Jeanmard, a soft-spoken, pipe smoking Louisianian who delighted listeners with his humorous stories, begged off, arguing that the introduction of black priests into his diocese would involve too much trouble. Bishop Gerow, whose diocese included St. Augustine's Seminary, expressed his willingness to

undertake the work, but both Mundelein and Cicognani insisted that an area with a larger Catholic population would provide a more hospitable setting. Having listened to the discussion for fifteen or twenty minutes, Bishop Desmond, a native Bostonian and "Yankee intruder" in the poor northern Louisiana diocese of Alexandria, enthusiastically volunteered to begin the work in the Avoyelles district of his diocese.[28] Mundelein had considered Desmond a likely candidate to accept the black priests and he quickly accepted the bishop's offer. Shortly after the meeting, Mundelein informed the incredulous Hagspiel that Desmond had applied for the black priests; the Cardinal suggested that Hagspiel contact Desmond for the particulars.[29] An equally flabbergasted Archbishop John W. Shaw of New Orleans, whose well known skepticism about black priests helped account for his absence from the meeting, told Desmond that if he succeeded with "those colored priests in your diocese, you will be canonized before you ... depart from this life."[30]

Desmond spelled out his plans in a long letter to Hagspiel on December 8, 1933. He clearly indicated, however, that implementation of his plans depended upon financial help from the A.B.C.M. Desmond proposed to erect a three room school, a community house for the black priests, and a black church in Mansura, a town in Avoyelles civil parish, approximately forty miles southeast of Alexandria and 150 miles northwest of New Orleans. Besides running the school, the black priests would also service chapels that Desmond intended to build for black Catholics in the nearby communities of Bunkie and Thoreauville. Finally, Desmond offered to turn over to the SVDs St. Theresa's church in Evergreen, twelve miles from Mansura, to serve as the headquarters for the white SVD priest who would supervise the black priests.[31]

The entire project, independent of Evergreen, would require approximately $13,000. Desmond promised to put Evergreen on a clear financial footing with an outlay of $3,000 from his own pocket and further pledged to raise $2,000 of the $13,000 needed for Mansura: a particularly generous offer since his own Cathedral parish had received several notices of foreclosure and carried a debt of $120,000 on which no interest had been paid for eighteen months. The bishop urged Hagspiel to prevail upon Cardinal Mundelein to allocate $11,000 from the A.B.C.M.. Somewhat misleadingly, Desmond assured Hagspiel that "There has not been one disheartening reaction among the elder priests and prominent lay folks to whom I have confided my plan." He also reported that a crowd of 1,200 blacks, seventy percent non-Catholic, received his news about the Mansura project "with surprise and pleasure."[32]

Hagspiel thanked Desmond for his generosity but privately expressed his disappointment that Bishop Jeanmard had not volunteered to accept the black priests into the Lafayette diocese with its fifty thousand black Catholics as opposed to Alexandria's four thousand. Hagspiel still hoped that Jeanmard would change his mind and, therefore, did not accept Desmond's offer outright, pleading the need for consultations with the Father General and also with the SVDs on the southern missions.[33]

Desmond foresaw no problems from Hagspiel's letter and forged ahead with his plans, attempting to preempt or suppress any opposition in his diocese to the arrival of the black priests. He took pains to make it appear that higher authorities had made him accept the black priests. Despite warnings at the Chicago meeting to keep all news about preparations secret, Desmond announced the imminent arrival of the black priests in the December 15, 1933 edition of the Catholic Herald, the diocesan newspaper. Headlines above the masthead of

the paper proclaimed "Bishop Desmond Asked To Lead New Project," and the caption for one of the stories on the front page read, "American Mission Board Names His Excellency to Initiate Steps for Negro Clergy Work." The bishop also included an open letter in the paper to the clergy and laity of his diocese, filling it with references to the "will of the Holy Father."[34] Desmond later explained to Hagspiel: "If my statements have left the people under the impression that I have been acting under orders, so much the better for the cause."[35]

Desmond failed, however, to stifle opposition which had arisen in Mansura almost from the moment that he announced his plans for the black priests. The bishop hinted at trouble on January 10, 1934 when he informed Hagspiel that he would have to go over the whole project with his consultors at the end of the month since "There is a feeling among some of the older priests that the proposed program should be altered in some little details."[36] He neglected to tell Hagspiel that he had also received a visit from several prominent laymen from Mansura who characterized his project as an "importation from the North ... foreign to the spirit of Louisiana." Desmond told them that he had no choice in the matter because the Apostolic Delegate and the A.B.C.M. had compelled him to take the black priests.[37]

A letter from Lawrence Coco, a member of St. Paul's parish in Mansura, added to Hagspiel's suspicions that Desmond had seriously underestimated the depth of hostility toward black priests in his diocese. Coco, a white man, wrote, "We are a rather prejudiced people here in Louisiana and have never accepted Negroes on an equal social standing, which ... might be more or less expected as to priests." He warned Hagspiel that "It is the firm belief of every leading layman in the congregation that the bringing of colored Priests to this

community will degrade the Catholic religion, here as well as in the surrounding territory." Hagspiel sent a copy of Coco's letter to Desmond, remarking simply but skeptically, "It is quite interesting."[38]

When Desmond met with his consultors on January 29, 1934, Fr. M.P. Nothofer of Mansura expressed apprehension about having black priests in the diocese and, according to Desmond's diary, "seemed disposed to convert the consultors to his opinion that the project was a mistake." Desmond, however, stood firm, telling Nothofer that the time for questionning had passed and that they now needed to address the question of making the plan succeed. The consultors, nevertheless, succeeded in persuading Desmond that the best hope for success lay in making as unostentatious a beginning as possible. They convinced him to begin the work in Marksville, five miles from Mansura, arguing that Marksville would require little new construction. Desmond thereupon asked the Holy Ghost Fathers to exchange Holy Ghost parish in Marksville for St. Theresa's Parish in Evergreen.[39]

Desmond wrote to Hagspiel explaining the change in plans and admitting, for the first time, the existence of opposition in Mansura. He now proposed limiting the three black priests to teaching at the "colored schools" in Marksville and Mansura. They would live in the rectory of Holy Ghost church in Marksville, while their white SVD director, would reside just across the fence at St. Joseph's church and would help Father Van der Putter, the pastor, with parochial duties.[40]

Desmond's revision of the original plan only added to Hagspiel's misgivings about sending the new black priests to Alexandria. A visit to Alexandria and the towns of Mansura, Bunkie, Cottonport, and Marksville on March 22 and 23, 1934, confirmed Hagspiel's worst fears. At Bunkie and Cottonport, he questioned

the pastors about sentiment in Avoyelles parish. Much to Desmond's chagrin, Father F.X. Kronemeyer told Hagspiel that he could do the bishop a big favor by assigning the black priests to some other diocese. Father Patzelt also weighed in with a negative assessment of Alexandria that dovetailed with Hagspiel's impressions.[41]

Luckily for Hagspiel, sometime during March, the SVDs, apparently with the knowledge and approval of Cardinal Mundelein, managed to change Bishop Jeanmard's mind and persuaded him to accept at least two of the black priests into his diocese. The bishop relented only after repeated petitions and entreaties from Hagspiel and visits from Father Patzelt, who lived in Lafayette as the chaplain of Holy Rosary Institute. The SVDs convinced Jeanmard that his diocese presented the best environment for the development of a black clergy and that he would encounter relatively little opposition from clergy or laity to the black priests. Jeanmard agreed to take the black priests, provided that Hagspiel could get approval from the Apostolic Delegate. Jeanmard insisted, however, at least for a while, on secrecy.[42]

When Hagspiel returned from Alexandria to Techny on the evening of March 26, he immediately summoned his provincial's council to a ninety minute meeting. All agreed that they could not make an outright refusal of Desmond's generous offer, especially in light of Bishop Jeanmard's earlier unwillingness to take the black priests. Describing Jeanmard's behavior at the Chicago A.B.C.M. meeting as "a regrettable mistake," Hagspiel ruefully observed that if the bishop had simply asked for time to think matters over "the whole situation might have been saved without trouble." Hagspiel and his council unanimously agreed to propose a compromise to the Father General in Rome, whereby two of the newly ordained men would go to Alexandria, while the other two went to

Lafayette. The Council additionally recommended making Lafayette a training center for future black SVD priests. The presence of Holy Rosary Institute in the city with its SVD chaplain insured a residence for the white SVD priest needed to supervise the black Fathers and thereby added to its attractiveness.[43]

Hagspiel informed Desmond that the council had made its recommendations to the Generalate in Rome and now awaited final approval. Hinting at his proposed compromise, Hagspiel wrote, "From all indications I take it for granted that our Generalate in Rome will put its final O.K. to Alexandria taking in our colored priests. Just how many of them will be assigned to the diocese ... will depend on the Roman decision." In a gesture of appreciation, Hagspiel invited Desmond to preach the sermon at the first Mass celebration in Bay St. Louis on May 24, the day following the ordinations of the black priests by Bishop Gerow.[44]

During the succeeding two months, Hagspiel maneuvered carefully to insure that the black priests would end up in Lafayette. After a meeting with Archbishop Cicognani in Chicago on April 26, Hagspiel led Jeanmard to believe that the Apostolic Delegate not only approved of the bishop taking two of the black SVDs, but actually desired it.[45] On May 6, Cardinal Mundelein broached the idea of a compromise to Desmond whereby the Diocese of Lafayette would start the work concomitantly with Alexandria.[46] Meanwhile, unbeknown to Bishop Desmond, Jeanmard began preparations to receive black priests into his diocese. His consultors expressed their unanimous approval and agreed to create a new parish, Immaculate Heart of Mary, for the black priests in north Lafayette by dividing St. Paul's "colored" parish at the railroad tracks that split the city. When he wrote to "Father T.A. Wrenn, C.S.S.Sp., the pastor of St. Paul's, Jeanmard put the onus on Cicognani, saying "His Excellency, the

Apostolic Delegate, has let it be known that he would wish to see a parish in the diocese of Lafayette entrusted to the care of two of the young priests to be ordained at St. Augustine's Seminary."[47] Jeanmard also secured pledges of financial assistance for construction of a church, community house, and school in the new parish. Mother Katherine promised $5,000 for the church, while Cardinal Mundelein, admitting that "the Holy See desired the project," promised $3,000 per year for several years from the A.B.C.M..[48]

On May 23, 1934, in the midst of all of the planning and scheming, Bishop Gerow ordained Anthony Bourges, Maurice Rousseve, Vincent Smith, and Francis Wade. Since the small seminary chapel could not accomodate the huge throng that gathered for the event, the ceremony took place outdoors under a large tent that served as a sanctuary. The next day, Bishop Desmond, still waiting for final word on their disposition, preached at the first Mass celebration of the four new priests.[49] The ordinations thrilled black Catholics throughout the country. Gilbert Faustina, former Supreme Knight of the Knights of St. Peter Claver and antagonist of Fathers Louis Pastorelli and Conrad Rebescher, expressed the joy felt by many when he called the ordinations "one of the greatest ... occasions" he had ever attended. The Claverite, official organ of the Knights of St. Peter Claver, enthused that the event had brought "inspiration to Catholic youth and rejoicing to Catholic parents" everywhere.[50]

By late May, after receiving a preliminary report from Bishop Jeanmard on preparations to receive two of the black priests, it became evident to Cicognani that serious misunderstanding existed about the ultimate destination of the four new SVD ordinands. Informing Hagspiel that he would accept any plan agreed on by Jeanmard and Desmond, Cicognani urged him to end the confusion by communicating with Bishop Desmond.[51] In a frank, sharply worded letter,

Hagspiel finally explained to Desmond "the reasons why ... in conscience" the SVDs felt obliged to decline his offer to take all of the black priests. He pointed out that the SVDs had preferred Lafayette from the start, but that Jeanmard's initial refusal at Chicago had thwarted their original plans. Only after repeated entreaties had Jeanmard agreed to change his mind. Hagspiel bluntly told the bishop that opposition in Avoyelles to the black priests far exceeded anything that the bishop had acknowledged. In addition, Hagspiel objected to Desmond's plan for using the priests almost exclusively as teachers. "That they would be assigned for years to practically grammar school teaching," he wrote, "and be expected to be exceedingly cautious and reserved in doing pastoral work among the adult Negro population of the town ... must be utterly discouraging for the new priests." If conditions in Avoyelles necessitated such extreme precaution, it offered just one more proof that Alexandria "is not the ideal district for beginners." Hagspiel also complained about inadequate arrangements for the white SVD who would act as the "guardian angel" of the black confreres.[52]

Hagspiel expressed his Society's appreciation for Desmond's readiness, before all other bishops in the South, to take black priests into his diocese, although Lafayette offered a less risky and more promising field. Out of consideration for Desmond, Hagspiel offered him a compromise: placing two of the newly ordained, along with a white priest as their guide, in Alexandria and assigning the remaining two to Lafayette, where the SVDs would also construct a community house for future black priests. Almost hopefully, Hagspiel warned that if, for any reason, Desmond found the compromise plan unsatisfactory, then the SVDs would be compelled to assign all four black priests to Lafayette, with

the possibility of giving Desmond some black priests the next year or in future years when conditions proved more favorable.[53]

Desmond described Hagspiel's letter as breathing "an acrimonious tone," and while he acknowledged that Hagspiel ostensibly offered a compromise, he concluded "...it is obvious that the Society would prefer not to begin in Alexandria." Desmond, therefore, advised Techny that he would not accept Hagspiel's compromise offer. Writing to Cicognani about the SVDs' preference for the diocese of Lafayette over Alexandria, Desmond observed, "The reasons for this opinion are set down with such finality that I am led to concur ... on the relative merit of the two dioceses in question."[54]

III

Lafayette's black Catholics reacted with "unrestrained enthusiasm" when Bishop Jeanmard announced at the graduation exercise of Holy Rosary Institute that he would erect Immaculate Heart of Mary parish, for the four black priests who would arrive in the fall.[55] Thanks to an emergency gift of $3,000 from the Extension Society for construction of the new black church and the money from Mother Katherine and the A.B.C.M., construction of the concrete block church, school, and rectory of Immaculate Heart of Mary was finished by late autumn.[56] Fathers Anthony Bourges and Vincent Smith assumed their duties on September 20, 1934; Fathers Maurice Rousseve and Anthony Wade arrived shortly

thereafter, on November 1, after completing a series of missions throughout the South. The four black priests technically served at Immaculate Heart as assistants to Father Patzelt, the nominal pastor and their white director. Patzelt lived two miles away at Holy Rosary Institute and during the five years of his tenure as official pastor, never once celebrated Mass at Immaculate Heart of Mary. He took charge, however, of hiring all parish employees, handling parish funds, and even picking up the mail.[57]

Patzelt's mixture of overprotectiveness and paternal racism resulted in strained relations between him and his black assistants. He insisted that the new priests strictly observe the racial code of the Lafayette diocese, including never shaking the hand of nor accepting dinner invitations from white priests. Patzelt also refused to allow the black priests to substitute at neighboring parishes when requests came in because of illness or vacations.[58] Vincent Smith, in particular, resented Patzelt's "absentee" treatment of the black priests and finally requested and received a transfer from Lafayette in 1938.[59]

Father Anthony Bourges, on the other hand, a diminutive, cheerful man, who possessed a sweet smile and a will of iron, listened attentively to whatever Patzelt had to say and then did what he thought best. He always, for example, offered his hand whenever he met any priest. Happily for him, his assignment in 1935 as resident missionary in Duson, about fifteen miles from LaFayette, kept him at a distance from Patzelt, though he officially remained an assistant at Immaculate Heart. Bourges's most dramatic gesture of independence from Patzelt and southern racial codes, however, occurred in 1939 when he accepted an invitation from Bishop Jeanmard to attend a memorial service at the cathedral for the recently deceased Pope Pius XI. Black priests never attended functions at the cathedral, which they understood to be "off limits" for them.

Nevertheless, Bourges decided to go to pray for the soul of the pope whom he greatly admired. Unable to persuade Francis Wade to accompany him, he went alone to the cathedral.[60]

As Bourges passed through the receiving line, Monsignor Anthony Isenberg, the rector of the cathedral, greeted him coolly. That evening, a Sunday, Monsignor Isenberg dined with Father Patzelt, as was his custom. The next morning, Patzelt informed Bourges that Isenberg wished to see him. When Bourges met with Isenberg later in the day, the monsignor accused him of having taken advantage of his light skin and his priesthood by attending the memorial service. When Bourges explained that Bishop Jeanmard had invited him, Isenberg responded that he "understood" but still advised Bourges that "It's best not to come" to functions that would result in mixing white and black priests. Bourges calmly told Isenberg that he intended to take up the matter with the bishop. The next morning Bourges called on Bishop Jeanmard and recounted his conversation of the previous day with Isenberg. Jeanmard claimed that he had heard no complaints about the black priests and dismissed Isenberg's comments, saying "some old crank must have said that." Isenberg gave Bourges no further trouble.[61] Finally fed up with Patzelt, the black priests at Immaculate Heart of Mary appealed for relief to Father Hugo Aubry, the Provincial. Aubry responded by replacing Patzelt with Father Bourges, who became administrator, and shortly thereafter, pastor of Immaculate Heart of Mary parish.[62]

Despite their difficulties with Father Patzelt and "Jim Crow" in the Lafayette diocese, the four young priests enjoyed working among their people and won the respect and admiration of their parishoners, the bishop, and many of the white priests of Lafayette for their devoted, selfless work. Their days

usually began about 5:00 A.M. with morning prayers. At 6:00 A.M. they had Mass followed by breakfast. They divided their two thousand member parish in half and then paired up to make visits to their parishoners: Bourges with Smith and Rousseve with Wade, since Bourges and Rousseve spoke French as well as English. On Sundays, the priests celebrated three well-attended Masses at Immaculate Heart and taught catechism classes as well. During the week, they also taught in the parish school.[63] In addition, Fr. Bourges ranged outside the city of Lafayette, tending to missions at Scott, Duson, and Mouton Switch. Following his move to Duson as resident missionary, more than four hundred families returned to the practice of their Catholic faith. In 1937, Father Wade succeeded Bourges as resident missionary of the one hundred square mile mission at Duson.[64] The Apostolic Delegate followed the work of the four black SVDs closely, asking for and receiving periodic progress reports from the rector of St. Augustine's and from Bishop Jeanmard. Cicognani included the sterling evaluations of the black priests that he received in his reports to the Holy See.[65]

IV

Between 1920 and 1934, Pastorelli had warily kept his distance from St. Augustine's seminary, using it as a convenient dumping ground for most black correspondents who contacted him; half expecting the enterprise to fail. The ordinations and successful ministries of Bourges, Rousseve, Smith, and Wade, and the likelihood of even more black SVDs in the near future, however, generated great excitement in the black Catholic community and created significant problems for Pastorelli.

Many Josephites, on the other hand, viewed the events of 1934, not as problems but as an answer to their prayers. In February, when Joseph Lally, pastor of Sacred Heart Church in Port Arthur, Texas, heard that Bishop Desmond had agreed to accept the new black ordinands into his diocese, he sent his congratulations, informing the bishop that news of his action had elated the parishoners of Sacred Heart, and promising that the bishop's courageous decision would defuse the stock argument against black priests that ordinaries would not accept them.[66] Men like Lally, John and James Albert, Edward Murphy, Vincent Warren, and Dan Rice regularly sent young men from their parishes to St. Augustine's. They maintained close personal contact, encouraging them and, despite their own meagre resources, even providing some with financial help - a fact gratefully acknowledged by seminary officials.[67] Joseph Lally pointed with pride to Maurice Rousseve as one of "his boys" and offered his parish in Port Arthur, Texas as a vacation spot for the black seminarians in 1931 when they had nowhere else to go. Josephites visited St. Augustine's often, saying mass and giving retreats to the students.[68]

Josephite pastors, attuned to the sentiments of their parishoners and themselves enthusiastic over the advent of more black priests, extended their courtesy and support to the new ordinands from St. Augustine's. Father John Lundrigan, pastor of Holy Redeemer in New Orleans, heartily welcomed Maurice Rousseve back to his home parish for his first Mass and preached a glowing sermon.[69] In late May and early June of 1934, both Stephen Boysko, of St. Luke's in Thibodaux, Louisiana, and Joseph Van Baast, of St. Catherine of Sienna in Donaldsonville, Louisiana, invited one of the black SVDs to say Sunday Mass at their parishes. Boysko reported to Pastorelli that "... all the people were more than pleased at both places."[70]

Recognizing the powerful appeal of the black priests among their own parishoners, Josephite pastors also asked black SVDs to conduct missions in their parishes. In March, 1935, for example, M.J. Flaherty in Houston informed Pastorelli that he had secured Fr. Wade to conduct a two week mission at Our Mother of Mercy. Flaherty explained, "The folks of the parish have been asking that I invite one of the Colored Padres for a visit here since they were ordained. The mission offered me a real opportunity so I took advantage of it."[71] Joseph Lally found the black SVDs useful in combatting Protestant propaganda in Port Arthur, Texas. For years black ministers had effectively used the charge that the Catholic Church would not allow black youths to become priests. Now, Lally enthused, "By having the S.V.D. colored priests here on occasions, I have done a lot to make Protestants feel better toward the Church."[72]

Josephites throughout the South also provided the black SVDs with an invaluable assist: the hospitality of their rectories. As Father Bourges's experience at the Lafayette cathedral illustrated, white clergy expected the black SVDs to remain invisible and to absent themselves from ceremonies, celebrations, parties, banquets, retreats, and clergy conferences, in short, from any functions not held in black facilities. The Josephites, often snubbed, ridiculed, and insulted by other white clergy because of their "nigger work," empathized with the plight of the black SVDs and attempted to help them. Josephites in New Orleans, for example, opened their rectories to visiting black SVDs, affording them a place to stay and the opportunity for a holiday in the big city away from the isolation and rigors of mission work. The black SVDs deeply appreciated those gestures of Josephite generosity and kindness.[73]

The enthusiasm of Josephites on the missions for the black SVDs, notwithstanding, the presence of the black SVDs made Pastorelli and Gillard uncomfortable. They feared that blacks in Josephite parishes would make unfavorable comparisons between the Josephites and the SVDs and begin to demand black Josephite priests of their own. When Clarence Howard, Vincent Warren's prized student from St. Joseph's in Norfolk, asked Gillard to preach at his first Mass in the Virginia port city on June 13, 1937, Gillard confided to Pastorelli that "My opinion is to refuse because I don't like to get into a spot like that." He asked for Pastorelli's advice, adding "I can see where it might be wise not to appear opposed to the colored priests. It sort of puts us on the spot either way."[74] On another occasion, when M.J. Flaherty of Our Mother of Mercy parish in Houston arranged with Father Patzelt for a black SVD to relieve him for a vacation during the first week of August and two succeeding Sundays, Pastorelli communicated his unhappiness. "I must tell you in confidence," he explained to Flaherty, "that we do not approve of the getting of Colored Priests to relieve our men .... bringing Colored priests to one's place is but inviting future trouble in the parish." He ordered Flaherty to avoid such situations in the future and stick to white priests for replacements.[75]

V

The second half of the decade of the thirties witnessed an increase in the tempo of Catholic missionary activity on behalf of blacks and an improved climate for black priests. The four ordinands from St. Augustine's broke the ice; in addition, the work of the Northeast Clergy Conference on Negro Welfare and the Catholic Interracial Council of New York, combined with a strong directive from the Holy See to the American bishops, gave added impetus to the campaign

for a black clergy. Concerned about competition from other religious communities entering the field and about the demands of Josephite parishoners, even Pastorelli reluctantly admitted the need for change, though he still moved glacially to effect it.

In November of 1933, a handful of priests involved in the black apostolate from several dioceses and religious orders in the northeast, including John LaFarge, Cornelius Ahern, pastor of Queen of Angels parish in Newark, New Jersey, and Harold Purcell, C.P., editor of Sign magazine, met in Torresdale, Pennsylvania to discuss how they could best educate their fellow clergy on their duty to their black fellow citizens. From that meeting sprang the Northeast Clergy Conference on Negro Welfare. Members of the Conference met three times a year from 1934 until the war forced their suspension in 1942. They strove, in the words of one member, "to make our priests and nuns colored conscious"; to recognize their opportunity and obligation to win the souls of America's blacks. The meetings of the Clergy Conference were always off the record in order to encourage frankness of discussion. The meetings convinced participants that they needed to conduct an intensive propaganda campaign among the clergy in order to change attitudes about blacks and enlist those important opinion molders in the cause of racial justice.[76]

The members of the Clergy Conference did most of their work by word of mouth at clergy meetings, informal discussions in rectories, and articles in religious publications. They also, however, used pamphlets, the press, the Paulist owned WLWL radio station in New York City, and a series of mailings to priests and nuns. One such mailing in 1934 to 10,000 priests bore on its cover the slogan: "Keep the Negro in his place" - inside, the flier explained that his

"place" was in the Catholic Church. Clergy Conference members organized themselves into committees, including one on seminaries and colleges. In their discussions with bishops, they included a "negro clergy" as one of the topics. By 1938, the Northeast Clergy Conference sired similar organizations in Cincinnati, Mobile, and the Virginia and North Carolina dioceses.[77]

In October, 1936, the Northeast Clergy Conference invited the participation of Michael O'Neil, the Josephite rector of Epiphany Apostolic College. Privately, he expressed the familiar Josephite suspicion of "Negro champions" from the northeast. O'Neil concluded, however, that "It may be best to play ball with them."[78] Within two years, Francis Schmutz, who had replaced O'Neil at Epiphany, complained that the members of the Conference, about twenty-five in number, "seemed to be stealing the show from the Josephites: we doing the work and they in on the publicity campaign."[79] Wounded pride notwithstanding, membership in the Conference exposed Josephites to diverse opinions and approaches, thus challenging their parochialism. By the end of the decade, the Northeast Clergy Conference had made some progress in changing clerical attitudes toward blacks and making some more receptive to black priests.

Another of LaFarge's organizations, the Catholic Interracial Committee of New York (CIC), also helped prepare the way for black priests. Through the Clergy Conferences, LaFarge worked hard to influence priests; but he believed that ultimately, racial justice would be achieved through the efforts of the Catholic laity. The CIC emerged from the Catholic Laymen's Union, a group of twenty five black professional men that LaFarge founded in 1928. LaFarge's experience with the Laymen's Union led him to formulate an "interracial approach" to the race problem: based on the idea that the fight for racial justice demanded that blacks and whites work together, not separately.

LaFarge's and Markoe's insistence on transforming the Federated Colored Catholics into their version of an interracial organization precipitated their rift with Thomas Turner in 1932.[80]

On Pentecost Sunday, 1934, the Laymen's Union sponsored a mass meeting in New York City's Town Hall, attended by approximately eight hundred people. The town meeting led to the formation of the Catholic Interracial Council of New York, with George K. Hunton, a white Catholic lawyer who had participated in the joint defense of the Scottsboro boys, as Executive Secretary and John LaFarge as chaplain.[81] Convinced that all persons shared a common dignity and equality as children of God, and concluding that white prejudice based on ignorance had created the "race problem," the CIC embarked on a broad educational campaign among white Catholics to teach and publicize moral, scientific, and democratic principles concerning race. The Catholic Interracial Council took over publication of the Interracial Review from William Markoe in October of 1934, sponsored the "Interracial Hour" on WLWL, and sent lecturers to address numerous Catholic groups. The CIC attempted to give wide circulation to the works of theologians like the Rev. Francis J. Gilligan of St. Thomas Seminary, who, in his Catholic University doctoral dissertation entitled, "The Morality of the Color Line," argued the immorality of discrimination against blacks in the United States. The CIC also strove to eliminate racial discrimination in Catholic churches, schools, seminaries, hospitals and other institutions, and societies through quiet appeals to episcopal and lay authorities. Finally, the council collaborated with existing groups, Protestant, Catholic, Jew, black, and sectarian which worked for interracial justice. Over the next thirty years, sixty Catholic interracial councils were established in cities throughout the country.[82]

As part of its campaign for interracial justice, the CIC strongly supported the cause of black priests. Aware of the high esteem priests enjoyed in the eyes of most Catholic laity, Hunton and LaFarge viewed black priests as potentially effective agents for breaking down racial stereotypes. They believed that exposure to black priests would improve the image of blacks in the mind of the average white Catholic. The Catholic Interracial Council went out of its way to help black priests who visited New York, and attempted to give them publicity through speaking engagements, radio spots, or articles in the Interracial Review that would create a favorable impression among white Catholics.[83]

While the cause of black priests benefited from the more favorable climate of opinion among clergy and laity generated by the Northeast Clergy Conference and the Catholic Interracial Council, an even more important boost to the cause came from the Holy See. In May, 1935, Joseph Rummel, the newly installed Archbishop of New Orleans received a letter from the Sacred Consistorial Congregation inviting the response of the southern bishops to five proposed recommendations concerning the black apostolate, including racially mixed schools and seminaries. The very fact that the Consistorial Congregation posed the recommendations indicated that Rome contemplated taking new action relative to the black apostolate. Rummel, newly arrived from New York and suspect in the eyes of many in his archdiocese as a "Yankee," sincerely wanted to expand the Church's efforts on behalf of blacks and achieve progress on the "race question," but in ways that would not alienate the white majority of his see.[84] He solicited the views of the bishops of the Province of New Orleans about the Consistory's recommendations and then sent a report, which he claimed described "categorically" the attitudes of the bishops, to the Apostolic Delegate.[85]

In the report, Rummel basically argued for maintenance of the status quo. He stated that the bishops saw no possibility "at the present time" of establishing "racially mixed grade or high schools" because state laws prohibited such schools in the state of Louisiana. Any attempt at violation or circumvention of the law would result, according to the bishops, in disaster for white and black parochial schools. The southern bishops agreed with the Consistory on the need to expand the Church's work for blacks in the North as well as in the South and urged the establishment of black parishes in northern cities containing significant black populations since many black Catholic converts had lost their faith when they migrated to the North.[86]

The bishops insisted that the same arguments that applied to "mixed" Catholic grade and high schools in the South applied equally to seminaries. They predicted disaster if they admitted blacks, "at the present time," into diocesan seminaries. They expressed their support, however, for St. Augustine's in Bay St. Louis and St. Joseph's in Washington, D.C., which they characterized as "the established institutions for the education of a colored priesthood." They also described the work of the recent black ordinands of St. Augustine's as "very successful." The bishops assured the Consistory of their solicitous care for the spiritual welfare of blacks in their jurisdictions and claimed considerable progress in increasing the number of black churches and schools. In that regard, they also praised the "splendid cooperation" that they had received from the Josephites.[87]

In the same report that contained Rummel's summary of the bishops' responses to the May inquiry from the Consistorial Congregation, Rummel also included the bishops' answers, gathered during a meeting on November 5, to five questions advanced by Cicognani. The bishops unanimously agreed that the Holy

See should address a letter to the American bishops concerning the black apostolate. They suggested that it could release one letter for publication and send another to the bishops, "regarding the more intimate details of the question." The southern bishops also strongly recommended that the Holy See publicly laud the annual collection for blacks and Indians as a way of increasing dwindling receipts. While the bishops expressed their preference for confining black work to the Josephites, Holy Ghost Fathers, SVDs, and priests and female religious already engaged in the work, they informed Cicognani that they would not object to the Holy See urging religious orders of men and women to establish schools and missions in the South "in accord with the bishop of the place," provided that they properly selected the missionaries from groups of "volunteers."[88]

Addressing themselves to the larger question of race relations in the South, the bishops of the New Orleans Province recommended that "this should be permitted to work out itself." They warned that public discussions at meetings or over the radio "of this delicate problem ... are apt to do more harm than good," since "The issue cannot be forced" because of tradition and state law. Repeating a theme echoed by even many liberal Catholics, the bishops professed to see evidence of progress in the South, particularly in education; and to detect "a kindlier, more sympathetic attitude" toward blacks, particularly in areas where a major portion of the population, black and white, professed Catholicism.[89]

Pastorelli knew that Rome was once again tightening the screws on the southern bishops, who, in turn, began pressing the Josephites for greater numbers of adult conversions. In a March 28, 1935 letter to all Josephites on the missions, Pastorelli cautioned about new communities of religious entering

the field and urged every priest to do his utmost to increase conversions in order to avoid unfavorable comparisons. "The day has passed," he warned, "when we may rest satisfied with routine attention to ... a well organized congregation; its numbers must be augmented by the reclamation ... of fallen-aways ... and by an increase in the number of conversions, particularly adults."[90]

Pastorelli also encouraged his men to keep themselves conversant with all phases of the so-called "Negro question." He claimed that the aspirations and outlook of blacks had changed dramatically over the course of a generation and advised his missionaries, "If for no other reason than that of self protection," to "acquaint themselves with the present day situation in Negro circles" by purchasing up to date books on and by blacks for rectory libraries. Arguing that Josephites could "no longer confine our knowledge merely to the spiritual realm," Pastorelli called on his men to take the initiative and advise, direct, and lead their people; if they did not, he predicted, others would, "with possible disaster" to the Josephites.[91]

Concerns about increased competition for conversions from other communities of religious, the apparent success of the black SVD priests, the obvious desire of Josephite parishoners for black priests of their own, and the apparent intention of the Holy See to address once again the issue of a black clergy, led the Consultors of St. Joseph's Society, at their meeting of February 4, 1936, to agree "to accept a few black students for Epiphany Apostolic College."[92] Pastorelli inadvertently revealed the reasoning behind the decision in a memo that he scrawled to himself on the bottom of the copy of a letter sent to a Josephite Brother on April 30, 1936. Pastorelli reminded himself to bring a plan for a "Colored Priesthood and Brotherhood" to the attention of the

Fathers. "We might as well face the cold fact," he wrote "that we will be compelled to staff our southern parishes little by little with colored priests of our own Society - else the people will clamor for Colored priests not of our own Society." Pastorelli observed, "Even bishops will eventually reach this conclusion," and he confessed, "We have allowed feeling, yes even I will say prejudice to blind us to our own best interests. Time to arise and to wake up to the needs and present and coming conditions."[93]

Pastorelli and the Josephites were not alone in reevaluating their position on the admission of black students and seminarians. The day after Pastorelli wrote his memo, the Benedictine monks at St. Vincent Archabbey in Latrobe, Pennsylvania, met in their Chapter to discuss "whether or not Colored young men should be admitted into the institution." The Archabbey had admitted several blacks, including William Lane, since 1929, but had not encouraged their attendance. The Rev. Benno Brink, O.S.B., a monk of the Archabbey who had promoted Catholic work among blacks for years, addressed the Chapter on "the present movements in the country." He described both Cardinal Denis Dougherty of Philadelphia and Archbishop Amleto Cicognani as "very anxious to place Negro youth in institutions," and he informed the monks that, at that moment, seven young black men wanted to attend St. Vincent. The Chapter rephrased the question to read "Shall St. Vincent continue its past policy of not restricting the admission of negroes for the institution?" and all present acclaimed it. Archabbot Alfred Koch, recognizing the importance of the decision for other institutions, issued a formal statement declaring that at no time and under no circumstances would officials of St. Vincent consider the question of race in admitting applicants to any branch of the archabbey.[94]

In early September, 1936, after a decade of attempted persuasion and cajoling, the Consistorial Congregation, acting with the knowledge and full approval of Pius XI, used the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the Negro and Indian collection to issue a strong letter, almost a directive, to the American hierarchy on the black apostolate. In a covering letter, dated September 9, 1936, Archbishop Cicognani emphasized the importance of the letter by telling the bishops that the Pope had spoken "very earnestly" to him during an audience on August 22, expressing the hope that "the enclosed letter would be regarded as a personal appeal from him to the Bishops and religious institutes...." The Delegate summarized the appeal with the phrase: "More schools, More churches, More Apostles for the Negroes." He advised against publishing the letter in toto but indicated that the bishops could make excerpts public from time to time "in order to show the mind of the Holy See and its recommendations in regard to the Negro apostolate." Cicognani also suggested that bishops of several states in certain regions of the country consult among themselves as to the best means of putting into effect the recommendations of the Holy See. Promising the bishops that the Consistorial Congregation, which named bishops to vacant sees, would "follow this apostolate with interest," Cicognani indicated that the Holy See wished to receive reports from bishops on their progress in implementing the recommendations contained in the letter.[95] In the arcane language of the Vatican, Cicognani meant that the pope, the official Prefect of the Consistorial Congregation, wanted to see action and results!

The letter from the Consistorial Congregation, signed by Cardinal Raffaello Rossi, the Pro-Secretary of the Congregation, and addressed "To their Eminences, the Cardinals, and To their Excellencies the Archbishops and Bishops of the United States," congratulated religious institutes, male and female, that

had dedicated themselves to work among blacks. It noted, however, that only 250,000 out of thirteen million blacks in the United States professed Catholicism and thus, because of "their simple nature," stood exposed to the dangers of atheism and communism. Therefore, Cardinal Rossi, taking pains to stress that the Consistorial Congregation wrote "with the full approval of the Holy Father," made "a pressing recommendation" to the American hierarchy "that they more and more intensify this apostolate."[96]

While taking special care to recognize and praise the work of the Josephites, the Holy Ghost Fathers, and the SVDs, Rossi underscored the need for more churches and schools for blacks and for greater numbers of priests to undertake the work. The Consistorial Congregation, accordingly, called on religious institutes, especially the larger ones, "to undertake ... particularly in the South ... some mission or schools for the colored." In order to increase the number of priests for the black apostolate, the Consistorial Congregation directed that "ecclesiastical vocations among the Negroes, for diocesan as well as religious clergy, "are to be cultivated with particular care and effort." Rossi stated that Pius XI's 1923 letter to William Gier, the Father General of the SVDs, clearly expressed the pontiff's approval of and desire for black vocations in the United States. Consequently, the Consistorial Congregation urged the bishops, especially those in the North and "in areas where Negroes have been Catholics for generations," to give great attention and care to fostering vocations to the diocesan clergy and to accept "carefully chosen youths" into diocesan seminaries "to be promoted to the priesthood and employed in the sacred ministry for the benefit of their own people."[97]

Archbishop Cicognani tried to contact Pastorelli by phone on September 15, 1936 to discuss his own letter and that of the Consistorial Congregation. Since

Pastorelli had already left for Newburgh, the Delegate forwarded copies to him, asking him to call at the Delegation at his earliest convenience. Pastorelli and Cicognani conferred about the two letters shortly thereafter; Pastorelli commented that the Consistorial Congregation's letter "stands out stronger and stronger with each reading" and predicted that it would "do much good for the Negro mission cause."[98]

Even the normally suspicious NAACP applauded the Consistorial Congregation's letter, which was published by, among others, the Colored Harvest and St. Augustine's Messenger, welcoming it as an indication of changing church policy and growing interest in blacks. In a December 26, 1936 news release, it declared that while the letter concerned itself primarily with winning more blacks to the Catholic Church, "its powerful but indirect effect is expected to be the enlistment of the Catholic Church in the fight for citizenship rights for Colored Americans." The news release claimed that already numerous Catholic clergy, newspapers, and magazines had already spoken out freely and forthrightly in support of full civil rights for black people, and noted with particular satisfaction that Catholic weekly papers had come to the front in the fight against lynching; a fight that Pastorelli ardently joined.[99]

VI

The upsurge in Catholic activism, coinciding with and following the issuance of the Consistorial Congregation's letter, appeared to confirm the NAACP's optimism. The autumn of 1936 saw the Catholic Interracial Council and the Northeast Clergy Conference continuing to expand their work; it also witnessed the reopening of Catholic University, which for many blacks represented the Catholic Church, to black undergraduate and graduate students for the first

time in over twenty years. Thereafter, an increasing number of Catholic colleges and universities in the north began to admit at least a token number of black students.[100] John T. Gillard, working through the Catholic Students' Mission Crusade (C.S.M.C.), with its 800,000 members in 3,000 Catholic educational institutions, could claim some credit for integration in Catholic schools, as he conducted a vigorous educational program aimed at acquainting students with Catholic teachings about race and galvanizing them into concrete actions such as raising money for black missions and signing petitions favoring the admission of qualified black students to their schools.[101]

Josephites in the South, particularly in New Orleans, also became more assertive. At the archbishop's request, Edward Murphy, of Xavier University, arranged for meetings between leading white and black Catholics of the city in an effort to promote mutual understanding.[102] Edward V. Casserly, of Corpus Christi parish, protested to Rummel about the exclusion of black Catholics from religious functions and rallies, declaring that "The moral support of white Catholics in the South, especially in Catholic Louisiana, must be forthcoming if the Negro is to be brought ... into the Church."[103] When archdiocesan officials refused to allow black Catholics to participate on an equal footing with whites in the Holy Name rally on Palm Sunday, Joseph Van Baast and his assistant at St. Catherine's in Donaldsonville, boycotted the event, telling Monsignor Celetine Chambon, the Chancellor of the Archdiocese, "if you do not want my people, you do not want us."[104]

The Consistorial Congregation's letter also sparked a great increase in the number of priests and sisters engaged in the black apostolate. In 1928, 196 priests along with 829 sisters, the backbone of the mission schools, worked exclusively with blacks; by 1940, the figures had risen to 486 priests and 1,670

sisters. By 1940, members of twenty-two religious communities of men plus the diocesan clergy, and 72 communities of women labored on black missions as opposed to nine communities of men and 32 of women in 1928. Of the male religious communities in 1940, the one hundred and fifty three men of the Josephites maintained the largest number of missions with 102, or thirty percent of the total. The diocesan clergy ranked second, claiming 72 priests and 63 missions, although half of the missions represented only part-time responsibility. Next came the Holy Ghost Fathers with 62 priests and 48 missions; the SVDs followed, counting 54 priests in charge of 19 missions.[105]

Competition with other communities entering the field remained a constant worry for Pastorelli during the remainder of the decade. Addressing the 1936 General Chapter following his reelection to a fourth term as Superior General, Pastorelli reviewed the previous six years, noting that the total of Josephite priests had jumped from 84 to 125; that half of all Josephites had been ordained since 1926; and that adult conversions had averaged 1,000 per year and infant baptisms, 3,289. Even so, Pastorelli warned that the Josephites could not live on memories of the past, when they had the field practically to themselves; for a new group of bishops "knew not Joseph" and wanted only "results," in the form of conversions. "Rome as you know," Pastorelli explained, "is and has been for the past decade, urging the bishops to greater activity with the Negro in mind." That accounted for bishops who seemed dissatisfied with the number of converts garnered by Josephites.[106] Responding to yet another Pastorelli letter urging more converts, Joseph Lally attributed his lack of conversions to resentment against the Catholic Church as "the white man's church" and wrote bluntly, "Until the Church gets liberal in her attitude towards the Colored Catholic priesthood, conversions will not be numerous here."[107]

VII

Although Pastorelli recognized the truth of Lally's statement and privately acknowledged the need for St. Joseph's Society eventually to develop black priests of its own, he envisioned a slow and gradual process. During his last term as Superior General, he no longer peremptorily turned aside inquiries from prospective black students and showed a greater willingness to receive and consider applications from blacks, especially those recruited and recommended by the Society vocation director, the rector of Epiphany Apostolic College, or the Josephite pastors.[108] Caucasian features, however, in addition to moral and intellectual attributes, remained an important consideration in judging prospective black students. After a vocation lecture at Boston College High School in April, 1938, for example, Arthur O'Leary, the Master of Novices and vocation director, reported to Pastorelli that he had interviewed " a colored boy who was above the average Negro in intelligence," but who, unfortunately, "had more of the African in his make-up than of the Caucasian."[109]

Pastorelli orchestrated every stage of the application process and made the final decisions on all black applicants. In the end, for various and sundry reasons, ranging from supposed academic deficiencies, to lack of a Catholic tradition in the family or failure to come from a Josephite parish, Pastorelli judged all of the black applicants unsuitable, except for Percy Williams, a young man from a non-Josephite parish in Chicago, whom he accepted into Epiphany in August of 1941.[110]

Certain hopeful signs seemed to indicate that Pastorelli could safely adopt a more liberal policy toward black students. As the world lurched toward world war, Pope Pius XI and his successor, Pius XII, challenged the barbarous racism of Nazi Germany and emphasized the unity of the human race in their

encyclicals Mit brennender Sorge(1937) and Summi Pontificatus (1940). In Sertum Laetitiae, his first letter to the American episcopate in 1939, Pius XII signalled his interest in and sympathy for the black apostolate. On October 31, 1940, in a ceremony intended to dramatize the universality of the church and the divine unity of all people, the pope purposely selected representatives from twelve different national and racial groups for consecration as bishops.[111]

In the United States, the SVDs ordained two more black priests in 1937 and five more in 1939. By January, 1941, the SVDs counted fourteen black priests among their members.[112] In 1939, under Abbot Alcuin Deutsch, St. John's College and Seminary in Collegeville, Minnesota began to accept black students to study for the Benedictine Order and one of their monks, Father Gregory, proposed establishing an interracial Benedictine monastery in the South.[113] In that same year, the Jesuits welcomed Leslie Xavier Russell, a black man, into their Society and educated him at their theologate in Weston, Massachusetts for service in the British West Indies. The following year, at the urging of John LaFarge, the California Province of the Jesuits accepted a black candidate for the Brotherhood.[114] Chicago's new archbishop, Samuel Stritch, who succeeded Cardinal Mundelein in December, 1939, showed none of his predecessor's reluctance to accept black SVDs into his archdiocese. Accordingly, when Vincent Smith became assistant pastor at the SVD parish of St. Elizabeth's in the autumn of 1940, be became the first black priest to work in the Archdiocese of Chicago since Augustus Tolton. Two years later, Stritch approved the admission of the first black student into the archdiocesan seminary.[115]

Nevertheless, Pastorelli remained fearful about Josephite vulnerability to the whims of the bishops. "We are outsiders," he never ceased telling his Josephites,

"and hence must take care of ourselves, if we don't the diocese never will."[116] He drew no particular consolation from the ordinations of SVD priests. He knew that the ordinations in 1937 and again in 1939 had necessitated the creation of new parishes in the Lafayette diocese to accomodate the black priests and he recognized that southern bishops had neither the money nor inclination to continue creating new parishes in order to provide places to station black priests.[117] Then too, Bishop Jeanmard still remained the only southern bishop who would accept black priests into his diocese. Although by 1941 the SVDs could boast of fourteen black priests, nine of the ten priests assigned to mission churches in the United States found themselves in the Lafayette diocese.[118]

Pastorelli, moreover, along with many others, suspected that the decision of the SVD Provincial in 1939 to send two black priests to the new SVD missions in the Gold Coast, Africa stemmed, at least in part, from difficulties in finding them places to minister in the United States. In the spring of 1939, notices went up at St. Augustine's seminary, asking for volunteers for mission work in Africa. Joseph Bowers and John Dauphine volunteered.[119] When Joseph Lally heard that John Dauphine, a former parishoner, would go to Africa, he expressed the skepticism and ambivalence felt by many. "I am elated," he wrote to John Gaspar, the rector of St. Augustine's, "that he is worthy of the great grace of a foreign mission vocation"; at the same time, he added, "I am a bit disturbed. The thought persists that there is a great need of Negro priests in our own land, and that maybe the bishops will not accept any more, hence the decision to send the Negro priests to Africa."[120]

The decision to send men to Africa alarmed many students at St. Augustine's. A number of them, realizing that membership in the SVDs would make them liable to mission duty abroad and wishing to remain in the United

States to work among their people, withdrew from St. Augustine's and applied to dioceses or other communities, including the Josephites.[121] Sermons, like that preached on August 5, 1939 by the Rev. Philip Keller, founder of Holy Rosary Institute in Lafayette, at the first Mass of Carmen Chachere, a black SVD, in which Keller proclaimed his desire to see Fr. Carmen and all of the other black priests depart for Africa, deepened the suspicions of many black Catholics that assignments to Africa resulted from white opposition to black priests in the United States.[122] That same year, the Knights of St. Peter Claver authorized a committee, including Joseph Lally, their National Chaplain, to begin "propaganda for the acceptance of Negro priests throughout America."[123] Regardless of whether concern about placing the black priests motivated the decision to send some men to Africa, the SVD provincial felt enough anxiety about the matter to consider issuing a general letter to the bishops of the United States asking whether they would accept black priests into their dioceses.[124]

The attitude of Monsignor Joseph M. Nelligan, Chancellor of the Archdiocese of Baltimore-Washington, illustrated that many bishops and diocesan officials still had serious reservations about black seminarians and priests. Nelligan wrote to Pastorelli in February, 1941 about Melvin Richardson, a black man who had left St. Augustine's because of his reluctance to go to Africa, and who had met with Nelligan to discuss the possibility of entering the secular priesthood. Nelligan asked Pastorelli whether he believed "that such a possibility might be entertained"; he hastened to add, "It would certainly not work out in this jurisdiction ...." Pastorelli observed that "it is a problem when it comes to deciding just what to do about Colored students," and claimed that he did not

know of a diocese in the United States where the young man could look for adoption in the United States; he suggested that he try Trinidad.[125]

Pastorelli's desire to avoid possible trouble made him extremely cautious in handling the ordination on June 10, 1941 of Chester Ball, the first black Josephite ordained a priest since John Plantevigne in 1907. A native of Washington, D.C. and the first black ordained in the capitol city, Ball studied at Epiphany Apostolic College in 1933, made his novitiate at Newburgh in 1934, and began his seminary course at St. Joseph's Seminary in 1935. He graduated from the Preacher's Institute at Catholic University in 1940 at the age of twenty-seven. Ball stood approximately six feet tall and fought a losing battle with obesity during his lifetime; his light skin enabled him to pass for white whenever he chose. He received Holy Orders, along with nine other Josephites, at the hands of John M. McNamara, Auxiliary Bishop of Baltimore and Washington. Although his first Mass at St. Augustine's in Washington, D.C. attracted a great crowd and special attention from the Baltimore Catholic Review, the Josephites Colored Harvest downplayed the event, giving Ball no more attention than any of the other ordinands.[126] When Pastorelli assigned Ball to St. Joseph's Church in Wilmington, Delaware, he went out of his way to reassure Bishop Edward J. Fitzmaurice of Wilmington: "There is a slight strain of Colored blood in him, but one would have to be told this to be aware of the fact." He emphasized that Ball possessed a fine character and that the seminary faculty had judged him "the best all around member of his class." Pastorelli advised Fitzmaurice that Ball would serve as assistant in Wilmington for only one year, after which he would tour the missions of the South on the Mission Band.[127] Ball's auspicious debut as a preacher won him accolades and helped ease some of Pastorelli's anxieties. Michael O'Neil of St. Vincent De Paul's in

Washington, D.C., reported that "The Rev. Chester preached at our three sessions of the Novena yesterday and brought down the house. He ought to make a fine missionary."[128]

During his last term as Superior General, Pastorelli found the burdens of office increasingly onerous. In addition, the death of John T. Gillard on January 13, 1942 from a coronary thrombosis deprived him of his closest confidante, aide, and mouthpiece.[129] Pastorelli mourned the loss of his friend, telling the Rev. J.B. Tennelly, Secretary of the Negro and Indian Commission, that "were he alive today, I think that he would have been chosen as our new Superior."[130] Instead, the General Chapter, meeting July 8 - 9, 1942, chose Edward V. Casserly, a veteran missionary who had spent most of his time working in parishes in New Orleans, as the fifth Superior of St. Joseph's Society.[131] Pastorelli became a Society Consultor and later accepted the post of rector of St. Joseph's Seminary in Washington, D.C..[132]

Pastorelli had accomplished much as Superior, shepherding his Society through war and depression. During his twenty-four year tenure, the number of priests in the Society increased from sixty-five to one hundred and sixty-five; the number of parishes from thirty-four to seventy-two; and the number of souls under Josephite care from 27,912 to 83,987.[133] He built a new Epiphany Apostolic College and established a novitiate at Newburgh, New York; he also constructed a new St. Joseph's Seminary in Washington,D.C. The Holy See recognized the growth and achievements of the Josephites under Pastorelli by raising the Society to the status of a Pontifical Institute in 1932. Despite his many accomplishments, however, Pastorelli ended a prisoner of his fears and

ambivalence about black priests in St. Joseph's Society. He had neither the inclination nor the will to alter the course that he had set back in 1918. Times had begun to change, but he could not. Unwittingly, he thereby deprived the Josephites of the energizing spirit of their founder and hampered their effectiveness among blacks.

On receiving word of Pastorelli's imminent departure as Superior General, Bishop Jules Jeanmard, reflecting the sentiments of many bishops, expressed his regret at seeing Pastorelli leave office and praised him for having "understood so well the problems and difficulties of the work in the deep-South." He thanked Pastorelli for his sympathetic cooperation and said frankly: "I cannot but be a little anxious about your retirement from office and the changes it may bring about as we are concerned down here."[134] With Edward V. Casserly as the new Superior General of the Josephites, the bishop and the Josephites had good reason to expect great changes.

END NOTES

[1]Harvard Sitkoff, The Struggle for Black Equality, 1954 - 1980 (New York, 1981), pp. 9 - 11; John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom (5th. ed. New York, 1980), pp. 383 - 401. For an excellent study of the New Deal years as a "seedtime for the civil rights movement see Harvard Sitkoff, A New Deal for Blacks: The Emergence of Civil Rights As a National Issue: the Depression Decade (Oxford, 1978).

[2]Working class, ethnic Catholics constituted an important bloc in Roosevelt's electoral coalition and, for the most part, enthusiastically supported his New Deal. Catholic clergymen like Monsignors Francis Haas, John Burke, and John A. Ryan, cooperated with New Deal agencies and boards and articulated Catholic social philosophy compatible with the newly emerging welfare state. President Franklin Roosevelt publicly courted Catholic leaders like Cardinal George Mundelein of Chicago and appointed priests like Haas to labor mediation boards. See George Q. Flynn, American Catholics and the Roosevelt Presidency, 1932 - 1936 (Lexington, 1968); For Catholic preoccupation with the communist menace among blacks see John T. Gillard, Colored Catholics in the United States (Baltimore, 1941) and Christ, Color, and Communism (Baltimore, 1937); Paul E. Czuchlewski, "Liberal Catholicism and American Racism, 1924 - 1960," Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, 85 (March - June, 1974), 146; Edward S. Stanton, "John LaFarge's Understanding of the Unifying Mission of the Church, Especially in the Area of Race Relations," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, St. Paul University, Ottowa, 1972), pp. 98 - 111; John LaFarge, Interracial Justice: A Study of the Catholic Doctrine of Race Relations (New York, 1937).

[3]Georgetown University Archives (hereinafter referred to as GUA), LaFarge Papers, Box 8-20, "St. Augustine's Seminary," pp. 3 - 4.

[4]The period of formal probation of a person in a religious community or secular institute during which he or she is called a novice. It precedes the first profession of vows. The term also refers to the residence for novices.

[5]St. Augustine's Seminary Archives (hereinafter referred to as SASA), Christman File, Gerard Heffels, Rector, to Archbishop Pietro Fumasoni-Biondi, Bay St. Louis, September 18, 1929.

[6]SASA, Christman File, Louis Carter to The General Council of the Pontificum Opus a Sancto Pietro, Bay St. Louis, January 18, 1934.

[7]SASA, Christman File, A.G. Stieg to J. B. Tennelly, Bay St. Louis, July 3, 1929.

[8]Josephite Fathers Archives (hereinafter referred to as JFA), copies from the Archives of the Diocese of Jackson (hereinafter referred to as ADJ), Natchez File, G-39A, Diary of Bishop Richard O. Gerow, 1924 - 1934, April 30, 1925, p. 32.

[9]JFA, ADJ, Natchez File, G-39-A, Index to Diocesan Archives, Natchez, 1837 - 1941, Vol. 1, p. 66, "Apostolic Delegate."

[10]Archives of the Diocese of Jackson (hereinafter referred to as ADJ), Bishop Richard O. Gerow Papers, C. Cardinal Peroni, Pro-Secretary of the Sacred Congregation of the Consistory to Gerow, Rome, June 26, 1928, in Latin.

[11]SASA, Christman File, Christman to A. Heick, Bay St. Louis, October 3, 1928.

[12]SASA, Bruno Hagspiel to Gerow, Techny, June 24, 1929, copy. Mundelein insisted on treating the "Negro problem" as a southern problem. He knew the ethnic patchwork of the Chicago Catholic Church, with its bitter racial antagonisms. He led his people in the way that they wanted to go and was not about to host any innovative experiment with black priests. See Edward R. Kantowicz, Corporation Sole: Cardinal Mundelein and Chicago Catholicism (Notre Dame, 1983), pp. 212 - 215.

[13]Ibid.

[14]ADJ, Bishop Gerow Papers, Hagspiel to Gerow, Techny, September 17, 1929, copy.

[15]ADJ, Bishop Gerow Papers, Gerow to Hagspiel, Natchez, June 27, 1929; SASA, House-Province File, Gerow to Heffels, October 10, 1930; ADJ, Bishop Gerow Papers, Index to Diocesan Archives, I - 8, p. 196.

[16]ADJ, Gerow Papers, Gerow Diary, October 19, 1931, p. 185.

[17]SASA, House-Province File, Gerow to Heffels, Natchez, October 31, 1931. Of the six who received tonsure, four were ordained as SVDs on May 23, 1934. Seminary authorities judged that Philip Marin did not have a vocation to the SVDs. He was ordained for the diocese of Belize, British Honduras, on October 21, 1934. The other seminarian was held back and was ordained as an SVD several years after the others. See Foley, God's Men, p. 177.

[18]SASA, House-Province File, Heffels to Hagspiel, Bay St. Louis, January 9, 1932; Hagspiel to Heffels, Techny, March 23, 1933; Interview, Rev. Anthony Bourges, Bay St. Louis, Mississippi, July 11, 1983.

[19]SASA, House-Province File, Hagspiel to Heffels, Techny, March 23, 1933.

[20]Ibid.

[21]Ibid.

[22]Ibid.

[23]In the midst of their efforts to find assignments for the future black priests, the SVDs confronted a related problem - the feasibility of a separate southern province. The original plan for St. Augustine's seminary envisaged that the black priests would form an autonomous province. As the black seminarians neared ordination, the Father General and Father Hagspiel pressed the Fathers

in the province to consider whether they should erect a southern province. Hagspiel appeared to favor such an approach, but the priests at St. Augustine's unanimously opposed a separate province on economic, personnel, and ideological grounds. They argued that the Fathers in the South possessed neither the money nor the personnel necessary to maintain St. Augustine's and their work in the South. They viewed the existing arrangement as satisfactory and argued that contact bewteen white and black Fratres at the novitiate in East Troy benefitted both groups of students. The Fathers at St. Augustine's urged that Techny and the southern missions improve communication and strengthen solidarity with one another, especially as the question of placing the black priests entered a critical stage. They recommended keeping the question of a southern province open, thus avoiding the appearance of segregation and the harm to the cause that might result. "Negrophile organizations ... are watching us," they declared, "and if we think of drawing the color line let us first be sure of our ground and show good reasons that will warrant such a step." Apparently, Hagspiel and the Father General found the arguments of the St. Augustine's faculty persuasive; a southern province was not erected until 1940. See SASA, Minutes Book, June, 1933, "A Resume of the Opinions of the Members of the House Council of St. Augustine's Mission House on the Question of the Erection of a Southern Province."

Meanwhile, the search for work for the black priests continued. Father H.F. Patzelt, of Holy Rosary Institute in Lafayette, urged Hagspiel to move quickly to try to settle the issue. During June of 1933, Patzelt made several suggestions to Hagspiel about how to resolve the problem. He resurrected the old idea of a "Praelatura nullius," or separate bishop for blacks to be located in the Diocese of Lafayette, Louisiana. When Patzelt raised the possibility with Monsignor Isenberg, the Chancellor and rector of the cathedral, Isenberg suggested an auxillary or coadjutor bishop for the colored of the whole diocese rather than a "Praelatura nullius." Patzelt acknowledged that Jeanmard and Isenberg looked on a "Praelatura nullius" as rather odious and would prefer a coadjutor. Patzelt pointed out, however, that with a coadjutor, the bishop would remain in charge and frictions might ensue from such an arrangement. Therefore, Patzelt advanced another proposition to Hagspiel. He suggested asking Rome to appoint a SVD bishop for Lafayette, that would settle everything for the time being. Patzelt described Jeanmard as sadly handicapped in his work because his family lived in Lafayette and some had not lived exemplary Catholic lives. Patzelt further reported that some priests had written Rome and the Apostolic Delegate asking for the bishop's removal. Patzelt speculated that Jeanmard might welcome a change to a new diocese and noted that the Diocese of Rochester, New York remained vacant. Patzelt urged Hagspiel to contact Roman authorities about the proposition. He concluded noting that the SVDs had to find a place for the soon-to-be ordained black seminarians since they could not keep them at the seminary because of the expense of housing and feeding them. See Southern Province Archives of the Society of the Divine Word (hereinafter referred to as SPA), H. Patzelt to Hagspiel, Lafayette, June 14, 1933, and June 19, 1933.

[24]A group of parishes within a diocese under the supervision of a senior priest called the Dean.

[25]SASA, House-Province File, Minutes Book, October 23, 1933.

[26]SASA, House-Province File, Hagspiel to Heffels, Techny, November 9, 1933.

[27]Archives of the Diocese of Alexandria (hereinafter referred to as ADA), Bishop Daniel F. Desmond Papers, Desmond Diary, November 21, 1933; SPA, Provincial's Correspondence, Amleto Cicognani to Hagspiel, Washington, D.C., November 24, 1933, copy; Hagspiel to Patzelt, Techny, March 27, 1934.

[28]SPA, Provincial's Correspondence, Hagspiel to Patzelt, Techny, March 27, 1934; ADA, Bishop Desmond Papers, Bishop Desmond Papers Desmond Diary, November 21, 1933; Interview, Bishop Joseph Vath, Birmingham, Alabams, July, 12, 1983.

[29]SPA, Provincial's Correspondence, Cicognani to Hagspiel, Washington, D.C., November 24, 1933, copy; ADA, Bishop Desmond Papers, Desmond Diary, Hagspiel to Desmond, Techny, December 5, 1933, copy.

[30]SPA, Provincial's Correspondence, Hagspiel to Patzelt, Techny, March 27, 1933.

[31]ADA, Bishop Desmond Papers, Desmond Diary, Desmond to Hagspiel, Alexandria, December 8, 1933, copy.

[32]Ibid.

[33]SASA, Hagspiel to Desmond, Techny, December 18, 1933, copy; ADA, Bishop Desmond Papers, Hagspiel to Desmond, Techny, June 18, 1934.

[34]SPA, Catholic Herald, December 15, 1933; ADA, Bishop Desmond Papers, Desmond Diary, "To the Clergy and Laity of the Diocese," January 5, 1934, pp. 10 and 12.

[35]ADA, Bishop Desmond Papers, Desmond to Hagspiel, Alexandria, February 10, 1934.

[36]ADA, Bishop Desmond Papers, Desmond to Hagspiel, Alexandria, January 10, 1934; Same to Same, February 10, 1934.

[37]ADA, Bishop Desmond Papers, Desmond to Hagspiel, Alexandria, February 10, 1934; Lawrence M. Coco to Hagspiel, Mansura, January 27, 1934, copy.

[38]ADA, Bishop Desmond Papers, Lawrence M. Coco to Hagspiel, Mansura, January 27, 1934, copy.

[39]ADA, Bishop Desmond Papers, Desmond Diary, January 29, 1934, p. 15; Desmond to C. J. Plunkett, C.S.S.Sp., Alexandria, February 2, 1934.

[40]ADA, Bishop Desmond Papers, Desmond to Hagspiel, Alexandria, February 10, 1934. Desmond apparently was not clear about the number of black priests he would receive. Hagspiel informed him that four black SVDs would be ordained rather than the three that Desmond seemed to expect. The numbers did not affect Desmond's plans.

[41]SPA, Provincial's Correspondence, Hagspiel to Patzelt, Techny, March 27, 1934.

[42]ADA, Bishop Desmond Papers, Hagspiel to Desmond, Techny, June 18, 1934.

[43]SPA, Provincial's Correspondence, Hagspiel to Patzelt, Techny, March 27, 1934; ADA, Bishop Desmond Papers, Hagspiel to Desmond, Techny, June 18, 1934.

[44]ADA, Bishop Desmond Papers, Hagspiel to Desmond, Techny, April 10, 1934.

[45]Archives of the Diocese of Lafayette (hereinafter referred to as ADL), Jeanmard to Cicognani (telegram), Lafayette, June 13, 1934; ADA, Bishop Desmond Papers, Cicognani to Desmond, Washington, D.C., June 23, 1934.

[46]ADA, Bishop Desmond Papers, Desmond Diary, May 6 and May 7, 1934, pp. 23 and 25.

[47]ADL, Bishop Jules B. Jeanmard, Consultors' Minutes, May 2, 1934; Jeanmard to T.A. Wrenn, C.S.Sp., Lafayette, May 9, 1934.

[48]ADL, Bishop Jeanmard Papers, Jeanmard to Mundelein, Lafayette, May 11, 1934; Mundelein to Jeanmard, Chicago, May 19, 1934.

[49]ADA, Bishop Desmond Papers, Desmond Diary, May 24, 1934, p. 25.

[50]JFA, Miscellaneous File, 50 - 13, The Claverite, August 1934, pp. 1 and 19.

[51]ADL, Bishop Jeanmard Papers, Cicognani to Jeanmard, Washington, D.C., June 13, 1934; Jeanmard to Cicognani (telegram), Lafayette, June 13, 1934; ADA, Bishop Desmond Papers, Cicognani to Desmond, Washington, D.C., June 23, 1934.

[52]ADA, Bishop Desmond Papers, Hagspiel to Desmond, Techny, June 18, 1934.

[53]Ibid.

[54]ADA, Bishop Desmond Papers, Desmond to Cicognani, Alexandria, June 21, 1934.

[55]ADL, Bishop Jeanmard Papers, clipping, "Negro Priests Assume Duties in New Colored Parish. Lafayette sets precedent for the South," September 20, 1934; Albert S. Foley, God's Men of Color (New York, 1954), p. 168.

[56]ADL, Bishop Jeanmard Papers, Jeanmard to Rt. Rev. Msgr. E. McGuinness, Lafayette, June 25, 1934; Jeanmard to Mundelein, Lafayette, November 8, 1934; United States Catholic Conference Archives (hereinafter referred to as USCCA), Minutes of the A.B.C.M. Meeting, November 21, 1934.

When he made his plea for money to Cardinal Mundelein, Jeanmard made reference to his recent meeting in the early autumn with Pius XI in Rome

during his ad limina visit. He told the Cardinal that he "knew that nothing would give the Holy Father greater pleasure than to hear of the first fruits" of St. Augustine's and "that these men would soon come to Lafayette to exercise the ministry among the numerous colored Catholics of this diocese." See ADL, Bishop Jeanmard Papers, Jeanmard to Mundelein, Lafayette, November 8, 1934. On December 29, 1934, Bishop Desmond also discussed the black apostolate with Pius XI. He observed that the pope "seemed well informed ... especially of the establishment of a Colored Clergy." See, ADA, Bishop Desmond Papers, Desmond Diary, December 29, 1934, p.33.

[57]Interview, Rev. Anthony Bourges, Bay St. Louis, July 11, 1983.

[58]Ibid.

[59]Ibid.; Foley, God's Men, p. 143 - 144; Albert S. Foley Papers (hereinafter referred to as ASFP), Foley to William C. Bauer, Ann Arbor, May 1, 1953;

[60]Interview, Bourges, July 11, 1983.

[61]Ibid.

[62]Ibid.

[63]Ibid.;
[64]Foley, God's Men, pp. 153, 161.

[65]SASA, House - Province File, Cicognani to Gerard Esser, Washington, D.C., November 16, 1935; Esser to Cicognani, Bay St. Louis, May 17, 1935; Esser to Brother Thomas Aquinas, F.S.C., Bay St. Louis, January 12, 1936.

[66]ADA, Bishop Desmond Papers, Joseph Lally to Desmond, Port Arthur, February 8, 1934.

[67]SASA, John Albert to Esser, Washington, D.C., September 10, 1934; Esser to Pastorelli, Bay St. Louis, February 13, 1936.

[68]SASA, A.G. Steig to Vincent Warren, Bay St. Louis, May 7, 1929; JFA, Consultor's Minutes Book, 1931.

[69]Foley, God's Men, pp. 136 - 137.

[70]JFA, Pastorelli Miscellaneous Correspondence (hereinafter referred to as PMC), Stephen A. Boysko to Pastorelli, Thibodaux, June 8, 1934.

[71]JFA, 55-D, M.J Flaherty to Pastorelli, Houston, March 13, 1935.

[72]JFA, 57-K, Joseph Lally to Pastorelli, Port Arthur, February 18, 1937.

[73]JFA, Interview Transcript, Joseph Warren, p. 194; Interview Transcript, Rawlins Enette, S.S.J., p. 146.

[74]JFA, 57-G, John T. Gillard to Pastorelli, Baltimore, April, (?), 1937.

[75]JFA, M.J. Flaherty to Pastorelli, Houston, July 17, 1937; Pastorelli to Flaherty, Baltimore, July 19, 1937.

[76]George K. Hunton, All of Which I Saw, Part of Which I Was, The Autobiography of George K. Hunton as told to Gary Maceoin (New York, 1967), pp. 147 - 150; William Osborne, Segregated Covenant, Race Relations and American Catholics (New York, 1967), p. 37.

[77]Hunton, All of Which, pp. 147 - 153; GUA, LaFarge Papers, Box 20-1, Agenda for Conference Group for Catholic Action Toward Negroes; Archives of Catholic University of America (hereinafter referred to as ACUA), Catholic Interracial Council of New York Papers, William J. Walsh, Organization of the Propaganda of the Clergy Negro Welfare Conference, February 1, 1938; William J. Walsh, "The Clergy Conference is Growing," Interracial Review, November, 1938, pp. 172 - 173.

[78]JFA, 56-N, Michael O'Neil to Pastorelli, Newburgh, October 8, 1936.

[79]JFA, 58-S, Francis J. Schmutz to Pastorelli, Newburgh, February 9, 1938.

[80]Osborne, Segregated Covenant, pp. 37 - 38; Hunton, All of Which, pp. 60 - 61; J.J. O'Connor, "Catholic Interracial Councils," New Catholic Encyclopedia III, 269 - 270; For a detailed description of LaFarge's ideas and actions on interracialism, see Edward S. Stanton, "John LaFarge's Understanding of the Unifying Mission of the Church, Especially in the Area of Race Relations"; Marilyn Nickels analyzes the differing racial perspectives of LaFarge, Turner, and Markoe in "The Federated Colored Catholics: A Study of Three Variant Perspectives on Racial Justice as Represented by John LaFarge, William Markoe, and Thomas Turner," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Catholic University of America, 1972). See also LaFarge's own books: Interracial Justice (New York, 1937); The Race Question and the Negro (New York, 1944); and The Manner Is Ordinary (New York, 1954).

[81]Osborne, Segregated Covenant, pp. 37 - 38.

[82]Hunton, All of Which, pp. 72 - 75, 86 - 89; Francis X. Gilligan, "The Morality of the Color Line," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Catholic University of America, 1931).

[83]Hunton, All of Which, pp. 86 - 89, 112.

[84]Archives of the Archdiocese of Mobile (hereinafter referred to as AAM), Archbishop Thomas J. Toolen Papers, Archbishop Joseph Rummel to Cicognani, New Orleans, November 11, 1935, copy; Interview, Bishop Joseph Vath, Birmingham, July 22, 1983; Father Edward Murphy, a Josephite professor at Xavier University, after meeting with Rummel, described him as essentially a man of action - Catholic action ...; Rummel told him that "Negro conversion was and is the great work of the Catholic Church today." See JFA, 55-M, Edward Murphy to Pastorelli, New Orleans, June 26, 1935.

[85]AAM, Archbishop Toolen Papers, Rummel to Cicognani, New Orleans, November 11, 1935.

[86]Ibid.

[87]Ibid.

[88]Ibid.

[89]Ibid.

[90]JFA, PMC, Pastorelli to Reverend and Dear Father, Baltimore, March 28, 1935;

[91]Ibid.

[92]JFA, Consultors' Minutes Book - 2 (hereinafter referred to as CMB-2), February 4, 1936, p. 1.

[93]JFA, 56-G, Memo scrawled on the bottom of a letter from Pastorelli to Brother George S. Tobin, Baltimore, April 30, 1936.

[94]St. Vincent Archabbey Archives (hereinafter referred to as SVAA), Chapter Minutes, May 1, 1936.

[95]JFA, 71-C, Cicognani to "Your Excellency," Washington, D.C., September 9, 1936, copy.

[96]SASA, House-Province File, Rafaello C. Cardinal Rossi, Pro-Secretary, to Their Eminences, the Cardinals and to their Excellencies, the Archbishops and Bishops of the United States of America, Rome, August 24, 1936.

[97]Ibid.

[98]JFA, PMC, Cicognani to Pastorelli, Washington, D.C., September 15, 1936; Pastorelli to Cicognani, Baltimore, September 23, 1936.

[99]ACUA, CIC Papers, News Release: "Pope Urges U.S. Catholics to Work for Negroes," December 26, 1936; Some NAACP board members, like Dr. Algernon Black and Roy White, were outspokenly anti-Catholic. Roy Wilkins, however, who had married a Catholic, was helpful to the Catholic Interracial Council of New York. Many Catholics distrusted the NAACP, convinced that communists had infiltrated the organization. See Hunton, All of Which, pp. 176 - 177.

[100] As early as the summer of 1932, at the insistence of Archbishop Curley, Catholic University had allowed the black Oblate Sisters of Providence to attend the summer sessions at the Sister's College. In a letter to Monsignor James Ryan, Curley wrote, "I do not think the presence of our Colored Sisters at the summer school would cause the slightest objection. Some snippy lady in a habit from the South might turn up her nose, but I am sure that she could be put down as unworthy of her habit." See Archives of the Archdiocese of

Baltimore (hereinafter referred to as AAB), E-172, Curley to Ryan, Baltimore, June 6, 1932.

Nevertheless, in May of 1935, the Board of Trustees of the University, had rebuffed an appeal from Mother Katherine Drexel to rescind its policy of refusing admission to black graduate and undergraduate students, telling her that "under present conditions we are not in a position to make any change in the practice of the university."[353] Conditions changed, however, when Monsignor, later Bishop Joseph M. Corrigan, rector of St. Charles Borremeo Seminary near Philadelphia, became rector of Catholic University in 1936. Shortly thereafter, Corrigan, a member of the Northeast Clergy Conference, attended a meeting at Wading River, Long Island, during which John LaFarge asked him what he intended to do about the Catholic University policy that excluded blacks. Corrigan replied that he did not know what he would find at Catholic University, but if he did discover such an unCatholic attitude and practice, he would do his best to change them. See ACUA, Minutes of the Meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Catholic University of America, May 1, 1935; GUA, LaFarge Papers, Box 18-5, William J. Walsh to LaFarge, Philadelphia, (?), 1950; ACUA, Albert S. Foley, "The Catholic Church and the Washington Negro," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1950), pp. 195 - 199.

When Dr. Roy J. Deferrari, the Dean of the graduate school who had tried since 1930 to open the university to black students, included "the admission of Negroes" as one of the agenda items for a meeting with Corrigan, the Rector reacted simply by saying "Why not?" Deferrari and Dean John Campbell interpreted Corrigan's remark to apply to graduate and undergraduate students alike and accepted black students within several days. See Roy J. Deferrari, Memoirs of the Catholic University of America, 1918 - 1960 (Washington, 1960), pp. 283 - 287.

Pastorelli welcomed the integration of Catholic University. Although Chester Ball, the black Josephite seminarian, took his classes at St. Joseph's Seminary near Catholic University rather than at the seminary itself. The opening of Catholic University to blacks made Ball's position more comfortable and held out the possibility that he could pursue graduate studies at Catholic University at some future date. Speaking at a meeting of the clergy, Pastorelli, publicly thanked Corrigan, telling the gathering that the exclusion of blacks from Catholic University, which for many blacks represented the Church, for years had hampered missionary efforts among blacks, because the Church failed to practice what it claimed and preached. Pastorelli added that in the large cities, Josephite dared not mention the annual collection taken up for the University throughout the country, and in its place announced a collection for "higher education." He apparently failed to recognize any parallels between the recently discarded Jim Crow policy of Catholic University and his own policies toward black applicants. See JFA, PMC, Pastorelli to Mr. Chairman, Very reverend and Right Reverend Fathers, 1937(?).

[101] Gillard, Colored Catholics in the United States, pp. 246 - 248.

[102] JFA, 56-M, Edward Murphy to Pastorelli, New Orleans, December 18, 1936.

[103] JFA, 66-D, Casserly to Rummel, New Orleans, November 30, 1936.

[104]JFA, 57-T, Joseph Van Baast to Pastorelli, Donaldsonville, November 20, 1937.

[105]Gillard, Colored Catholics, 180 - 182, 191. The minor Franciscans counted 21 priests and 13 missions; the Jesuits numbered 16 priests and 15 missions; the Redemptorists, 16 priests and 11 missions; and the Society of the African Mission Fathers, 19 and 10. The others had 10 or less priests and missions.

[106]JFA, Minutes of the General Chapters, July, 8, 1936, pp. 117 - 118, 123; 60 - W, Pastorelli to Edwin Youngkin, Baltimore, June 1, 1939. Pastorelli told Father Harry Kane in New Orleans that the Josephites had mistakenly left the evangelization of non-Catholics to the pastors in the Catholic centers like New Orleans. Pastorelli noted that the number of converts for Catholic centers "is very small when we compare our figures with those being turned in by some societies ... and diocesan priests." One Archbishop criticized Josephite pastors for their apparent apathy and lack of interest in spreading out and pushing for converts. See JFA, 58-G, Pastorelli to Kane, Baltimore, April 2, 1938.

[107]JFA, 57-K, Lally to Pastorelli, Port Arthur, February 18, 1937.

[108]JFA, 58-N, Frank Robinson to Pastorelli, Utica, October 5, 1938; 58-S, Schmutz to Pastorelli, Newburgh, December 11, 1938; 60-N, Michael J. O'Neil to Pastorelli, Washington, D.C., February 16, 1939; 60-T, Patrick Veale to Pastorelli, Washington, D.C., December 9, 1939.

[109]JFA, 58-N, Arthur O'Leary to Pastorelli, Newburgh, April 30, 1938; 58-S, Schmutz to Pastorelli, Newburgh, December 11, 1938; JFA, 60-N, Michael O'Neil to Pastorelli, Washington, D.C., February 16, 1939.

[110]JFA, 60-S, Schmutz to Pastorelli, Newburgh, April 12, 1939; 64-S, Schmutz to Pastorelli, Newburgh, August 6, 1941; PMC, Pastorelli to J. W. Roddix, Baltimore, August 30, 1941; Pastorelli to Charles Michael, Baltimore, December 9, 1941.

[111]John LaFarge, "Racism," New Catholic Encyclopedia, XII, 1967, 59; Thomas Wyatt Turner Papers (hereinafter referred to as TWT) - 562, Archbishop Samuel Stritch and Bishop Emmet Walsh to Thomas Wyatt Turner, Washington, D.C., November 29, 1939, copy;

In 1937, Pius XI's dramatic message to the German episcopate, Mit brennender Sorge in 1937 expressed the Pope's concern over Hitler's racist ideas and Pius XI planned to issue an encyclical in 1939, ghost-written by John LaFarge, dealing with the antisemitic and anti-Negro aspects of racism. He referred to this proposed document as his Ineditum in a public audience in the summer of 1939. Pius XI's subsequent death prevented the fulfillment of his plan. Pius XII, his successor, however, incorporated certain ideas from the Ineditum, particularly the natural unity of the human race in his first encyclical Summi Pontificatus. See Stanton, John LaFarge's Understanding," pp. 168 - 199; LaFarge, "Racism," New Catholic Encyclopedia, 59.

[112]SASA, House-Province File, Report of St. Augustine's Seminary to the Commission for the Catholic Missions Among the Colored People, November 22, 1941.

[113]St. John's Abbey Archives (hereinafter referred to as SJAA), LaFarge to Abbot Alcuin Deutsch, New York, October 8, 1940; Foley, God's men, p. 256.

[114]Pilot (Boston), May 22, 1948; GUA, LaFarge Papers, Box 12-9, J.H. Dolan to LaFarge, Boston, May 15, 1940; 12-11, Father Whelan to Francis J. Seeliger, S.J., (?), May 18, 1940, copy; 12-11, LaFarge to Seeliger, New York, May 20, 1940, copy; 12-11, author unknown to Dolan, (?), June 7, 1940.

[115]Foley, God's Men, pp. 144, 285.

[116]JFA, Pastorelli to Edward Murphy, Baltimore, September 15, 1940.

[117]As Clarence Howard and Francis Wells, two black seminarians, approached ordination in June 1937, Bishop Jeanmard agreed to create a new parish and build a rectory at Duson, Lafayette to house two black priests, thus creating room for the new ordinands at Immaculate Heart. To that end, he asked for and received $3,000 dollars from the A.B.C.M.. In 1938, Jeanmard established another black parish at St. Martinville, Louisiana to accomodate more black priests, since five more black SVDs received ordination in 1939. See ADL, Bishop Jeanmard Papers, Jeanmard to Mother Katherine Drexel, Lafayette, December 29, 1936; Jeanmard to Most Rev. William D. O'Brien, Lafayette, March 6, 1937; Jeanmard to Mother Katherine, Lafayette, April 20, 1938; Jeanmard to Hugo Aubry, Lafayette, June 25, 1938; Jeanmard to O'Brien, Lafayette, December 9, 1938; Jeanmard to Mother Katherine Drexel, Lafayette, December 10, 1938; Jeanmard to Ovide de St. Aubin, Lafayette, February 23, 1939; Foley, God's Men, pp. 137, 161.

[118]SASA, House-Province File, Report of St. Augustine's Seminary to the Commission for the Catholic Missions Among the Colored People, November 22, 1941; Gillard, Colored Catholics, p. 191.

[119]Foley, God's Men, pp. 206, 216.

[120]SASA, House-Province File, Lally to John H. Gaspar, Rector, Port Arthur, April 27, 1939.

[121]Foley, God's Men, p. 210; JFA, 73-D, Joseph M. Nelligan to Pastorelli, Baltimore, February 12, 1941; 73-D, Pastorelli to Nelligan, Baltimore, February 18, 1941; 73-D, Nelligan to Pastorelli, Baltimore, February 19, 1941; Interview, Rev. Anthony Bourges, Bay St. Louis, July 11, 1983;

[122]Foley, God's Men, p. 209.

[123]SASA, House-Province File, copy of a resolution passed by the Knights of St. Peter Claver.

[124]SASA, Minutes of the House Council, August 22, 1939.

[125]JFA, 73-D, Joseph M. Nelligan to Pastorelli, Baltimore, February 12, 1941; 73-D, Pastorelli to Nelligan, Baltimore, February 18, 1941; 73-D, Nelligan to Pastorelli, Baltimore, February 19, 1941.

[126]"Rev. Charles C. Ball, Negro, Is Ordained," "Negro Priest Says First Mass," Catholic Review (Baltimore), June 20, 1941; The Colored Harvest, "Ordinations, Professions, and Reception Add to Josephites," August-September, 1941;

[127]JFA, 73-G, Pastorelli to Bishop Edmond J. Fitzmaurice, Baltimore, July 12, 1941.

[128]JFA, 64-N, Michael J. O'Neil, Washington, D.C., to Pastorelli, July 14, 1941.

[129]JFA, Gillard File, obituary; 65-F, Obituary: John T. Gillard, S.S.J., Ph.D., January 15, 1942.

[130]JFA, PMC, Pastorelli to J.B. Tennelly, Baltimore, June 5, 1942.

[131]JFA, 65-N, Pastorelli to Reverend and Dear Father, baltimore, July 14, 1942.

[132]JFA, Priest Assignment Book, p. 58.

[133]JFA, clipping, Pastorelli File.

[134]JFA, 73-I, Jeanmard to Pastorelli, Lafayette, July 11, 1942.

CHAPTER IX
EDWARD V. CASSERLY: RECLAIMING THE LEGACY, 1942 - 1948

... I am much more afraid to have to face God on the basis of injustice in handling the problem than I am in having to face men on the charge of not giving sufficient consideration to matters of expediency as dictated by social conditions.... Edward V. Casserly to Edward Brunner, March 23, 1945

Edward V. Casserly served as Superior General of the Josephites for only six years, from 1942 to 1948. During that brief span, however, he reclaimed for St. Joseph's Society an important part of John R. Slattery's legacy: encouraging and accepting black candidates for the priesthood. Personal conviction, changing social conditions, the willingness of key bishops in the South to accept black priests, and the support of new generations of Josephites who had not experienced the traumas of the early twentieth century, enabled Casserly to move decisively where Pastorelli had only temporized. By freeing St. Joseph's Society from the cloud that had hung over it for more than thirty years, Casserly revitalized the Society, enabling Josephites to become more effective collaborators with the black people whom they served and more effective spokesmen for racial justice in the Church and in society. He lost his position in 1948 because of his personality, not his policies. Casserly's successors continued and expanded his policies so that by 1960, the Josephites counted five black priests among their members, with more than a score of black students and seminarians at the Epiphany Apostolic College and St. Joseph's Seminary.

By opening Epiphany Apostolic College and St. Joseph's Seminary to significant numbers of black candidates, Casserly removed barriers against blacks that had existed in the Josephites for over thirty years. Throughout American society during the nineteen forties, other barriers to blacks also began to crumble under the pressure of changes wrought by World War II.

During the war, for example, the U.S. Army integrated its officer training program while the Marine Corps and the U.S. Navy enlisted blacks for duties other than messmen. As a result of the wartime labor shortage and Franklin Roosevelt's Executive Order 8802, that established the President's Commission on Fair Employment Practices, blacks made significant gains in employment and income.[1]

The forties witnessed a series of "Negro firsts, " that seemed to indicate progress toward racial justice, including Jackie Robinson's rise to stardom with the Brooklyn Dodgers, the integration of the U.S. armed forces under Harry Truman, and the awards garnered by black scientist Dr. Julian Perry. The number of black registered voters in the South jumped from 250,000 in 1940 to over one million in 1950 and black leaders claimed that the black vote in the North swung the 1948 election to Harry S. Truman. Blacks attending colleges soared from about 27,000 in 1930 to over 113,000 in 1950.[2]

The spectacular growth of the Gross National Product in the postwar years made possible increasing income, entrance into some industries and labor unions previously closed to blacks, and gains in occupational status. The urbanization of blacks continued in both the North and the South. Over a million blacks left the South in the 1940s increasing the national scope of the race problem. The New Deal and Second World War, moreover, weakened localism and decentralization that had always stood as barriers to federal action to guarantee blacks civil rights or economic opportunity. Nazi brutality and the decline of the European colonial empires further discredited white supremacy and racial egalitarianism became a major theme in the nation's media and schools. The Cold War, and competition with the Soviets for the "hearts and minds" of the third world, moreover, emphasized the danger that racism at home

posed to U.S. security interests. Encouraged by gains made during and immediately after the Second World War, the NAACP's Legal Defense and Education Fund, launched a direct attack against segregation in the nation's public schools in the late forties. Many black leaders and their liberal allies, beguiled by the apparent advances of the decade, believed that continued and automatic progress to a new day of racial justice in the United States would require only a little more political pressure or legal action. Racial justice in American society, however, would prove more elusive and difficult to achieve than they thought.[3]

World War II served as another rite of passage for American Catholics as they once again demonstrated their patriotism. Educational, financial, and occupational mobility characterized many Catholics after the war as they took advantage of the GI Bill and the financial and occupational gains made by organized labor during the New Deal and war years. Socially and politically more conservative than during the thirties, Catholics focused on such issues as anticommunism, Catholic education, and birth control and, like their fellow white Americans, paid relatively little attention to the problems of blacks. Following the 1943 race riots in Detroit, the Catholic bishops, in their pastoral letter of that year, emphasized the nation's obligation to recognize the political, educational, economic, and social rights of blacks. Still, in most churches, blacks felt constrained to worship separately from whites.[4]

Despite the apathy of a majority of white Catholics, the pace of change quickened in the Catholic Church during the forties. Following a sermon preached by the Reverend Claude Heithaus, S.J., several Jesuits conducted a campaign that resulted in the desegregation of St. Louis University in 1944. Although the Catholic bishops as a body failed to follow the lead of the Federal

Council of Churches in 1946 in renouncing segregation as a violation of the Christian gospel, individual prelates, like Archbishops Joseph E. Ritter of St. Louis and Archbishop Patrick O'Boyle of Washington, D.C., desegregated Catholic schools in their see cities in 1947 and 1948 respectively. Continuing a trend begun in the nineteen thirties, the number of clergy working in the black apostolate increased during the forties, as did the number of black seminarians, sisters, and priests. Although still only a token few, the presence of growing numbers of black priests in the ranks of the Catholic clergy represented a powerful challenge to continued segregation in the Church, gave black Catholics more of their own spokesmen in the hierarchical church, and further encouraged them to demand an end to their second-class status within the Church.[5]

In addition, individualistic conceptions of the Church which had been dominant throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries began to give way to a new awareness of the corporate nature of the church as the "Mystical Body of Christ" in which, in the Pauline phrase, "members were one of another." Especially after the issuance of Pius XII's encyclical on the subject, Mystici Corporis in 1943, "the movement functioned as a quiet but effective leaven in the practical and intellectual life of the Church." It promoted a serious concern for the role of the laity and this concern for the "lay apostolate" became increasingly apparent in interracial relations as seen in the activities of the growing number of the Catholic interracial councils, the Catholic Worker and Friendship House movements, and the Catholic Committee of the South.[6]

Casserly took advantage of the changes occurring in society and the Church. Unhindered by the fear that had gripped Pastorelli, convinced that justice demanded opening Epiphany Apostolic College and St. Joseph's Seminary to black applicants, and confident that bishops would accept the men into their

dioceses, Casserly moved decisively to reclaim Slattery's heritage for St. Joseph's Society.

I

The new Superior, forty-six years old at the time of his election, differed markedly in appearance, background, and outlook from the "godfather" of the previous twenty-four years. The son of Irish immigrants, Casserly was tall and handsome, and possessed finely chiseled features and a shock of thick, slightly graying hair, which he parted down the middle. He entered Epiphany Apostolic College in Baltimore in 1915, following graduation from high school in his hometown of Jersey City, New Jersey and a three year stint working for a manufacturing firm in New York City. By the time of his ordination in 1921, he had earned three degrees. After a series of temporary assignments as associate pastor in North Carolina, Tennessee, Louisiana, and Texas, Casserly took up a teaching post at Epiphany Apostolic College from 1923 to 1925. In 1926, Pastorelli reassigned him to Josephite headquarters in Baltimore where he taught at St. Joseph's Seminary and edited The Colored Harvest. A year later, Casserly traveled to New Orleans where he served as chaplain and professor of philosophy and religion at Xavier University, the only black Catholic college in the United States. He remained at Xavier for five years; during the last two years, he also served as pastor of Blessed Sacrament parish. In 1934, he left Blessed Sacrament and became pastor of St. Peter Claver parish in the same city. He also accepted a part time teaching assignment at the Dominican College. From 1937 to 1942, he headed Corpus Christi, the largest of the Josephite parishes. While pastor of Corpus Christi, Casserly unsuccessfully pressed Archbishop Joseph Rummel to end the practice of making black parishes

march at the rear of the annual Holy Name parade. For his efforts, he drew a mild rebuke from Pastorelli, who accused the "lads down there" of trying "to put spokes in the wheel."[7] In all of his parish assignments, Casserly displayed a talent for financial management. When he left St. Peter Claver in 1937, for example, he left a balance of $6,000 in the Society's favor - no mean feat during the depression. Amidst all of his other duties and activities, Casserly also helped found the New Orleans chapter of the National Urban League.[8]

Unlike Pastorelli, and many other Josephites for that matter, Casserly valued advanced education and believed strongly in graduate training for Josephites who staffed the Society's educational institutions. An intensely inquisitive man, who read voraciously and possessed a remarkable memory, Casserly had little patience with those whom he considered his intellectual inferiors. Commenting on the quality of Josephite seminarians in 1931, for example, Casserly observed to Pastorelli, "I knew them before you did when they started at Walbrook (the location of Epiphany Apostolic College before it moved to New York). Positively, they were the dumbest set that ever entered to my knowledge."[9] Casserly bitterly criticized the poor quality of teaching at Epiphany Apostolic College and urged Pastorelli to encourage graduate studies for Josephites tapped for teaching in order to insure quality faculties for Epiphany Apostolic College and St. Joseph's Seminary and also to provide a pool of teachers for a high school and college for black boys that he hoped to see constructed in New Orleans.[10] Burned by previous experiences with men whom he sent to graduate school, one of whom had secretly married and fathered two children while still in the Society, Pastorelli ignored Casserly's plea. Once he became Superior, however, Casserly realized his dream of sending men to graduate school.[11]

His undeniable intelligence, integrity, and talent, notwithstanding, Casserly dealt with his Josephite subordinates in a high-handed manner, barking out orders with no apparent consideration for their feelings. Casserly's men always respected him, but his gruff, domineering, autocratic style and his perceived lack of understanding for the difficulties of men on the missions, eventually alienated many of them. To his female secretary and other women on the staff at the Josephite headquarters, however, Casserly showed another side of his personality: demanding good work, but treating them with consideration and kindness. Casserly also won the loyalty and devotion of men like George O'Dea, his young assistant, whose strong personality enabled him to stand up to his boss and establish a relationship of mutual trust and respect.[12] Pastorelli cautioned Casserly about his hard-driving ways a year before Casserly's election as superior. Hardly a soft-touch himself, Pastorelli advised: "... don't drive but coax men under you to do their work .... forget the New York boss pattern .... Your heart is big but you do wish at times to throw fear into others, don't do it."[13] The "New York boss," served only one six year term as a result of his abrasive ways. Yet, some of the very personality traits that angered his fellow Josephites also enabled Casserly to stand up to southern bishops in a way that Pastorelli never could.

II

Casserly came from a different generation than Pastorelli. Entering the seminary in 1915, he did not experience first hand the traumas of Slattery's departure, the near destruction of the Society, and the agonies of John Dorsey and John Plantevigne at the hands of southern bishops. As superior, Casserly showed himself far more willing than Pastorelli to defend his increasingly

outspoken missionaries against southern bishops. Unlike Pastorelli, however, Casserly had the advantage of inheriting a strong and healthy Society from his predecessor. As of May, 1943, for example, the Josephites boasted 172 priests and 112 mission units distributed throughout the four archdioceses of Boston, Baltimore, New Orleans, and San Antonio, and the dioceses of Wilmington, Richmond, Raleigh, St. Augustine, Mobile, Natchez, Alexandria, Lafayette, Galveston, Dallas, and Nashville. The Josephites cared for over 80,000 parishoners and educated, in collaboration with 284 sisters and 54 lay teachers, 15,498 students in 68 parochial schools. They could also point proudly to a "harvest" of 32,705 converts brought into the church during their fifty year existence between 1893 and 1943.[14]

Casserly also inherited a Society whose members spoke out more frequently against racism in the Church. Black Catholics respected the white Josephite priests who served them in their parishes. When they complained about whites, they usually exempted the priests and sisters from their criticisms. "They were different ... from the people downtown," one black Catholic remembered, "because they lived among us ... worked for us ... and ... educated us." At a time when towns like Beaumont and Port Arthur, Texas provided no recreational facilities for blacks, Josephite parish basketball courts, bingo games, and dances furnished recreational opportunities for black children and adults. Priests like Joseph Lally bailed men out of jail, interceded with local authorities on behalf of black youths, often arrested on flimsy charges by white police, and found jobs for parishoners.[15] Identifying with the plight of their people, Josephites in the 1940's, much to the chagrin of some of their bishops, became more vocal in their denunciations of the injustices that burdened the lives of their parishoners.

In Casserly, the more activist Josephites found a sympathetic advocate. When Archbishop Rummel notified Casserly in November, 1942 that he had received some complaints about Father Charles Morrissey at St. David's in New Orleans, Casserly defended his man by describing to Rummel the dilemma that Josephites on the missions experienced. On the one hand, Casserly pointed out, the Josephite "must be an astute diplomat," trying to avoid offending neighboring pastors who served whites, and to please not only the bishop under whom he worked, but also his superior. A white man, he had "to think colored," for if he said nothing about the injustices suffered by his parishoners for fear of stirring them up, "... he is accused by the Negro of being unsympathetic and unfaithful to the cause he is supposed to have espoused." On the other hand, Casserly said, if the Josephite denounced segregation, "he is blacklisted as a 'troublemaker'" by other priests and by the bishops. Signalling his sympathy for a more activist approach by his priests, Casserly told Rummel that the Josephite had "to be like his Master, who spoke not only the Beatitudes, but also denounced the Scribes and Pharisees."[16]

In early 1943, Joseph Hennessy's denunciation of racism in the Diocese of Mobile led to a confrontation between Casserly and the imperious Bishop Thomas J. Toolen. A paternalistic racist, who fancied himself a great champion of blacks because of the many churches, schools, and hospitals he built for them, Toolen insisted on maintaining segregation. Hennessy, the Josephite pastor of St. John the Baptist church in Montgomery, angered Toolen by taking the floor at the clerical conference in Birmingham and specifying to the gathered priests several practices, which they could correct, that hindered the conversion of blacks. Hennessy recommended that priests avoid using the word "Nigger"; that they remove signs in their churches that read: "For Colored"; and that the

Catholic Week, the diocesan newspaper, change its editorial policy concerning blacks. The discussion that ensued focused on Hennessy's third point. Subsequent to the clergy meeting, Hennessy wrote to Bishop Toolen, on January 23, 1943, calling his attention to the lead editorial in the January 22 edition of the Catholic Week. Entitled "A Platform For Racial Peace," the editorial reprinted a speech given by Governor Charles P. Aycock of North Carolina in 1901 that called segregation of the races essential for good will, mutual respect, friendship, and cooperation between blacks and whites. Hennessy condemned the piece as "heretical" and also complained that The Catholic Week refused to capitalize the word "Negro" in its editorials - something that even the "prejudiced" Montgomery Advertiser did.[17] Toolen responded with a blistering letter that accused Hennessy of lacking respect for his episcopal office and failing to appreciate his efforts to evangelize blacks. The bishop also told Hennessy that he wanted to replace him with a "more experienced man." Hennessy sent a copy of the Catholic Week editorial, Toolen's letter, and his own letter of apology to the bishop for having written or said anything that might have offended him, to Casserly.[18]

In marked contrast to his predecessor's abject servility to bishops' demands for the removal of Josephites from their dioceses, Casserly went on the offensive. "I was tempted to ignore the whole matter until such time as he wrote me," Casserly told Hennessy, "but on second thought I decided to get in a whack first." Still, he cautioned Hennessy, "... if we lick this uprising, don't you fellows get the idea that I am always going to bat for you no matter what the charge is. I could make the Society very much non grata and we can't afford anything like that. We have to live with some folks in this world."[19] Casserly informed Toolen that Hennessy, following the bishop's instructions, had advised

him that the bishop wanted Hennessy removed. Casserly reviewed Hennessy's solid record, praised his sincerity, and pointed out that, while serving successfully in the Natchez Diocese, Hennessy had enjoyed the complete confidence of Bishop Gerow. Casserly then came to the heart of his argument: "I don't think he is an agitator among the people. There are a number of priests I know who do not hesitate to speak openly before priests about what they regard as injustice. These same priests would be the last to agitate such things among the people they serve.... Fr. Hennessy is that kind." Casserly argued that Hennessy's removal would hurt the morale of both the mission and the man.[20]

Casserly won. On February 5, 1943, Toolen notified him of his willingness to allow Hennessy to remain at St. John's, "but only on the condition that there be no agitation." Toolen complained that Hennessy had expressed himself publicly on many occasions prior to the Birmingham meeting about the unjust treatment of blacks in the South. Toolen called Hennessy's comments at Birmingham "uncalled for," and added that the F.B.I. had investigated Hennessy because of his reputation as an agitator. Toolen acknowledged that blacks suffered from injustice but decried "agitation" at that time. Claiming that no diocese in the country did more for blacks than Mobile, Toolen warned that he would not allow "agitators" to upset the work among blacks.[21] Casserly sent Henessy a copy of Toolen's letter, cautioning him about probable F.B.I. surveillance since the Bureau, bent on catching German spies attempting to foment race riots, had questioned and monitored the activities of other outspoken Josephites. "So for the time being," Casserly advised, "you will have to confine your activities to bringing the Gospel to the Negro and the Negro to the Gospel."[22] Casserly's stand against Toolen raised the morale of Josephites on the missions. Walter Mulroney, at Holy Family parish in Natchez, for

example, praised him for promoting Josephite unity and spirit and called his stand in the Hennessy case, "splendid," though he also expressed fear that the willingness of men like Hennessy and Mike McCormack to "slug it out with the bishops" might prove a "problem."[23]

Casserly, however, exuded optimism. On the Society's fiftieth anniversary, Casserly, writing to Lambert Welbers, the oldest surviving Josephite, enthused: "The work today is on a solid basis. It has attained a respect on all sides: from the people for whom we work - from the hierarchy and clergy - from those outside the fold.... I think the foundation is about completed, and we are now ready to begin the real work."[24] For Casserly, the fostering of black vocations for the Josephites lay at the heart of that "real work."

III

In August, 1942, shortly after Casserly's election as superior, Father Francis Schmutz, the rector of Epiphany Apostolic College, informed him that Father Mike McCormack had recommended two black candidates for Epiphany Apostolic College from Texas - one from Dayton and the other from Raywood. Schmutz noted that with seven new students going into first year college or into the special Latin class reserved for those with weak Latin backgrounds, and with ten students moving into the novitiate, only three students remained in the high school department of Epiphany Apostolic College from the previous year. Epiphany Apostolic College would not even offer first or second year of high school for the approaching academic year. Schmutz commented "It doesn't look so encouraging."[25] That same month, Walter Mulroney in Natchez also suggested a black candidate who had the enthusiastic backing of Bishop Richard Gerow.[26] Although Casserly wanted black students at Epiphany Apostolic College, he

insisted that they possess the educational background required for success at the college. Casserly, no doubt, remembered the fate of Percy Williams, a black student admitted by Pastorelli, who had only recently left Epiphany, in part at least, because of educational deficiencies. He hoped to avoid such situations in the future. Deciding that the students proposed by McCormack and Mulroney had "... received insufficient education for admittance under our present conditions at the college," Casserly turned down their applications. He hoped, eventually to establish high schools staffed by Josephites in New Orleans, Baltimore, and Washington, D.C. to act as "feeders" for the college and would provide the education needed for Epiphany Apostolic College.[27]

Meanwhile, Casserly tried to find the qualified black candidates that he knew existed. In that effort, he relied for help on new generations of Josephites in the seminary and on the missions, who believed in the desirability and necessity of black Josephites.[28] In February, 1943, Louis Jungman of Devine, Texas, sent a $10.00 donation to the Josephites through Archbishop Robert Lucey of San Antonio "for the education of a Negro student." Casserly accepted the donation, explaining that although the Josephites had no black candidate in the seminary at that time, having ordained Chester Ball two years earlier, they expected that the Lord would "send us some in the future."[29] Casserly did not have to wait long before he found some prospective black students. He placed the topic of a "Colored Student" on the agenda of the April 8, 1943 consultors' meeting.[30] Several months later, another black applicant approached Casserly; he bore the familiar last name of Dorsey.

On July 16, 1943, Charles H. Dorsey, recently graduated from the eighth grade of St. Pius X grade school in Baltimore, asked Archbishop Michael Curley to accept him as a student at St. Charles College in Catonsville, a college

conducted by the Sulpicians that also served as the minor seminary for the Archdiocese of Baltimore-Washington.[31] Dorsey was the grand-nephew of Father John H. Dorsey, the second black priest ordained by the Josephites. He was also the grandson of C. Marcellus Dorsey, Pastorelli's old antagonist. Indeed, young Charles applied to Curley at the behest of his grandfather who wanted him to continue a family tradition of priesthood.[32] A few months earlier, in a December, 1942 letter to H.M. Smith, president of the New Federated Colored Catholics of America, the remnant of Thomas Turner's original organization, Curley expressed a more favorable attitude toward black priests than he had hitherto shown. He told Smith that he hoped "the Josephite Fathers will be able to get vocations from our colored boys ... and that the day may soon come when we shall have ... Negro priests who will cater to their own people ...."[33] Perhaps Curley's change of heart may have stemmed from a hope that black priests would serve as an antidote to radicalism in the black community. In a letter to the Rev. Aloysius Coogan, editor of Catholic Missions, for example, the staunchly anti-communist Curley fretted that, "The colored people were never more race conscious than they are at this time. Communism is making inroads into the race."[34]

Curley held conferences with Father George A. Gleason, the rector of St. Charles College, and also with Casserly. Casserly told the archbishop that he should accept Dorsey if the boy wanted to join the archdiocesan clergy. Curley argued, however, that a young boy like Dorsey could not endure the discrimination that he would encounter at St. Charles. Casserly, thereupon, agreed to accept Dorsey into Epiphany Apostolic College. Archbishop Curley personally promised to pay Dorsey's tuition.[35] On August 21, 1943, demonstrating the tight rein he held over Society affairs and also his penchant

for treating subordinates as errand boys, Casserly asked Timothy Holland, the vice-rector of Epiphany Apostolic College, to send Dorsey a formal application blank, adding, "I have already accepted him as a student for first year high school work."[36] During the summer of '43, Casserly also admitted a second black student, Dudley Darbonne from Beaumont, Texas, to Epiphany Apostolic College.[37]

Casserly's moves delighted the "young Turks" among the Josephites, an increasingly significant group since two thirds of all Josephite priests had been ordained since 1930.[38] Joseph Hennessy applauded Casserly's admission of Dorsey and Darbonne and optimistically predicted that "It should be easy to develop the 'Go to Epiphany' habit in New Orleans. Congratulations on our two new Negro students," Hennessy gushed, "and God speed the day when we really have interracial education at St. Joseph's Seminary ... and interracial rectories on the missions." He indicated, however, that not all Josephites shared his enthusiasm and that "some of the boys are worried about it."[39]

The following summer, Casserly expanded his efforts to recruit black students for Epiphany Apostolic College. In a letter dated June 12, 1944, he urged Josephites "to be solicitous about vocations ..." and listed a series of virtues that he believed his priests should watch for in prospective candidates, including: thrift, humility, modesty, and obedience. He also advocated "a studied avoidance of the company of the opposite sex," attendance at Mass, frequent reception of the sacraments, love of prayer, devotion, "no attraction for things of the world," and "a good Catholic background." Casserly cautioned against soliciting individuals as candidates. Rather, he encouraged his men to keep the subject of priesthood present in young peoples' minds through vocation talks in the upper grades of parish schools, sermons once a year, and confirmation

preparation classes. "Encourage and nurture vocations when you detect them," Casserly exhorted his men, especially "through conferences, surveillance, and special care in confession." He approved the use of charity or parish funds in order to provide needed items for poor boys and girls preparing to enter religious houses of training. He adamantly insisted, however, that priests not encourage those who lacked proper qualifications and that they refuse to sponsor anyone about whom they had the slightest doubts.[40] Mike McCormack praised the letter, calling it "complete in every detail and a real guide for us on the missions in recommending an individual to our college or seminary rectors."[41]

Casserly's letter set into motion a chain of events that climaxed in a struggle over the question of black students and priests between Casserly and Edward Brunner, the man whom he appointed rector of Epiphany Apostolic College in 1943 "to tighten up" the institution. Brunner, a tall, white haired, distinguished looking gentleman of sixty-three, who still wore spats on his shoes and suffered from a plethora of diseases, real and imagined, had served the Society in a number of posts prior to 1943, including pastorates in New Orleans, and rectorships of Epiphany Apostolic College and St. Joseph's Industrial School. He had also served as an apologist for Pastorelli's policies regarding black candidates - defending him in General Chapters and in the "battle of the letters" with Jesuit William Markoe in 1930. Brunner commanded the respect of many Josephites, who chose him as a delegate to the 1942 General Chapter. Unlike Father Schmutz, his immediate predecessor at Epiphany Apostolic College, Brunner did not consider himself a rubber stamp for Casserly. During his second tour as rector of the college, he intended to run it his way.[42]

Casserly and Brunner first clashed over black candidates in the summer of 1944. Taking their cue from Casserly's vocation letter, Josephite pastors encouraged young men from their parishes to request applications for admission to Epiphany Apostolic College. On June 9, 1944, with the approval and support of Father Mike McCormack, his pastor, Edward Satterfield, from St. Theresa parish in Orange, Texas, requested an application from Brunner. Brunner sent all of Satterfield's correspondence to Casserly, noting that the young man's draft board had rejected him for "emotional instability."[43] Impressed by Satterfield's "very intelligent letter," Casserly told Brunner that he saw "no indication of the trouble found by the Selective Service...." In order, however, to protect the Society and to do justice to Satterfield, Casserly asked Fr. McCormack, Satterfield's pastor, Fr. Michael Flaherty, his former pastor at Our Mother of Mercy parish in Houston, and Fr. Roderique Auclair, who did not know Satterfield, to interview Satterfield. Upon receipt of their advice, Casserly informed Brunner, he would render a decision in the case.[44] After meeting with Satterfield, both Flaherty and McCormack (Auclair could not make it) found him "sound as a dollar," although he did not have an encouraging family background. McCormack explained that "the primary reason for non-acceptance in the service was an active mind just a click ahead of the examining board, plus an answer to prayer."[45] Casserly passed on the reports to Fr. Brunner, leaving the decision on Satterfield to the rector and the college faculty in accordance with paragraph 55 of the Josephite constitutions which required that the faculty decide on accepting candidates.[46]

Brunner, however, had serious reservations about Satterfield. He demanded that Satterfield obtain a written opinion from either the draft board or a reputable psychiatrist, stating that he possessed the emotional stability needed

for the priesthood. Brunner did not explain why he believed that the members of a Texas draft board would have any idea about the emotional requirements of the priesthood. Brunner claimed that "we are dealing with potential dynamite in the case of this young man" and cited the draft board's description of Satterfield as "decidedly allergic to group living." More importantly, Brunner, particularly objected to Satterfield's stated reluctance to join the army because of his bitterness over the "raw deal" that blacks received in the United States. Brunner considered such an attitude "thoroughly dishonorable," totally inappropriate in one who aspired to the priesthood, and indicative of a lack of humility; he regarded Satterfield as a potential "trouble making priest."[47]

Casserly's response revealed a vastly different perception of black people. Disagreeing with Brunner's assessment of Satterfield, Casserly said "Frankly, I am inclined to favor his case." Satterfield's writing ability particularly impressed him, especially since Satterfield received his high school education in the generally poor schools of the South. Casserly quickly noted, however, that he did not consider intellectual ability as the most important factor in judging a potential candidate for the priesthood. He referred to his circular letter on vocations which emphasized spiritual qualities, including the virtue of humility. Casserly's definition of that virtue, nevertheless, differed significantly from Brunner's. "I should be slow to say," Casserly argued "that recognition by a Negro of the adverse conditions that he has had to face in the South and even in the North necessarily indicates that he lacks a proper humility .... The thinking Negro cannot help but have mental attitudes developed in him." Casserly expressed little surprise that Satterfield resented "the 'raw deal' the Negro has received and that he was apparently lacking in sympathy with the war effort." Casserly sarcastically pointed out that apparently millions of

whites, with far less reason than blacks, lacked complete sympathy for the war effort and that "soldiering is on a draft basis for that reason." He also questioned the objectivity of southern draft boards and speculated that Satterfield's board probably recognized him as the "type of Negro who might be troublesome to them later on if he could come home a veteran with an even better right to demand justice."[48]

Dismissing Brunner's fear that Satterfield might become a "trouble maker" as a priest, Casserly approvingly predicted that "some of our colored priests of the not so far distant future will do some complaining about the disabilities that are forced upon them, both civilly and ecclesiastically. That seems bound to come unless they adopt what the Negro calls 'Uncle Tom's' ways." Casserly contended that an "Uncle Tom" posture would harm blacks and whites alike. "Unless the latter are jabbed from their smug complacency about wrong," Casserly declared emphatically, "they will go down to hell ... and the Negro will go along subject to the next generation." Casserly insisted that the college, novitiate, and seminary should correct any tendencies toward "twisted thinking" in any Josephite candidate, black or white. Casserly agreed, however, that Satterfield should produce a certificate of mental health from a competent psychiatrist in order to remove the stigma of rejection by the draft board. Casserly instructed Brunner to submit Satterfield's application to the faculty, once the young man secured the required certificate. He reminded him that the faculty had a deliberative, not simply an advisory, vote.[49]

Brunner's alarm about Satterfield's application, however, involved far more than just concern about the qualifications of a particular individual. The Satterfield application, and others like it, represented, in Brunner's view, a grave threat to the Society. On July 26, 1944, Brunner reported to Casserly

that Epiphany Apostolic College had twenty-two students listed for the approaching academic year, with half a dozen other prospects - including two black applicants: Satterfield, and Prentice Polk from Tuskegee, whom Father Leo Farragher recommended highly. Brunner noted that if the college accepted Satterfield and Polk, it would have four black students for the 1944 - 45 school year. He, therefore, enclosed a separate letter on the issue of black students and requested that Casserly place it in the file "as my long considered - and much argued at Chapters - opinion on this problem - which is not ours but the bishops."[50] Brunner's letter signalled the beginning of the "old guard's" last stand.

IV

Admitting that he now represented minority opinion within the Society, Brunner marshalled the arguments of an earlier older generation of Josephites against accepting black students. Brunner reminded Casserly that fifty years earlier, the Josephites under John Slattery had taken up the cause of a "native colored clergy." He recalled the frustration and heartache that Slattery experienced because of his "uncompromising do-it-now determination" in fighting the bishops over black priests. Slattery learned, according to Brunner, a lesson that "many of our over-zealous and do-it-now advocates do not seem to know or properly consider: we ... are not in charge of Dioceses and do not have the final say in the placing of men." Indeed, he claimed, both John Dorsey and John Plantevigne lost their mental health as a result of that reality.[51]

Brunner proclaimed his desire for black priests but argued that, despite the expressed wishes of Rome, conditions had changed little in the South and,

therefore, the Josephites had little reason to believe that they could place black priests once they educated them and ordained them. He pointed out that only the diocese of Lafayette had a significant number of black priests, and then only in a solidly Catholic neighborhood. Brunner told Casserly that if he really believed that conditions had improved, he could easily test the situation by sending Fr. Chester Ball to one of the non-Catholic dioceses. "The result might be enlightening," Brunner observed, "but I do not think it would be good for the soul of the priest involved."[52]

For the welfare of the Society and the men involved, Brunner advocated what he called "the only safe policy." He urged Casserly to tell any young black man who applied that the Josephites would gladly accept and educate him, free of cost, "... but only on condition that he come to us from a Bishop ... who will accept him as his candidate whom he will ordain and incardinate into his diocese." Such a policy, Brunner insisted, would clearly show where the Josephites stood on the issue and would place the burden "where it belongs without getting the Society into hot water with the authorities." Brunner stressed that the Josephites could not "... go on accepting these young men without limit without knowing where they will be accepted."[53]

Since he could not assemble the faulty for a decision on Satterfield because of summer vacation, Brunner interpreted Casserly's approval of Satterfield as settling the issue. He promised Casserly that he would send an application to Satterfield, along with a request for a statement from a psychiatrist. Brunner also sent Casserly the correspondence from another black candidate, this one recommended by Leo Farragher. He characterized Farragher as writing "with all of the enthusiasm and inexperience of the zealous young missioner," failing to take into account what would happen to the young man should he become a

priest. "Let me have your decision," Brunner wearily wrote Casserly, "I have already given mine."[54]

Casserly and Brunner continued to skirmish throughout the summer of 1944 as young Josephites like Farragher and Harry Maloney of Corpus Christi in New Orleans forced Brunner's hand by referring black candidates to the college.[55] On August 5, 1944, Brunner sent Casserly the correspondence from two more black candidates and argued that, even if he could assemble them, the faculty of the college should not decide an issue "... of such truly great import for the men concerned and for the Society ...." He repeated his arguments about the difficulties of placing black priests and, while agreeing with Casserly that ultimately the work of evangelization belonged to black people, he observed: "the work is their work," but "the Society is not theirs, nor will the difficulties into which this may plunge the Society be theirs." He worried that "This thing may well cancel out our usefulness, if ... we try to force the issue," and he warned that the Josephites could not afford to forget "that we are mere agents" working at the bishops' pleasure. To Casserly's assurances that he would sound out the bishops about their willingness to accept black priests when he went South, Brunner skeptically predicted that Casserly would find "a great deal of hedging and dodging." Even if bishops gave favorable replies, Brunner cautioned, "Their successors are not bound by them."[56]

While asking Casserly for his "definite opinion" about the black applicants on hand and for guidelines in dealing with any additional ones, Brunner also recommended a "solution" to the "problem." He indicated that Epiphany Apostolic College would probably have six black students in the fall and predicted that "new applicants will most certainly come next year, and the following years - till we might well have a large number here." In order to

avoid such a "problem," he recommended that the college inform any new black applicants that "OUR QUOTA IS FILLED." He asserted, however, that Casserly should not leave such a crucially important decision involving the future of the Society in the hands of the faculty and rector; he even asked Casserly to excuse him from voting if Casserly left the matter with the college.[57]

In his reply, Casserly insisted that black applicants have the same opportunity as white applicants. He conceded the difficulty of assembling the college faculty during the summer months, when most applications arrived at the college, but suggested that the faculty consider those students "as being received only under special probation for the first year so that the real acceptance would come at the close of the first year at the college." Casserly and the faculty at Epiphany Apostolic College would have to rely upon the integrity and common sense of priests recommending black candidates "to keep us from being burdened with any who would not measure up...." In every case though, Casserly declared, "it shall be our duty to make decisions that will be just to ... the subject ... and the ... Society. We must face the issue with a Christian and priestly courage."[58]

Turning to the individual cases of the black applicants, Casserly instructed that Satterfield produce papers from a psychiatrist and that the other three, as required by the Josephite constitutions, take written examinations, prepared by Epiphany faculty members on the major subjects they had studied in school, in the rectories of their respective parishes. If time and circumstances made examinations seem impracticable for the three applicants, Casserly recommended that the faculty "let their intellectual qualifications be determined during their probationary year at the college." With a recent decision of the college faculty, allowing Dudley Darbonne to repeat a year because of academic difficulties still

fresh in his mind, Casserly reaffirmed his conviction that students "should be dismissed unless they can make their grades from year to year."[59] Brunner followed Casserly's advice and informed the black applicants that he would admit them on one year's probation with definite acceptance contingent on their first year's performance.[60] It appeared that, by the end of the summer of 1944, Casserly had conclusively resolved the issue of accepting black candidates.

Edward Brunner, however, continued to oppose Casserly's policy. At an October faculty meeting he told his teachers that "the standard for the Colored students should be particularly high because of the greater difficulties and trials that will be their's in the priesthood."[61] On December 31, 1944, Brunner notified Casserly that the faculty would drop Dudley Darbonne because of poor grades and insufficient intellectual ability. "We should have dropped him before this," Brunner wrote, "but, knowing the criticism we used to get in the past, whenever we dropped a colored boy, we gave him a chance, and then some, to make good." Brunner also enclosed a letter from Rosamond Shaw of St. John's parish in Montgomery, Alabama, asking for an application. Refusing to treat black applicants as he did white, Brunner told Casserly that he would not respond to Shaw until Casserly advised him what he wanted done in the case.[62]

Casserly returned Shaw's letter to Brunner, informing him that he need not submit each application from a black boy for his approval. "It is quite proper," he wrote, "to handle them in the same way that you would handle applications that come from white boys through the medium of the whole faculty ...." Casserly conceded, however, that Brunner might well write to the pastors of black applicants for more detailed testimonials than ordinarily required for white applicants.[63]

Approximately three weeks later, on January 23, 1945, the Epiphany Apostolic College faculty devoted most of its meeting to a discussion of the "problem" of accepting black students. Brunner told the faculty that he had recently received three applications from black youths and that he projected several more before the next school year. Brunner repeated his familiar argument that bishops would not accept black priests after ordination and that their lives would become "discouraging and unbearable." He suggested that "a quota ought to be set on colored applicants in justice to the applicants themselves and to protect the future welfare of St. Joseph's Society." He reiterated, however, his willingness to accept any candidate sent by a bishop who would offer to ordain him for his diocese. After stating his views, Brunner asked the faculty for their opinions.[64]

The discussion revealed a generational split in the faculty, with a slim majority supporting Brunner. Fathers Timothy Holland, Harry Kane, Michael O'Brien, Lawrence MacClellan, and William McLane, all "old-timers," voiced their agreement with the rector, while Father Cornelius Sexton led the younger opposition. Sexton admitted the the difficulties involved, but argued that "... we should consider primarily the supernatural element. If God gives a vocation ... we cannot justly turn them down merely because we have a certain number. We should trust God's Providence to take care of difficulties." Fathers Joseph Murphy, Edward Bowes, and Frank Dalsey seconded Sexton's argument, although Dalsey held that, because of the greater difficulties that they would face as priests, the black applicants should meet higher intellectual and spiritual standards than the white students. Dalsey explained that higher standards would set a "natural quota." Brunner objected that a different standard for black applicants would give rise to the accusation of discrimination. The meeting

closed with many concluding that the Superior General and the Council, rather than the faculty, should decide the question.[65]

The issue of a quota for black students became entangled with the application of Rosamond Shaw. By the middle of February, 1945, neither Joseph Hennessy, Shaw's pastor who had suggested that he request an application from Brunner and who had also personally written Brunner on the boy's behalf, nor Shaw himself had received a reply from Brunner.[66] On February 14, 1945, Hennessy complained to Casserly about the situation. Several days later, Casserly directed Timothy Holland, the acting rector while Brunner recovered from an illness, to acknowledge receipt of the two letters. Moreover, he instructed Holland to have Shaw take a written examination, prepared by the college faculty, in the subjects for which he earned credits in high school.[67] Holland explained to Casserly that part of Hennessy's anxiety about an early decision on Shaw stemmed from his understanding that in 1943 Casserly had told Josephite priests that Epiphany Apostolic College would accept black students - but only within a certain quota. Holland confessed that he did not know definitely whether Casserly had established a quota or what he thought about "a large number of colored boys here." Holland described himself as agreeing with Brunner "... that we hasten slowly with what we have until we see how they will turn out."[68]

Casserly attempted to dispel Holland's misgivings, especially his fear that the admission of large numbers of black students would alter the nature of the Society. He admitted that Hennessy's understanding about a quota "was not totally in error." He hastened, however, to explain that he meant a natural quota based on ability and qualifications. Casserly assured Holland that he need not fear "a revolutionary change in the color of the student body" if parish

priests and faculty observed the conditions that he set down for the admission of candidates. Through examinations by the college faculty, Casserly explained, "we can very well control things so as to avoid any unfavorable situation." Casserly insisted, however, that "In everything we shall be honest: with God, with ourselves, with the people we serve." He declared that he would consider expediency only as his last criteria, though he would consider it.[69]

Brunner, however, despite earlier protestations that neither he nor the faculty should decide such an important issue, formulated a very different definition of "quota." Beginning in March, 1945, he moved to implement it. At a faculty meeting on March 6, 1945, Brunner argued that "... the fact that Colored priests have not been accepted for the work in the diocese seems an indication from God that we should not freely take applications." He promised the faculty that when bishops promised to accept black priests in to their dioceses, he would gladly open the doors of Epiphany Apostolic College to a "limited number of qualified applicants." Later in the meeting, Brunner also advised the faculty that he had prepared a questionnaire for black applicants. It supposedly would provide information about the family background, intention, and intellectual and spiritual qualifications of the applicant so that the college would have "some guarantee of the boy's stability and ability before accepting him."[70]

On March 16, 1945, eleven days after Boston's Archbishop Richard Cushing announced that at his archdiocesan seminary, every candidate, regardless of race would receive the same consideration, Brunner finally responded to Hennessy and to Fr. Edward Murphy, of St. Peter Claver's in New Orleans, who also had written about a black candidate. Brunner attributed his delay in answering their letters to two factors: illness and "the pause given us by the

number of colored applicants, now that it is rapidly being noised abroad that we are taking them." Brunner noted that Epiphany Apostolic College had six black students at that moment and that he had five applications from blacks on his desk. He forecast that he would receive at least another dozen applications before September. Claiming that "The character of our Society is going to change radically if any large number are accepted," and that the men of the Society did not want "to see the Society turned over" to blacks, Brunner informed Hennessy and Murphy that he had instituted "a limited quota, which is presently filled." Brunner advised them that he would make exceptions only in the case of "a quite exceptional applicant ... - always conditioned, in our institution, by the quota." He asked Hennessy and Murphy to circulate his letter among the priests in the South so that they would become aware of the attitude of the college. In a "P.S." to Murphy, Brunner concluded "We can only be certain that God's providence is taking a hand when the Church authorities give the "go" sign. They are the ordinary channels of God's will; and theirs is also the responsibility."[71]

On March 19, 1945, the Feast of St. Joseph, Brunner apprised Casserly of the quota, calling it "the only practical solution." According to George O'Dea, Casserly "hit the roof."[72] Three days later, he brought Brunner's letter to the attention of the General Council, composed of Fathers Pastorelli, William Murphy, and Charles B. Winkler. They unanimously concluded that Brunner had exceeded his authority in setting a quota. The consultors, moreover, decided that "Colored students are to be subjected to the same tests as the white students."[73]

On March 23, 1945, Casserly notified Brunner of the Council's ruling. He explained that neither he nor the Council objected to the moral or intellectual

qualifications that Brunner specified, as long as they applied equally to both white and black candidates. "I had said as much," Casserly reminded him, "in a circular letter ... on the subject of vocations." He told Brunner, however, that the Council had unanimously concluded that the rector had exceeded his authority in setting a quota because the Society constitutions conferred no such power on rectors of houses of training. In addition, Casserly pointed out that the Constitutions did not allow the rector to act alone for the admission of even a single student, but required him to obtain the deliberative vote of the faculty - although Casserly noted that he and Brunner agreed that they could, in some cases, postpone that vote until the end of the student's first year at the College and consider the months previous to the vote a probationary period.[74]

Casserly scolded Brunner for telling Murphy and Hennessy that the Josephites had no prospects of placing black priests after ordination. He reminded Brunner that black priests already served in two dioceses where Josephites worked and that when he directly proposed the appointment of black priests to Archbishop Joseph Rummel of New Orleans, the archbishop assured him that he did not object to such appointments. Casserly expressed confidence that "other dioceses in which we work will also accept colored priests for service and before the first candidate we have now will be ready for ordination - at least eight years - there will be more conversions if such are necessary among the bishops." He asked Brunner to make the proper retractions to the priests he had written since he did not want "to be forced to issue a letter to our whole membership going into these points." Spelling out his attitude in the matter, Casserly said "I am much more afraid to have to face God on the basis of injustice in handling the problem than I am in having to face men on the

charge of not giving sufficient consideration to matters of expediency as dictated by social conditions and personal views of individuals...."[75]

Brunner defended his action, claiming that he had not exceeded his authority since a majority of the faculty had voted in favor of the quota. He questioned the authority of the Superior General and the Council to adopt on their own a new policy that would affect every member of the Society. "I do not take second place to anyone in my desire to see a colored clergy," Brunner declared, "but I do not think there is any obligation whatever on St. Joseph's Society to turn itself over to them, as will inevitably happen, in the long run unless a quota is established." Brunner also complained bitterly, and with some justification, about Casserly's unwarranted interference in the college that included Casserly's picking books for some courses. He accused Casserly, of having developed "into just another Big Boss" like Pastorelli and he asked that Casserly not reappoint him as rector when his term expired the following year.[76] Casserly obligingly informed Brunner that he had already decided not to propose his name for reappointment, "because of your physical condition."[77]

Although a "lame duck," Brunner remained a tenacious opponent and refused to concede defeat. He told the Epiphany faculty on April 10, 1945 that "the matter of accepting Colored students has not been settled definitely," and asked the General Council to reconsider its decision.[78] Ironically, given Brunner's dire predictions about the difficulties of placing black priests, only five days before the faculty meeting, Archbishop Curley, who had not had a black priest stationed in his archdiocese since Father Dorsey's death in 1926, voiced "no objection whatsoever" to Casserly's appointment of Chester Ball as pastor of the mission at Glen Arden, Maryland.[79] Brunner's objections to the admission of

"large numbers" of black students, however, focused increasingly on the danger he believed they posed to the identity and character of the Society.[80]

On May 6, 1945, at Brunner's request, the General Council reconsidered the issue of a quota at Epiphany Apostolic College and reaffirmed its original decision, explaining that the authority given by the constitutions to the rector and faculty regarding the admission of students had to do with individual applicants, not to any particular group. Moreover, the power to set policy belonged only to the General Chapter which selected a Superior General and a General Council to carry out the business of the Society during the six year intervals between Chapter meetings. Along with news of the Council's decision, Casserly sent Brunner five applications from blacks that he held pending the decision of the Council. He claimed to have given "... no consideration to the color of the applicants ...." and asked Brunner to "Please give ... each one, a just consideration ...."[81]

The five black applications, added to the seven already on his desk, appalled Brunner. He judged that only two of the five possessed "the necessary groundwork," but even more than that believed "No Society anywhere takes up an unlimited number of a racial type, without soon finding the necessity of division." He assured Casserly, nevertheless, that he would submit all of the applications to the faculty. "I shall not treat them unjustly," he promised, "as I appreciate very keenly my responsibility."[82]

Casserly challenged Brunner's characterization of his policy. "Our policy," he wrote, "is definitely not 'unlimited' with respect to our acceptance of colored candidates." He pointed to the limits imposed by canon law, by the Josephite constitutions, and also by the academic examinations. "I do not think," he concluded "that many will be able to get by these restrictions." In an apparent

attempt to insure that the college would have some idea of the qualifications of black applicants and also to conciliate Brunner, Casserly added an additional restriction that clearly discriminated against black applicants: the Josephites would consider only those black applicants who came from Josephite missions. Casserly ordered Brunner to refer black applicants from non-Josephite parishes to the religious communities or diocesan seminaries of the priests who served them.[83] The rule, of course, applied only to black students; all of the white students at Epiphany Apostolic College came from non-Josephite parishes.

Casserly assured Brunner that his fear about the Society changing "color" would never materialize. He expressed his hope, however, that, in time, the Josephites would become "international" or "non-national," since "The communities that have become truly non-national are the strongest." Taking note of Brunner's report about a dearth of applications from white boys, Casserly recalled that from the beginning of his administration he recognized the need for vocations and ordered special prayers for that intention. He suggested to Brunner that the applications from boys of Josephite parishes indicated God's will and His answer to their prayers.[84]

Josephites on the missions who had qualified lads who wanted to enter Epiphany Apostolic College attempted to enlist Casserly's help in order to circumvent Brunner's obstructionism. Joseph Hennessy, for example, fearing that Brunner might mistreat Rosamond Shaw if he kept pressing the issue and aware that Brunner had less than a year to go in his term as rector, convinced Shaw to enroll at Xavier University for a year after his graduation before applying again to Epiphany. In the meantime, he put Shaw into contact with Fr. Thomas Dodd at St. Thomas Church in Metarie, Louisiana, a close friend of both Hennessy and Casserly. In December, 1945, Dodd arranged for Shaw to meet

Casserly during one of the Superior's visits to New Orleans. Casserly tested Shaw's knowledge of Latin and math and then told him that he would sponsor him. The next September, Shaw entered Epiphany Apostolic College.[85]

In New Orleans, Stephen J. Hogan of Blessed Sacrament parish and Anthony Kiel of St. Joan of Arc parish adopted similar tactics. After receiving Casserly's assurances that the Society accepted "those who can satisfy the highest standards," Hogan encouraged Elmo Townsend to begin the application process for Epiphany Apostolic College by sending a letter to Casserly, who then forwarded it to Brunner.[86] Fr. Anthony Kiel, at St. Joan of Arc, also recommended a student, Joseph Verrett. The previous spring, Kiel engineered a meeting between Casserly and Verrett in the Verrett home after a wedding at which Casserly officiated. After talking with young Verrett and inspecting his report card, Casserly advised him to finish his senior year at Xavier Prep and then to apply to Epiphany Apostolic College. When he received Verrett's letter of inquiry in May, 1945, Casserly personally recommended him to Brunner, suggesting that the rector probably remembered both the Townsend and Verrett families from his years in New Orleans.[87]

Having lost the battle over formal quotas, Brunner resorted to questionning the "spiritual qualifications" of black applicants as a way of forestalling their acceptance. Brunner acknowledged that he recalled the Townsend family and averred that "this boy has something that approaches what we should demand...." Still, Brunner expressed doubts about whether both boys possessed "the supernatural motive" necessary for a true vocation. Referring to the black students already at Epiphany Apostolic College, Brunner judged that all could "... make the grade, in an average way, mentally, but they all lack the spiritual quality that I would wish to see." He argued that a black man who wanted to

become a priest "... must, undoubtedly be a saint and a scholar .... to show the world and especially Bishops, that they can be the real article - ... men of zeal and piety whom their own people will look up to." Looking back over the years at those "who got 'in,'" Brunner concluded that "The recollection is none too encouraging." Brunner informed Casserly that he had advised Townsend, a fifteen year old, to wait a year or two before applying to Epiphany Apostolic College in order to enable him to study the question of a vocation and all it entailed. Since Verrett, on the other hand, had already finished high school, Brunner sent him an application.[88]

Casserly refused to budge in the contest of wills with Brunner and continued to apply consistent pressure. He challenged Brunner's disparaging characterization of the black students at Epiphany Apostolic College, telling the rector that he could not accept the notion that "the white boy has a monopoly on spiritual qualities necessary in candidates for the priesthood or that they are found only rarely in the colored boy." Casserly, moreover, faulted Brunner for acting counter to prevailing thought on vocations by recommending to Townsend that he wait a few years before applying to Epiphany. "Ordinary thought in such matters," Casserly maintained, held that "there is danger of a vocation being lost in this way."[89] When Casserly received a letter from Jerry Milinez, yet another black lad from New Orleans, this one from Corpus Christi parish, Casserly passed it on to Brunner with the recommendation that he knew Milinez and "would receive him just as I would the Townsend boy." Inevitably, Casserly had his way; Elmo Townsend, Joseph Verrett, and Jerry Milinez entered Epiphany Apostolic College in September, 1945 with Verrett going into the special Latin class, Townsend into fourth year high school, and Milinez into first year high school.[90] Brunner reacted to their arrival by telling the faculty

that "because of the difficulties peculiar to the Negro priest," teachers "should demand more of the black students "in intelligence and piety."[91] He had less than a year remaining as rector, however, and he knew that he had lost, not only the battle, but also the war. The admission of Verrett, Townsend, and Milinez to Epiphany Apostolic College signalled the end of formal opposition to Casserly's policy and the beginning of what became a steady stream of black students at Epiphany Apostolic College.

V

Throughout his struggle with Brunner, Casserly remained far more confident than his rector about the prospects for black priests in the United States. Casserly took comfort from what he regarded as tangible evidence that the climate for black priests in the American Catholic Church had improved considerably in the space of a few years. Between 1934 and 1945, for example, twenty-six black men received Holy Orders, compared to only fourteen during the previous eighty years. All but seven of those ordained after 1934 received at least part of their training at St. Augustine's Seminary in Bay St. Louis. With the ordination in September, 1945 of the Rev. William Adams, the seventeenth black SVD, the number of black priests serving in the United States reached twenty-one. Three black priests also worked in Africa, two in Trinidad, and one in British Honduras.[92] Additional developments in other religious communities and in dioceses in the South between 1944 and 1948 convinced Casserly that the Josephites could safely proceed with developing black priests of their own.

While Casserly sparred with Brunner during 1944 and 1945, two long-time supporters of black priests, John LaFarge and Edward Kramer, attempted to

force the Society of Jesus, the largest and most influential religious order in the Church, and the American bishops to deal with the issue of black priests. Both men felt obliged to act because of their personal involvement with black men who were denied the opportunity to study for the priesthood either by a religious order or by a diocese.

Writing to the Very Rev. Zacheus J. Maher, the American Assistant to the Jesuit Father General[93] on August 24, 1944, LaFarge proposed that the Jesuits in the United States admit a black man as a scholastic novice to study for the priesthood. The New England province already admitted black Jamaicans to their theologate but the Jamaicans returned to Jamaica following their theological studies. LaFarge had in mind a young black man who came from a solid family and had compiled an excellent record at St. Peter's College in Jersey City. When he applied to the Jesuits' New York Province, the Provincial told him that he could not accept him because "... there would be no place to use him in the New York Province." LaFarge asked for Maher's opinion "upon the general principle of refusing admission to an <u>otherwise qualified</u>, fully qualified candidate, solely upon racial grounds." He promised not to quote Maher, but intended to report Maher's opinion when he met with the New York Provincial about the matter. LaFarge volunteered his opinion that if the Society stationed a black Jesuit "right in our own home works" in the New York Province, "People would take him for granted much more readily than one suspects, and he would have the cooperation of many more among Ours than one may now anticipate."[94]

LaFarge's request, among others, evidently convinced Maher of the need to issue a policy statement on the admission of qualified black applicants into the Society of Jesus. After consultations, Maher drew up a statement which he

submitted, on May 3, 1945, to the provincials of the American Assistancy for their discussion. To the statement, he appended the remarks of an anonymous Jesuit "whose judgement ... you respect, but who has asked for the moment that I do not reveal his name."[95]

Maher stated that "The basic principle in determining the admission of any candidate is not the good he may derive from admission, but the good the Society may hope to secure by admitting him." Maher declared that no province should exclude a candidate "merely because of his color." If, however, a Provincial judged that color would impede a candidate's usefulness in a given province, the Provincial should try to find a province in which he could function usefully; that province, whether in the American Assistancy or any other, should accept him. Since the Jesuits usually left the admission of candidates to the local Provincial, however, Maher concluded that he could do no more than establish a general norm.[96]

Clearly indicating his desire that the provincials define "usefulness" broadly, Maher appended to his statement some observations by an anonymous Jesuit on the question of "usefulness." He cautioned provincials against determining "usefulness" on the basis of "today's situation," since black candidates accepted in 1945 would not finish their studies until 1958. Moreover, the sheer fact of admitting a black candidate might prove "useful" by making the Society's attitude unequivocally clear and delivering a blow at prejudice. Finally, an intelligent and spiritual black Jesuit would create his own usefulness, especially in the interracial field. The author of the "observations" admitted, however, that regional conditions would affect "usefulness."[97]

LaFarge applauded Maher's statement and the remarks on "usefulness." He added another angle to the discussion of "usefulness" by suggesting that the

presence "of an occasional Negro in our ranks is an answer to a very frequent and harmful type of Communist propaganda."[98] The next year, in 1946, the Missouri and Chicago provinces of the Society of Jesus accepted black novices to study for the priesthood.[99]

During late 1944 and 1945, Edward C. Kramer, who had served as the Director General of the Catholic Board for Mission Work Among the Colored People for twenty-two years, tried, like LaFarge, to convince his superiors, the American bishops, to address the issue of black priests. Claiming that several bishops had encouraged him, Kramer, a former classmate of many American bishops from their days at the North American College in Rome, sent a memo on the question of black diocesan priests to Archbishop Michael Curley and the other five members of the Executive Board of the Catholic Board for Mission Work Among the Colored People, including Archbishops Francis Spellman of New York, the President, Samuel Stritch of Chicago, and Bishops John B. Morris of Little Rock, Richard Gerow of Natchez, and James A. Griffin of Springfield. He hoped that it would spark discussion at the board meeting and convince at least one of the archbishops or bishops to introduce the issue at the next meeting of the American bishops.[100]

Kramer quoted the recently deceased Bishop John A. Duffy of Buffalo as having written that "The problem of the colored priest is larger than a diocesan one and will grow with the years." Kramer argued that the episcopate should devise a general policy regarding black diocesan priests. He recommended that a department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference (NCWC) "canvass the colored situation and the future needs both for priests and sisters of color." Although he acknowledged that the Administrative Board of the NCWC would at first maintain that those questions belonged to individual bishops within their

dioceses, Kramer insisted that "no one diocese is in a position to canvass the situation entirely and to meet the increasing demands." He wanted the topic placed on the agenda of the Administrative Board of the NCWC so that "... the rest of us might be in a position to follow a policy that would open the way toward a solution of ... the preparation of priests and sisters of color for work among their own people."[101]

Describing himself to Curley as a prudent and temperate man, Kramer explained that "A series of circumstances ... is forcing me to bring the cause of the colored priest to your Excellency, and through your Excellency, to all our Archbishops and bishops." Kramer's responsibility as Director General of the Catholic Board involved raising money for the construction and support of Catholic schools among blacks. Kramer pointed out, however, that the title of "Director General," led many blacks, priests, and even bishops to mistakenly assume that his powers extended beyond those of a simple priest. Some bishops advised black men to write to Kramer or sent them to him for help in becoming priests. Some bishops went so far as to tell Kramer that he had the duty of finding a bishop to sponsor black men whom they could not use. Over the course of twenty-two years, Kramer managed to have only four black men ordained: two in Rome and two in Prague. In addition, in 1943, as a result of his appeals, Bishop William A. Griffin of Trenton accepted two black students for his diocesan priesthood. In the meantime, Kramer observed, many had appealed for help but had fallen by the wayside because he could not aid them.[102]

Kramer charged that the existence of St. Augustine's Seminary in Bay St. Louis provided Catholic America with a way to ignore the cry for black priests. When people like Kramer complained that blacks had no chance for priesthood, others simply said, "Let them become SVDs." As a result, 340 black students

from thirty-one states had enrolled at St. Augustine's since its opening. By January 6, 1944, the date of the last ordination, only 17 of the 340 had reached the priesthood as members of the Society of the Divine Word. While Kramer rejoiced over the seventeen, he, nevertheless, observed that "the loss is tremendous." Noting the fine native clergies in Africa and South America, Kramer denied that the fault for so few black priests in the United States lay with blacks. Even pagan Japan, he pointed out, with only 117,000 Catholics, boasted one Japanese archbishop, two bishops, 117 native priests, 127 Brothers, and 700 Sisters. Meanwhile, the approximately 350,000 black Catholics in the United States had only seventeen SVDs, one Josephite, and three diocesan priests. "Dear Archbishop," Kramer wrote, " the fault lies ... in the policy that would have every colored boy be a member of a specific religious Order, to which then must be ... added the sad fruits which flow from fears and prejudices." He asked Curley to bring the issue before the assembled bishops. Curley simply acknowledged receipt of the letter.[103] Although the bishops, at their meeting on November 17, 1944, discussed racial problems and debated the merits of endorsing a permanent federal Fair Employment Practices Commission, they evidently did not formally consider the question of black diocesan priests.[104]

Kramer, nevertheless, continued to hammer away in meetings and correspondence with bishops at what he called "the burning question of the priesthood for the Negroes." All the while, he kept Casserly posted on his progress. In late August, 1945, for example, Kramer stopped by the Josephite headquarters in Baltimore and left for Casserly's inspection letters exchanged with bishops about black priests. Casserly thanked Kramer for allowing him to read the letters, which gave him additional insight into the thinking of the

bishops, and assured Kramer of his support for Kramer's campaign on behalf of black diocesan clergy.[105] A growing number of northern bishops appeared willing to accept at least a token black seminarian or two for their dioceses. Most of those bishops, however, maintained strict quotas and usually required their black seminarians to come from their dioceses. Unlike black students at Epiphany Apostolic College, blacks in diocesan seminaries often found themselves the only black person in their institutions, besides the janitors and kitchen help.[106]

In the South, the efforts of Casserly, Kramer, and Joseph Eckert, the Provincial of the SVD southern province, to "convert" southern bishops on the issue of black priests began to bear fruit in 1945. Archbishop Joseph Rummel of New Orleans, the most important prelate in the South, signalled his willingness not only to allow the Josephites and SVDs to station their black priests in his archdiocese, but also to accept black candidates for the archdiocesan clergy. When Casserly, for example, in the midst of his arguments with Brunner over the prospects of placing black Josephites in the South, proposed in a conversation with Rummel in late 1944 or early 1945 the appointment of black priests to the archdiocese of New Orleans.[107] Indeed, while discussing the possibility of the SVDs staffing the proposed Catholic high school for blacks in New Orleans, Rummel told Eckert that he "would consider it a great step forward" for black SVDs to serve on the faculty. He also promised to entrust a black parish in New Orleans to black SVD priests.[108]

At the jubilee banquet celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of St. Augustine's Seminary, in November, 1945, Rummel went even further. He spoke earnestly about the need for more black candidates for the secular clergy and gave the impression to the SVDs present that he was determined to have black

priests and would take the necessary steps to achieve that end. Impressed by the Archbishop's apparent sincerity, Joseph Busch, the rector of St. Augustine's Seminary, asked the House Council of the seminary to consider the matter. As a result of the discussions, the House Council proposed to Joseph Eckert, the Provincial, that the SVDs offer to educate black diocesan candidates of southern bishops in the high school at St. Augustine's Seminary. The diocesan students would only study at St. Augustine's through high school, since after graduation, the SVD candidates went to novitiate. The SVDs saw in their proposal a way of protecting against falling enrollment at St. Augustine's as seminaries in the North opened their doors to black students. More importantly, however, the members of the House Council reasoned that black students sponsored by southern bishops for the diocesan clergy would have to go North, since "white seminaries" in the South would still bar them. Most blacks did not have enough money to go North. The House Council concluded, therefore, that "If we open our doors to secular students, then bishops and priests can give students more encouragement, since they would have a place to send them."[109]

Unfortunately, the SVD plan still continued the tradition of "Jim Crow" seminary education in the South by providing southern bishops with a segregated minor seminary to which they could send their black students for high school. Nevertheless, the SVDs viewed their plan as providing a beginning for black diocesan clergy in the South. When black students finished high school at St. Augustine's, bishops would have to find another minor seminary where black students could study philosophy. Perhaps then, that pressure would force the bishops to consider opening their own minor seminaries to black students.

In early January, 1946, Eckert met with Rummel to discuss the proposal. Before making a decision, however, Rummel decided to solicit the opinions of

bishops of the New Orleans Province. Eckert told Rummel that he would refrain from submitting the plan to the SVD Father General for approval until he learned of the reaction of the southern hierarchy. Eckert assured Rummel that the Father General would undoubtedly accede to the wishes of the hierarchy in the matter since the hierarchy "has been responsible for the success of the seminary...."[110]

On February 4, 1946, Rummel wrote to the bishops of the Province of New Orleans and also to the ordinaries of the dioceses of Savannah, St. Augustine, Charleston, Nashville, and Louisville, informing them of Eckert's proposal and describing it as "a forward step in the discharge of our responsibility to the Colored Race." The archbishop carefully noted that the plan covered only the preparatory education of the candidates; they would have to pursue courses in philosophy and theology at seminaries in the East and North. Rummel emphasized his own belief that "a way must eventually be found for giving to worthy Colored prospects the opportunity to become diocesan or secular priests."[111]

Several bishops opposed Eckert's plan. Bishop Toolen of Mobile, for example, never content with his status as a suffragan and always ready to oppose Rummel's initiatives, expressed skepticism about the feasibility of black secular priests in the South and concluded that "... it will be better if they were members of a community rather than seculars." He voiced his hope that the Fathers of St. Edmund,[112] who operated black missions in his diocese and who had a black candidate from Mobile, would place him in the diocese as long as he had "someone to keep a finger on him."[113] An incident sometime later illustrated the importance that Toolen attached to keeping blacks, especially black clerics, "in their place." Toolen encountered the Josephite seminarian,

Rosamond Shaw, dressed in a black suit, at St. Jude's Hospital in Montgomery. "Take that thing off," snarled the bishop, referring to Shaw's seminary garb, "No nigger is going to wear clerical black here." As the bishop stomped off, Toolen's Vicar-General walked up to Shaw and warned him never to wear the suit in the hospital again.[114]

Bishop John B. Morris of Little Rock echoed Toolen's sentiments. Although he acknowledged that each race should have its own priests, Morris, like his counterpart in Mobile, suggested that the time had not yet arrived in his diocese "when Colored secular priests can be placed in charge of our Colored parishes" because of prejudice and the numerical weakness of the Church. Repeating a recommendation that he had been making for twenty years, Morris suggested that bishops watch black priests in religious communities to see how well they succeeded in parishes and missions before giving black secular priests charge of them.[115]

Rummel's old friend, Bishop Richard Gerow of Natchez, who presided over a diocese that included the whole state of Mississippi but numbered only 39,014 white and 4,844 black Catholics, agonized over the plan.[116] On the one hand, he noted, Catholic instincts prompted him to say that every black person with a vocation should have the opportunity of entering the ranks of the local or diocesan clergy. Indeed, the Episcopalians in Mississippi had had "Colored Ministers" subject to the Episcopalian bishop for many years with "no serious difficulty, even in general meetings of the clergy." Moreover, Gerow reasoned, any young man who entered the preparatory course at St. Augustine's would not reach ordination for at least ten years, during which time race relations would probably continue to improve.[117]

On the other hand, Gerow feared that unless a diocese had a group of black diocesan priests who could freely associate among themselves, a lone black priest would have to possess extraordinary spiritual strength to endure the isolation and prejudice of his fellow white priests. If he broke under the pressure and failed, he could set back the work for a generation. Then too, white sisters conducted many of the Catholic schools on black missions. A black pastor exercising authority over white sisters could lead to trouble in the local community; a black pastor, therefore, would probably require black sisters. Finally, since black candidates would have to study philosophy and theology in northern seminaries, Gerow feared that their association with white students for six years might make it difficult for them to readjust to the South. While he admitted that times had changed since the bishops of the New Orleans Province last considered the issue in 1935, Gerow observed to Rummel that "the improvement has not gone as far as you and I would desire." After torturously analyzing the pros and cons, however, Gerow cautiously approved of the plan. He noted that the proposed course of study at St. Augustine's would compel no bishop to accept any particular individual for his diocese, although it would exert upon him "some degree of moral pressure to adjust his plans so that eventually he may admit a Colored clergy."[118]

Discussion among the bishops about using St. Augustine's for their black candidates apparently prompted a similar suggestion from a Josephite. On August 16, 1946, J.A. Lally of St. Peter's Church in Dallas suggested a plan to Casserly whereby the Josephites would erect a house of studies at Bay St. Louis for black Josephite students. The students would have community exercises and meals at the Josephite house, but would take their high school, philosophy, and theology courses at St. Augustine's. Such a plan, Lally argued,

would "relieve the Society of some embarrassing results from having both races at Newburgh and especially Washington. Maybe later on the Bay St. Louis place could be staffed by some of our Colored priests."[119] Lally's plan failed to impress Casserly, who called it "clearly unacceptable" because it would have "the evident mark of subterfuge about it." Insisting that Josephite policy manifest openness, frankness, and honesty, Casserly, in his characteristically blunt manner, declared "If that brings embarrassment to anyone, I can only say that anything else must certainly bring embarrassment before Christ."[120]

In September, 1946, Archbishop Samuel Stritch of Chicago, the chairman of the American Board for Catholic Missions, and a strong supporter of the black missions in the South and particularly of St. Augustine's Seminary, brought additional moral pressure to bear on the southern bishops. Perhaps responding to Kramer's initiatives, Stritch proposed a conference of the bishops of the South to discuss their work among blacks and to consider some new programs.[121] At 11:00 A.M. on the morning of September 19, 1946, following the meeting of the Catholic Committee of the South, Archbishop Stritch and the bishops of the South gathered in Archbishop Rummel's residence. Stritch told the assembled prelates that the Holy See wanted "more action in the 'Colored dioceses'" and he received their pledge to accept "worthy candidates of the Colored race for the diocesan clergy." In return, Stritch promised that the ABCM would aid the bishops' evangelization efforts among blacks by granting each of them an additional $20,000 for new schools.[122]

By the date of the meeting with Stritch in New Orleans, Archbishop Rummel, setting an example for the other southern bishops, had already accepted Aubrey Osborne, a young man from the Josephite parish of All Saints, on the outskirts of New Orleans, to study for the archdiocesan priesthood. Promising that he

would send him to a place nearer home after college, Rummel sent Osborne to St. John's Abbey College in Collegeville, Minnesota for two years.[123] In the autumn of 1948, the twenty-two year old Osborne and a fellow black seminarian, Bernard Dunn, entered Notre Dame Seminary, the major seminary for the Archdiocese of New Orleans, after an informal poll of the seminarians, conducted by the seminary authorities, indicated no serious opposition to the presence of blacks. Rummel ordained Osborne in St. Louis Cathedral in New Orleans in June, 1953.[124] The readiness of Rummel to accept and ordain black candidates for his own clergy together with the pledges of other southern bishops to accept blacks for the diocesan clergy, had important ramifications for the Josephites. The New Orleans archdiocese, for example, held the largest concentration of Josephite parishes and men. Rummel's actions assured Casserly that, Brunner's fears notwithstanding, the Josephites would have places to assign their future black priests.

In November, at a special meeting of the ABCM to consider the "Negro problem," Stritch reported that his September conference with the southern bishops indicated a movement toward "the education of Colored young men for the priesthood." He went on to say that parishes of some communities in the South had expressed their willingness to take in a black priest to train him for the missions of the South. Stritch further reported that since the Holy See desired more action in the "Colored dioceses," the ABCM at its previous meeting, had allocated $300,000 - $20,000 for each of eleven southern dioceses.[125]

Eight months later, Jules Jeanmard, bishop of Lafayette, whose diocese contained many black SVDs, accepted his first black candidate for the diocesan clergy. When Edward Kramer asked him to adopt Vernon Dauphin for the

Lafayette Diocese, Jeanmard replied on June 13, 1947, that he would "... carry out the pledge we made in the presence of ... Cardinal Stritch, to receive worthy candidates of the Colored race for the Diocesan Clergy." Jeanmard reminded Kramer that such an innovation would "present certain difficulties" but assured him that if Dauphin "is made of the right stuff," he would gladly receive him into the diocese. Jeanmard sent Dauphin to St. John's Abbey College in Collegeville, Minnesota, but the following year, on the advice of the rector of St. John's Seminary, he declined to sponsor Dauphin for Holy Orders.[126] In August 1950, Jeanmard secured the release of Louis LeDoux from his temporary vows as an SVD and sent him to study at the Grand Seminaire in Montreal for the Diocese of Lafayette. Jeanmard ordained LeDoux on December 27, 1952. That same year, he also accepted the Rev. Earl Chachere, on leave from the Missionary Servants of the Most Holy Trinity,[127] for a three year trial period as a secular priest in his diocese. Jeanmard assigned him to establish a black Catholic parish in the small town of Port Barre, twenty miles east of Opelousas, Louisiana. In 1953, Jeanmard sent another black candidate, Eroy Dejean, to the Grand Seminaire.[128]

Beginning in 1948, when the SVD superiors finally agreed to allow "colored students for the secular priesthood to attend the minor seminary at St. Augustine's," Rummel and Jeanmard sent a few black students to Bay St. Louis for high school, often paying the charges that the parents could not.[129] Although he had two black seminarians at the major seminary, Rummel showed more reluctance to introduce black students into St. Joseph's Preparatory Seminary, conducted by the Benedictines in St. Benedict's, Louisiana, about forty miles northeast of New Orleans. St. Joseph's lay in a more rural setting than Notre Dame and white southerners tended to object more strenuously to

integration involving teenagers or younger students.[130] On January 11, 1951, Rummel asked Lawrence Walsh, the rector of St. Augustine's whether his student, Leon Bechet, could continue his junior college studies at St. Augustine's because "... we are not yet informed as to the policy which St. Joseph's Preparatory Seminary at St. Benedict's Louisiana may adopt regarding the education of Negroes for the priesthood." Walsh replied that since students entered the novitiate at the end of high school studies, "There is no possibility for Leon Bechet to continue his studies with us after the close of the year."[131] Walsh's response settled the issue for Rummel. The next September, Leon Bechet enrolled at St. Joseph's; he graduated from the college in 1953.[132]

As early as November 21, 1946, shortly after attending the conference of southern bishops in New Orleans, Bishop Gerow, an ardent admirer of Archbishop Stritch, told Father Eckert that "one of the Colored priests could do an excellent job at Mound Bayou," a heavily Protestant black town located in the Delta country. At that time, Gerow, who had ordained most of the black SVDs, had not considered it "prudent" to station any black priests outside Bay St. Louis in his diocese. A lack of funds delayed the Mound Bayou project until October, 1949, when John W. Bowman, a black SVD and former military chaplain, opened a mission there.[133] Having allowed black SVDs to move beyond Bay St. Louis in his diocese, however, the careful Gerow would not consent to the appointment of another black SVD, Clarence Howard, as rector of St. Augustine's. Gerow advised the SVD superiors in Rome "... that probably in the not too distant future this might be possible," but at present, he did "not think the time was ripe for it."[134]

While the changed attitudes of some bishops in the deep South contributed to brighter prospects for black priests, the Benedictine monks of St. John's Abbey

in Collegeville, Minnesota, under the leadership of Abbot Alcuin Deutsch, embarked on a pioneering venture in the border states. As early as 1945, the Rev. Basil Stegman, with Deutsch's blessing, explored the possibility of opening a monastery for blacks either in the Natchez-Jackson or Lafayette dioceses. The Benedictines had three black members of their community, with a dozen black students preparing themselves in the college to enter the community. Both Bishop Gerow and Bishop Jeanmard, however, afraid that the black monastery might harm enrollment at St. Augustine's Seminary, withheld their permission.[135]

In 1946, Fr. Alexander Korte suggested to Deutsch that the Benedictines establish an interracial rather than a black monastery in one of the border states "to demonstrate by concrete example the solution of the race problem." Korte held that the presence of six black members in the St. John's community would facilitate the plan. Korte suggested one of the border states as a location for the monastery because he judged the deep South "too hazardous" and concluded that in the deep South "militant prejudice" would force the Benedictines to "soft-pedal" and hide their intention, even from the bishops. Korte viewed the monastery as a direct assault against the evil of segregation.[136] Abbot Deutsch embraced the idea, and, after rejection from Bishop William T. Mulloy of Covington, found a patron in Bishop Francis R. Cotton of Owensboro, whom John LaFarge suggested.[137]

In April 1948, two white Benedictines, Father Alexander Korte and Brother Stephen Thell, and two black Benedictines, Father Harvey Shepherd and Brother Henry Young, founded a small interracial monastery at St. Denis, Kentucky, near Bowling Green, in the diocese of Owensboro. In August, 1949, the monks transferred the monastery to a location near South Union, Kentucky and named

it St. Maur's.[138] Overcoming some initial resentment from Protestants in the area, who feared that the founding of St. Maur's heralded a big Catholic missionary push in that area, St. Maur's prospered. By 1952, the monastery numbered fifteen men and boys - eight white and seven black. Six of the fifteen were students, four of them black. The remaining nine included three priests, three brothers, and three candidates for the Benedictines. Students took four years of high school and the first year of college at St. Maur's, and then transferred to St. John's College.[139]

In 1949, the number of black priests in the United States rose to thirty-five.[140] By July of that same year, according to a survey of vocation opportunities made by the Rev. Raymond Bernard, S.J. of St. Mary's College in St. Mary's, Kansas, more than sixty Catholic novitiates and major and minor seminaries in North America accepted qualified black applicants to the priesthood. In addition, twenty-one novitiates indicated their willingness to train black brothers and at least twenty-two religious communities of women, among them five strictly cloistered groups, welcomed black women.[141] Another Jesuit, Raymond Bernard of Grand Couteau, Louisiana reported that twenty-three religious orders and congregations of men and seventeen secular seminaries admitted black students, including those of the Archdioceses of New Orleans, New York, Boston, Milwaukee, St. Paul, Chicago, St. Louis, and Cincinnati.[142] Advocates of black priests found the statistics of the two Jesuit priests encouraging. They also knew, nevertheless, that there were forty-seven diocesan and archdiocesan seminaries, 285 religious seminaries, and 209 congregations of Sisters in the United States.[143] Moreover, many of the seminaries professing to accept black candidates, admitted only one or two under a quota system.

VI

While delighted with the improving prospects for black priests throughout the United States in the late forties and pleased with applications from black students for Epiphany Apostolic College, Casserly became increasingly alarmed at an apparent decline in overall Josephite vocations. Between 1941 and 1946, the Josephites grew from 153 priests attached to seventy parishes and missions and attending another thirty-two missions, to over 200 priests resident in eighty-five parishes and missions and serving another thirty-five outlying missions. During that same period, the number of children in Josephite schools leapt from 41,252 to 62,242; and the Josephites built twenty new schools.[144] By 1947, however, the number of ordinations dropped to only six and Casserly declared that the Josephites faced a growing shortage of priests: forcing him to remove one priest from the college and another from the seminary in order "to fill the gaps in the mission line."[145]

In August, 1947, Casserly's concern about vocations led him to appoint Cornelius Sexton, a full-time teacher at Epiphany, as part-time vocation recruiter. Sexton's position at the college, however, limited his recruiting trips to states in the Northeast especially New York, New Jersey, and Massachusetts.[146] On November 29, 1947, Casserly sent a letter to all Josephites urging them "to be solicitous" about vocations and repeated the guidelines set down in his previous letter of June 12, 1944. While insisting on the highest standards for applicants, Casserly also emphasized that, in their admissions policy, the Josephites "... should be as catholic as the Church herself."[147] Six months later, in another letter to all Josephites, Sexton informed them of "the alarmingly small enrollment of students at Epiphany Apostolic College in recent years." As of May, 1948, the college had only thirty

eight students, eleven of whom would enter the novitiate, leaving only twenty-seven for the approaching school year.[148]

Casserly blamed his men on the missions for part of the vocation problem. He recognized that the location of St. Augustine's Seminary in Bay St. Louis made it more attractive to many black youths in the South because of its relative proximity to their homes. Epiphany Apostolic College, located in far away New York state, seemed as remote to many of them as a foreign country. Casserly, nevertheless, accused some of his missionaries, like Anthony Kiel of Our Mother of Mercy parish in Houston, of failing to promote Epiphany Apostolic College vigorously enough among the young men of their parishes.[149] During a visit to Sacred Heart parish in Port Arthur, Texas, Casserly "raised holy hell" with Father Mike McCormack in front of Rawlin Enette, a boy from McCormack's parish, when he learned that Enette had applied earlier to the Edmundites. Casserly told Enette to apply immediately to the Josephites and saw to it that he gained admission to Epiphany Apostolic College.[150]

Casserly became convinced that the Josephites needed a high school in New Orleans, not only to provide black youngsters with the skills needed to compete effectively in society, but also to encourage more black vocations for the Josephites. When Archbishop Rummel announced plans to build a high school for black boys in New Orleans, Casserly immediately offered to staff the school, as did the SVDs. Casserly explained to Rummel: "We look to the school as a possible source of vocations for our Society ....We ... could select candidates and cultivate possible vocations during the years a boy feels attraction that way."[151] The SVDs and the Josephites competed vigorously for the school, and at one point Rummel appeared close to awarding it to the the SVDs.[152] On July 31, 1948, however, Rummel announced his selection of the Josephites to operate

the new high school for a period of ten years. William C. Bauer, the SVD Provincial, explained to the SVD Father General that the Josephites conducted ten parishes within the city "so it is but natural that they also operate the high school, because the boys would come from their parish schools."[153] St. Augustine's High School opened its doors in September, 1949.[154] By the time that Rummel made his announcement about the high school, however, Casserly was no longer Superior General of the Josephites.

At the July, 1948 General Chapter of St. Joseph's Society, in what Casserly later described as "a rejection" rather than "an election," the Josephites decided that they had had enough of the "New York Boss," and in his place elected fifty-two year old Thomas P. McNamara, a veteran of the Louisiana missions, as the sixth Superior General of the Society. Casserly became Society consultor and also pastor of St. Peter Claver's parish in Baltimore. The election, however, represented a reaction against Casserly's domineering personality and his apparent insensitivity to Josephites on the missions, not a rejection of his policies. Indeed, the new Superior General and his right hand man, George O'Dea, Casserly's young protege, continued and expanded the recruitment of black vocations for the Josephites.[155]

Although lasting only six years, Casserly's administration marked a turning point for St. Joseph's Society. Casserly established twenty parishes and missions and an equal number of schools. He sent priests to graduate school, thereby strengthening the educational institutions conducted by the Society and largely as a result of his efforts and vision, the Josephites won the right to staff St. Augustine's high school in New Orleans. Less defensive than Pastorelli, Casserly promoted Josephite participation in organizations like the Catholic Committee

of the South where, he said, Josephites "might both learn and teach."[156] Fr. Dan Cassidy's interracial club in Baltimore, Fr. John Doyle's farm cooperative and credit union in Ames, Texas, and the street preaching of some younger Josephites, all reflected Casserly's emphasis on studying and employing "modern methods" to promote evangelization.[157] Casserly also effectively used Chester Ball, the Society's lone black priest, "to show the Josephite flag" in the black Catholic community by preaching retreats and giving numerous speeches before Catholic and non-Catholic groups.[158] Moreover, Casserly encouraged his men to foster religious vocations among black girls in Josephite parishes and urged numerous congregations of sisters to accept black candidates into their communities.[159] He managed the financial affairs of the Society so skillfully that when he left office, St. Joseph's Society owed not a single penny.[160]

Casserly's most important contribution, however, lay in the realm of black vocations for the priesthood. Benefitting from the support of young Josephites, and reassured by the new found willingness of some southern bishops to accept black priests into their dioceses, Casserly overcame the last ditch opposition of the "old guard" led by Edward Brunner, and reclaimed a crucial part of Slattery's legacy. In a real sense, St. Joseph's Society recovered its identity. Freed from the energy sapping struggles with black Catholics and with themselves over the issue of black priests, the Josephites reassumed their role as champions of a black clergy, thereby identifying more closely with the aspirations of the black Catholic community that they served. Casserly left a reinvigorated Society to his successors, just as the civil rights revolution began in earnest.

END NOTES

[1]Harvard Sitkoff, The Struggle for Black Equality, 1954 - 1980 (New York, 1981), pp. 11 - 12; chapters XXIII and XXIV in John Hope Franklin, From Slavery To Freedom, A History of Negro Americans, (5th ed.; New York, 1980), 573 - 622 provide an excellent description of black Americans during and immediately after the Second World War.

[2]Sitkoff, The Struggle, pp. 13 - 15, 19.

[3]Ibid., 15 - 16, 19.

[4]James Hennesey, S.J., American Catholics, A History of the Roman Catholic Community in the United States (New York, 1981), pp. 280, 283, 285 - 287, 304.

[5]Ibid., 304 - 306. Between 1939 and 1944, the National Catholic Welfare Conference (NCWC) engaged in various activities in race relations, although various activities in individual dioceses were left up to the direction of each bishop. The Social Action Department of the NCWC set aside one day of its annual industrial conferences to discuss the problems of the "Colored Race in its relations with Labor and employer. Miss Linna Bresette and Monsignor John A. Ryan of the same department unofficially served in an advisory capacity to the F.E.P.C.. The NCWC also issued a pamphlet entitled "Negro Workers in Free America" by the Rev. Francis Gilligan of St. Paul's Seminary. Other Individuals and organizations like George Hunton and Father John LaFarge, and Elmo Anderson of the Catholic Interracial Council, Francis J. Gilligan, J.B. Tennelly of the Negro and Indian Commission, and the Catholic Committee of the South, devoted themselves to promoting better interracial relations. See United States Catholic Conference Archives (hereinafter referred to as USCCA), Social Action - Race Relations File, 1929 - 1947, Rev. James M. Lawler to Dr. William Stuart Nelson, Washington, D.C, February 24, 1944.

[6]Sydney E. Ahlstrom, A Religious History of the American People, II (New York, 1975), pp. 520 - 521; Hennesey, American Catholics, p. 305;

Baroness Catherine de Hueck, a Russian emigree began the Friendship House movement in 1939 in Harlem. Never numerically large, at its height in 1949 the movement maintained houses in New York, Chicago, Washington, D.C., Shreveport, and Portland, Oregon. Its members shared the lives of those they sought to serve, living in tenement houses near the store-front Friendship Houses themselves. The members of the Friendship House movement championed black rights by fighting unjust evictions, helping men obtain jobs, running summer day camps, and directing the sick to hospitals and clinics. They also conducted open forums and courses on interracial justice and published 6,000 copies every month of their newspaper, The Catholic Interracialist - which they mailed to priests, sisters, and laypersons throughout the country. The better-known Catholic Worker movement of Peter Maurin and Dorothy Day also spoke out strongly on behalf of better race relations. See William Osborne, Segregated Covenant, Race Relations and American Catholics (New York, 1967), pp. 38 - 39.

The idea for an organization of Southern Catholics originated with Paul D. Williams, a young layman from Richmond, Virginia. He collaborated with Bishops Gerald P. O'Hara of Savannah-Atlanta and Peter Ireton of Richmond, and

Father T. James McNamara, a native Georgian, to found the Catholic Committee of the South (CCS). The CCS held that the South constituted not only "nation's number one economic problem," as Franklin Roosevelt described it, but also "the Church's number one opportunity." The history of the CCS, according to an authority on the organization was "largely a story of its ten conventions held from 1940 to 1953. The group sought to apply Catholic social principles to the problems of the region. It set up five departments for study and action: Industrial, Rural, Education, Negro, and Youth. Individuals presented papers for discussions at departmental sessions. Race and economics usually received the most attention. Local chapters of the CCS were established in a number of southern cities.

The CCS never had the full backing of the southern bishops who supported it with contributions. Between 1947 and 1953, the CCS became more activist, advocating clergy support for unionization and calling in 1949 for Catholic schools to take the lead in eliminating segregation. It also urged an end to segregation in all Catholic churches and the admission of blacks to graduate and professional schools, hospitals and hospital staffs. The 1951 convention of the CCS called for "ultimate integration of all members of our Church" the religious, cultural, and economic life of the nation. The CCs, however, fell victim to the climate of fear that enveloped much of the South in the 1950s. Threats against the Church from conservative Catholics and segregationist legislators caused some bishops to retreat from an aggressive program of social action. The CCS foundered after its 1953 convention and although the New Orleans branch remained active through 1956, the CCS withered away. See Katherine Martensen, "Region, Religion, and Social Action: The Catholic Committee of the South, 1939 - 1956," The Catholic Historical Review, LXVIII (April, 1982), 249 - 267.

[7]Josephite Fathers Archives (hereinafter referred to as JFA), Casserly Biographical File (hereinafter referred to as CBF), obituary, typescript, October 18, 1982; Interview, Rev. Eugene McManus, S.S.J., Baltimore, September 9, 1983; JFA, 63-C, Louis B. Pastorelli to Edward V. Casserly, Baltimore, December 8, 1941.

[8]JFA, 63-C, Casserly to Pastorelli, New Orleans, February 17, 1941; JFA, CBF, obituary, October 18, 1982.

[9]Interview, Rev. James Didas, S.S.J., Baltimore, October 7, 1983; JFA, 51-C, Casserly to Pastorelli, New Orleans, July 2, 1931.

[10]JFA, 51-C, Casserly to Pastorelli, New Orleans, June 25, 1930.

[11]T.B. Moroney, the rector of Epiphany Apostolic College, was the man who had secretly married before a justice of the peace. He was expelled from the Society in 1925. See Interview, Rev. Peter E. Hogan, S.S.J., Baltimore, December 29, 1982; Consultors' Minutes Book - 2, typed transcript, (hereinafter referred to as CMB-2), p. 103.

[12]Interview, Rev. Joseph Waters, S.S.J., Baltimore, August 10, 1983; Interview, Rev. James Didas, S.S.J., Baltimore, October 7, 1983; Interview, Ms. Agnes Rembus, Baltimore, July 9, 1983; Interview, Rev. George F. O'Dea, S.S.J., August 10, 1983.

[13]JFA, Pastorelli to Casserly, Baltimore, July 5, 1941.

[14]JFA, Casserly-McNamara Papers (hereinafter referred to as CMP), Bishops' Correspondence, Apostolic Delegate File, typed chronology of St. Joseph's Society apparently prepared for Archbishop Amleto Cicognani in 1943, copy; "Josephite Fathers to Hold Golden Jubilee," Baltimore Afro-American, October 9, 1943.

[15]JFA, typed transcript of an interview with the Rev. Rawlin Enette, S.S.J. conducted by the Rev. Peter E. Hogan, S.S.J., Baltimore, March 9, 1971, p. 1 - 3; interview, Very Rev. Eugene Marino, Washington, D.C., December 6, 1983.

[16]JFA, CMP, Bishops' Correspondence, New Orleans File, Casserly to Archbishop Joseph Rummel, Baltimore, October 24, 1942.

[17]JFA, CMP, Joseph Hennessy File, J.F. Hennessy to Casserly, Montgomery, January 29, 1943; Hennessy to Bishop Thomas J. Toolen, Montgomery, January 23, 1943, copy; "A Platform for Racial Peace," The Catholic Week (Mobile), January 22, 1943.

[18]JFA, CMP, Hennessy File, Hennessy to Casserly, Montgomery, January 29, 1943; Hennessy to Toolen, Montgomery, January 28, 1943, copy.

[19]JFA, CMP, Hennessy File, Casserly to Hennessy, Baltimore, February 2, 1943.

[20]JFA, CMP, Bishops' Correspondence, Casserly to Toolen, Baltimore, February 2, 1943.

[21]JFA, CMP, Bishops' Correspondence, Mobile File, Toolen to Casserly, Mobile, February 5, 1943.

[22]JFA, CMP, Hennessy File, Casserly to Hennessy, Baltimore, February 11, 1943.

[23]JFA, CMP, Holy Family - Natchez File, Walter Mulroney to Casserly, Natchez, April 1, 1943.

[24]JFA, CMP, Holy Redeemer - San Antonio File, Casserly to Lambert J. Welbers, Baltimore, May 8, 1943.

[25]JFA, Epiphany Apostolic College Correspondence File (hereinafter referred to as EACCF). The EACC File contains photostatic copies of original letters.) Francis J. Schmutz to Casserly, Newburgh, August 12, 1942.

[26]JFA, CMP, Holy Family - Natchez File, Walter Mulroney to Casserly, Natchez, August 26, 1942, see also accompanying "notes of E.V.C. (Edward V.

[27]JFA, EACCF, Casserly to Schmutz, Baltimore, August 13, 1942; CMP, Hennessy File, Casserly to Hennessy, Baltimore, September 3, 1943; CMP, St.

Pius - Jacksonville File, Casserly to George Wilson, Baltimore, February 10, 1943.

[28]Interview, Rev. George F. O'Dea, S.S.J., Baltimore, August 10, 1983; Interview, Rev. Peter E. Hogan, Baltimore, December 29, 1982; Interview, Rev. Robert McCall, Baltimore, June 24, 1982.

[29]JFA, CMP, Bishops' Correspondence File, San Antonio, Casserly to Louis Jungman, Baltimore, February 27, 1943.

[30]JFA, CMB-2, April 8, 1943, p. 41.

[31]In 1939, the Holy See added the name of Washington to that of Baltimore in the title of the see. The complete separation of the two sees occurred six months after the death of Archbishop Michael Curley. On January 14, 1948, Patrick A. O'Boyle was consecrated as the first resident archbishop of Washington, D.C.. See J.T. Ellis, "Washington, D.C., Archdiocese of," New Catholic Encyclopedia, XIV, 823.

[32]Interview, Charles H. Dorsey, Jr., Baltimore, October 12, 1983;

[33]Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore (hereinafter referred to as AAB), S-1722, Curley to H.M. Smith, Baltimore, December 5, 1942.

In early 1944, Archbishop Curley also appeared more willing to take steps to ameliorate segregation in Washington, D.C.. On January 4, 1944, he wrote to the Rev. Henry Ianone, P.S.M. warning: "We must exercise extraordinary care in our treatment of our Colored people. There is no law of God or man or of the Church that can justify the treatment which the Colored people receive in any number of places. They feel it particularly when they are 'Jim Crowed' in the Catholic Church and we have no reason whatsoever for Jim Crowing anyone except that we have ushers at times who have the bias and prejudice of millions of people against the Colored Race...." He asked Iannone to say a word to his ushers about a complaint that he had received. "I find," he said, "that most of the sins in this particular line are committed by the ushers." See Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, W-361, Curley to Rev. Henry Iannone, P.S.M., Baltimore, January 4, 1944.

Curley also praised what he called the "flourishing Colored Dioceses in Africa, with their own colored bishop," and "a splendid Negro Priesthood...." in a letter to Matthias D. Ward, a black man in the Salvatorian Seminary in St. Naziany, Wisconsin. See Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, W-362, Curley to Matthias Ward, Baltimore, January 5, 1944.

[34]AAB, C-1503, Curley to Rev. Aloysius Coogan, Editor of Catholic Missions, Baltimore, November 25, 1942. For a sympathetic evaluation of Curley see Rev. Peter E. Hogan, S.S.J., "Archbishop Curley and the Blacks," (unpublished paper presented at the Spring meeting of the American Catholic Historical Society, Louisville, April, 16, 1983).

[35]Interview, Dorsey, October 12, 1983; AAB, D-1139, Curley to Charles H. Dorsey, Sr., Baltimore, July 21, 1943; AAB, D-1140, memo, Joseph M. Nelligan, Chancellor, August 10, 1943; Interview, O'Dea, August 10, 1983; AAB, D-1140, memo, Joseph M. Nelligan, Chancellor, August 10, 1943.

[36]JFA, EACCF, Casserly to Timothy Holland, Baltimore, August 21, 1943.

[37]JFA, EACCF, Schmutz to Casserly, Newburgh, July 26, 1943.

[38]JFA, EACCF, Casserly to Edward Brunner, Baltimore, April 15, 1945. Casserly pointed out the statistic to Edward Brunner in this letter.

[39]JFA, CMP, St. John the Baptist - Montgomery File, Hennesy to Casserly, Montgomery, August 25, 1943.

[40]JFA, EACCF, Casserly to Reverend and Dear Father, Baltimore, November 29, 1947.This 1947 letter repeated the points made in the letter of June 12, 1944. I could not find a copy of the 1944 letter.

[41]JFA, CMP, St. Theresa - Orange, Texas File, M.J. McCormack to Casserly, June 17, 1944.

[42]JFA, CMP, St. Joseph's Industrial School File, Brunner to Casserly, Clayton, July 24, 1943; Our Mother of Mercy - Houston File, Casserly to Joseph Lally, Baltimore, July 8, 1944; Interview, Rev. Mario Shaw, O.S.B., Peoria, July 9, 1982.

[43]JFA, EACCF, Brunner to Casserly, Newburgh, June 9, 1944.

[44]JFA, EACCF, Casserly to Brunner, Baltimore, June 12, 1944.

[45]JFA, Blessed Sacrament - Beaumont File, M. Flaherty to Casserly, Beaumont, June 24, 1944; Flaherty to Casserly, Beaumont, July 5, 1944; M. McCormack to Casserly, Orange, Texas, July 4, 1944.

[46]JFA, EACCF, Casserly to Brunner, Baltimore, July 7, 1944.

[47]JFA, EACCF, Brunner to Casserly, Newburgh, July 8, 1944; Brunner to Casserly, July 21, 1944.

[48]JFA, EACCF, Casserly to Brunner, Baltimore, July 24, 1944.

[49]Ibid.

[50]JFA, EACCF, Brunner to Casserly, Newburgh, July 26, 1944.

[51]JFA, EACCF, Brunner to Casserly, Newburgh, July 26, 1944, memo.

[52]Ibid.

[53]Ibid.

[54]Ibid.

[55]JFA, CMP, Corpus Christi - New Orleans File, Harry Maloney to Casserly, New Orleans, August 7, 1944.

[56]JFA, EACCF, Brunner to Casserly, Newburgh, August 5, 1944.

[57]Ibid.

[58]JFA, EACCF, Casserly to Brunner, Baltimore, August 23, 1944.

[59]Ibid.

[60]JFA, EACCF, Brunner to Casserly, Newburgh, August 25, 1944. For whatever reason, Satterfield never enrolled in Epiphany Apostolic College.

[61]JFA, EAC Faculty Meeting Minutes, October, 1944, p. 63.

[62]JFA, EACCF, Brunner to Casserly, Newburgh, December 31, 1944. Rosamond Shaw's experience with Joseph Hennessy, his pastor at St. John's in Montgomery, illustrated how some of the Josephites in parishes recruited black students for Epiphany Apostolic College. One day, in January, 1944, Father Hennessy asked Shaw, the fourteen year old son of a relatively prosperous, professional black Catholic family, and a junior in high school, to leave the classroom at St. John's for a drive into the country. As they drove, Hennessy talked about the racist editorials then appearing in the Montgomery Advertiser and asked why Shaw had not written any refutations. Hennessy also talked about problems faced by blacks and by Josephite missionaries. He drove up to a little one room school house on a cotton plantation owned by the McLemore family. As they approached the school, Hennessy and Shaw could see barefoot and poorly clad men, women, and children, working in the fields.

Moella Matthews, the teacher at the school, told Fr. Hennessy that the kids attended the twelve grade, one room school only on rainy days - on fair days they worked in the fields. Hennessy turned to Shaw and observed that the people on the plantation remained in a state of slavery, bound to the land by debt and illiteracy. He asked Shaw what he would do about the situation. Shaw responded that in ten or fifteen years he would give a million dollars to the church so that Hennessy could help them. Hennessy told Shaw that God needed committed people, not money. They got back into the car and motored toward Montgomery. As they drove back toward the city, Hennessy spoke to Shaw about the "real happiness" found in serving God by helping others. That night, Shaw decided to become a priest. See, Interview, Rev. Mario Shaw, O.S.B. (When he entered the Benedictines, Shaw took the name Mario), Peoria, June 9, 1982.

[63]JFA, EACCF, Casserly to Brunner, Baltimore, January 4, 1945.

[64]JFA, EAC Faculty Meeting Minutes, January 23, 1945, pp. 71 - 73.

[65]Ibid.

[66]Interview, Mario Shaw, Peoria, June 9, 1982; JFA, CMP, St. John the Baptist - Montgomery File, Hennessy to Casserly, Montgomery, February 14, 1945.

[67]JFA, EACCF, Casserly to Holland, Baltimore, February 17, 1945; Casserly to Hennessy, Baltimore, February 17, 1945.

[68]JFA, EACCF, Holland to Casserly, Newburgh, March 4, 1945.

[69]JFA, EACCF, Casserly to Holland, Baltimore, March 8, 1945.

[70]JFA, EAC Faculty Meeting Minutes, March 6, 1945, pp. 77 - 78.

[71]JFA, Negro Priests File, "First Colored Priest In Boston To Be Ordained," Catholic Herald, March 9, 1945; JFA, EACCF, Brunner to Hennessy, Newburgh, March 16, 1945; Brunner to E. Murphy, Newburgh, March 16, 1945.

[72]JFA, EACCF, Brunner to Casserly, Newburgh, March 19, 1945; Interview, George O'Dea, August 10, 1983.

[73]JFA, CMB-2, March 22, 1945, pp. 20a, 21a.

[74]JFA, EACCF, Casserly to Brunner, Baltimore, March 23, 1945.

[75]JFA, EACCF, Casserly to Brunner, Baltimore, March 23, 1945.

[76]JFA, EACCF, Brunner to Casserly, Newburgh, March 26, 1945.

[77]JFA, EACCF, Casserly to Brunner, Baltimore, April 15, 1945.

[78]JFA, EAC Faculty Minutes, April 10, 1945, p. 81.

[79]JFA, CMP, Bishops' Correspondence, Baltimore File, Msgr. Joseph M. Nelligan to Casserly, Baltimore, April 5, 1945.

[80]JFA, EACCF, Brunner to Casserly, Newburgh, April 19, 1945.

[81]JFA, EACCF, Casserly to Brunner, Baltimore, May 6, 1945.

[82]JFA, EACCF, Brunner to Casserly, Newburgh, May 15, 1945.

[83]JFA, EACCF, Casserly to Brunner, Baltimore, May 19, 1945.

[84]Ibid.

[85]JFA, Hennessy File, Hennesy to Casserly, Montgomery, May 20, 1945; Interview, Mario Shaw, June 9, 1982.

[86]JFA, Blessed Sacrament - New Orleans File, Stephen J. Hogan to Casserly, New Orleans, May 24, 1945; JFA, EACCF, Casserly to Brunner, Baltimore, June 4, 1945.

[87]JFA, EACCF, Casserly to Brunner, Baltimore, June 4, 1945; Casserly to Joseph Verrett, Baltimore, June 4, 1945; Casserly to Anthony Kiel, Baltimore, June 4, 1945; Interview, Rev. Joseph Verrett, S.S.J., Washington, D.C., May 29, 1985.

[88]JFA, EACCF, Brunner to Casserly, Newburgh, June 9, 1945.

[89]JFA, EACCF, Casserly to Brunner, Baltimore, June 19, 1945.

[90]JFA, EACCF, Casserly to Brunner, Baltimore, July 31, 1945; Interview, Joseph Verrett, May 29, 1985.

[91]JFA, EAC Faculty Meeting Minutes, September, 1945, p. 91; Shortly before his death on December 26, 1951, Father Brunner apologized to Mario Shaw for having opposed his admission. See Interview, Mario Shaw, July 9, 1982.

[92]JFA, Negro Priests File, "High Church Dignitaries Will Participate in Seminary Rites," Catholic Action of the South(New Orleans), October 4, 1945.

[93]The Society of Jesus is divided into assistancies, these in turn are divided into provinces and within provinces are local communities. The Father General appoints provincials and also the rectors of local communities. The American Assistant, who normally resides in Rome, is elected by the American provincials to advise the Father General. Because of the difficulties created by the Second World War, Maher resided at St. Andrew-on-Hudson, Poughkeepsie, New York.

[94]Albert S. Foley, S.J., God's Men of Color (New York, 1955), p. 310; Georgetown University Archives (hereinafter referred to as GUA), LaFarge Papers, Box 16-23, LaFarge to Very Rev. Zacheus J. Maher, New York, August 24, 1944, copy.

[95]GUA, LaFarge Papers, Box 16-23, Maher to the Provincials of the American Assistancy, Poughkeepsie, May 3, 1945, copy.

[96]Ibid.

[97]Ibid.

[98]GUA, LaFarge Papers, Box 16-23, LaFarge to maher, New York, June 3, 1945.

[99]Telephone conversation with the Rev. William B. Faherty, S.J., historian for the Missouri Province of the Society of Jesus, May 2, 1985; JFA, Negro Priests File, "Admit First Negro," New World (Chicago), September 27, 1946. More "southern" provinces like Maryland and New Orleans, however, did not receive their first black novices until 1961. See telephone conversation with Rev. Albert S. Foley, S.J., May 3, 1985 and Interview with Rev. James Byrne, S.J., Georgetown Preparatory School, Rockville, Maryland, May 2, 1985.

[100]AAB, K-1113, Edward Kramer to Curley, New York, October 9, 1944.

[101]Ibid.

[102]Ibid.

[103]Ibid.

[104]United States Catholic Conference Archives (hereinafter referred to as USCCA), Minutes of the Annual Meetings of the American Hierarchy (bound), November 17, 1944, pp. 35 -36. The bishops considered pending federal legislation to establish a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission at the request of Bishop Francis J. Haas, of Grand Rapids, chairman of Roosevelt's F.E.P.C.. After a spirited debate, during which Bishop Edward Walsh of Charleston called the proposed legislation "unwise," "ineffective," and likely to put an end to the progress made by groups like the Catholic Committee of the South "to develop a sense of justice to the Negro and an understanding of his problem in the South," the bishops endorsed a motion instructing the Administrative Board to make representations in support of a permanent FEPC before Congressional Committees holding hearings and to support opening the membership of labor unions to black workers.

[105]JFA, CMP, Bishops File, Catholic Board for Mission Work Among the Colored File, Kramer to Casserly, New York, August 20, 1945.

[106]GUA, LaFarge papers, Box 10-11, LaFarge to Vernon L. Thornley, S.J., New York, June 27, 1946; Thornley to laFarge, Lenox, Massachusetts, June 11, 1946.

[107]JFA, EACCF, Casserly to Brunner, Baltimore, March 23, 1945.

[108]Southern Province Archives of the Society of the Divine Word (hereinafter referred to as SPA), Bishops' Correspondence, Rummel File, Joseph F. Eckert to Rummel, Bay St. Louis, January 15, 1946.

[109]St. Augustine's Seminary Archives (hereinafter referred to as SASA), House - Province File, Minutes of the House Council, 1945, November 29, 1945; SASA, House - Province File, 1945, Joseph Busch to Dear Fr. Provincial, Bay St. Louis, December 3, 1945.

[110]SPA, Bishops' Correspondence, Rummel File, Eckert to Rummel, Bay St. Louis, January 15, 1945.

[111]Archives of the Archdiocese of Mobile (hereinafter referred to as AAM), Toolen Papers, Rummel to Most Rev. Thomas J. Toolen, New Orleans, February 4, 1946.

[112]The Society of St. Edmund, a religious congregation of priests and brothers, was founded in 1843 in France by Venerable Fr. Jean Baptiste Muard. The first Edmundites came to the United States in 1902. In 1937, the Society began work among blacks in the United States, opening its first mission at Selma, Alabama. See G.E. Dupont, "St. Edmund, Society of," New Catholic Encyclopedia, XII, 877.

[113]AAM, Bishop Thomas J. Toolen Papers, Toolen to Rummel, Mobile, February 7, 1946.

[114]Interview, Mario Shaw, July, 9, 1982.

[115]Archives of the Diocese of Little Rock (hereinafter referred to as ADLR), Bishop John B. Morris Papers, John B. Morris to Rummel, Little Rock, February 19, 1946. The second page of the letter is missing.

[116]SASA, House - Province File, "An Appeal from the Heart of the Southern Missions," Backyard Mission Field.

[117]Archives of the Diocese of Jackson (hereinafter referred to as ADJ), Bishop Richard G. Gerow Papers, Richard G. Gerow to Rummel, Natchez, February 12, 1946, copy.

[118]Ibid.

[119]JFA, CMP, J. A. Lally File, Joseph Lally to Casserly, Dallas, August 16, 1946.

[120]JFA, CMP, Lally File, Casserly to Lally, Baltimore, August 21, 1946. Casserly knew that black Catholics wanted priests of their own and knew that the Josephites had to respond honestly. James F. Faherty of Our Lady of Mercy church in Beaumont, Texas, told Casserly, "The Colored people are clamoring for Colored priests, not maybe because they think they would be better, but because they think that the Church is holding out on them. Only yesterday the Knights brought the matter up. I believe that it will have to be faced in some more effective way than it has been to date." Faherty attributed the changing attitude of the people, in part at least, to the activity of the CIO which had created much "agitation." See, JFA, CMP, Our Lady of Mercy - Beaumont File, James F. Faherty to Casserly, Beaumont, August 19, 1946.

[121]SPA, Bishops' Correspondence, Bishop Gerow File, Gerow to Eckert, Natchez, September 9, 1946; Archives of the Archdiocese of New Orleans (hereinafter referred to as AANO), Rummel to the Most Rev. Lawrence J. Sheehan, New Orleans, August 3, 1946.

[122]ADJ, Gerow Papers, Diary of Bishop Gerow, vol. III, 1942 - 1948, September 19, 1946, p. 721; Archives of the Diocese of Lafayette (hereinafter referred to as ADL), Bishop Jules Jeanmard Papers, Jules Jeanmard to Edward Kramer, Lafayette, June 14, 1947.

[123]JFA, CMP, All Saints - Algiers File, J. E. McKee to Casserly, Algiers, October 11, 1946.

[124]GUA, LaFarge Papers, Box 28-15, David Hepburn, "Negro Catholics of New Orleans," Our World, undated but internal evidence indicates April, 1949; Interview by phone with Msgr. Charles J. Plauche, New Orleans, July 15, 1983.

[125]USCCA, Minutes of the Special Meeting of the American Board of Catholic Missions, November 18, 1946. As of October, 1946, 511 priests worked on the black missions in the United States. They were joined by 1800 sisters, 475 of whom were black. Approximately 5,000 black students attended Catholic institutions, high schools, and seminaries and 60,000 black children enrolled in black parochial schools with many others attending non-black parochial schools. See, GUA, LaFarge Papers, Box 16-21, copy of a sermon delivered to the Catholic Interracial Council of Detroit in 1946.

[126]ADL, Bishop Jules Jeanmard Papers, Jeanmard to Kramer, Lafayette, June 14, 1947; Jeanmard to Vernon Dauphin, Lafayette, July 27, 1948.

[127]The Missionary Servants of the Most Holy Trinity, a religious congregation of men, was founded in the United States by Thomas Augustine Judge, a Vincentian priest, in 1921 in Mobile, Alabama. Infusing a missionary spirit into the laity and training lay apostles to aid priests in preserving and spreading Catholicism were main objectives of the congregation. See H. Marshall, "Missionary Servants of the Most Holy Trinity," New Catholic Encyclopedia IX, 921 - 922.

[128]ADL, Bishop Jeanmard Papers, Cardinal Pizzardo to Jeanmard, Rome, August 18, 1950; Louis LeDoux to Jeanmard, Montreal, November 22, 1952; Consultors' Minutes, September 5, 1950, p. 82; Foley, God's Men, p. 213, 301; Jeanmard to Rev. Roland Fournier, S.S., Lafayette, June 14, 1951.

[129]ADJ, Gerow Papers, Busch to Gerow, Bay St. Louis, March 10, 1948; SASA, Rummel to Very Rev. Lawrence Walsh, New Orleans, January 11, 1951; Walsh to Rummel, Bay St. Louis, January 14, 1951.

[130]Interview, Rev. David Melancon, O.S.B., St. Benedict, Louisiana, December 27, 1984.

[131]SASA, Rummel to Walsh, New Orleans, January 11, 1951; Walsh to Rummel, Bay St. Louis, January 14, 1951.

[132]Interview, David Melancon, December 27, 1984. According to the Rev. David Melancon, O.S.B., the rector of St. Joseph's from 1946 - 1957, at least a year before Bechet's arrival, Archbishop Rummel approached him about the possibility of accepting black students. Melancon and the men in his community favored the idea and the first two black students entered the high school department of St. Joseph's, probably in September of 1950. Melancon hoped to keep the event as quiet and noncontroversial as possible. Not trusting the possible reaction of some white parents when they helped move their sons in to the dormitory on the Sunday of registration, Fr. David asked the black students to report the following day. Parents, therefore, learned about the presence of black students days after school opened through letters from their sons. Fr. David heard very few complaints from any of the parents.

Some of the Benedictine's at St. Joseph's criticized him for not taking a more public stand. For several years after accepting black students, however, Fr. David insisted that St. Joseph's keep a low profile. When the white students took field trips, blacks went on separate trips of their own, in order to avoid arousing public animosity. Fr. David viewed his job as providing for the students, not converting the rest of the population.

[133]ADJ, Gerow Papers, Gerow to Eckert, Natchez, November 21, 1946; Foley, God's Men, pp. 190 - 191.

[134]ADJ, Gerow Papers, Gerow diary, August 28, 1949, p. 865.

[135]SPA, Negro Benedictine Monastery File, Rev. Basil Stegmann to Jeanmard, Collegeville, July 3, 1945; Jeanmard to Eckert, Lafayette, July 11,

1945; Eckert to Jeanmard, Lafayette, July 17, 1945; Stegmann to Eckert, Collegeville, September 3, 1945; Stegmann to Eckert, Collegeville, October 9, 1945; Eckert to Stegmann, Collegeville, November 7, 1945; John Kemper to Abbot Alcuin Deutsch, Bay St. Louis, October 25, 1945.

[136]St. John's Abbey Archives (hereinafter referred to as SJAA), Abbot Alcuin Deutsch Papers, memo, Rev. Alexander Korte, O.S.B. to Deutsch, 1946. Internal evidence suggests that Korte wrote the memo in 1946; Korte to Deutsch, St. Joseph, Mn., September 28, 1946.

[137]SJAA, Deutsch Papers, Korte to Deutsch, St. Joseph, February 2, 1947; February 11, 1947; February 15, 1947; Bishop Francis R. Cotton to Korte, Owensboro, April 10, 1948.

[138]JFA, Negro Priests File, "Benedictine Monks Start New Interracial Monastery," Catholic Courier, April 14, 1948; SJAA, Deutsch Papers, "Plan Monastery for Negroes and Whites," The New York Sun, April 1, 1949; "St. John's Opens Dixie Priory," Minneapolis Tribune, April 4, 1949; Joe Creason, "One Faith - Two Races," The Courier-Journal Magazine, December 14, 1952 pp. 6 - 7; Foley, God's Men, p. 258.

[139]SJAA, Deutsch Papers, Cotton to Deutsch, Owensboro, October 29, 1949; Creason, "One Faith-Two Races," pp. 6 - 7.

[140]GUA, LaFarge Papers, Box 20-5, "The Work of the Catholic Church Among the Negroes of the U.S.," issued in Rome by the Fides Documentation Agency of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith.

[141]JFA, Negro Priests File, Indiana Catholic Record (Indianapolis), July 22, 1949.

[142]GUA, LaFarge papers, Box 20-5, "The Work of the Catholic Church Among the Negroes of the U.S.," issued in Rome by Fides Documentation Agency of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith.

[143]Foley, God's Men, p. 260.

[144]JFA, CMP, Bishops' Correspondence, New Orleans File, Casserly to M.J. Smith, Baltimore, March 26, 1947.

[145]JFA, CMP, Charles Crowley File, Casserly to Crowley, Baltimore, April 23, 1947.

[146]JFA, EACCF, Cornelius Sexton to Dear Father, Newburgh, May 12, 1948.

[147]JFA, EACCF, Casserly to Reverend and Dear Father, Baltimore, November 29, 1947.

[148]JFA, EACCF, Sexton to Dear Father, Newburgh, May 12, 1948.

[149]Interview, O'Dea, Baltimore, August 10, 1983; JFA, Our Mother of Mercy - Houston File, Casserly to Kiel, Baltimore, August 20, 1947.

[150]JFA, Interview transcript, Rawlin Enette, March 9, 1971, pp. 1 - 3.

[151]Interview, George F. O'Dea, August 10, 1983; JFA, Bishops Correspondence, New Orleans, Casserly to Rummel, Baltimore, March 5, 1948.

[152]SPA, Bishops' Correspondence, Archbishop Rummel File, Rummel to William Bauer, New Orleans, June 19, 1948.

[153]SPA, Bishops' Correspondence, Archbishop Rummel File, Bauer to Very Rev. Aloysius G. Kappenberg, S.V.D., Bay St. Louis, July 31, 1948.

[154]JFA, CMP, Bishops' Correspondence, New Orleans File, Rummel to Thomas P. McNamara, New Orleans, July 29, 1948.

St. Augustine's High School has had a distinguished twenty-five year history boasting a series of "firsts." One of its students became the first black in the South to win a National Merit scholarship in 1958. The first black Presidential Scholar from the state of Louisiana (1964) and the first black student to enter and win the Tulane science fair (he had to sue in court to be allowed to enter) were St. Augustine's students. St. Augustine's graduates were also the first black students to graduate from Tulane and Loyola Universities. In the late nineteen seventies and early eighties, many of the political elite in the New Orleans city government claimed St. Augustine's as their alma mater. Between 1949 and 1980, a number of young men from St. Augustine's High School entered Epiphany Apostolic College and St. Joseph's Seminary. See "St. Augustine's High School," National Catholic Register, September 4, 1983; Interview, Peter Hogan, December 29, 1982.

[155]Interview, Peter Hogan, Baltimore, December 29, 1982; Interview, George O'Dea, August 10, 1983; Casserly Biographical File, obituary, October 18, 1982. Casserly left Baltimore in 1954 to become rector of St. Joseph's Seminary. In 1960 he became pastor of St. Benedict the Moor parish in Washington, D.C.. In 1966, at the age of seventy, he retired from pastoral work but accepted appointment as treasurer of the Josephites. After serving in that capacity for five years, he retired in 1971. He died on October 17, 1982.

[156]JFA, CMP, St. Joseph's - Tukegee File, Casserly to Walter Mulroney, Baltimore, April 13, 1944. Casserly asked Fr. Paul Lanigan to represent him at the Fifth Annual Convention of the Catholic Committee in Memphis between April 25 and 27, 1944. He also asked Walter Mulroney, Leo Farragher from St. Joseph's Church in Tuskegee and Fr. Brown of Nashville and Fr. Crilley of Memphis to attend in the same capacity. Casserly explained "... our policy can very well be one of positiveness properly mixed with the right amount of discretion." According to Lanigan, Farragher "saved the day and stole the whole show" at the department meeting on race relations on April 26, 1944 by reading a paper "that took the assembly by storm." Mulroney said that Farragher had done "a very splendid job. Some of his remarks carried T.N.T., but Bishop Gerow told me confidentially that he thought the paper was O.K...." See JFA, CMP, St. Joseph's - Tukegee File, Casserly to Leo Farragher, Baltimore, April 11, 1944; Paul Lanigan File, Lanigan to Casserly, Memphis, April 27, 1944; Holy Family Church - Natchez File, Walter Mulroney to Casserly Natchez, April 28, 1944.

[157]JFA, CMP, Peter Kenney File, Casserly to Kenney, Baltimore, February 27, 1947; St. Peter Claver - Mobile File, Casserly to Charles Youngkin, Baltimore, March 24, 1947; Blessed Sacrament - Beaumont File, Casserly to Henry Offer, Baltimore, March 26, 1947; Our Mother of Mercy - Ames File, Casserly to John B. Doyle, Baltimore, March 26, 1947; Our Mother of Mercy - Ames File, John Doyle to Casserly, Liberty, May 27, 1945; February 19, 1945.

[158]JFA, CMP, Chester Ball File, Casserly to Ball, Baltimore, April 3, 1947.

[159]JFA, CMP, Blessed Sacrament Sisters File, Casserly to Mother David, Baltimore, April 27, 1946.

[160]Interview, George O'Dea, August 10, 1983; JFA, Casserly File, obituary, October 18, 1982.

CHAPTER X
A NEW DAY, 1948 - 1960

This incident was clearly a violation of the obligation of reverence and devotion which Catholics owe every priest of God, regardless of race, color, or nationality. Every Catholic priest who enjoys the approval of his ... superiors must be acceptable to our Catholic people. - Archbishop Joseph Rummel, October 14, 1955

Thomas P. McNamara, a pleasant, low-key, kindly man, served as Superior General of the Josephites from 1948 until 1960. He left the day to day administration of St. Joseph's Society in the hands of his able and dynamic Vicar-General, George F. O'Dea, a close associate of Edward V. Casserly. Practically speaking, O'Dea ran the Society for McNamara from 1948 until 1960 - years that witnessed the intensification of the civil rights struggle. The Josephites, under Casserly, had begun to integrate their own Society ten years before the Supreme Court's landmark Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka decision in 1954 that declared segregation in public schools unconstitutional. Two months after the Brown decision, Josephite delegates to the General Chapter unequivocally committed St. Joseph's Society to promote integration throughout the Catholic Church and the United States and called upon their fellow Josephites to lead in efforts to secure "a full Catholic and American life" for blacks.[1]

As part of their commitment to integration, McNamara and O'Dea continued and expanded Casserly's policy of encouraging and recruiting black vocations.

The Josephites ordained four black priests between 1955 and 1960, and with over two score of black students and seminarians at Epiphany Apostolic College and St. Joseph's Seminary, they anticipated increasing numbers of black Josephite priests by the mid-sixties. Unlike earlier Josephite superiors, McNamara and O'Dea assigned black Josephites to the deep South for the first time in almost forty years. For just as the Supreme Court ruled in favor of blacks in the Brown decision, so too, within the Catholic Church, two southern bishops, Richard Gerow of Natchez-Jackson and Archbishop Joseph Rummel of New Orleans took stands in defense of black priests in 1954 and 1955 that clearly signalled a new era.

I

Between 1946 and 1960, black enrollment at Epiphany Apostolic College, Mary Immaculate Novitiate, and St. Joseph's Seminary grew steadily, soon surpassing the numbers found there during John R. Slattery's administration. Indeed, by October, 1953, Josephite recruitment of black students had produced such drastic changes at Epiphany, that Tom O'Connor, the rector, felt compelled to write McNamara about the "vocation situation," describing it as "the most important problem the Society is currently facing."[2] Statistics illustrated the changes in size and racial composition of the Epiphany student body between the 1946-47 and the 1953-54 academic years:

Year	Black Students	White Students	Total Enrollment
46 - 47	4	43	47 (8.5% - 91.5%)
47 - 48	8	42	50 (16% - 84%)
48 - 49	8	41	59 (13.5% - 86.5%)
49 - 50	11	42	53 (21% - 79%)
50 - 51	14	48(49)*	62 (63)* (28% - 72%)
51 - 52	17(18)*	40(41)*	57 (59) (31% - 69%)
52 - 53	24	27	51 (47% - 53%)
53 - 54	22	16	38 (58% - 42%) [3]

* Sources disagree on the figures.

During the five years, between the 1949-50 and 1953-54 school years, total enrollment declined from a high of sixty-three in 1950-1951, to a low of thirty-eight in 1953-54. More dramatically, the proportion of black to white students completely reversed. In the 1949-50 academic year, there had been forty-two white students and eleven black students. By the 1953-54 school year, however, there were twenty-two black students and sixteen white students. Many Josephites believed that the drop in white enrollment came as a result of the increased number of black students. Of the ten new students at Epiphany in 1953, seven were black and only three were white, and the first and second year high school classes were entirely black. The whole high school department

of sixteen students had only four whites, while the college department had thirteen white and nine black students.[4]

The statistics and conventional wisdom, notwithstanding, O'Connor contended that "Thus far, the number of colored students has in no way affected the number of white boys we have...." He maintained that Epiphany would have begun the 1953-54 academic year with only sixteen students "... if we did not have the colored boys." O'Connor, nevertheless, predicted that continued predominance of black students would prevent the Josephites from getting many white vocations in the future. "Unless the entire complexion of the Society is to change (no pun intended), I think we should do everything in our power to secure more white vocations," he recommended. O'Connor insisted that the solution lay, not in limiting black vocations, but in a concerted effort to secure white ones. "It would be flying in the face of Divine Providence to reject possible vocations because of color," O'Connor argued, "and I would feel in conscience bound to resign before becoming party to such action." He urged, instead, that the Josephites do everything possible to see that future enrollments reached at least 50% white.[5] Fears about a permanent change in the complexion of Epiphany Apostolic College, however, proved premature. The surge in the number of vocations for religious communities and the diocesan priesthood that characterized the mid and late fifties brought greater numbers of white students to Epiphany and restored racial balance at the college.[6]

Epiphany Apostolic College offered four years of high school and the first two years of college. The small classes and intimate atmosphere (there were only fourteen students in the high school in 1952) helped to compensate for a faculty not always distinguished by its academic degrees, enthusiasm, or

teaching ability. Indeed, during the late forties and early fifties, many Josephites viewed Epiphany as a desolate and isolated assignment, lacking the importance or prestige in the Society of parish work. That attitude began to change somewhat during the early fifties when some of the men whom Casserly had sent to graduate school took up posts at the college and eventually moved into administration.[7]

The curriculum at Epiphany emphasized languages and the classics. A typical junior in the high school took Latin, Greek, English, religion, mathematics, and chemistry. A freshman in college might have a schedule that included religion (Christian doctrine), sociology, Greek (New Testament) English, Latin(Ovid), and French; a sophomore might find himself studying Latin (Plautus, Cato, and Cicero), English, U.S. history, biology, religion (apologetics), and Greek. Before the push for more professional standards and accreditation set in after 1954, Fr. Timothy Holland, the Dean of Students and director of the book store, often determined a student's academic schedule on book day by asking a student for his grades from the previous year and then simply handing him the books in the subjects that Holland believed the student should study.[8]

In addition, "special Latin" years in both the high school and the college enabled students entering Epiphany with weak Latin backgrounds to catch up with the other students. The special Latin students took English, religion, and two classes of Latin each day. After successfully completing a year in special Latin, students entered the appropriate level of the high school or college, depending on their previous educational background. After his year of special Latin, for example, Joseph Verrett, who had already graduated from high school, went into the first year of college.[9]

Beginning in 1949, with the arrival of Peter Hogan, one of the men whom Casserly had sent to graduate school, students at Epiphany studied black history and the race problem in the context of the United States history class. Since the standard U.S. history texts presented a negative picture of blacks when they mentioned them at all, Hogan used novels like Kenneth Robert's Barbary Pirates to provoke discussions about the "objectivity" of their depictions of blacks. He also incorporated material from books by John T. Gillard and by black historians such as John Hope Franklin and Carter Woodson and used articles from the Journal of Negro History. Convinced that they could not adequately prepare students to deal with contemporary problems, especially those involving race, if students lacked information, Hogan and his allies on the faculty, eliminated the rule that prohibited the minor seminarians from reading newspapers. The New York Times thus became standard reading fare at the college. Hogan also used the Christian Students Mission Crusade (CSMC) unit at the college as a forum for structured study and discussion groups on race and American government.[10] One former Epiphany Apostolic student voiced a commonly held opinion when he said years later that Hogan put him in touch with black history and with his own "blackness" long before it became fashionable or publicly acceptable.[11]

Black and white students lived, studied, and played together harmoniously at Epiphany Apostolic College with little apparent race consciousness, especially after they became acquainted with one another. Even in the heat of athletic contests or occasional teenage fist fights, racial epithets almost never appeared. Initially, black students often faced a difficult period of adjustment at Epiphany, many having travelled great distances from home into a predominantly white, northern, Irish Catholic environment. The period of homesickness and culture shock, however, lasted a relatively short time and the

black students quickly came to feel at home. Stuffed into open dormitories on the top two floors of the four story college building, the Epiphany students developed close knit friendships that crossed racial boundaries. One black student described the college as "a happy, close knit boarding school, with plenty of outdoor activities like sledding and baseball."[12]

In the late forties and early fifties, approximately half of the students at Epiphany Apostolic College came from Boston or its environs. The big St. Patrick's Day celebration every year symbolized the Boston-Irish dominance of Epiphany Apostolic College. For a time, a kind of "Boston vs. the rest of the world attitude" prevailed among the students. As the number of black and white southern students increased, however, the annual Thanksgiving football game among the students, that had previously pitted the "Boston" students against everyone else, changed to a North versus South contest.[13]

Black students ran the gamut in terms of abilities. Some, like Joseph Verrett, Rosamond Shaw, Elmo Townsend, Charles Hall, Elbert Harris, and Vernon Moore led their classes. Charlie Dorsey's winning personality, athletic ability, and intelligence made him popular with teachers and classmates alike and in 1952, Elbert Harris, an eighteen year old sophomore from Harriston, Mississippi became the dean of the student body, an office akin to student government president at most schools. The outstanding quality of a number of the black students inspired and reassured others, who arrived at Epiphany, nervous and insecure, from small schools in the South. Of course, some black students, like Dudley Darbonne and Prentice Polk struggled academically and never made the grade. Other black students from the South, coming from substandard schools, had to enroll in the special Latin class for a year. Both Joseph Verrett and Elbert Harris, later academic "giants" among their peers, spent their first year

at Epiphany Apostolic College in special Latin. Special Latin, however, was not, the exclusive preserve of black students. In 1952, for example, only three of the ten students in special Latin were black.[14]

Black students encountered little racial discrimination from the Epiphany faculty, although at times, some members of the faculty appeared insensitive to southern boys. After hearing Rawlin Enette of Port Arthur, Texas read for the first time in the refectory, for instance, Arthur O'Leary, publicly voiced his disgust with the way that Enette spoke. He later summoned Enette to his room, told him that he did not know how to speak properly, and made him practice speaking into a tape recorder. When an Irish boy arrived sporting an Irish accent, however, priests like O'Leary, appeared to love it. On another occasion, Fr. Edward Eichman admonished a northern boy from a "good high school" for lack of effort because Elbert Harris and Joe Messina, two southern boys, one black and the other white, had higher math grades.[15] Sometimes, southern boys misinterpreted academic rigor for insensitivity. Instructors like Bob McCall, for example, insisted, much to the annoyance of some students, that they use standard English correctly, irrespective of regional dialect. Educated men used standard English correctly, McCall and other Josephites reasoned, and they wanted to train priests whose educations would compare favorably with those of any other priest or educated man in the country.[16]

The faculty policy of dismissing first year students at mid-year for academic difficulties weighed heavily on black students from substandard southern schools. That policy changed, however, as a result of the efforts of Peter Hogan, who became vice-rector and dean of studies in 1954. Convinced that well intentioned, highly motivated, and normally intelligent students could master Epiphany's six year program, Hogan insisted that many needed time to

adjust to a new environment and to the academic expectations at Epiphany. He, therefore, pushed teachers to work individually with students outside of regular class periods and convinced the Council to rule that no student could be dismissed at Christmas.[17]

Although the students at Epiphany Apostolic College enjoyed a close community life in a protected environment largely devoid of racism, the outside world occasionally intervened. The students lived a regimented life and remained on campus except for twice weekly hikes and a weekly visit to the nearby city of Newburgh for three hours of shopping. While isolation from the world represented the common ideal of most preparatory and major seminaries, the tense racial situation in Newburgh also prompted the Josephites to try to limit the visits of their students to the city. A center for black migrant workers who picked fruit in the orchards of Orange County, Newburgh also contained a black community that pre-dated the Civil War. White citizens of Newburgh used black labor, but attempted to disenfranchise blacks in the city. White barbers in the town refused to cut the hair of the black Epiphany students for fear that they would lose their white customers. The black students, therefore, went to the barbershop in the black section of town.[18]

The black barbershop reportedly exposed students to lewd talk and carnal temptations in the surrounding neighborhood. Early in 1952, after a black student allegedly contracted syphilis, Fr. Arthur O'Leary, the rector, placed the barbershop off limits to the black students without telling them the reason. The black students felt discriminated against, especially since the white barbers would not cut their hair. Hogan insisted that if the black students could not go to the barber, then neither should the white students. Hogan and Eichman convinced a white barber from Newburgh to come out to the college, about

three miles distance, to cut the students' hair. Eventually, the college even purchased a barber's chair to make the haircutting sessions more comfortable.[19] On another occasion, when Mary Le Page, a secretary, became ill, Fr. Eichman, the prefect of discipline, asked white students to donate blood for her but skipped the black students until one of them asked sarcastically, "What's wrong? Don't you want Al Travis's <a black student> blood?"[20]

After graduation from Epiphany Apostolic College, students entered Mary Immaculate Novitiate for a year of intensive spiritual reflection and formation that included eight day retreats at the beginning and the end. In the novitiate, the novices studied the Josephite constitutions and gained a clearer understanding of the Josephite apostolate. At the end of the novitiate, if recommended by the Novice Master, novices made their first temporary promise and became members of St. Joseph's Society. Between 1948 and 1955, black novices averaged two or three per year. In 1956 and 1959, however, the number of black novices ballooned to eleven and ten respectively.[21]

Rawlin Enette, a black novice in 1953, found the novitiate year particularly difficult, in part because he confronted elements of racism within the Society. In May, 1953, the novice master summoned Enette to his room shortly after returning from retreat. The novice master had heard that Fr. Earl Chachere, a black priest working in the Lafayette diocese, had created a stir at Blessed Sacrament church in New Orleans when, during a sermon, he mistakenly accused the Josephites in the parish of having refused him a place to sleep during his visit to that city. The novice master furiously demanded to know whether Enette knew either Father Chachere or Joseph Richardson, a black seminarian who had been dismissed earlier. Enette answered that he had seen Fr. Chachere once in his life and knew Richardson only by sight. The novice master thereupon

told Enette that he would not recommend him for the major seminary. When Enette asked the reason, he exploded: "... you damn Negro guys ought to keep your damn mouths closed, that's why." Enette demanded that the novice master put his complaints about Enette in writing. That demand evidently brought the novice master back to his senses and he simply waved Enette off saying, "O.K.. Oh, go ahead, go ahead."[22]

During his exit retreat from the novitiate, Enette again encountered racial stereotyping. On the first night of the retreat, the retreat master, who had never met him, called Enette to his room and told him that at dinner that evening he had noticed Enette and had said to himself, "here is a guy with an ultra-superior attitude." He told Enette that the Josephites had no place for men filled with pride and that they had gotten rid of Casserly for that reason. He then advised Enette to quit the Josephites. Enette pointed out that none of the faculty had corrected him for that particular fault, and flatly refused to quit. Seven more times during the retreat, the retreat master unsuccessfully advised him to leave.[23] Happily for the Josephites and their black candidates, incidents such as those experienced by Enette appeared isolated and out of the ordinary.

Following the successful completion of the novitiate, candidates went to St. Joseph's Seminary in Washington, D.C. for two years of philosophy and four years of theology. Josephite seminarians prepared for the priesthood in much the same traditional way as most other seminarians. The Thomistic philosophy courses included logic, epistemology, cosmology, ethics, metaphysics, and theodosy. The theology courses ran in a cycle that included moral and dogmatic theology, scripture, church history, canon law, and sacraments. Teachers emphasized memorization and recitation from manuals and textbooks written in

Latin. Nothing in the curriculum specifically addressed black work, though the library contained works on black literature, history, sociology, and religion.[24]

Outside of the classroom, however, through CSMC activities, guest speakers, and the experience of living in an integrated religious community, the Josephite seminarians received their orientation to black work. After he arrived in 1955, Bob McCall, another of Casserly's graduate school men, made the New York Times and The Washington Post available to the seminarians, who followed and discussed the growing civil rights movement among themselves and with their teachers. Moreover, a steady stream of priests from the missions visited the seminary and almost always spoke to the students about their work. The seminarians' apostolic activity involved teaching catechism in black parishes on Sundays. Black seminarians, of course, operated as resource persons for white seminarians, since most had experienced racism first hand and could share their experiences with their fellow classmates. Visits home during the summer months also enabled seminarians to catch up on current events.[25]

As at Epiphany, black and white seminarians at St. Joseph's lived together easily with little racial friction. An incident in 1950 involving Joseph Verrett, a black seminarian, and a group of his white seminary friends illustrated how oblivious seminarians could become about race. Verrett, Joe Miller, Joe Leonard, Walter Cerbin, and Jerry Gfroerer, went out for a walk one afternoon and found themselves at the Hot Shoppe restaurant on Rhode Island Avenue. Without thinking, the group entered the restaurant and began to take their seats until the hostess informed them that she could not take Verrett's order because the establishment did not serve blacks. Jerry Gfroerer became indignant and objected loudly. The waitress, nevertheless, remained adamant and, since Verrett became increasingly embarrassed by the scene, the group left the

restaurant. When older seminarians learned about the incident, they raked Joe Miller over the coals for having put Verrett into an embarrassing position. Verrett, who came from the segregated city of New Orleans, and his friends had become so used to one another, however, that they simply forgot about segregation in Washington. After the incident, Verrett's friends called Howard University for the name of a restaurant that served steaks and racially mixed groups. On their next rare free day, Verrett and his friends went to the Zanzibar, a Chinese owned restaurant on Fourteenth Street that catered to a black clientele. Verrett's friends found themselves the only white people in the establishment.[26]

In their day-to-day relations with students, faculty at St. Joseph's Seminary often appeared oblivious to race. When it came time to evaluate seminarians as to their suitability for the priesthood, however, faculty looked for specific qualities in black seminarians. They used the terms "docile," and "balanced on the race question" to describe the best black candidates. They later explained that "docility" indicated "an openness to instruction," not a grovelling "sambo." In the nineteen fifties, with integration as the ideal, "balanced on the race question" meant that the seminarian wanted to work in an integrated society, and showed evidence of the judgement and stability needed to deal with injustice without becoming embittered, emotionally unstable, or an embarrassment to the Society. The Josephites did not want "angry young men," nor did they want men who stressed "blackness," since, in the context of the fifties, the Josephites, and many others, black and white, viewed such an inclination as "extremism," smacking of "separatism."

Later critics of the Josephites accused them, with some justification, of training "white" black men. Indeed, "integration" in the nineteen fifties usually

meant adaptation by blacks to white contexts, almost never the reverse. While Epiphany Apostolic College and St. Joseph's Seminary made some changes as a result of the influx of black students, black Josephite students and seminarians basically had to conform to a white world. At a time, however, when suburbs in the North and most Catholic schools in the South remained lily white, and when white citizens councils and Ku Kluxers used threats and violence to stymie school integration, and blacks in Montgomery, Alabama had to organize a bus boycott to secure the right to ride on integrated public transportation, the interracial communities at Epiphany Apostolic College and St. Joseph's Seminary appeared light years ahead of most American institutions.

While Verrett and his fellow seminarians pursued their studies in integrated settings during the late forties and early fifties, Father Chester Ball, the lone black Josephite priest, carried on a ministry notable for its lack of controversy. In 1943, with Archbishop Curley's permission, Casserly assigned Ball to a mission church of his own, St. Joseph's in Glen Arden, Maryland, an all black town of 1,500, of whom more than a third were Catholics. While pastor at St. Joseph's, four miles from the District of Columbia line, Ball enrolled in graduate school at Catholic University and secured his master's degree in speech in 1949. He taught speech at St. Joseph's Seminary and continued his extensive round of lecturing and preaching along the Atlantic seaboard. Ball also gave speeches, sermons, and retreats in the South and spoke before the Catholic Committee of the South and Catholic University seminarians on race problems. In August, 1952, Ball became the first black pastor in Washington, D.C., assuming the pastorate of Epiphany parish in Georgetown. Ball continued to teach at Catholic

University and St. Joseph's Seminary and made weekly trips to Baltimore to teach psychology and catechetics to the Oblate Sisters of Providence.[28]

The clergy of Washington received Ball cordially. He maintained friendly relations with Washington's liberal archbishop, Patrick O'Boyle, and participated on an equal basis with other priests in archdiocesan celebrations and events. Ball's uneventful pastorate probably eased whatever apprehensions O'Boyle may have had about accepting black candidates for the ranks of the diocesan clergy.[29] Ball paid a high price, however, for "fitting in." Already very light, Ball used skin lighteners and hair straighteners to lighten and whiten his appearance even more. He craved acceptance and maintained a jovial demeanor to earn it. Though he spoke on the race question, he carefully avoided any appearance of stridency. His identity problems finally resulted in a breakdown and a period of hospitalization in 1960.[30]

II

The increasing numbers of black seminarians at Epiphany Apostolic College and St. Joseph's Seminary reflected the commitment of the Josephites to racial justice within their own Society and also within the Church and nation. They also mirrored the improving climate for black seminarians and priests throughout the Catholic Church. Developments in the South contributed significantly to the growing acceptance of the still tiny number of black seminarians and priests within the American Catholic Church.

In December, 1949, the number of black priests working in the United States stood at thirty. Twenty-one belonged to religious communities, thirteen alone to

the Society of the Divine Word (SVDs), and nine to dioceses. Although eight of the thirteen black SVDs worked in the Diocese of Lafayette, others labored in dioceses beyond the limits of that particular see, with one in Mound Bayou, Mississippi, one at St. Peter's in Pine Bluff, Arkansas, one in Trenton, New Jersey, and two at St. Augustine's in Bay St. Louis. Among other religious communities, the Benedictines had two black priests, while the Josephites, Missionary Servants of the Most Holy Trinity, the Edmundites, the Fathers of the Sacred Heart, the White Fathers, and the Trappists, each counted one. Black diocesan priests labored in the Archdioceses of Detroit, Chicago, and Los Angeles, and the dioceses of Trenton, Buffalo, Austin, Brooklyn and Toledo.[31]

One by one, seminaries throughout the country dropped their barriers to black candidates. In the spring of 1950, for instance, in response to an inquiry from Washington's Archbishop Patrick O'Boyle, Father George A. Gleason, the Sulpician rector of St. Charles College, the minor seminary for the Baltimore Archdiocese located in Catonsville, Maryland, informed Monsignor James E. Cowhig, chancellor of the Washington Archdiocese, that since the laws of the state of Maryland did not prohibit any elementary or secondary schools from admitting black students, he and the faculty would accept black candidates from Archbishop O'Boyle. As a result, James B. Joy entered St. Charles College in September 1950. Joy had such light skin that it took weeks before students realized that a black student had enrolled in the college.[32]

At St. Augustine's Seminary in Bay St. Louis, Mississippi, the opposite phenomenon occurred. Beginning in 1943, black seminarians from St. Augustine's not only took their two year novitiate in integrated settings at East Troy, Wisconsin and Techny, Illinois, but also spent their first two years of college at Techny and Epworth, Iowa, before returning for philosophy to Bay St. Louis.

Then, in September, 1950, four white seminarians, the first appreciable number of whites ever to enroll at St. Augustine's, arrived at Bay St. Louis to study philosophy. Their SVD superiors had told them that if they went to St. Augustine's for philosophy, they would have to stay through theology. Two years later, in 1952, a white student, Marian "Buddy" Brignac, entered the high school.[33] By 1955, the SVDs had abandoned the policy of assigning all black students to St. Augustine's; and sent seminarians to either Bay St. Louis or Techny, Illinois purely on a regional basis, without regard to color. A white southerner, therefore, went to Bay St. Louis, while a black northerner went to Techny. At St. Augustine's in 1955, five of the fifty minor seminarians were white, as were thirteen of the twenty-seven major seminarians. The faculty numbered thirteen white and six black priests.[34]

Bishops in the South also helped the cause of black priests, both directly and indirectly. Bishop Jules Jeanmard, of course, continued to accept black SVD priests into his Lafayette diocese. In addition, both Jeanmard and Archbishop Joseph Rummel sponsored black seminarians and ordained black priests for their dioceses in 1952 and 1953, respectively.[35] Liberal Bishop Vincent S. Waters of Raleigh joined them in 1953 when he accepted Joseph L. Howze, a Josephite parishoner from Mobile and a future bishop, to study for his diocesan clergy.[36]

On January 1, 1953, in an action fraught with symbolism and described by Albert S. Foley, a noted Jesuit historian-sociologist, as signifying "the coming of age of the colored priesthood ... in the United States,"[37] Pope Pius XII, who had named eight of the world's ten black bishops, appointed Joseph Bowers, S.V.D., a 42 year old West Indian native and a graduate of St. Augustine's Seminary, as Bishop of Accra, Gold Coast. On April 22, 1953, Cardinal Francis Spellman of New York consecrated Bowers a bishop before a large crowd in Bay

St. Louis. Bowers became the first black man elevated to the office of bishop in the United States since James Augustine Healy of Portland in 1875.[38] The Pittsburgh Courier trumpeted the event with huge headlines that proclaimed, "CATHOLICS HAIL NEGRO BISHOP." William C. Bauer, the S.V.D. southern Provincial called the consecration a unique historical event for the South. "Never before did such an event take place," Bauer wrote, "... when the whites vied with the colored in honoring a member of the Negro race."[39] Before assuming his duties in Accra, Bishop Bowers undertook an extensive personal appearance tour throughout the United States in order to raise money for his missionary diocese and to allow black Catholics to see a bishop of their own race. He celebrated a solemn pontifical Mass in New Orleans' St. Louis Cathedral, and ordained two black seminarians at St. Augustine's - the first time that a black bishop in the United States had ordained black priests.[40]

Historian Albert Foley claimed that Bowers's consecration also showed "the advancing maturity of the Catholic Church and its white hierarchy in the United States."[41] Indeed, in the early fifties, their cautious acceptance of black priests, reflected a slightly more liberal stance on race relations by several southern bishops. On October 1, 1949, for example, at the request of Josephites and SVDs, Archbishop Rummel cancelled a Holy Hour service planned for the observance of the golden jubilee of the Archdiocesan Holy Name Society when city park commissioners insisted on racial segregation as soon as the procession of parish Holy Name Societies entered the city stadium. Three years later, in 1952, Rummel ordered the integration of all Holy Name Societies in New Orleans parishes.[42] On June 25, 1951, in response to entreaties from Josephite and SVD priests along the Gulf Coast, Bishop Richard Gerow repeated an earlier

declaration that "the colored people are not to be discriminated against in any way as regards seating in our churches."[43]

In a five page pastoral letter read on March 15, 1953 in all Catholic churches throughout the New Orleans archdiocese, Archbishop Rummel called for an end to segregation in church life. Anticipating a supreme court decision on segregation, Rummel argued that Catholics could do much to hasten peaceful adjustment to the end of segregation by eliminating it in Catholic life. Appealing to common membership in the Mystical Body of Christ, and citing progress already achieved in integrating some aspects of church life, Rummel directed that "there be no further discrimination or segregation in the pews, at the Communion rail, at the confessional, and in parish meetings...."[44] Two months later, Bishop Vincent Waters of Raleigh went further, ordering an end to all segregation in the Catholic Church in North Carolina and abolishing all special churches for blacks.[45]

Following the historic Brown v. Board of Education decision on May 17, 1954, Bishop William Adrian of Nashville integrated the parochial schools of that city, despite local ordinances to the contrary; and in Little Rock, Arkansas, Bishop Albert Fletcher declared that black Catholic children would "be admitted to any Catholic school available in places where there is no Catholic school especially for them." In San Antonio, Archbishop Robert Lucey had already effected the desegregation of Catholic institutions with relative ease.[46]

In the crucial Archdiocese of New Orleans, the archdiocesan school board issued a statement, shortly after the Brown decision, that called the Supreme Court's ruling morally if not legally binding on the parochial school system. Archbishop Rummel left the impression at a subsequent news conference that

desegregation of the parochial schools would begin in 1955. In the meantime, however, the Louisiana legislature reaffirmed its commitment to segregation and its determination to oppose the Brown decision. In order to thwart Rummel's planned integration of the parochial schools, members of the legislature formulated bills to remove the subsidies that the state gave to Catholic schools in the form of free text-books, school lunches, and bus service for parochial students. Rummel feared that the loss of the subsidies would strike hardest at black Catholics, who, for the most part, needed them worse than white Catholics. While archdiocesan officials knew that federal courts would probably rule against the legislature's actions, they also realized that legal maneuvering could take years. In addition, some of Rummel's own consultors opposed the integration of the Catholic schools.[47]

Southern bishops recoiled in the face of the violent reaction that swept the South in the wake of Brown. Commenting in his diary about the southern response to the Brown decision, Rummel's good friend, Bishop Gerow wrote: "The South has become frantic in its attack upon the Supreme Court and its attempts to thwart the decision. Citizens Councils have been organized ... to bring economic, social, and other pressure upon any persons who ... seem at variance with ... 'Our Southern way of Life.'" Legislators in Louisiana and Mississippi became particularly enraged at the Catholic Church in 1956 after Archbishop Rummel's public denunciation of segregation as sinful and morally wrong.[48] Faced with the legislature's threats, the emergence of white citizen's councils, and the prospects of serious violence, Rummel backed away from desegregating Catholic schools; the impasse continued until 1962. In a classic understatement, Rummel told the American Board for Catholic Missions that "The problem creates many difficulties and anxieties."[49] In 1959, the Catholic

journal Jubilee reported that, with the exception of North Carolina, only two out of 745 parochial schools in the states of the Deep South had integrated.[50]

The activism of Josephites in New Orleans and other southern dioceses, who chafed at the pace of integration within the Church, added to the anxieties of Rummel and his fellow bishops. At their July, 1954 General Chapter, two months after the Brown ruling, the Josephite delegates enthusiastically and unanimously approved a Society Commission on Integration with regional divisions "to work with the bishop in order to accomplish integration in the best possible way." They also adopted a policy statement on integration that applauded the recent Supreme Court decision, declared segregation an "immoral and ... vicious sin," and called on Josephites to take the lead and use every opportunity to work "towards practical means of integrating the Negro into Catholic life." It also urged Josephites to identify themselves - "always discreetly and in a priestly manner - " with Catholic civic movements that worked for results in society that paralleled those in the Church, while sedulously avoiding "movements that are radical or even suspect ...." Specifically, it recommended organizations such as the Catholic Committee of the South, the Catholic Interracial Councils, the local units of the Urban League, and the Southern Regional Council.[51]

On October 20, 1955, Rummel complained to McNamara that the Josephites in New Orleans "... are following a policy of urging rather immediately integration between the white and colored races." He cited Josephite agitation regarding Holy Name Societies, Sodalities of the Blessed Virgin, and CYO youth programs and demanded to know whether it represented official Society policy or "was inspired by local agreement among the Josephites serving in the parishes of the New Orleans Archdiocese." Somewhat defensively, the embattled

archbishop told McNamara that no one should question his desire to recognize the rights due to blacks, especially black Catholics. At the same time, Rummel declared, "... "it is my conviction that integration cannot be forced down the line on all fronts, especially at the present time when the controversy over integration in the schools is the subject of serious tension. Efforts to press for integration in parish societies, the Catholic Youth Organization, playground programs, etc. would only multiply our difficulties ...."[52]

McNamara replied diplomatically, assuring Rummel that the Josephites, while opposed to segregation, realized that the archbishop could not eliminate the long established pattern "in a day, or a month, or a year." He applauded Rummel's "Christ-like attitude" toward the evil of segregation and his efforts to wipe out segregation, as far as possible, in the Archdiocese of New Orleans. McNamara sent the archbishop a copy of the Society statement on integration and assured him that he would remind the Josephites in the archdiocese of official Josephite policy.[53] In effect, McNamara stood by his men, and Josephites in New Orleans continued to press Rummel on integration.

Bishops Richard Gerow of Natchez-Jackson and Charles P. Greco of Alexandria, Louisiana, also expressed displeasure with Josephites in their dioceses for their outspoken opposition to segregation.[54] In September, 1956, for instance, enraged whites threatened Father Joseph Brown in St. Joseph, Louisiana and Father Wilfrid DesRosiers in Lake Providence, Louisiana with bodily harm for preaching against segregation. In St. Joseph, the sheriff alerted his men to provide protection for Brown, and in Lake Providence, the local judge almost placed DesRosiers in jail for protective custody and for disturbing the peace. Greco demanded Brown's immediate removal and obtained DesRosiers's promise not to utter another word about segregation. Greco

insisted that McNamara impress upon men going into the Alexandria diocese "that they are not to talk about the racial question...." He charged bitterly that Josephite agitation and the subsequent animosity aroused among whites had seriously damaged the numerically tiny Catholic Church in central and northern Louisiana. Ten months later, Greco asked the Josephites to relinquish St. Joseph's.[55]

III

Although impatient with the pace of integration in many southern dioceses, the Josephites appreciated the strong stands taken by Bishop Gerow in 1954 and Archbishop Rummel in 1955 in defense of black priests. The prelates' decisive actions helped to insure that the desegregation of the Catholic priesthood would continue uninterrupted and that black Josephites assigned to the South would not suffer the fate of their early Josephite forebears.

In 1952, Fr. Herman Porter, the black Sacred Heart priest, who taught English and religion at Divine Heart Seminary in Donaldson, Indiana, wrote an article, entitled "Color Line in Catholic Churches," that appeared widely in the Catholic press. Porter reported that he had encountered no racial discrimination while doing weekend pastoral work in white parishes and voiced the opinion that "there should be little hesitation to accept Negro boys qualified for the priesthood for general diocesan or religious order work among white people in the North."[56]

The idea of black priests ministering to whites touched a tender nerve in many white Catholics. Fr. Porter's article brought a letter to the editor of the

Indiana Catholic and Record of Indianapolis from a "Mrs. C.." She wrote, "No, we would not welcome a colored pastor. It is not necessary. Let them work among their own people. I believe in colored priests, but not in white people's churches. This our non-Catholic husbands and wives would not accept."[57] In an editorial, dated February 15, 1952, the Record observed that "Mrs. C. ... was exposing the stand of a large group of Catholics, and we think this portion ought to be questioned." Unintentionally, the Record's editorial writer revealed why black priests represented such a serious threat to white supremacy when he wrote, "...Every Catholic recognizes the office of the priesthood as that of an ambassador of Christ. The priest preaches in the name of Christ, he forgives sins in the name of Christ, he offers the Holy Sacrifice in the name of Christ. To reject or discriminate against Christ's instrument, Christ's ambassador on the basis of ... color is an appalling insult to Christ himself...."[58] The Indiana Catholic and Record received numerous letters in response to "Mrs. C's" letter and to the accompanying editorial; a majority sided with the newspaper, but a significant minority agreed with "Mrs. C.."[59]

The question of black priests ministering to whites surfaced again in July, 1953 during the Third Annual Vocational Institute at Fordham University, attended by representatives of more than one hundred religious orders in the United States. The representatives at the institute approved a resolution written by the ubiquitous John LaFarge that condemned racial discrimination against applicants for admission to any Catholic seminary or religious order. LaFarge also commented that "Negro priests and religious are doing a fine job among their own race." He quickly added, however, that "... it should not be necessary that they be consigned to race ministrations. Negroes are quick to sense this subterfuge and resent it as a trap and a surrender to racism." LaFarge

maintained that "the work of black priests will never be on a sound and healthy footing as long as they are barred from ministering to other than their own race."[60] In Mississippi and Louisiana, Bishop Richard Gerow and Archbishop Joseph Rummel found themselves confronting that very issue.

Robert Pung, the rector of St. Augustine's Seminary, frequently received requests from pastors in Mississippi and Louisiana for priests from the seminary to help out in parishes during weekends, periods of illness, and vacations. Pung had an arrangement with the Rev. M. J. Costello, pastor of St. Clare's church in Waveland, Mississippi, approximately three miles west of the seminary, to supply a priest every Sunday. On February 2, 1954, Pung informed Bishop Gerow that some parishoners in Waveland "showed signs of resentment" when Fr. Carlos Lewis, a black SVD, arrived to say Mass. Gerow responded quickly, reassuring Pung that he had done the right thing in sending Lewis to Waveland. "... If an emergency arises again or for other reasons you feel that it would be good to send him or one of the other priests," Gerow wrote, "I want you to feel that is all right. If any of the people don't like it, then that is their responsibility and not ours." Gerow added, however, that in order to avoid embarrassment to the black priests, Pung should "... exercise a certain amount of judgement" as to when and where he sent them. In order to emphasize his support for Pung and the black priests, Gerow sent Costello a copy of his letter to Pung, along with his personal congratulations to Costello for what he termed Costello's "consideration" in the matter.[61]

Gerow's letter relieved Pung. The following Sunday, he again sent Fr. Lewis back to Waveland, since all of the other priests at the seminary already had their regularly scheduled visits to make. Reportedly, a few white people walked

out of the church when they saw Fr. Lewis. Before Lewis returned to St. Augustine's from Waveland, Pung received a telephone call from a man who identified himself as "Mr. Bourgeois." Mr. Bourgeois told Pung: "... we have had enough of this nonsense in our church. Don't you ever send another 'nigger' down here to this church. We don't stand for this." Pung interrupted the caller, telling him that Fr. Costello had requested a priest from the seminary and that both Costello and Bishop Gerow had given permission for either a black or white priest to say mass at St. Clare's. Bourgeois warned Pung that the next time he sent a "nigger" to Waveland, he would have to "come and get him"; he then hung up.[62]

That afternoon, Fr. Costello telephoned the seminary. Pung informed him about the incident and Costello identified Fred Bourgeois as a "troublemaker." When Pung advised Costello that he would stick to the established schedule and send a white priest the next Sunday, followed by black priests William Adams and Lewis, on succeeding Sundays, Costello objected. He claimed that "it is too hot to send anymore colored Fathers down. It won't work." Pung expressed his disappointment over Costello's lack of courage and pointed out that so few people had walked out of the church that Fr. Lewis had failed to notice them leaving; besides, over three communion rails of people received communion from Lewis's hand. Pung told Costello that in view of Gerow's stand on the issue and the principle of the Church involved, he could not promise to always send a white priest to the parish. Costello urged Pung to write a letter to Bourgeois about the matter. Pung did so and enclosed a copy of the letter, along with a full report on the new developments, to Bishop Gerow.[63]

Pung minced no words in his February 12, 1954 letter to Bourgeois. Pung termed Bourgeois's actions and attitudes "un-American" and "lawless." He told

him, furthermore, that if Bourgeois wished to consider himself a good Catholic, a claim he had made on the phone, then he had to obey his lawful superior in the church - his bishop - and adhere to the teaching of the Church that clearly proclaimed the unity of all peoples, regardless of color. To emphasize his point, Pung quoted the Apostle John, who wrote, "If anyone says, I love God, and hates his brother, he is a liar." Pung defiantly scoffed at Bourgeois's threats, pointing out that the history of the saints and martyrs of the Church "should ... convince you that no threat can scare a loyal priest into denying any doctrine of Christ by word or action." Declaring his intention of sending to Waveland, "... any priest who is available ... and whom I think ... qualified to take care of the task," Pung concluded by asking God's blessing and forgiveness for Bourgeois's "rash words," and by enclosing a copy of Bishop Gerow's letter of February 4th.[64]

In his letter to Gerow on the same day, Pung expressed gratitude for Gerow's earlier expressions of support and also for his concern about possible embarrassment to the black SVDs. He indicated, however, that the black priests themselves had assured him that they would willingly accept the chance of "a little embarrassment" as part of their duty to stand up for the teaching of the Catholic Church and of Jesus Christ. They believed, moreover, that if they expected others to preach the true doctrine, they too had to cooperate. On the Thursday following the incident at Waveland, Archbishop Rummel, who had probably heard about the episode from Gerow, brought up the matter during a meeting with Pung and assured him that he held the same views as Gerow. Rummel also told Pung that he would like to use SVDs for weekend help in the New Orleans archdiocese, since he suffered from a severe shortage of priests.[65]

After receiving Pung's report, Gerow stood firm. Although timid about integration in other matters, Gerow evidently believed that the Lewis case involved such a clear cut issue of respect for the priesthood and for the authority of the bishop that he felt constrained to support Pung and Lewis. He contacted Costello and insisted that, "... this matter has reached the point where we simply can't back down. We have to stand up for the principle and we cannot let Bourgeois or anyone else cause us to violate the principle." He invited Costello to meet with him at the Oblates of Mary Immaculate Seminary in Pine Hills, Mississippi to discuss the situation. Obviously trying to bolster Costello's resolve, Gerow congratulated him for having adopted "the right attitude" following the initial complaints about Fr. Lewis. "Just at present I do not know what steps are necessary ...," Gerow concluded, "... but ... we just can't back down on this thing."[66]

Meanwhile, Fred Bourgeois visited Pung on Wednesday, February 18 and denied making the threatening telephone call on February 7th. Evidently, news about the call had spread, upsetting a number of people in Waveland who thoroughly disapproved of such tactics. Then too, the copy of Gerow's letter that Pung had sent to Bourgeois left little doubt that the bishop intended to support Pung and Lewis. Following his meeting with Bourgeois, Pung met with Costello, who had conferred with Gerow. Pung and Costello agreed that Pung would furnish a priest for Waveland up through May. Since Pung could not guarantee a priest during the summer months because of other summer assignments for many of his men, the two men decided to allow the arrangement between St. Clare's and St. Augustine's to lapse. The agreement clearly relieved Gerow, who viewed it as a way of supporting basic principles while also providing for the gradual elimination of a potential source of greater trouble.

"For the good of the cause" he wrote Pung, "it would be wise not to let matters go to the point where there would be an open break...; yet at the same time, we cannot back down on fundamental principles."[67]

Pung thanked Gerow for his backing and reported that, at the request of Archbishop Rummel, St. Augustine's Seminary would begin furnishing black and white priests on Sundays for two parishes in New Orleans. The pastors of the two parishes had decided to say nothing about the arrangement to their parishoners unless asked directly by individuals. They also intended to ignore any remarks or opposition that might arise.[68] Rummel's invitation to the SVDs set the stage for a dramatic public confrontation in the Archdiocese of New Orleans.

In August, 1955, Robert Pung became Provincial of the southern province of the Society of the Divine Word. Effective as of September 1, 1955, Archbishop Rummel, on Pung's recommendation, appointed Clement Meyer, S.V.D., as pastor of Our Lady of Perpetual Help in Belle Chase, Louisiana and its missions at Jesuit Bend and Myrtle Grove, about fifteen miles south of New Orleans. Each of the congregations at Belle Chase, Myrtle Grove, and Jesuit Bend included black and white parishoners who sat on opposite sides of the aisle in each church. Belle Chase, Jesuit Bend, and Myrtle Grove lay in Plaquemines County, the stronghold of District Attorney Leander Perez, a Catholic, and the political boss of the Delta, who bitterly opposed integration of any kind. Each weekend, a priest from St. Augustine's Seminary went to Belle Chase or its missions to say Mass on Sundays, since Fr. Meyer could not cover the whole area.[69]

Father Gerald Lewis, the brother of Carlos Lewis, and a math and science teacher in the high school department of St. Augustine's Seminary, drew the

assignment of saying Mass at St. Cecilia's chapel in Jesuit Bend on October 2, 1955. Fr. Lewis had celebrated mass that September for a racially mixed congregation at Edgard, Louisiana without incident. Although he had received no prior warning that whites would object to a black priest at Jesuit Bend, Pung had misgivings. He, therefore, made it a point to ask Archbishop Rummel if he could send one of the black priests to Jesuit Bend to help out on Sundays. The seventy-nine year old Rummel, who suffered from glaucoma and who, at that time, also found himself deeply embroiled in the crisis over desegregation of the Catholic schools in New Orleans, replied that since the SVDs administered the parish, Pung had every right to send a black priest to Jesuit Bend. Rummel, furthermore, promised to step in if any problem arose. He asked only that Pung inform him prior to sending a black priest to Jesuit Bend for the first time.[70]

Rummel, however, may have unintentionally contributed to the impression that whites could effectively veto black priests in their parishes by his handling of previous cases. Some pastors in the New Orleans archdiocese had privately asked the SVDs to send only white priests as substitutes. On April 26, 1955, for example, Rummel advised Pung that Monsignor Joseph A. Wester, V.F., pastor of St. Francis de Sales in Houma, Louisiana, needed an SVD priest on weekends, but had recommended that "under present conditions it would not be advisable to appoint as a regular helpmate ... one of the Colored members" of the SVD community. Instead of insisting that Wester accept any priest available, Rummel asked Pung to arrange for a white priest to help Wester.[71] Other parishes in New Orleans balked at accepting black priests. Rummel handled them privately, attempting to convince two pastors in particular to accept black priests for help on Sundays.[72]

On Saturday night, October 1, 1955, Fr. Meyer warned Lewis that he might encounter trouble when he went to say Mass at St. Cecilia's chapel in Jesuit Bend the next day. About 12:30 A.M. on Sunday morning, Lewis was awakened in the rectory by a telephone call. The anonymous caller warned him not to say Mass at Jesuit Bend, about eight miles distance. Lewis shrugged off the call, as had done to similar threats received prior to saying mass in several white parishes in New Orleans. As he drove up to St. Cecilia's chapel in Jesuit Bend about 7:25 the next morning, however, Lewis saw a police car parked in the driveway of St. Cecilia's and two armed and uniformed men standing with a small group of parishoners in front of the church. In the church yard, three parishoners, led by J.B. Perez, brother of Leander Perez, politely told Lewis that they, as delegates of the people of the parish, would not allow him to enter the church, and that a "Negro" would not say Mass in a white parish. With the police standing in the yard, Lewis believed that the group had the backing of the law. He did not argue, therefore, but returned immediately to Belle Chase and told Fr. Meyer what had happened. Meyer got into the car and drove back to Jesuit Bend. He talked to Perez and told him that he did not want any trouble in Myrtle Grove, where Lewis would say Mass at 9:30 A.M.. Lewis celebrated Mass in Myrtle Grove without incident. In his brief sermon, he mentioned the incident in Jesuit Bend, and after the service, six people came into the sacristy to express their regret at what had happened.[73]

Angered and pained that white parishoners of St. Cecilia's had insulted the priesthood, Rummel immediately ordered the suspension of services at Jesuit Bend and reduced from three to two the masses each Sunday at Our Lady of Perpetual Help in Belle Chase. In a letter to the three communities involved, he explained his actions. Rummel denounced the behavior of the white parishoners

at Jesuit Bend as "an act of injustice, uncharitableness, and irreverence ... clearly a violation of the obligation of reverence and devotion which Catholics owe to every priest of God, regardless of race, color, or nationality." Rummel declared that his punitive measures would remain in effect until Catholics of the area expressed their willingness to accept whatever priest he sent to them. He thanked the group of Catholics at Myrtle Grove who had communicated their sorrow over the outrage to Fr. Lewis.[74] Rummel took no further steps to punish directly the parishoners who had actually interfered with Lewis. As a result of the suspension of services at Jesuit Bend, some blacks like Mrs. Geneva Dobard, who had no means of travelling to Myrtle Grove or Belle Chase, missed mass. Mrs. Dobard, nevertheless, observed that "the church is better off closed than the way it was."[75]

The overwhelming majority of Catholic newspapers praised Rummel's actions. Most significantly, on October 17, 1955, reportedly on direct instructions from the Vatican Secretariat of State, L' Osservatore Romano, the Vatican newspaper, ran an unusual front page editorial that deplored the actions of the parishoners of St. Cecilia's and applauded Rummel's response, calling it "prompt, admirable, pastoral, and Catholic." The editorial claimed that Rummel's action "stirs every Catholic with Christian pride" and declared that anyone who impeded a priest from offering mass committed a sacrilege. It urged Roman Catholic Americans to join the fight against racial prejudice. which it described as "inhuman," and "a sin against the nature of the Catholic creed." Support from such an important source, clearly buoyed the archbishop.[76]

Black American leaders hailed Rummel and also the Vatican. On October 18, 1955, A. Philip Randolph, President of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, conveyed his "heartfelt commendation and appreciation for the

vigorous, courageous, and uncompromising stand" taken by the Vatican newspaper in support of Rummel's action.[77] The next day, Channing Tobias, Chairman of the Board of the NAACP wrote Pope Pius XII expressing his pleasure at reading "of the magnificent stand which the Vatican has taken with respect to racial discrimination" in the Jesuit Bend incident. On behalf of the NAACP, he thanked the Pope for his leadership "in efforts to eradicate racial discrimination in the Christian Church ...." Tobias added, "The Roman Catholic Church in this country has played a vital role in the desegregation of schools and churches under the the leadership of such representatives ... as Bishop Vincent Waters, Archbishop Joseph Rummel, and Archbishop John Ritter...."[78]

On November 8, 1955, the "Louisiana sacrilege" became formally organized. One hundred whites met at Belle Chase and formed a "citizens council" to keep black priests from offering mass in the area. The group claimed that it had obtained more than 250 names on a petition protesting the assignment of black priests to Plaquemine parish. "The archbishop," said Arthur Bergeron, one of the council's leaders, "is trying to compel us to go against the way we were raised and the things we believe in." The petition called integration contrary to church teaching and the assignment of black priests a step toward breaking down segregation barriers. "If no white priest is available," declared Joseph Sendeker, who presided over the session, "let the church remain closed." He appointed a committee to draft a charter for the citizens' council.[79]

The following evening, residents of the area boycotted a meeting at Our Lady of Perpetual Help Church, in Belle Chase, called by the pastor, Clement Meyer, to explain the Church's teaching on the issue. At most, five people appeared for the meeting, which normally would have drawn two to three hundred. On November 10, 1955, in an attempt to clarify matters and to defuse

charges from his opponents, Rummel issued a statement denying that Fr. Lewis had gone to Jesuit Bend as a regular assistant. Rummel asserted that he never intended to appoint a black priest as the regular assistant pastor.[80]

On December 15, 1955, in a letter read in the churches at Belle Chase and Myrtle Grove, Rummel appealed to parishoners "to let justice and charity take the place of hatred and prejudice." He demanded that the leaders of those who had opposed Fr. Lewis, give "an expression of sincere sorrow over the grevious offense which they committed." He asked them to consider prayerfully, the teaching of the Church "about the dignity of every true priest of God and the respect and confidence which we owe to his person and services." The day following the reading of the archbishop's letter, Fr. Meyer sent each member of his parish a card which read: "In conformity with the teaching of the Church on the dignity of the priesthood and the dignity of the human person, I regret the offenses committed in our community against this teaching. Henceforth, I will accept any priest appointed to give us Sunday Masses and other services." In a covering letter, Meyer asked his parishoners to sign and return the cards. "This letter is not meant to antagonize," he assured his people, but he also warned that they stood in serious danger of losing the privilege of receiving the sacraments of the Church and of excommunication. "This is a matter of our Holy Faith," he pleaded, "It is a doctrine to which all must submit."[81]

Most parishoners refused to submit and resisted signing the cards. Following the reading of Rummel's letter and the distribution of the cards, the white opposition, led by District Attorney Leander Perez, organized protests. Perez denounced the desegregation movement as communist inspired and advised whites to combat it by organizing a greater New Orleans Citizens Council of fifty thousand and demanding that the Louisiana legislature outlaw the NAACP.

A spokesman for the intransigent white parishoners of Jesuit Bend made a public broadcast over a New Orleans television station in which he claimed that the overwhelming majority of the Catholic parishoners of Jesuit Bend and Myrtle Grove believed strongly that the archbishop should not demand, under penalty of excommunication, that the entire parish give lip service to "a dogma, doctrine, order, or request .... That is contrary to their sincere beliefs and convictions."[82]

In a second letter to Fr. Meyer, Rummel called the television statement "definitely subversive and contrary to the obligation which every Catholic has to accept the teachings of our Holy Church, especially in matters of 'dogma or doctrine....'"[83] Rummel received public expressions of support from the New Orleans Archdiocesan Council of Catholic Women, who reaffirmed their devotion to "the priesthood of Jesus Christ and His duly ordained priests irrespective of their color ...." The New Orleans chapter of the Catholic Committee of the South sent letters to each of the approximately 250 families in the Belle Chase parish and its missions, reminding them that the priest received his authority from God, not man.[84] Fr. Lewis, who continued to serve other mission chapels, received nearly fourscore letters, from persons overseas and in the United States, expressing shame and indignation over the incident.[85]

The parishoners at Jesuit Bend, however, adamantly refused to sign the pledge demanded by Rummel; St Cecilia's, therefore, remained closed for more than two years. In March, 1958, Robert Pung left for Rome to attend the Society's General Chapter. Not trusting Peter Oswald, the assistant pastor at Belle Chase, Pung explicitly instructed his assistant Provincial to do nothing regarding Jesuit Bend until he returned. While in Rome, Pung was elected a General Consultor of the Society of the Divine Word and, thereupon, resigned as

Provincial. During Pung's absence, Oswald collected signatures from some white parishoners at Jesuit Bend to a document stating that they would accept any duly ordained priest sent to them. Oswald managed to secure the signatures by quietly promising the people that the SVDs would never send another black priest to assist at St. Cecilia's. Whether Oswald acted on his own or with the connivance of the pastor, Frank Ecimovich, was unclear. Oswald presented the signatures to Rummel, who, while disappointed at the small number of signatures, nevertheless, decided to reopen the chapel.[86]

In a letter to Ecimovich, Rummel set April 6, 1958, Easter Sunday, as the date for reopening St. Cecilia's. Preceding the reopening, he ordered three days of prayer in reparation for the original offense and in thanksgiving for its resolution, at Belle Chase and Myrtle Grove, beginning on Palm Sunday, to which he invited all of the parishoners. Rummel noted "with supreme regret ... that it has been possible to obtain only some inadequate expressions of sincere sorrow ...." Alluding to the strong arm tactics of Leander Perez, Rummel attributed the reluctance of many to sign the cards to "certain intimidating influences which are equally deplorable." Rummel explained, however, that he could not permit the closed chapel "to stand forever as a symbol of resistance to the authority of the Church and ... contempt for the Holy Priesthood"; nor did he believe that he could indefinitely deprive "the majority of good and well meaning Catholics of the use of the House of God because of the obstinacy of a few...." Finally, Rummel said he could not ignore the example of Christ who pleaded, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." On Easter Sunday, as spider webs on some of the chapel windows waved gently in the soft breeze off the nearby Mississippi river, Ecimovich celebrated Mass for fifty-five white and twenty-five black parishoners.[87]

On his return from Rome in June, Pung learned about Oswald's deception and quickly arranged for a meeting with Rummel where he explained to the archbishop how Oswald had manipulated him. Needless to say, Pung's report upset Rummel, who believed he could not close down the chapel again, only two months after reopening it. Nature intervened, however, when a hurricane destroyed St. Cecilia's chapel. When Ecimovich and Oswald asked Rummel to rebuild it, he emphatically told them "No!" After that, the priest from Belle Chase drove a bus to Myrtle Grove, about eight miles down the river, to say mass. On the way, he picked up black parishoners from Jesuit Bend. The whites drove themselves.[88]

Like so many of his actions in dealing with the knotty problem of race relations, Rummel's handling of the Jesuit Bend incident left him open to second-guessing. He may even have contributed inadvertently to the incident by tolerating certain pastors in his archdiocese who refused to accept black priests for weekend help. The Jesuit Bend incident, of course, differed from the private differences between Rummel and a few pastors. It involved a public insult by laymen to a priest whom Rummel had authorized. As such, it represented a lay challenge not only to the archbishop's racial policies, but also to the priesthood and, ultimately, to the archbishop's authority. Some critics, including some Josephites, argued that, rather than closing the chapel, Rummel should have publicly excommunicated the three white parishoners who prevented Fr. Lewis from saying mass. Once having closed the chapel, however, those same critics scored Rummel for reopening it after receiving only a handful of cards promising to accept any priest sent in the future.[89]

His critics, notwithstanding, Rummel's public stand in the Jesuit Bend incident demonstrated that even southern bishops would defend black priests and

indicated that the cause of black priests in the Catholic Church had made significant gains. Rummel's actions contrasted sharply with those of a previous archbishop of New Orleans, James H. Blenk, who, forty-six years earlier, had refused permission to Josephite John Plantevigne to conduct a mission in New Orleans because he feared white reaction. Rummel's willingness to accept and defend black priests made it possible for the Josephites to station their new black priest in the Crescent City.

IV

The ordination of Joseph Verrett in June, 1955, marked a new phase in the history of black Josephites. Verrett was the first black Josephite ordained since Chester Ball in 1941 and the first of the black students admitted by Fr. Casserly in 1945 to receive holy orders. Verrett had distinguished himself throughout his college and seminary career. When, in March, 1955, Fr. Casserly, the rector of St. Joseph's Seminary, asked the seminary faculty for an appraisal of the deacon class, Timothy Holland described Verrett as "one of the two best in the class." Holland predicted that Verrett would do well on any assignment and "if not sent on for higher studies ... should be the answer to some of the problems in the high school." Holland pointed out that "He would be good publicity in New Orleans, should be a good teacher, and probably would settle some of the situations which might be embarrassing to other priests."[90]

Verrett's imminent ordination also delighted other Josephites. During 1954 and 1955, John McShane of St. Lucy's in Houma, Louisiana peppered McNamara so frequently and ardently with requests for Verrett's services that the exasperated Superior finally ordered him to cease because his importuning had

become known at the seminary, giving rise to jokes and causing subsequent embarrassment for Verrett.[91] Andrew J. Eck, pastor of Verrett's home parish of St. Joan of Arc, became so excited about plans for Verrett's first mass there, that he proposed a massive renovation and decoration of the church that would have cost $10,000. Once again, Mcnamara found himself forced to cool the ardor of another of his overly enthusiastic men and refused permission for such large expenditures.[92]

The anticipation surrounding Verrett's ordination, notwithstanding, the Josephites handled it in a low-key manner and gave it no special publicity. The July-August issue of The Colored Harvest, for example, ran a picture of the fifteen ordinands, the largest class in Josephite history, without mentioning that one of the the newly ordained, the relatively light-skinned Verrett, was black.[93]

Following ordination, Verrett returned to St. Joan of Arc for his first mass and the next Sunday accepted the invitation of the irrepressible John McShane to celebrate mass in Houma, Louisiana. After brief stints at All Saints in Algiers, Louisiana in July and Most Pure Heart of Mary in Mobile during August, Verrett reported to St. Augustine's High School in September, 1955. The talented and personable Verrett quickly earned the respect and affection of faculty and students. He taught English and coached dramatics. An avid sports fan, he became almost a stepfather to some of the boys on the basketball and football teams. Verrett also became involved in efforts to desegregate the Catholic schools of New Orleans, participating, for instance, in a series of eight public forums sponsored by the Commission on Human Rights of the Catholic Committee of the South, which produced a "Handbook on Catholic School Integration.[94]

Verrett's attendance at Loyola University in New Orleans from 1955 to 1958, involved him personally in the difficulties attendant to the integration of Catholic schools. Since St. Joseph's Seminary did not begin granting degrees until 1961, Josephites who taught at St. Augustine's high school had to attend Loyola in order to secure the education credits or degree required by the state of Louisiana for certification. Prior to Verrett's arrival in New Orleans, Loyola, which accepted black students into its law school and evening and Saturday classes, refused to admit a black SVD into its undergraduate program. That incident created bitter feelings between the SVDs and the Jesuits who ran Loyola.[95] Determined to avoid a similar incident with Verrett, Fr. Matthew O'Rourke, the principal of St. Augustine's, went to the Rev. Bernard Tonnar, the Dean of Loyola, months before Verrett's ordination, to try to arrange for Verrett to take classes at Loyola in order to secure his B.S. in education. The nervous Tonnar agreed, but only on the condition that Verrett abide by certain restrictions that Tonner spelled out for O'Rourke. Subsequently, O'Rourke never mentioned the meeting or the "conditions" to Verrett, who took classes at Loyola in the evenings and on Saturdays, oblivious to the restrictions that supposedly governed his attendance. When he later found out about them, Verrett was furious with O'Rourke for not telling him and with Loyola for imposing them. By 1958, however, as his graduation approached, Loyola changed its tune, and urged Verrett to attend graduation ceremonies. Disgustedly declaring that he would not act as "their show case nigger," Verrett skipped graduation and played golf.[96]

Verrett wanted to be accepted as a priest and a human being and resented being put on parade as a black priest. During his first years in New orleans, he became, in his own words, "a professional invocation giver," as groups and

individuals who did not know him asked him to bless street lights and golf courses, and address boy scout groups, and communion breakfasts. Verrett received a special invitation from the chancery every year to assist at the Holy Thursday blessing of the chrism by the archbishop; all of the other Josephites in the St. Augustine's High School community received only a general invitation. Verrett began sarcastically to refer to the chancery as "Hertz rent a Negro."[97]

While some whites tried to use Verrett as a "token," others occasionally objected to his mere presence. The Josephite priests at St. Augustine's High School, like the SVDs at St. Augustine's Seminary, took turns on weekends filling in at parishes in New Orleans for priests who went on vacation, became ill, or found themselves shorthanded. In one case, shortly after the Jesuit Bend incident, Monsignor Magnus Roth, the German pastor of Holy Trinity parish, asked the Josephites at St. Augustine's to send a priest to help him on Sundays. He assured them that they could send any priest they wished. The Josephites went through two rotations and after Verrett's second visit to the parish, Roth called Frank Cassidy, the rector of the high school, and asked him not to send Verrett again because he had received some complaints from members of his congregation. Cassidy sent Gene McManus, a member of the faculty, an outspoken leader of integration efforts in the New Orleans archdiocese, and a friend of Roth, to speak to him. McManus purposely adopted a kindly approach with the monsignor and asked him gently why he had requested that Verrett not return to Holy Trinity. Roth replied that several parishoners had complained, some saying "We don't want any nigger priests." Roth, a peaceful, gentle man, wanted to avoid conflict and thought that a quiet arrangement with the Josephites would eliminate the problem.[98]

McManus asked Roth how many phone calls he had received. When Roth replied "seven," McManus reminded him that Verrett had celebrated Mass before a packed church. He asked the monsignor how he could allow seven, isolated, racist phone calls to outweigh the dignity of the priesthood. Magnus responded that he had "never thought of it that way," and told McManus to send Verrett the next week. The following Sunday, when Verrett arrived to say mass, the embarrassed Roth avoided him. The Josephites heard no more reports of hostile reaction at the parish. After the incident, the Josephites refused to accept assignments to white parishes unless the pastors knew that they had a black priest on the faculty and agreed to accept priests in rotation.[99] Verrett remained at St. Augustine's until 1961, becoming Josephite vocation recruiter for New Orleans in 1959 and assistant principal of St. Augustine's in 1960. He inspired a number of students from New Orleans to enter Epiphany Apostolic College as Josephite candidates.[100]

Verrett's appointment to New Orleans symbolized a new era for black Josephite priests. The exclusion of a black Josephite from New Orleans in 1909 had helped trigger a long period of retrenchment in the Society. Verrett's appointment to New Orleans, and the willingness of the archbishop to accept him, completed a circle of events begun with John Plantevigne and returned black Josephites to the deep South. In June, 1959, four years after Verrett arrived in New Orleans, McNamara named Chester Ball as assistant at Our Mother of Mercy Church in Houston, Texas. McNamara and O'Dea adopted an assertive attitude about assigning black priests to parishes in the South. They simply notified the bishop of the appointment, without designating the race of the man. They determined that if they encountered any resistance from a bishop they would fight him, including appealing the matter to Rome. Fortunately,

however, they experienced no opposition from any bishop to the appointments of black priests to parishes in the South.[101]

The publication, on November 17, 1958, of a letter from the American bishops entitled, "Racial Discrimination and the Christian Conscience," which condemned forced segregation as contrary to Christian teaching and declared that the heart of the race question "is moral and religious," gave added impetus to the efforts of Josephites and others in the Church working for black priests.[102] The letter made it even more difficult for any bishop to refuse a prospective black seminarian or priest.

By the end of the decade, St. Joseph's seminary began to turn out additional black Josephite priests. The ordinations of Rawlin Enette in June, 1959, and of Charles H. Hall and Elbert Harris in June, 1960, brought the total of black Josephite priests to five, the most they had ever had at one time.[103] In addition to the Josephites' Harris and Hall, the year 1960 also witnessed the ordinations of ten other black priests, the largest number of black priests ever ordained in one year. According to a survey conducted by the Society of the Divine Word, the ordinations in 1960 increased the number of black priests in the United States to 106, a paltry figure compared to the roughly 50,000 white priests, but a significant increase over the thirty at the beginning of the decade. Fifteen more black clerics anticipated ordination in 1961, and another fifty black seminarians studying philosophy and theology would become candidates for ordination in the years up to 1966. Thirty-one of the 106 black priests were diocesans; the remaining seventy-five belonged to seventeen religious orders. The SVDs led with thirty three. The Benedictines counted fourteen, and the Josephites and Holy Ghost Fathers numbered five each. The Conventual Franciscans followed with three, while the Edmundites, White

Fathers, and Blessed Sacrament Fathers each claimed two. The Claretian, Sacred Heart, Redemptorist, Maryknoll, Salvatorian, Crosier, Passionist, Precious Blood, and Atonement Fathers all had one.[104]

A new day had apparently dawned for the Josephites and for black priests in the Catholic Church. With five black priests and with black students and seminarians composing at least one third of the enrollments at Epiphany Apostolic College and St. Joseph's Seminary, the Josephites entered the the tumultuous sixties confident that they had recaptured the spirit of their founder and that a steady stream of black Josephite priests would enable them to evangelize the black community more effectively and to contribute significantly to the struggle for a truly integrated priesthood, Church, and nation.

END NOTES

[1]Josephite Fathers Archives (hereinafter referred to as JFA), Minutes of the General Chapters, July 7, 1954, pp. 205 - 206, 212 - 215.

[2]JFA, Epiphany Apostolic College Correspondence File (hereinafter referred to as EACCF), Thomas O'Connor to McNamara, Newburgh, October 16, 1953.

[3]JFA, EAC Faculty Minutes Book, September, (no day given) 1946, September 26, 1947, and September 24, 1948; EACCF, O'Connor to McNamara, Newburgh, October 16, 1953.

[4]JFA, EACCF, O'Connor to McNamara, Newburgh, October 16, 1953.

[5]Ibid.

[6]James Hennesey, American Catholics, A History of the Roman Catholic Community in the United States (New York, 1981), p. 287. According to Hennesey, between 1954 and 1964, the number of seminarians increased from 32,344 to 48,992. The 46,970 priests of 1954 became 59,892 by 1966; for other information about Epiphany Apostolic College and St. Joseph's Seminary, I relied upon interviews with Rev. Peter E. Hogan, S.S.J., Baltimore, August 30, 1983 and Rev. Robert McCall, S.S.J., Baltimore, June 24, 1982.

[7]Interview, Rev. Peter E. Hogan, Baltimore, December 29, 1982; JFA, EACCF, O'Connor to McNamara, Newburgh, May 15, 1952.

[8]Interview, Rev. Eugene McManus, S.S.J., Baltimore, June 10, 1985; Interview, Rev. Joseph Verrett, S.S.J., Washington, D.C., May 29, 1985; JFA, Joseph Verrett File, Epiphany Apostolic College transcript.

[9]JFA, Interview, Most Reverend Eugene Marino, S.S.J., Baltimore, August 13, 1974, conducted by Peter E. Hogan, S.S.J., pp. 25 - 26, transcript; Interview, Joseph Verrett, May 29, 1985.

[10]Interview, Hogan, December 29, 1982.

[11]Taped memoir, in possesion of Stephen J. Ochs, Thomas Honore, Los Angeles, October 21, 1983.

[12]Interview, Joseph Verrett, May 29, 1985; Interview, Charles H. Dorsey, Jr., Baltimore, October 12, 1983; JFA, Interview, Hogan - Marino, August 13, 1974, pp. 25 - 26.

[13]JFA, Interview, Hogan - Marino, August 13, 1974, p. 26; Interview, Peter Hogan, December 29, 1982.

[14]JFA, Interview, Hogan - Marino, pp. 25, 28 - 29; Interview, Rev. Mario Shaw, Peoria, July 9, 1982; some priests on the missions, like Daniel Cassidy, took candidates from his parish and tutored them for a year in English and Latin before sending them to Epiphany, thus giving them a running start. Interview, Peter E. Hogan, August 30, 1983.

[15]JFA, Interview, Rev. Rawlin Enette, Baltimore, March 9, 1971, conducted by Peter E. Hogan, transcript, pp. 152, 155 - 156.

[16]JFA, Interview, Hogan - Marino, p. 25; Interview, Robert McCall, June 24, 1982; Interview, Peter E. Hogan, August 30, 1983.

[17]Interviews, Peter E. Hogan, December 29, 1982 and August 30, 1983.

[18]Interviews, Peter E. Hogan, December 29, 1982 and August 30, 1983.

[19]JFA, EAC Faculty Meeting Minutes, February 4, 1952, p. 117; February 18, 1952, p. 119; Interview, Peter E. Hogan, December 29, 1982.

[20]JFA, Interview, Rawlin Enette, p. 361.

[21]Ibid., p. 152; EACCF, Novitiate list, black students.

[22]JFA, Interview, Rawlin Enette, pp. 165 - 168.

[23]Ibid.

[24]Interview, Joseph Verrett, May 29, 1985; Interview, Robert McCall, June 24, 1982.

[25]Interview, Joseph Verrett, May 29, 1985.

[26]Ibid.

[27]See, for example, JFA, St. Joseph's Seminary File, (hereinafter referred to as SJSF), Joseph L. Waters to Thomas P. McNamara, Baltimore, April 30, 1960; Interview, Robert McCall, June 24, 1982.

[28]JFA, Casserly - McNamara Papers (hereinafter referred to as CMP), Bishops' Correspondence, Baltimore, Msgr. Joseph M. Nelligan to Casserly, Baltimore, April 5, 1945; Chester Ball File, Ball to McNamara, Glen Arden, August 19, 1952; Albert S. Foley, S.J., God's Men of Color (New York, 1955), pp. 232 - 233.

[29]Foley, God's Men, pp. 233 - 234.

[30]JFA, Chester Ball File, Rev. William B. Swanson, S.P. to George F. O'Dea, Jemez Springs, November 9, 1960.

[31]Georgetown University Archives (hereinafter referred to as GUA), LaFarge Papers, Box 8 - 20, "Negro Priests in the United States," December 28, 1949, typed list.

[32]Sulpician Archives Baltimore (hereinafter referred to as SAB), RG4-Box 6, St. Charles College Faculty Minutes, May 16, 1950; SAB, RG4 - Box 19, memorandum to the Archbishop, copy, Very Rev, Msgr. James E. Cowhig to Archbishop, May 23, 1950; George A. Gleason, S.S., to Cowhig, St. Charles,

June 12, 1950; telephone conversation with the Rev. John W. Bowen, archivist, October 28, 1983.

Not until May, 1974, when Donald A. Sterling received the sacrament of holy orders, did the Archdiocese of Baltimore witness the ordination of a black priest for the archdiocese.

[33]Interview, Francis A. Theriault, S.V.D., Bay St. Louis, July 18, 1983; telephone interview, St. Martinville, La., June 11, 1985; JFA, Negro Priests File, "Integrated Seminary Ordains 31st Negro," Catholic Messenger (Davenport, Ia.), July 7, 1955.

[34]GUA, LaFarge Papers, Box 15 - 17, John LaFarge to Albert S. Foley, New York, February 2, 1955; JFA, Negro Priests File, "Integrated Seminary Ordains 31st Negro," Catholic Messenger, (Davenport, Ia.), July 7, 1955; telephone interview, Francis A. Theriault, June 11, 1985.

[35]JFA, Negro Priests File, " Negro Ordained in Louisiana," Star Herald (Camden, N.J.), December 26, 1952; Foley, God's Men, p. 302.

[36]Howze, a convert, belonged to Most Pure Heart of Mary parish in Mobile. Curriculum Vita, Most Reverend Joseph L. Howze, Diocese of Biloxi, July 3, 1985. Bishop Howze became the first black man since James Augustine Healy to head a diocese when he became bishop of the Diocese of Biloxi in 1977.

[37]Foley, God's Men of Color, p. 219.

[38]JFA, Negro Priests File, "Negro Bishop Takes Over See in Gold Coast," clipping, January 1, 1953; "Says Pope Wishes Negro Vocations"; Southern Province Archives of the Society of the Divine Word (hereinafter referred to as SPA), Bishops File, Most Rev. William C. Bauer to Msgr. Gustav J. Schultheiss, Bay St. Louis, April 27, 1953.

[39]JFA, Negro Priests File, "History-Making Event Recorded in Mississippi," Pittsburgh Courier, May 2, 1953; SPA, Bauer to Schultheiss, Bay St. Louis, April 27, 1953.

[40]JFA, Negro Priests File, "Cathedral Will Be the Scene of Bishop's Pontifical Mass," Catholic Action of the South (New Orleans), July 8, 1953; "Bishop Bowers Stays Here in Tour of U.S.," Catholic Review (Baltimore), July 31, 1953.

[41]Foley, God's Men, p. 219.

[42]GUA, LaFarge Papers, Box 28 - 15, Philip S. Olgivie, Executive Secretary of the Catholic Committee of the South to Mary Sabusowa, American Council on Race Relations, New Orleans, October 24, 1949, copy; clipping, "Archbishop Hits New Orleans Bias," Times Picayune (probably), October 2, 1949; telephone interview, Eugene McManus, Baltimore, June 10, 1985; JFA, Robert Grant File, Robert Grant to Charlie (?), New Orleans, November 23, 1952.

[43]Archives of the Diocese of Jackson (hereinafter referred to as ADJ), Richard Gerow to Priests of the Diocese, Natchez, May 23, 1951.

[44]William Osborne, Segregated Covenant, Race Relations and American Catholics (New York, 1967), p. 75; "Urged Race Bias Halt," The Colored Harvest, May, 1953, p. 1.

[45]Osborne, Segregated Covenant, p. 46.

[46]Ibid., p. 47; For an excellent study of Archbishop Robert E. Lucey, see Saul E. Bronder, Social Justice and Church Authority: The Public Life of Archbishop Robert E. Lucey (Philadelphia, 1982).

[47]Osborne, Segregated Covenant, pp. 79 - 81; Interview, Eugene McManus, Baltimore, September 9, 1983;

[48]ADJ, Gerow Diary, March 23 - 24, 1956, pp. 1257 - 1259. In Mississippi, Bishop Gerow faced similar difficulties with the Mississippi legislature. In March, 1956, the state Senate passed a bill denying tax exemptions "to any property ... utilized on a non-segregated basis." The bill also provided that "if one property belonging to a certain corporation or society or body should forfeit this exemption then this forfeiture would apply to all other properties of that corporation or group or association within the state." Joining forces with the Episcopal and Methodist bishops of the state, Gerow and Father Joseph B. Brunini of Vicksburg lobbied key people in the legislature and the governor against the bill. The governor announced his opposition to the bill on the grounds of separation of church and state and the bill was not introduced into the House. See ADJ, Gerow Diary, March 23 - 24, 1956, pp. 1257 - 1259.

[49]JFA, Rev. Peter Kenney's research notes, Rummel to ABCM, New Orleans, October 1, 1954; For descriptions of the desegregation of Catholic Schools in New Orleans see Osborne, Segregated Covenant, pp. 82 - 89 and Philip A. Grant, Jr., "Archbishop Joseph F. Rummel and the 1962 New Orleans Desegregation Crisis," Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia 91 (March - December, 1980), pp. 59 - 66. See also Glenn Jeansonne's excellent study of one of the leading opponents of integration in the Archdiocese of New Orleans and the state of Louisiana, Leander Perez, Boss of the Delta (Baton Rouge, 1977). Pages 263 - 269 describe Perez's battle with Rummel over desegregation of the Catholic schools in the Archdiocese of new Orleans. On October 16, 1962, Rummel finally excommunicated Perez for his continued opposition to the Archbishop's plan for integration of the Catholic schools in the Archdiocese of New Orleans.

[50]Osborne, Segregated Covenant, p. 47.

[51]JFA, Minutes of the General Chapters, July 7, 1954, pp. 205 - 206, 212 - 215.

[52]JFA, CMP, Rummel to McNamara, New Orleans, October 20, 1955.

[53]JFA, CMP, McNamara to Rummel, Baltimore, November 4, 1955.

[54]In March, 1952, Josephite Roderique Auclair, a twenty-five year veteran of the black missions, stationed at St. Anne de Beaupre Church in Houston, sent

a scathing letter to the editor of The Priest after reading an anonymously written article entitled "Black Priest" that had appeared in the May, 1951 issue of the magazine. The article detailed the painful experiences with racism in the Church endured by a black priest from the South. Auclair castigated the leaders of the Catholic Church in the South for having created an "enforced caste system ... for the defenseless Negro." Auclair claimed that the bishops in the South had always considered blacks as a "problem" and had "never hesitated to placate the white pharisees, the 'Talmadges' and the 'Bilboes.'" Arguing that segregation and discrimination "are still rampant in the Catholic Church," Auclair objected that priests and bishops taught blacks "the supremacy of the white race" instead of "the dignity of the human being." He declared, "We are more concerned with the color of faces and ancestry than we are with the salvation of immortal souls. See JFA, "Protests Southern Intolerance," R.A. Auclair, Houston, to The Editor, The Priest, March, 1952, pp. 232 - 234.

The letter stung Bishop Gerow, who demanded a retraction and apology. He also told McNamara that he wanted to speak with him about other Josephite actions "of the same nature." See, JFA, CMP, Gerow to McNamara, Jackson, March 17, 1952. McNamara disavowed Auclair's letter, apologized for it, and suggested that the matter be dropped to avoid a further airing of the "ridiculous charges." He then rebuked Auclair, reminding him that the Josephites needed the good will and friendly support of the bishops, "since we have many parishes and missions in these dioceses." He specifically faulted Auclair for unfairly vilifying Gerow and Rummel. He conspicuously excluded Bishop Toolen, who had also protested Auclair's letter. McNamara pointed out that if Auclair "had made the necessary distinctions in your all-embracing charges, perhaps we would not have the problem of trying to soothe over a very ticklish situation." He ordered Auclair to apologize immediately to Gerow. "No one admires your zeal ... more than I," McNamara wrote, "However, your tactless statements ... are needlessly and unfairly antagonizing our ecclesiastical superiors. We have enough headaches of our own without adding this one." JFA, Roderique Auclair File, McNamara to Auclair, Baltimore, March 25, 1952. A number of years later, Gerow told George O'Dea that his men were "a bunch of rebels." See Interview, Rev. George F. O'Dea, S.S.J., Baltimore, August 10, 1983.

[55]JFA, CMP, Bishops' Correspondence, Alexandria, Charles P. Greco to McNamara, Alexandria, September 8, 1956; January 16, 1957.

[56]JFA, Negro Priests File, "Color Line in Catholic Churches," Catholic Herald Citizen (Milwaukee), February 2, 1952.

[57]JFA, Negro Priests File, "Opinions," Mrs. C. to the Editor, The Indiana Catholic and Record (Indianapolis), February 15, 1952.

[58]JFA, Negro Priests File, "Lucky for Some Catholics that Christ Wasn't Colored," The Indiana Catholic and Record, February 15, 1952.

[59]See, for example, JFA, Negro Priests File, "Opinions," T.G.M. to Editor, The Indiana Catholic and Record, February 29, 1952; E.D. to Editor, February 22, 1952; Mrs. C.H. to Editor, March 28, 1952; Naomi Blair to editor, February 29, 1952; Lucille Knopke to Editor, February 29, 1952.

[60]GUA, LaFarge Papers, Box 18 - 5, "Religious Orders Score Racial Bias," Religious News Service Press Release, July 31, 1953.

[61]Saint Augustine's Seminary Archives (hereinafter referred to as SASA), Natchez Diocese File, Gerow to Robert Pung, Jackson, February 4, 1954.

[62]SASA, Natchez Diocese File, Pung to Gerow, Bay St. Louis, February 12, 1954.

[63]Ibid.

[64]SASA, Natchez Diocese File, Pung to Fred Bourgeois, Bay St. Louis, February 12, 1954.

[65]SASA, Natchez Diocese File, Pung to Gerow, Bay St. Louis, February 12, 1954.

[66]SASA, Natchez Diocese File, Gerow to M.J. Costello, Jackson, February 18, 1954, copy.

[67]SASA, Natchez File, Gerow to Pung, Jackson, March 1, 1954; Pung to Gerow, Bay St. Louis, March 3, 1954.

[68]SASA, Natchez File, Pung to Gerow, Bay St. Louis, March 3, 1954.

[69]SPA, Bishops' Correspondence File, Rummel to Pung, New Orleans, August 26, 1955; letters, Robert Pung to author, Rome, April 30, 1985 and May 27, 1985.

[70]"Negro Priest Barred; Mission Is Rebuked," The New York Times, October 15, 1955; "Parishes Placid in Racial Dispute," The New York Times, October 16, 1955; letter, Pung to author, Rome, April 30, 1985; JFA, Negro Priests File, "Masses Cut as Parish Scorns Negro Priest," Advocate (Newark), October 22, 1955.

[71]SPA, Bishops' Correspondence File, Rummel to Pung, New Orleans, April 26, 1955.

[72]Letter, Pung to author, May 27, 1985.

[73]"Parishes Placid in Racial Dispute," The New York Times, October 16, 1955; "Men Who Barred Black Priest Censured," The New York Times October 31, 1955.

[74]JFA, Negro Priests File, "Organize Ban on Negro Priests," The Catholic Exponent (Youngstown, Ohio), November 8, 1955; "Negro Priest Barred; Mission Is Rebuked," The New York Times, October 15, 1955.

[75]"Parishes Placid in Racial Dispute," New York Times, October 16, 1955; "Faithful Divided on Closed Church," The New York Times, October 17, 1955.

[76]"Vatican Commends New Orleans Prelate," The New York Times, October 18, 1955; JFA, Negro Priests File, "Prompt and Admirable," Catholic Virginian (Richmond), October 28, 1955; "The Church Aims Blow At This Racial Injustice," The Record (Louisville), October 21, 1955.

[77]JFA, Negro Priests File, quoted in "Jesuit Bend's Unknown Sequel," St. Augustine's Messenger, January, 1956, p. 6.

[78]JFA, Negro Priests File, "Letter Sent to Pope Pius XII," The Colored Harvest, December, 1955, p. 1.

[79]JFA, Negro Priests File, "Negro Priests Opposed In Petition," Evening Sun (Baltimore), November 10, 1955; "Organize Ban on Negro Priests," The Catholic Exponent (Youngstown, Ohio), November 18, 1955; "Action At Jesuit Bend Misinterpreted by Group," Catholic Action of the South (New Orleans), November 20, 1955; "Parishoners Shun Meeting on Issue of Negro Priests," Catholic Transcript (Hartford, Ct.), November 17, 1955.

[80]Ibid.

[81]JFA, Negro Priests File, "'Let Justice, Charity Rule,' Plea in Jesuit Bend Situation," Catholic Herald Citizen (Milwaukee), December 17, 1955; "Parishoners Support Segregation Despite Prelate's Plea for Justice," The Pilot (Boston), December 15, 1955.

[82]JFA, Negro Priests File, "Catholics Rap Rummel," Pittsburgh Courier, December 24, 1955; see also undated clipping.

[83]JFA, Negro Priests File, "Jesuit Bend Incident at Standstill Following Letter to Parishoners," The Catholic Standard and Times (Philadelphia), December 23, 1955; undated newspaper clipping.

[84]JFA, Negro Priests File, "Deplore Stand on Negro Priest," Catholic Review (Baltimore), November 25, 1955; "Jesuit Bend Incident At Standstill Following Letter to Parishoners," The Catholic Standard and Times (Philadelphia), December 23, 1955.

[85]JFA, Rev. Carlos Lewis, S.V.D., "Jesuit Bend's Unknown Sequel," St. Augustine's Messenger, January 1956, pp. 4 - 11; March, 1956, 85 - 86.

[86]Letters, Pung to author, April 30, 1985; May 27, 1985.

[87]JFA, Negro Priests File, "Mass Said Again At Jesuit Bend," The Times Picayune (New Orleans), April 7, 1958.

[88]Letters, Pung to author, April 30, 1985; May 27, 1985.

[89]JFA, CMP, St. Raymond's - New Orleans File, John McShane to O'Dea, New orleans, July 24, 1958.

[90]JFA, St. Joseph's Seminary File, Holland to Casserly, Washington, D.C., March 30, 1955.

[91]JFA, CMP, St. Lucy's - Houma File, McShane to McNamara, March 2, 1954; April 25, 1954; August 12, 1954; McNamara to McShane, Baltimore, January 19, 1954.

[92]JFA, CMP, St. Joan of Arc - New Orleans File, A.J. Eck to McNamara, New Orleans, September 27, 1954; McNamara to Eck, Baltimore, October 4, 1954.

[93] The Colored Harvest, July - August, 1955.

[94]JFA, Joseph Verrett File, McNamara to Verrett, Baltimore, September 8, 1955; GUA, LaFarge Papers, Box 28-15, Louis J. Twomey to LaFarge, New Orleans, September 23, 1950; Interview, Eugene McManus, September 9, 1983; Interview, Joseph Verrett, May 29, 1985.

[95]Interview, Joseph Verrett, May 29, 1985. In September, 1954, the Provincial of the southern province of the Society of Jesus issued some official guidelines to govern Jesuits in their thinking, preaching, and general conduct regarding race relations. "We must say," the directive read, "that race segregation, based solely on race is immoral and therefore may not be approved by a Catholic. The principles are clear, Negroes should have the same basic rights as white men. They should have free access to our churches, schools, our retreat houses, and our novitiates.... We may not approve of the previous pattern of segregation, nor may we formally cooperate in any violation of the Negroes' rights." Quoted in William M. Markoe, S.J. "An Interracial Memoir," (unpublished memoir, Milwaukee, 1963), p. 229,

Although Albert Foley described the document to John LaFarge as "conservative," he still concluded that it represented "a modicum of progress in the Provincial's thinking, and quite a long step forward for the still race conservative members of the province...." That year, Spring Hill College, a Jesuit institution in, Mobile admitted eleven full-time black students for the fall term. The previous year it had admitted blacks only as part-time evening division students. See GUA, LaFarge Papers, Box 15 - 17, Foley to laFarge, Mobile, September 12, 1954.

Loyola University officials could argue that they excluded black undergraduates not on the basis of race, but because their alumni would bitterly object. Ironically, two of the most outspoken and active crusaders for integration in the South, the Jesuits Louis J. Twomey and Joseph H. Fichter, served on the Loyola faculty. See Hennesey, American Catholics, p. 304.

[96]Interview, Joseph Verrett, May 29, 1985. Unfortunately, although both Verrett and O'Rourke remember that Tonner attached conditions to Verrett's attendance at Loyola, neither man can recall specifically what they involved.

[97]Interview, Eugene McManus, September 9, 1983; Interview, Joseph Verrett, May 29, 1985.

[98]Interview, Eugene McManus, September 9, 1983.

[99]Ibid.

[100]JFA, Joseph Verrett File, Verrett to McNamara, New Orleans, November 18, 1959; Interview, Joseph Verrett, May 29, 1985.

[101]JFA, CMP, Bishops Correspondence File, Houston, McNamara to Bishop Wendelin J. Nold, Baltimore, June 19, 1959; Interview, George O'Dea, August 10, 1983.

[102]"Discrimination and Conscience," The Colored Harvest, January, 1959, pp. 4 - 5. The bishops debated the statement, proposed by Washington's Cardinal Patrick O'Boyle, head of the Social Action Committee of the NCWC. Some southern bishops worried that publication of the statement might hurt the work of the Church in their dioceses. Prior to the debate on the floor of the meeting, Archbishop Rummel, who favored the statement, and Archbishop Thomas Toolen of Mobile, who opposed it, engaged in a fierce argument about its merits. The bishops called on "responsible and sober-minded Americans of all religious faiths," to seize the mantle of leadership from the agitator and the racist. "It is vital," the bishops said, "that we act now and act decisively." Interview, Bishop Joseph E. Vath, Birmingham, Alabama, July 22, 1983; United States Catholic Conference Archives, Minutes of the Meetings of the Hierarchy, November 11, 1958. In "Religion and Race," America, June 30, 1984, p. 472, John F. Cronin, S.S., provides information about events leading up to the issuance of the bishops' statement, including a direct order from Pius XII to issue a statement in "Religion and Race," America, June 30, 1984, p. 472.

[103]JFA, SJSF, Joseph L. Waters to McNamara, Washington, D.C., April 30, 1960.

[104]JFA, Negro Priests File, "12 Negroes Ordained in Year," Register (National edition), August 28, 1960.

EPILOGUE
UNFINISHED MISSION, 1960 - 1985

For the Josephites and for black Catholics, the nineteen sixties witnessed the best and the worst of times. Josephites supported and applauded the gains of the civil rights movement that culminated in the march on Washington in 1963 and subsequent passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Within the Catholic Church, Catholic interracial councils united to form a nationwide organization, the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, and joined in 1963 with Protestants and Jews to form the National Conference on Religion and Race that lobbied effectively for passage of civil rights legislation.[1] Segregation ended in Catholic churches, schools, hospitals, and seminaries, and during the decade, the number of black Catholics increased by 220,000, a gain of 35%, 127,389 of whom represented converts. By 1966, the number of black priests stood at 165 and that same year, the Rev. Harold R. Perry, a black S.V.D., became auxiliary bishop of New Orleans.[2] Between 1960 and 1969, the Josephites began to reap the harvest of their fifteen year recruiting effort among blacks, as they added eleven black priests (approximately one-fourth of the total of all new Josephite priests) to their ranks.[3]

As the decade drew to a close, however, optimism and hope faded in the face of the revolutionary currents generated by the growth of "black consciousness" (often described by the term "black power"), the Second Vatican Council, and the Vietnam war. Black Catholic clergy, including some Josephites, formed the National Black Catholic Clergy Caucus in April, 1968, branded their church a "white racist institution," issued nine demands calling for black self-

determination within the Church, and spawned the formation of the Black Sisters' Conference and the Black Catholic Lay Caucus. Led by the Black Catholic Clergy Caucus, black Catholics demanded that the Church abandon what they described as its colonial and paternalistic approach to blacks, and called for more black priests and bishops, for creation of a "black directed" national office for black Catholics, for incorporation of Afro-American culture into Catholic worship, for leadership training for blacks, especially at the parish level, and for inclusion of blacks into decision-making positions in the Church.[4] Disillusionment with their church spread among many black Catholics. Between 1970 and 1975, for example, 250 black seminarians withdrew from seminaries, 125 of 900 black sisters left their communities, and 25 of 190 black priests left the ordained ministry. Some observers estimated that as many as 20% of black Catholics no longer practiced their religion.[5]

The Josephites found themselves at the center of the crisis that engulfed the Church and the black Catholic community. Once again, as in previous times of unrest, St. Joseph's Society, the most visible symbol of the Church in the black community, found itself under attack from black Catholics. They accused the predominantly white Josephites of paternalism, insensitivity to Afro-American culture, and failure to develop black leadership. In an attempt to dramatize what they called the failure of the Josephites to relate to the black community, representatives of the National Black Catholic Lay Caucus staged a sit-in at Josephite headquarters in Baltimore on March 27, 1971. They presented a list of general "demands" to Matthew O'Rourke, the Josephite Superior General, calling, among other things, for the Josephites to "Make black priests and brothers more visible in black communities," develop a diaconate program[6] "relevant to Black people," sponsor programs to foster "the development of real

Black leadership," and institute an ongoing program of black awareness for all Josephite priests and brothers under the direction of the National Office for Black Catholics.[7]

Between 1967 and 1971, Turmoil also gripped St. Joseph's Seminary in Washington, D.C., as black and white seminarians and faculty wrestled with the problems created by "black power," as well as those springing from the "youth culture" of the sixties, and the changes in the Church wrought by the Second Vatican Council. Seminarians at St. Joseph's demanded greater academic and personal "freedom." In addition, black seminarians clamored for an end to the imposition of what they termed, "Anglo-Saxon" cultural norms, and for permission to wear symbols of black identity such as "Afro" hairstyles and mustaches.[8]

The atmosphere at the seminary became increasingly charged as positions hardened on both sides of the generation gap. The "black power" movement confused and threatened many faculty, white and black, who had championed integration for their whole lives and who viewed the demands and the behavior of black seminarians as separatist, racist, uncatholic, and ultimately inimical to the color blind Society that they had tried to build. Conversely, many black seminarians regarded the faculty as a group of insensitive, irrelevant, white paternalists or, even worse, black "Uncle Toms" who did not understand the black community. White seminarians also began to question whether they had any positive role to play in the black community, and whether their motivation sprang from a misguided "white man's burden" mentality. The crisis at the seminary finally culminated in the transfer of many faculty and the departure of most of the black and many of the white seminarians in 1971; four black priests also left the Society.[9]

Although hurt and dismayed by the loss of so many talented black seminarians and priests and shocked by the animosity displayed by some black Catholics toward them, the Josephites in the late sixties and early seventies struggled to understand and adapt to the changes sweeping through the black community. They responded to the challenges from black Catholics more reflectively and less defensively than Pastorelli and his generation had done. They listened to the different segments of the black Catholic community and attempted, through their Chapter of Renewal from 1968 - 1971,[10] to reexamine their apostolate, both in terms of the spirit of their founder and in light of the implications of black consciousness for their ministry. As a result, the Josephites renewed their commitment to serve the black community and pledged themselves to foster black leadership within their Society and the Church through programs such as the permanent diaconate, parish councils, and continued recruitment of black vocations.[11]

In 1971, Matthew O'Rourke appointed Eugene Marino, a black priest, as vicar-general of the Society, second only in command to the Superior General. In 1974, Carl Fisher, a newly ordained black priest, became director of vocations. Although the number of seminarians in the Josephites and the Church plunged during the seventies, six of the twenty-five Josephites ordained during that period were black. Moreover, in 1974, and again in 1984, the Church tapped two black Josephites, Eugene A. Marino and John H. Ricard, as auxiliary bishops of the archdioceses of Washington and Baltimore respectively. By 1985, the Josephites counted eleven black priests and two bishops among their total of 159 priests. In their formation program as of June, 1985, two of four seminarians, four of six novices, and nine of eleven college students were black.[12]

Between 1975 and 1985, the pessimism of the early seventies gave way to cautious hope for black Catholics and for the Josephites. In 1970, the American bishops had approved the creation of a National Office of Black Catholics (NOBC), which in turn led to the formation of offices for black Catholics in many dioceses throughout the country. Black parishes incorporated explicitly Afro-American symbols, themes, and styles into their worship, and the ordination of 265 lay black deacons by 1984 added more blacks to positions of responsibility in the Church. The NOBC campaigned vigorously for black priestly vocations and by 1985 the number of black priests stood at 300, while black seminarians numbered 200. The American bishops and the Holy See also responded to black Catholic demands for more leadership positions in the Church by consecrating ten black bishops between 1966 and 1984 - one of whom, Joseph Howze of Biloxi, served as an ordinary. The black Catholic population of 916,824 in 1975, reached 1.3 million by 1985, partly as a result of the influx of Haitian refugees.[13]

Black vocations, however, still remained in critically short supply. The 300 black priests for 1.3 million black Catholics translated into one priest for every 4300 people, as compared to 58,000 priests for 47 million U.S. Catholics, an overall ratio in the Church of one priest for every 800 people.[14] Obviously, neither the Josephites nor the the American Catholic Church had succeeded in overcoming the problems created by their earlier discrimination and blindness. The number of black Catholic priests had increased by 200% since 1960, but the needs remained far greater than the supply. It appeared that, for the foreseeable future, the shortage of black priests in the Church would continue to cripple the black apostolate in the United States, just as it had done from its earliest days.

END NOTES

[1]William Osborne, The Segregated Covenant, Race Relations and American Catholics (New York, 1967), pp. 40 - 41; John F. Cronin, S.S., "Religion and Race," America, June 30, 1984, p. 472.

[2]Osborne, Segregated Covenant, pp. 233 - 234; James Hennesey, S.J., American Catholics, A History of the Roman Catholic Community in the United States (New York, 1981), pp. 313 - 325; Josephite Fathers Archives (hereinafter referred to as JFA), Negro Priests File, Fr. Elmo Romagasa, "Need Negro Priests," Clarion Herald (New Orleans), March 17, 1966; "Negro Appointed As U.S. Bishop," The Sun (Baltimore), October 31, 1965.

[3]JFA, St. Joseph's Seminary File, Rev. Earle Newman, S.S.J., "List of Ordinands - 1930 - 1980."

[4]Hennesey, American Catholics, pp. 324 - 325; JFA, Negro Priests File, "Negro Priests Describe Church As a "White, Racist Institution," St. Louis Review, April 26, 1968; Lawrence Lucas, Black Priest White Church (New York, 1970), pp. 186 - 197. Lucas's book provides a clear statement of the ideas, goals, and feelings that underlay the rise of black consciousness in the Church.

[5]Hennesey, American Catholics, p. 324.

[6]On June 27, 1967, Pope Paul VI authorized the restoration of the permanent diaconate in the Roman rite - making it possible for men to become deacons permanently, without going on to the priesthood. The Pope's document provided that qualified married men thirty-five years of age or older could be ordained permanent deacons. Deacons have various functions depending on the nature of their assignments. Liturgically, they can officiate at baptisms, weddings, wake services and funerals, and can preach and distribute Holy Communion. Some engage in religious education work. All are expected to carry out works of charity and pastoral service. See Felician A. Foy, O.F.M., ed., "Permanent Diaconate," 1979 Catholic Almanac, 1979, pp. 271 - 272.

The National Catholic Conference of Bishops formally reconsidered the reestablishment of the permanent diaconate in April, 1967 when Bishop Ernest L. Unterkoeffler submitted a summary of the advantages and disadvantages flowing from the restoration. Following the Pope's approval of the restoration of the Order of Permanent Deacons, the American bishops held prolonged discussions during three general meetings and seven meetings of the forty member Administrative Committee of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops. George F. O'Dea, the Josephite Superior General played an important role in the discussions that eventually resulted in the restoration of the permanent diaconate in the United States. On October 12, 1967, he sent a letter to Archbishop John F. Dearden, president of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, Bishop Unterkoeffler, chairman of the bishops' Committee for the Permanent Diaconate, and the seventeen ordinaries under whom the Josephites worked. O'Dea strongly urged the bishops to approve restoration of permanent deacons arguing that "In this period of 'Black Consciousness,' it is imperative to have worthy Negro men in responsible positions in the Church." During the crucial November, 1967 meeting of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, bishops referred to O'Dea's letter and subsequently approved

the petition for restoration in the United States. The Holy See gave its formal approbation in October, 1968. See, JFA, Chapter of Renewal, Position Papers, November 1968 - July 1970, "Statement On The Josephite Permanent Deacon Program," pp. 184 - 185.

[7]JFA, Joseph Verrett File, "Special Information Report On National Black Catholic Lay Caucus," sent to all Josephites in the Spring of 1971.

[8]See, for example, JFA, Consultors' Minutes Book, April 7, 1967, p. 378; Interview, Rev. Peter E. Hogan, S.S.J., Baltimore, December 29, 1982; Rev. Robert McCall, S.S.J., Baltimore, June 24, 1982; Interviews, Rev. Joseph Verrett, S.S.J., Washington, D.C., May 29, June 1, and June 7, 1985; Interview, Rev. Joseph Waters, S.S.J., Baltimore, June 30, 1983; Interview conducted by Peter Hogan with Bishop - elect Eugene Marino, S.S.J., Baltimore, August 13, 1974, typed transcript, pp. 36 - 37, 39 - 44; Interview (telephone), Rev. Carl Fisher, S.S.J., Baltimore, July 12, 1985.

[9]Ibid.

[10]Following the Vatican Council, the Holy See required all religious communities to examine and renew themselves in light of the original vision of their founder, sacred scripture and Church teachings, and the people whom they served. For the Josephites, the process of renewal stretched over four years.

[11]See, for example, the position papers on "Aims and Goals," "Changing Black Community," "Academic and Spiritual Formation," and "The Permanent Diaconate," in JFA, General Conference of the Josephite Fathers, July 7 to July 27, 1971.

[12]JFA, Negro Priests File, Majorie Hyer, "Bishop Eugene A. Marino: The Path From Biloxi, Miss., Has Been Full of Surprises," The Washington Post, July 23, 1974; Interview (telephone), Carl Fisher, July 12, 1985; JFA, Earle Newman, "Ordinands - 1930 to 1980"; "Editorial" and "From The Beginning," The Josephite Harvest, Summer, 1984, pp. 2 - 6; Inquiry (telephone), Ms. Agnes Rembus, Josephite headquarters, Baltimore, May 20, 1985; Inquiry (telephone), Rev. Eugene McManus, S.S.J., Baltimore, July 12, 1985.

[13]Hennesey, American Catholics, pp. 324 - 325; Rev. John Harfmann, S.S.J., 1984 Statistical Profile of Black Catholics, (Josephite Pastoral Center, Washington, D.C., 1985), pp. iii, 8 - 9. For a fine survey of the status of black Catholics within the Church in 1980, see "Black and Catholic," nine articles , eight of them written by blacks, in America, March 29, 1980, pp. 256 - 277.

[14]Vincent A. Golphin, "Josephites plan to educate native Africans for jobs in U.S. parishes," National Catholic Reporter, February 22, 1985.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Archival and Manuscript Collections

The single most important source for this study was the Josephite Fathers Archives in Baltimore, Maryland. In addition to collecting primary sources over the course of nearly forty years, the Rev. Peter E. Hogan, S.S.J., Josephite archivist, has also assembled an impressive library of books and printed material on Catholicism and Afro-Americans, making the Josephite archives a center for the study of black Catholicism in the United States. The papers of the Josephite superiors, from Slattery through McNamara (1871 - 1960), occupying approximately 117 linear feet, provided the backbone for this dissertation. Papers after 1960 are closed to researchers. The Alfred B. Leeson - John R. Slattery papers are thoroughly indexed and easy to use. In addition to letter boxes, they also include four letter press books and two copy books, along with a Private Data Book into which Slattery, and, later, Louis B. Pastorelli, vented their spleen. The Thomas B. Donovan, Justin McCarthy, and Louis B. Pastorelli papers, although not indexed, are well organized, with each box of papers containing a list of correspondents. The Edward V. Casserly, Thomas P. McNamara, and George F. O'Dea Papers are, for the most part, still in their original files.

Other materials in the Josephite archives also proved quite valuable. The John Gillard Papers produced letters and newspaper clippings that focused on the Josephites' battles with Thomas Turner, John LaFarge and William Markoe. The minutes of the General Chapters and of the Society Consultors provided me with an important window for viewing the discussions and debates of Josephite decision-making bodies. Parish and individual Josephite files, black students'

files from roughly 1884 to 1915, faculty meeting minutes books from Epiphany Apostolic College and St. Joseph's Seminary, and the student journals from those two institutions, and a Historical Biography file on most black priests in the United States, all yielded a wealth of information. In addition, Father Hogan collected correspondence relating to black students and priests, designated the Epiphany Apostolic College File, that saved me a great deal of time. The T File and the Miscellaneous File contain theses, dissertations, unpublished and published scholarly papers, pamphlets, and a wide assortment of printed material.

The Josephite Archives also includes many documents relating to black priests copied from other archives. Among the most important were the twenty-seven microfilm rolls of Mill Hill Archives material, some of it transcribed into typescript, and including Canon Peter Benoit's invaluable diary; the Josephite files from the Archdiocese of New Orleans, up through 1934; and selections from the papers of Bishops John E. Gunn and Richard O. Gerow of Natchez-Jackson relating to St. Augustine's Seminary.

Next to the Josephite Archives, the archives of St. Augustine's Seminary and the Southern Province of the Society of the Divine Word, both in Bay St. Louis, Mississippi, were the most important sources. Although not well organized, both archives contain a wealth of documents dealing with SVD efforts to develop a black clergy. The papers of Bishops John E. Gunn and Richard O. Gerow in the Archives of the Diocese of Jackson, and of Daniel F. Desmond and Jules B. Jeanmard in the archives of the Dioceses of Alexandria and Lafayette, respectively, flesh out the story of St. Augustine's Seminary and the stationing of black priests in the South.

Information gleaned from copies of the papers of Dr. Thomas Wyatt Turner, that I obtained from Ms. Marilyn Nichols, figured prominently in this study. The papers, arranged chronologically in four loose leaf binders, cover the issue of black priests from the perspective of the most articulate and active lay black Catholics and to trace their efforts to secure more black clergy.

Several archives contain correspondence that shed light on the lives of John H. Dorsey and John Plantevigne, two early black Josephites. Particularly valuable were letters from the archives of the Sisters of the Holy Family and the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament. Items from the Bishop John B. Morris Papers in the Archives of the Diocese of Little Rock, for example, proved useful in piecing together the story of Dorsey's ordeal in Pine Bluff, Arkansas. I also obtained some revealing letters from the papers of Bishop John Kenny of the Diocese of St. Augustine, Florida. The Rev. Albert S. Foley, S.J., who pioneered in research on black priests in the United States, also sent copies of his research notes on the first three black Josephite priests as well as on developments at St. Augustine's Seminary. The archivist of the Holy Ghost Fathers (Spiritans) also provided documents from his archives that illustrated how Josephite difficulties with black priests during the first decade of the twentieth century influenced Spiritan policies.

The superbly indexed and calendared papers of James Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishop Michael Curley in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore furnished important materials that spanned the years from 1893 to 1948, as did the famous Sulpician Archives in Baltimore and the John LaFarge Papers at the Georgetown University Archives. The Society of the African Missions Archives and the Archives of the Diocese of Savannah sent valuable material from the papers of Ignatius Lissner, L.A.M. and Bishop Benjamin J. Keiley relating to

Joseph John, L.A.M., an early black priest, and to the efforts of Lissner to found a seminary for blacks in Georgia and to secure the appointment of a bishop for black work in the early nineteen twenties. St. Vincent Abbey Archives and the archives of the dioceses of Cleveland and Buffalo supplied documents that improved understanding of conditions blacks faced in northern diocesan seminaries in the early thirties.

The papers of Archbishops John T. McNicholas of Cincinnati and Joseph Rummel of New Orleans, and of Bishop Thomas F. Byrne of Nashville yielded copies of reports to the Apostolic Delegate that proved invaluable for discerning the attitudes of missionaries and bishops toward black seminarians and priests. The United States Catholic Conference Archives were helpful for the minutes of the meetings of the Administrative Committee of the National Catholic Welfare Conference (NCWC), as well as of the annual meetings of the hierarchy and of the meetings of the American Board for Catholic Missions (ABCM). The NCWC - USCC Papers in the Archives of the Catholic University of America produced an important Pastorelli report to the American bishops. The minutes of the Board of Trustees of Catholic University and the papers of Monsignor James H. Ryan also provided a glimpse into debates about desegregating Catholic University in the nineteen thirties. The Alcuin Deutsch Papers at St. John's Abbey Archives, particularly the file on St. Maur's interracial priory, detailed Benedictine efforts on behalf of a black clergy in the ninteen forties. The archives of the dioceses of Portland, Maine and Richmond, Virginia also hold a few items concerning black priests.

Copies of documents relating to the Catholic Church within the present borders of the United States from the Archives of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda de Fide deposited in the University of Notre Dame Archives,

revealed the unsuccessful efforts of William A. Williams, an antebellum black man, to become a priest. The eight volumes to date of the series begun by Finbar Kennneally and continued by Mathias C. Kieman and Alexander Wyse, United States Documents in the Propaganda Fide Archives: A Calendar, compiled by Anton Debevec (8 vols. Washington, D.C., 1966 -) helped me to locate and request needed materials from the Propaganda Archives at Notre Dame.

Several collections of potentially great value were either lost, unavailabe, or closed. Unfortunately, it appears that, except for a copy of Monsignor John Burke's diary, the papers of the Catholic Board for Mission Work Among the Colored People have either been destroyed or lost. The voluminous papers of the Commission for Catholic Missions Among the Colored People and the Indians were unavailable because they were being microfilmed at Marquette University. The archivist at Marquette, however, checked the preliminary inventory of the collection and reported that it contained little, if anything, on black priests. The archives of the Apostolic Delegation to the United States, which would undoubtedly shed much light on the story of black priests, are deposited in the Vatican Secret Archives in Rome and are open only up through 1903. The papers of Cardinal George Mundelein of Chicago are processed and available only through 1926; while the papers of Samuel Cardinal Stritch are still in their original files and closed to researchers. The papers of Archbishop Joseph Rummel are located in the chancery of the Archdiocese of New Orleans and are likewise not available for research. Attempts by archivists in the archdiocesan archives of both Chicago and New Orleans to locate specific documents proved futile. Finally, except for a few documents, material in the Josephite Archives dated after 1960 are closed, since many of those who figured prominently in the turmoil of the late sixties and early seventies are still living. When the files

covering the period 1960 - 1980 are opened, they will provide a wealth of documents for studying the racial and religious upheaval that gripped the Josephites and the Catholic Church during this period.

Interviews

Conversations with many individuals provided me with important information and helped fill gaps left by other sources. The following is a list, along with brief descriptions, of the persons interviewed: Rev. Robert McCall, S.S.J., former teacher at Epiphany Apostolic College and former professor at St. Joseph's Seminary, Baltimore, June 24, 1982; Rev. Mario Shaw, O.S.B., former Josephite seminarian, Peoria, July 9, 1982; Rev. Joseph Waters, S.S.J., former professor at St. Joseph's Seminary, Baltimore, June 30, 1983; Rev. Peter E. Hogan, S.S.J., Josephite archivist and former teacher at Epiphany Apostolic College and St. Joseph's Seminary, Baltimore, December 29, 1982, August 30, 1983, and numerous conversations between 1978 and 1985; Ms. Agnes Rembus, former secretary to Edward V. Casserly, Baltimore, July 9, 1983; Rev. Anthony Bourges, S.V.D., one of the first four black SVD priests from St. Augustine's, Bay St. Louis, July 11, 1983; Rev. Francis A. Theriault, S.V.D., former rector of St. Augustine's Seminary and one of the first white students to attend St. Augustine's, Bay St. Louis, July 18, 1983 and telephone conversation, St. Martinville, Louisiana, June 11, 1985; Bishop Joseph Vath, former secretary to Archbishop Joseph Rummel, Birmingham, July 22, 1983; Rev. George F. O'Dea, S.S.J., former superior general of the Josephites, Baltimore, August 10, 1983; Rev. Eugene McManus, former teacher at St. Augustine's High School and leader of Catholic integration forces in New Orleans, Baltimore, September 9, 1983 and June 10, 1985; Rev. James Didas, S.S.J., former editor of The Colored Harvest

and rector of St. Joseph's Seminary, Baltimore, October 7, 1983; Charles H. Dorsey, Jr., former student at Epiphany Apostolic College and grand nephew of Father John H. Dorsey, S.S.J., Baltimore, October 12, 1983; Tape from Thomas Honore, former Josephite priest, Los Angeles, October 21, 1983; Mr. Earl Counters, nephew of Father John Dorsey, and Mrs. Olga Dorsey, daughter-in-law of C. Marcellus Dorsey and mother of Charles H. Dorsey, Jr., Baltimore, November 2, 1983; Bishop Eugene Marino, S.S.J., former student and seminarian and former teacher at Epiphany Apostolic College and St. Joseph's Seminary, Washington, D.C., December 6, 1983; Sr. Audrey Marie Detiege, S.S.F., archivist of the Sisters of the Holy Family, New Orleans, December 22, 1983; Rev. David Melancon, O.S.B., former rector of St. Joseph's Minor Seminary and College, St. Benedict, La., December 27, 1984; Rev. James F. Byrne, former professor at Woodstock College and Isaac Jogues Novitiate, Rockville, May 2, 1985; Rev. William B. Faherty, S.J., Director of the St. Stanislaus Jesuit Historical Museum in Florissant, Mo., St. Louis, May 2, 1985, telephone; Rev. Albert S. Foley, historian of black Catholic priests, Mobile, May 3, 1985, telephone; Rev. Joseph Verrett, black Josephite priest, former teacher and assistant principal of St. Augustine's High School, and former assistant rector and Dean of Studies at St. Joseph's Seminary, Washington, D.C., May 29, June 1 and June 7, 1985; Rev. Carl Fisher, S.S.J., black Josephite priest and student leader at St. Joseph's Seminary, Baltimore, July 12, 1985, telephone. The Josephite Archives also contains typed transcripts of interviews conducted by the Rev. Peter E. Hogan, S.S.J. with the Rev. Vincent D. Warren, S.S.J., veteran missionary and supporter of black priests, Baltimore, October - November, 1965; Rev. Rawlin Enette, S.S.J., black Josephite priest and former chairman of the southern region of the Black Catholic Clergy Caucus, Baltimore, March 9, 1971, and Bishop-elect

Eugene Marino, S.S.J., Baltimore, August 13, 1974. The Rev. Robert Pung, S.V.D., former rector of St. Augustine's Seminary and former provincial of the Southern province of the Society of the Divine Word, responded to a series of questions about the Jesuit Bend incident in two letters from Rome, postmarked April 30 and May 27, 1985.

Newspapers and Periodicals

Extensive newspaper clippings from secular and diocesan newspapers in the Negro Priests File in the Josephites Archives facilitated research. In addition to newspapers, the Negro Priest File also contains articles on black priests and seminarians taken from The Colored Harvest (changed to the Josephite Harvest), the Josephites' monthly magazine, and from St. Augustine's Messenger, produced by St. Augustine's Seminary, and Our Colored Missions, the magazine of the Catholic Board for Mission Work Among the Colored People. The Slattery, Pastorelli, and Gillard papers also contain numerous newspaper clippings and magazine articles. Slattery's papers, in particular, contain many of the articles he penned for the Catholic World. Clippings from the Baltimore Afro-American figure prominently in the Pastorelli and Gillard papers. Mission Work Among the Negroes and Indians (changed to Our Negro and Indian Missions in 1926), published by the Commission for Catholic Missions Among the Colored People and the Indians, features the yearly reports of bishops and provides useful information about the black apostolate, especially between 1890 and 1920. The researcher should beware of the population figures given for black Catholics in many dioceses, since they are often inaccurate estimates. The issues of St. Joseph's Advocate, the American supplement to St. Joseph's Foreign Missionary

Advocate, published by Mill Hill, are quite helpful for the period of the eighteen eighties.

Secondary Works and Reminiscences

Since black Catholics constitute such a small percentage of Catholics in the United States, historians of the Catholic Church have not studied very extensively the black Catholic community, nor those who served them. Some important work, however, has been done.

Students of any aspect of American Catholicism should consult two bibliographies: John Tracy Ellis and Robert Trisco, eds., A Guide To American Catholic History, 2nd ed. (Santa Barbara, 1982) and James Hennessey's American Catholic Bibliography 1970 - 1982 (Working Paper Series 12, No. 1, Cushwa Center For the Study of American Catholicism, Notre Dame, Fall 1982) and his Supplement To American Catholic Bibliography 1970 - 1982 (Working Paper Series 14, No. 1, Cushwa Center For The Study of American Catholicism, Notre Dame, Fall 1983). Two indispensible reference works are The Official Catholic Directory (New York, 1912 - 1985) and the New Catholic Encyclopedia 15 vols. (New York, 1967); Vol. XVI Supplement 1967 - 1974 (Washington, D.C., 1974); Vol. XVII Supplement 1974 - 1979 (Washington, D.C., 1979. The annual Catholic Almanac, published by Our Sunday Visitor, and Catholic dictionaries such as Albert J. Nevins, M.M., ed., The Maryknoll Catholic Dictionary (New York, 1965) and John A. Hardon, S.J., Modern Catholic Dictionary (New York, 1980) are rich sources of information.

The best overall treatment of American Catholicism is found in James Hennessey, S.J., American Catholics, A History of the Roman Catholic Community in the United States (New York, 1981), although John Tracy Ellis,

American Catholicism (2nd ed., rev. Chicago, 1969) remains quite useful. Several books attempt to deal with the relationship between the Catholic Church and blacks. John T. Gillard, S.S.J. pioneered in the field with The Catholic Church and the American Negro (Baltimore, 1929), followed by Colored Catholics in the United States (Baltimore, 1941). Gillard's books contain valuable historical information as well as the most accurate statistics on black Catholics and the Church's missionary efforts among blacks up to that time. His books are also important as primary sources since they reflect the attitudes of the Josephite leadership on a number of issues, including black priests. William Osborne provides an historical account of Catholics and blacks in "A Freeman's Odyssey," Jubilee, September 1953. In a later book, The Segregated Covenant, Race Relations and American Catholics (New York, 1967), Osborne combines a sociological - historical approach and traces the story up to 1966.

The single most useful book for a study of black priests is Albert S. Foley, S.J., God's Men of Color, The Colored Catholic Priests of the United States, 1854 - 1954 (New York, 1955), a collective biography of the approximately fifty black priests ordained between 1854 and 1954. Based largely on interviews, Foley's book includes a wealth of un-footnoted information. Foley also authored Bishop Healy: Beloved Outcaste (New York, 1954), a biography of Bishop James Augustine Healy, the first black priest in the United States. For a biography of Augustus Tolton, another of the early black priests, see Sister Caroline Hemesath, From Slave to Priest: A Biography of the Rev. Augustine Tolton (1854 - 1897), First Afro-American Priest of the United States (Chicago, 1973). Sister Hemesath calls Tolton the "first Afro-American priest" because, unlike Healy, both Tolton's parents were black. Unfortunately, each of the three works on black priests suffers from an overly pious tone, occasioned, at least in part,

by a desire to refute old charges that black priests lacked the same capacity as white priests for sanctity.

Up-to-date statistical data on black Catholics can be found in George Shuster, S.S.J., and Robert M. Kearns, S.S.J., Statistical Profile of Black Catholics (Washington, D.C., 1976) and Rev. John Harfmann, S.S.J., 1984 Statistical Profile of Black Catholics (Washington, D.C., 1985). For an overview of black history, John Hope Franklin's From Slavery to Freedom (3rd. and 5th. eds., New York, 1967 and 1980) is excellent. For a general treatment of American religious history, Sydney E. Ahlstrom's A Religious History of the American People (2 vols. New York, 1975) is the best guide.

The historian Randall M. Miller has described the Catholic Church's efforts among blacks during the colonial, revolutionary, and antebellum years as "The Failed Mission." A number of historians have recounted and explained that failure. Leslie Rout, Jr.. The African Experience in Spanish America, 1502 to the Present Day (Cambridge, England, 1976), William E. Shiels, King and Church: The Rise and Fall of the Patronato Real (Chicago, 1961), and Carl Degler, Neither Black nor White: Slavery and Race Relations in Brazil and the United States (New york, 1971) detail the resistance to ordaining black priests in the Catholic empires of Spain and Brazil and help to illustrate it as part of the larger Church problem of developing indigenous clergy in mission lands. Two books in particular explore the relationship between Catholicism and Afro-Americans prior to the arrival of the Josephites: Randall M. Miller and Jon L. Wakelyn, eds., Catholics in the Old South (Macon, 1983), a superb collection of articles by historians of Catholicism, which explores the tension between southern regional culture and Catholic religious culture; and Edward Misch's exhaustively researched "The American Bishops and the Negro from the

Civil War to the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, 1865 - 1884" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Gregorian University, Rome, 1968). Misch relies on extensive archival research and also thoroughly synthesizes the work of earlier scholars. His title notwithstanding, Misch's dissertation thoroughly describes and analyzes the attitudes and actions of Catholics toward blacks from the antebellum period through 1890. Other useful works that deal with the Catholic Church and blacks during the antebellum, Civil War, or Reconstruction periods include John C. Murphy, An Analysis of the Attitudes of American Catholics Toward the Immigrant and the Negro (Washington, D.C., 1940); Joseph Brockhage, Francis Patrick Kenrick's Opinion on Slavery (Washington, D.C., 1955); Madeleine Hooke Rice, American Catholic Opinion in the Slavery Controversy (New York, 1944); Thomas W. Spalding, Martin John Spalding: American Churchman (Washington, D.C., 1973); Michael V. Gannon, Rebel Bishop: The Life and Era of Augustin Verot (Milwaukee, 1964); and James J. Pillar, O.M.I., The Catholic Church in Mississippi, 1837 - 1865 (New Orleans, 1964).

Several works cover the arrival and first years of the Josephites in the United States. J.G. Snead-Cox's The Life of Cardinal Vaughan (2 vols. London, 1910), a biography of the founder of St. Joseph's Society for the Foreign Missions (Mill Hill Fathers) furnishes important information about Vaughan's original aims in sending the Mill Hill Fathers to the United States and also provides an English cleric's vivid description of the plight of blacks in the Catholic Church during Reconstruction. Richard H. Steins, in "The Mission of the Josephites to the Negro in America, 1871 - 1893," (unpublished Masters thesis, Columbia University, 1966), recounts the difficulties faced by the Josephites during their first twelve years in the United States and explains the factors that led to their "divorce of sorts" from Mill Hill in 1893. The evolution

of segregation in the Catholic Church in New Orleans at the turn of the century and the Josephite role in that process are described in Dolores Egger Labbe, Jim Crow Comes to Church: The Establishment of Segregated Catholic Parishes in South Louisiana (2nd. ed., Lafayette, 1971).

Important studies of the Afro-American religious experience include Albert J. Raboteau, Slave Religion: The Invisible Institution in the Antebellum South (New York, 1980); Carter Woodson, The History of the Negro Church (Washington, D.C., 1929); E. Franklin Frazier and C. Eric Lincoln, The Negro Church in America with The Black Church Since Frazier (New York, 1974), W.E.B. DuBois, The Negro Church (Atlanta, 1903); and Chapter Three, entitled "Freedom, Culture, and Religion" in Lawrence W. Levine, Black Culture and Black Consciousness, Afro-American Folk Thought From Slavery To Freedom (New York, 1977). Clarence E. Walker, in A Rock in a Weary Land, The African Methodist Episcopal Church During the Civil War and Reconstruction (Baton Rouge, 1982), illustrates how opportunites for black ministry in the African Methodist Episcopal churches encouraged freedmen to join the church in great numbers after the Civil War. The Rev. J. Carleton Hayden's informative essay, "The Black Ministry of the Episcopal Church: An Historical Overview," in Franklin D. Turner, ed. Black Clergy in the Episcopal Church: Recruitment, Training, and Development (New York, 1978): 1 - 19, suggests parallels and differences in policy toward black priests between the Roman Catholic Church and the Protestant church that was liturgically, doctrinally, and structurally most similiar to it. Hayden focuses primarily on the years between 1865 and 1918 and discusses the recruitment, training, and placement of black Episcopal clergy and some characteristics of their clerical careers. H. Shelton Smith's In His Image, But ... Racism in Southern Religion, 1780 - 1910 details the course

of racist thought in southern churches and also describes the efforts of churches after the Civil War to convert the freedmen.

Both H. Shelton Smith's book and George M. Fredrickson's The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817 - 1914 (New York, 1977) help to explain prevailing racial ideology in the United States during the years in which John R. Slattery and his immediate successors wrestled with the issue of black priests. Margaret Law Calcott in The Negro in Maryland Politics, 1870 - 1912 (Baltimore, 1969) recounts the declining political fortunes of blacks in the state where the Josephites were headquartered. Helpful analyses of anti-Catholicism in the United States, especially in the South during the first two decades of the twentieth century, are found in John Higham's Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860 - 1925 (New York, 1963) and C. Van Woodward's Tom Watson: Agrarian Rebel (Oxford, 1963).

John Tracy Ellis's definitive biography, The Life of James Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore, 1834 - 1921 (2 vols.; Milwaukee, 1952) includes material on the Catholic Church and blacks from the perspective of the nearly fifty year administration of the Cardinal-Archbishop of Baltimore who played such an important role in the early history of the Josephites. Robert E. Curran, S.J, offers some helpful information about the group of liberal, New York-Irish clergy who supported Slattery's efforts to develop black priests in "Prelude to 'Americanism': The New York Academia and Clerical Radicalism in the Late Nineteenth Century," Church History 47 (March, 1978): 48 - 65, and Michael Augustine Corrigan and the Shaping of Conservative Catholicism in America, 1878 - 1902 (New York, 1978).

The Americanist and modernist crises in the Catholic Church that figured so crucially in Slattery's life have been studied exhaustively. Among the works most helpful are Robert D. Cross, The Emergence of Liberal Catholicism in America (Cambridge, Mass., 1958); Chapters II through VII in Gerald R. Fogarty, The Vatican and the American Hierarchy From 1870 to 1965 (Stutgart, 1982); Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C., The Great Crisis in American Catholic History, 1895 - 1900 (Chicago, 1957); William L. Portier, "Catholic Theology in the United States, 1840 - 1907: Recovering a Forgotten Tradition," Horizons 10 (February, 1983): 323 - 331; Bernard M. Reardon, Roman Catholic Modernism (Stanford, 1970); Michael Gannon, "Before and After Modernism: The Intellectual Isolation of the American Priest," The Catholic Priest in the United States: Historical Investigations, ed. John Tracy Ellis (Collegeville, 1971); and Margaret Mary Reher, "Americanism and Modernism - Continuity or Continuity?" U.S. Catholic Historian I (Summer, 1981): 87 - 103. The Rev. Henry J. Koren's unpublished manuscript, "The Josephite Crisis and the Spiritans," sheds light on the precarious state of the Josephites immediately following Slattery's departure.

Koren's "Appeals to Rome and Action With Respect to the Missions to the Blacks," an unpublished chapter in a proposed but unpublished book, and Sr. M. Georgiana Rockwell's "The Influence of Mother Katherine Drexel on the Formation of the Catholic Board for Mission Work Among the Colored People," an unpublished paper, deal with efforts by Mother Katherine Drexel and the Josephite missionary, Joseph Anciaux, to convince Rome to pressure the American bishops to do more for the black apostolate in the United States. For three works on the Josephites that offered only superficial help, see William J. Jauquet, "Epiphany Apostolic College, 1889 - 1925," (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Maryland, 1976); Laurence A. Schmitt, S.S.J., "John R.

Slattery and the College for Black Catechists, Montgomery Alabama, 1900 - 1920," (unpublished Master's thesis, Washington Theological Coalition, 1977); and George J. Turner, "The Josephites and Catholic Education in the United States (the Establishment and National Growth of Educational Foundations under the Direction of St. Joseph's Society of the Sacred Heart or the American Josephites, 1893 - 1956,") (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Fordham University, 1957).

Very little work has been done on lay black Catholics. David Spalding, C.F.X., however, traces the rise and fall of a vital lay black Catholic movement at the close of the nineteenth century in "The Negro Catholic Congresses, 1889 - 1894," The Catholic Historical Review 55 (October, 1969): 337 - 357. Marilyn Nickels picks up the story of lay black Catholic activism in the second decade of the twentieth century in the person of Doctor Thomas Wyatt Turner and delineates lay black Catholic efforts to end discrimination in the Church and to secure black priests in "The Federated Colored Catholics: A Study of Three Variant Perspectives on Racial Justice As Represented by John LaFarge, William Markoe, and Thomas Turner," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Catholic University of America, 1975). Nickels also explains how differing concepts of racial justice led to conflict between Turner and his erstwhile white Jesuit allies, William M. Markoe and John LaFarge. As Nickels points out, black Catholics placed great hope in their petitions to the American hierarchy and to the Holy See. Gerald R. Fogarty's The Vatican and the American Hierarchy From 1870 to 1965 (Stuttgart, 1982), especially chapters VIII through XX, is indispensible for understanding how the Vatican and the American bishops dealt with one another during the period between the wars when Turner and his Federated Colored Catholics were most active. Derek J. Holmes's popular, The

Papacy in the Modern World, 1914 - 1978 (New York, 1981) points out the efforts of Pope's Benedict XV and Pius XI to encourage indigenous clergy in mission lands.

Edward R. Kantowicz, in Corporation Sole, Cardinal Mundelein and Chicago Catholicism (Notre Dame, 1983), offers a revealing portrait of the prelate who figured prominently in the establishment of St. Augustine's Seminary and the placement of its first four black priests. Several theses by SVD men study the SVD role in promoting black priests: Fisher J. Robinson, S.V.D., "A Study of Social Backgrounds of the Negro Vocations in the Society of the Divine Word, Southern Province," (unpublished Master's thesis, Catholic University of America, 1959); Leonard Olivier, S.V.D., "The Origin and Development of St. Augustine's Seminary," (unpublished Master's thesis, Catholic University of America, 1961); Charles W. Malin, S.V.D., "Integration of the Catholic Clergy in the United States, The Divine Word Missionaries' Chapter," (unpublished Master's thesis, Marquette University, 1964).

Several autobiographies or memoirs of individuals involved in the Catholic interracial movement that proved quite valuable were: George K. Hunton, All of Which I Saw, Part Of Which I Was: The Autobiography of George K. Hunton As Told to Gary MacEoin (New York, 1967); William M. Markoe, S.J., "An Interracial Role, Memoirs of William M. Markoe, S.J., 1900 - 1966 (unpublished typescript, St. Stanislaus Jesuit Historical Museum, Florissant, Mo., 1982); and John LaFarge, The Manner Is Ordinary (New York, 1954). See also LaFarge's other books: Interracial Justice (New York, 1937) and The Race Question and the Negro (New York, 1944). Edward S. Stanton, S.J., analyzes LaFarge's thought in "John LaFarge's Understanding of the Church, especially in the Area of Race Relations," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, St. Paul University, 1972).

Paul E. Czuchlewski offers a perceptive though somewhat narrow analysis of Catholic liberals and the race problem in "Liberal Catholicism and Racism, 1924 - 1960," Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia 85 (March - June, 1974): 144 - 162.

For Catholics in the United States during the thirties see, George Q. Flynn, American Catholics and the Roosevelt Presidency, 1932 - 1936 (Lexington, 1968) and David J. O'Brien, American Catholics and Social Reform: The New Deal Years (New York, 1968). Blacks at Catholic University are covered in Rev. Blase Dixon, T.O.R., "The Catholic University and the Racial Question, 1914 - 1948," Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia 84 (December, 1973): 221 - 224; Albert S. Foley, S.J., "The Catholic Church and the Washington Negro," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1950); and Roy J. Deferrari, Memoirs of the Catholic University of America, 1918 - 1960 (Washington, 1960). Harvard Sitkoff describes the thirties as the "seedtime" for the civil rights movement in A New Deal for Blacks: The Emergence of Civil Rights As a National Issue: the Depression Decade (Oxford, 1978). Sitkoff's The Struggle for Black Equality, 1954 - 1980 (New York, 1981) provides a succinct, yet thorough overview of the civil rights movement and the emergence of black consciousness. Katherine Martenson in "Region, Religion, and Social Action: The Catholic Committee of the South, 1939 - 1956," The Catholic Historical Review LXVIII (April, 1982): 249 - 267, describes the efforts of Catholic liberals in the South to address their region's economic and racial problems.

The Jesuit Bend incident of 1955 was part of a larger struggle for desegregation in the Archdiocese of New Orleans. See, for example, Philip A. Grant, Jr., "Archbishop Joseph F. Rummel and the 1962 New Orleans

Desegregation Crisis," Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia 91 (March - December, 1980): 59 - 66, and Glenn Jeansonne, Leander Perez, Boss of the Delta (Baton Rouge, 1977). Donald Kemper, "Catholic Integration in St. Louis, 1935 - 1947," Missouri Historical Review 73 (October, 1978): 1 - 22, describes the integration of Catholic institutions in a border state. The Rev. Peter E. Hogan, S.S.J. gives a somewhat sympathetic picture of Archbishop Michael Curley of Baltimore in "Archbishop Curley and the Blacks," (unpublished paper presented at the Spring meeting of the American Catholic Historical Society, Louisville, April 16, 1983).

Two books that illustrate the influence of "black power" on black Catholic clergy in the late sixties and early seventies are Lawrence Lucas, Black Priest White Church (New York, 1970) and Clarence E. Williams, Jr., The Black Seminarian - A Profile (Private printing, 1973). For a thoughtful exposition of the status of black Catholics in the United States in 1980 see the nine articles in America, March 29, 1980, pp. 256 - 277.