

Catholic Novelists in Defense of Their Faith, 1829-1865

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IN THE EARLY YEARS of the Republic there was a general distrust of fiction. Novels were held to be insipid, frivolous, and even dangerous. Indulgence in novel-reading was, at the least, a waste of time; at the worst, it could lead to immorality. In his *Sentimental Novel in America* (1940) Herbert Ross Brown notes that these inherent evils were of concern to men prominent in public affairs. Thomas Jefferson wrote to Nathaniel Burwell: 'When this poison infects the mind, it destroys its tone and revolts it against wholesome reading. . . . The result is a bloated imagination, sickly judgment, and disgust towards all the real businesses of life.' Noah Webster had strong feelings in the matter. Presidents Dwight of Yale and Witherspoon of Princeton viewed with alarm.

Still, as literacy increased and urban life became more urbane, people wanted to read novels. Our early novelists soon discovered ways to relieve readers of feelings of guilt. One way was to announce in the title that the tale was designed to inculcate virtue. Surely one might safely venture inside a novel with such a title as *Amelia; or, The Influence of Virtue* (1802) or *What is Gentility? a Moral Tale* (1828). Another strategy was to declare that your novel was 'founded on fact.' For some reason that escapes me, believing that you were reading a factual, not a fictional account of kidnapping, seduction, or murder was reassuring.

Writers also discovered that if their novels championed a cause, they could attract readers. Fiction sugar-coated with propaganda went down easily. In the three decades before the Civil War all kinds of causes flourished. This ferment of reform elicited temperance novels, pro-labor novels, novels about the degraded poor in city slums, anti-slavery and pro-slavery novels.

The most interesting of these propaganda novels are the religious novels, produced in considerable numbers by Baptists, Methodists, and strangely enough, Episcopalians. Many of these fiction-writers went on the offensive and attacked sects that were disliked, chiefly the Quakers, the Mormons, the Methodists, and, of course, the Catholics. The anti-Catholic novels were by far the most absurd and vicious.

We might expect to find, in consequence, that Catholic writers would come to the defense of their faith. And so they did. Between 1829 and 1865 nearly 50 pro-Catholic novels on American themes were published.¹ These are the novels I shall chiefly discuss, though I shall stop briefly with a few Catholic novels which make use of a foreign setting, usually Ireland or Italy. To see the whole picture of this defensive action we should also have to reckon in the Catholic novels imported from Ireland and England and other novels which were translated from various European languages. Added together, the novels on American themes, those with European settings though written in America, and those imported from abroad furnished a well-stocked arsenal. As the Catholic publishers in Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston prospered and were able to enlarge their lists, these novels took their place beside pious and exegetical works and eventually outnumbered them.

By and large, the Catholic novelists used an affirmative rather than a negative approach. After all, how could they

¹ In a few instances I have gone beyond my cut-off date of 1865 in order to introduce a later novel of particular significance.

counter lurid stories of sexual sinning in nunneries and the confession box and the subversive un-Americanism of priests and prelates except by saying they were lies? One could not build a plot on a series of denials. Using the affirmative approach, the Catholic novelists so contrived their stories that there were occasions for someone speaking with authority to explain the doctrines and mysteries of the Catholic religion. We listen over and over again to the dogmas about purgatory, the sacraments, the worship of saints, the nature of confession, the use of sacred images, and the steps to conversion. With considerable skill, many of the novelists managed to expose Protestant bigotry and theological ignorance in various ways, usually by sending young Catholic champions to do battle with their acquaintances or employers.

In the main these novels are exemplary, written to show how good Catholics lived and practiced their religion. In the beginning they were directed to Catholics themselves, particularly young people, so that they might be instructed while being delighted. (We frequently meet the argument, in prefaces, that young Catholics will read novels and romances anyway. Let them have their own novels.) If Protestants should happen to come on the Catholic novels, well and good. Perhaps the truth would make its way to their hearts. As anti-Catholic prejudice increased, resulting in the burning of churches and convents in the late 1830's and the cry of no-Popery in national politics in the early 1840's, the novelists began to write realistically about the vicissitudes and deprivations of American Catholics. Young people, particularly Irish immigrants, were warned of the dangers of living in a predominantly Protestant society. Later, as the American hierarchy, fighting back, began building parochial schools, asylums, and orphanages, the novelists took up these causes and worked them into their plots. One other motive should be mentioned—the need for an American Catholic literature. Even the least skilled of the novelists felt they were contributing something to this important cause.

Our first Catholic novelist was the Rev. Charles Constantine Pise, D.D.² Like most well-educated priests in the early years of the Republic he was a very busy man, carrying on many literary activities for the propagation of the faith in addition to his onerous parish duties. His three Catholic novels and one semi-fictional work, *Letters to Ada*, form only a small part of his output. Born in Annapolis in 1801, the son of an Italian father and a mother who came from an old Philadelphia family, Pise attended Georgetown College and then entered on his novitiate in the Society of Jesus. He did not complete his training. After returning from a trip to Rome in 1820, he spent the years 1821 and 1822 at St. Mary's College and Seminary in Emmitsburg, Maryland. He was ordained priest on March 19, 1825. Three future archbishops, McCloskey, Purcell, and Hughes, were in the Seminary with him.

We can take the measure of Father Pise's zeal for the Church and his literary facility from the fact that he published between 1827 and 1830 a five-volume *History of the Church from Its Establishment to the Present Century*.³ (Pise did not get beyond the sixteenth century.) This work brought him to the attention of Pope Gregory XVI who in 1832 made him a knight of the Sacred Palace and Count Palatine, the first time these honors had come to an American. He also received the degree of Doctor of Divinity on examination and was made a knight of the Holy Roman Empire. At this time Pise was assistant at St. Patrick's in Washington. At Henry Clay's

² The fullest account of Dr. Pise I have found is Sister M. Eulalia Teresa Moffatt's 'Charles Constantine Pise,' in United States Catholic Historical Society *Historical Records and Studies*, XX (1931), 64-98. The *DAB* sketch is by Richard J. Purcell. The Rev. Henry A. Brann, in 'Rev. Charles Constantine Pise, the only Chaplain in the Congress of the United States,' *Historical Records and Studies*, II (1901), 354-357, prints several important letters and documents but does not give their location. The article contains a portrait of Pise. Thomas F. Meehan's 'The Centenary of American Catholic Fiction,' *Historical Records and Studies*, XIX (1929), 52-72, purports to celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of the publication of Pise's *Father Rowland* but soon wanders off to other matters.

³ Sister M. Eulalia says this work was 'not successful,' but gives no authority for this statement.

suggestion he was appointed Chaplain of the Senate (1832-1833). When the appointment was attacked, as it inevitably was, Pise made an eloquent address before the Maryland House of Delegates on July 4th, 1833, explaining in what sense an American Catholic owed 'allegiance' to the Pope. In 1834 he moved to New York, serving first at St. Joseph's and then at St. Peter's, Barclay Street, the oldest Catholic church in the city. In 1849 he built St. Charles Borromeo's in Brooklyn, to which he was attached until his death in 1866. Though Pise was a Southerner, he was loyal to the Union during the Civil War.

Dr. Pise published frequently and variously, from such literary works as the novels and *The Pleasures of Religion and Other Poems*, 1833 (dedicated to Washington Irving), to works of propaganda, for example, *Christianity and the Church*, 1850. From 1840 to 1842 he edited, with the help of the Rev. Dr. Felix Varela, an exile from Cuba, and Father Schneller, a monthly journal, *The Catholic Expositor*, a medium through which many Catholic writers came before the public. Among them were John Gilmary Shea, the leading historian of the American Church, and Charles J. Cannon, poet and fiction writer.⁴

One wonders, of course, why Dr. Pise was never made a bishop. He held important pastorates and he was a friend of prelates. But he was also a Catholic intellectual and a friend of other intellectuals, such as the sometimes troublesome Orestes Brownson.⁵ The American hierarchy, which was then

⁴ Thomas F. Meehan, 'Catholic Literary New York,' *Catholic Historical Review*, IV (1918), 413.

⁵ Orestes Brownson (1803-1876) was the leading Catholic intellectual of his time. After having tried Presbyterianism, Universalism, Unitarianism, and Transcendentalism, he was converted to Catholicism in 1844. He had begun editing *Brownson's Quarterly Review* in that year. After his conversion, the *Review* was conducted as a Catholic journal of opinion (1844-1864). His liberal views frequently got Brownson into trouble, sometimes with the Catholic hierarchy. He decided to cease publication of the *Review* late in 1864. The opposition was too strong, and his health was failing. In January 1873 the first issue of the *Review*, last series, appeared. Too feeble to carry it on longer, Brownson had to let the revived *Review* come to an end in 1875. In his determination that there should be an American Catholic literature of high quality, Brown-

beginning to be Irish-dominated, was suspicious of intellectuals. Possibly his early association with the French-born Ambrose Maréchal, archbishop of Baltimore, had something to do with his being passed over, for Maréchal was more than mildly anti-Irish and anti-Jesuit and was suspected of wishing to promote a French hierarchy in the United States.

Dr. Pise's first novel, *Father Rowland: a North American Tale*, was issued by Fielding Lucas, Jr., of Baltimore in 1829. The Advertisement in the second edition (copyright 1831) notes that the 'call for this valuable and interesting little work has been such, that the first edition is exhausted.' The new edition has been 'enlarged and stereotyped.'⁶ A third edition was published in Dublin as *Father Rowland; or the Force of Truth: a Catholic Tale of North America*. The title-page states that the story has been 'edited and enlarged by a Catholic Bishop.' The preface is dated 'Dublin, February 1, 1837', but the date of the Princeton copy I have used reads 1846. Something will be said presently of the Bishop's changes.

In the Preface to the first edition Dr. Pise (whose name is not on the title page) uses an elaborate framing device. The author pretends to be merely the editor. The tale was written by a 'gentleman of considerable literary fame,' and an intimate of the General Wolburn of the story.

We are introduced into the family of the General, an officer in the Revolution and a friend of Washington. The Wolburns occupy an elegant mansion overlooking the Potomac. The General's wife and one of their daughters, Louisa, are inclined toward Catholicism; the other daughter, Virginia, is possessed of the usual prejudices against the Church.

son reviewed secular works by Catholic writers, including novels, assiduously, praising and upbraiding as the occasion warranted. He also wrote general articles to explain what he meant by Catholic literature. Among the best of these are 'Novel-Writing and Novel-Reading' (Jan. 1848), 'Catholic Secular Literature' (July 1849), and 'Catholicity and Literature' (Jan. 1856).

*Lyle H. Wright (*American Fiction, 1774-1850*, San Marino, 1948) located three copies of this edition. There was another printing of this second edition with the copyright date of 1841. There is a copy in the New York Public Library.

Father Rowland, a Maryland-born Jesuit, who is quite as genteel and well-read as the Wolburns, is invited to call and discuss Church doctrine. A convenient thunder-storm holds him overnight and gives him time to answer fully the questions the ladies have about the claims of the Church to infallibility and universality. General Wolburn listens benevolently. He knows that American prejudices against Catholics were transported from England and he hopes that the present generation (the time is shortly after the Revolution) 'will think for themselves, and act for themselves, in religious matters, as they have lately done in civil.' He recalls that 'General Washington expatiated very sensibly on this subject . . . the last time we spent the day with his amiable family.'

Louisa is not yet fully persuaded, but she is disgusted when she tries to get some enlightenment from Dr. Dorson, the Episcopal rector, only to find that his observations on such difficult matters as transubstantiation and purgatory are very shallow. Father Rowland continues to bring his most cogent arguments and apt analogies to bear, and Louisa is soon won.

Two of his analogies should be noted because Catholic apologists in fiction will use them again and again. As to the supposed idolatrous practices of Catholics, they merely show a proper reverence for superior beings. 'Will not Washington deserve the benedictions, the reverence, the love of those who will survive him, and all posterity?' Indeed he will, and so the point is made. Louisa assents at once: 'Nothing [is] more reasonable than the respect which Catholics pay to the saints.'

The queries about the worship of images bring forth the locket argument. (Louisa uses this on her sister.) Is she not wearing a locket containing Aunt Sabina's hair? Does she not press it to her bosom in token of veneration? And she has called it a 'relic,' too. Mrs. Wolburn completes the syllogism. 'The word has but one meaning, dear Virginia . . . it signifies something that is left.' All doubts removed, the Wolburn ladies are ready to be received. There are fine scenes when

they attend mass for the first time and also, somewhat tremblingly, visit the convent which is under Father Rowland's care. (The visit to a convent would become standard equipment in the Catholic novels.)

The first and second editions of *Father Rowland* end abruptly with the holy death of Moses, a family slave who is a devout Catholic, and an exhortation to the reader to 'weigh well the reasons which induced these most respectable ladies to embrace the Catholic faith.' The Dublin bishop tidies things up more satisfyingly. Louisa's fiancé, who had been violently prejudiced against Catholics, is converted and the two are happily united at a nuptial mass. For good measure the bishop permits Virginia to enter a convent.⁷

There is reason to believe that Dr. Pise wrote *Father Rowland* as a countercheck to an imported anti-Catholic novel, *Father Clement* (1823), which was, to Catholics, distressingly popular in this country. The author was Grace Kennedy (1782-1825), a Scottish novelist all of whose works were published anonymously. From the number of editions of *Father Clement* we can judge that it was the best liked of her novels, both in England and America.⁸

Though Grace Kennedy (ironically) subtitles *Father Clement* 'A Roman Catholic Story,' there is no doubt that Protestantism (Presbyterian variety) triumphs in it. The plot of the novel is concerned with the religious convictions of two high-born English families, the Clarenhams (Catholic) and the Montagues (Protestant), but its theme is the slow weakening of

⁷ The Irish bishop 'enlarged' the story in other respects. Further 'judicious changes' (remarked on in the Preface) consist chiefly in lengthening Father Rowland's expositions of doctrine. The sermon he preaches on the infallibility of the Church, one page long in the first and second editions, is drawn out through fourteen pages in the Dublin edition. Pise had made only minor changes in bringing out the second edition.

⁸ The British Museum *General Catalogue of Printed Books* lists six editions, the last one being an item in the 'Home Treasury Library,' 1876. The novel was translated into German and Italian. From the *Library of Congress Catalogue of Printed Cards* I find that there were a Boston edition in 1827, New York editions in 1827, 1829, 1848, and 1850, and Philadelphia editions in 1848 and 1850. The copy I own has two title-pages. The first carries the imprint of William Burgess, New York; the second that of Benjamin Olds, Newark, N.J., 1834, 'stereotyped . . . from the Sixth Edinburgh Edition.'

Father Clement's Catholic faith. He is driven almost insane by his doubts. At his death he submits to receiving extreme unction (the sinister Jesuit Father Warenne takes care of this), but his last words are: 'I die the most unworthy—the lowest, the least profitable of all—yet a member of the one true church—saved only by Christ.' When Warenne asks him if he means the Church of Rome, Clement 'answered not.'

Three features of *Father Clement* must have angered Dr. Pise and the many other Catholics who allude to it.⁹ A Jesuit is shown so infirm in his faith that he cannot stand against Protestant apologists and dies, we suppose, a lapsed Catholic. The Protestant arguments are keen, not only in their attack on Catholic dogma but in positive support of Protestant articles of faith. The tone of reasonableness which prevails in most of the novel must also have been irksome, for *Father Clement* contains few of the atrocities of the usual anti-Catholic fiction, which might be considered too absurd to be believed by reasonable people.

Whether Dr. Pise was making a direct rejoinder to *Father Clement* cannot now be determined. I suspect he was, for two reasons: the general Catholic dislike of Grace Kennedy's novel and an explicit reference to it in the advertisement to the second edition of *Father Rowland* which declares that 'the

⁹ During the half-century in which Catholic Emancipation was argued, often violently, in England—the bill finally passed both houses of Parliament in 1829—many anti-Catholic and pro-Catholic novels were issued. This episode in the history of the English novel is described in Irene Bostrom's 'The Novel and Catholic Emancipation,' *Studies in Romanticism*, II (1963), 155–176. Grace Kennedy's *Father Clement* is discussed on p. 176. Many of these English anti-Catholic novels were popular in America, none more so than those by 'Charlotte Elizabeth' (Mrs. Tonna). Anti-Catholic novels with a 'Gothic' background were especially lurid. We can see why Dr. Pise, if he were to reply to any of these novels, would have to choose one like *Father Clement* in which there were arguments which might be countered. How could a Catholic reply, for example, to Anna Elizabeth Bray's *The Protestant; a Tale of the Reign of Queen Mary* (London, 1828; New York, 1829)? The reviewer in the *Athenaeum* summed up its characteristics as follows. 'To set Protestants a-light was the Papist's main business; to hear them phiz and crackle, his principal pleasure. . . . He spent the little time, it appears, which he could save from his Smithfield duties, in forging letters—in bringing accusations of treason against his Protestant relations upon the strength of them,—in seducing and deserting young women . . . in drunkenness, debauchery, &c., &c., &c.' (Bostrom, p. 164).

admirers of "Father Clement" should deem it a conscientious duty to read "Father Rowland". At any rate Dr. Pise devised a formula for a pro-Catholic novel which would be used repeatedly by his successors. His formula has five requirements. The Catholics in the story must be represented as wellborn, cultured, and wealthy. They are gentle folk given to good works—in this instance the kind treatment of their slaves. The father's friendship with General Washington is, of course, corroborative evidence of their great respectability. The formula sets up a situation in which the priest as propagandist can correct errors, break down prejudices, and explain doctrines, from the easiest, such as the veneration of saints, to the most difficult, usually transubstantiation and purgatory. There must be a scene in which the converts witness the awesome sacrifice of the mass for the first time. If possible there should be a visit to a convent in order to see how lovely the conventual life is rather than, as superstition pictured it, how unnatural and inhuman. Finally, there must be conversions, as many as possible. Dr. Pise contented himself with three. This did not satisfy the Irish bishop when he 'enlarged' the novel. He brought in five more converts.

Pise's second novel, *The Indian Cottage, A Unitarian Story*, was published by Fielding Lucas, Jr., of Baltimore in 1831.¹⁰ It is the story of the conversion to Rome of a Unitarian, Elizabeth Preston. Elizabeth has been told by her friend Virginia Wolburn to seek help in resolving her religious doubts from Charles Clermont, son of a genteel Catholic family which had emigrated to America. So Charles makes his visit to 'Indian Cottage,' an ancient mansion on the Virginia shore which is the seat of the Prestons. He finds Elizabeth receptive to Catholic doctrine. She understands at once that if one admits the divinity of Christ, there is no middle ground, and logic alone dictates a change to Catholi-

¹⁰ Lyle H. Wright, *American Fiction, 1774-1850*, records two editions of *The Indian Cottage* published by Lucas in 1831. One is 171 pages in length; the other, 159.

cism. Her family refuses to listen to any Catholic arguments and the well-mannered Charles advises her to keep her intended conversion secret until such time as she can break the news opportunely. That time comes when she marries a Catholic and so becomes independent of her parents.

The Indian Cottage is even less of a novel than *Father Rowland*. There is little action and no character development. About the only excitement is furnished by the debate between Charles and Mr. Alton, the Unitarian minister. One wonders why Dr. Pise singled out the Unitarians. In later Catholic novels the sects usually attacked were the Episcopalians (especially the Puseyites), Presbyterians, and Congregationalists. But Pise must have been aware that the Unitarians had captured many of the New England Congregational churches and were making headway with liberal Christians in other parts of the country.¹¹ Possibly he wished to line up his arguments against this most extreme form of Protestant heresy.

There may be significance in the fact that Pise's next book, *Letters to Ada, from her Brother-in-Law* (1834) was published by Harper and Brothers. Evidently Harpers considered that it might appeal to some Protestant readers. Pise aimed this work at non-Catholics but, as he says in his Preface, 'his weapons are not abuse.' He wishes to convince 'the dispassionate inquirer, that a strict and practical member of the Roman Catholic Church *may* be a genuine friend of Republican Institutions and *must* be true to his country and his God.'

In 1845 the Catholic publisher Edward Dunigan of New York inaugurated his Dunigan's Home Library Series of 'Religious and Moral Works for Popular Reading.' Dr. Pise's last novel, *Zenosius; or The Pilgrim Convert* (his name is now on the title-page) is the first volume in the series. *Zenosius* is Father Pise's most polemical novel. In it he abandons the sweet reasonableness of his earlier fiction and hits hard at

¹¹ Unitarianism invaded Baltimore in 1818. The First Unitarian Church was built the next year, from designs by Maximilian Godefroy.

every kind of heresy, though the Episcopalians and Presbyterians are the particular objects of his attack. Pise had good reason to go on the offensive. During the 1830s and 1840s the Catholic Church in America suffered grievously. The Nativist movement was inaugurated by the founding of the *Protestant*, an anti-Catholic weekly, in 1830. In 1834 the Ursuline Convent at Charlestown, Massachusetts, was burned by Nativists. In the following year Philadelphia mobs, provoked by Nativists, burned two Catholic churches and killed thirteen persons. In his Preface Pise remarks that he had replied to a friend who told him not to be severe on Protestants in *Zenosius*: 'With their persons, and, if you choose, their sincerity, I have nothing to do . . . but as regards their errors and schism, what compromise can be made with them?'

Zenosius is a complicated story, semi-allegorical in mode and ingenious in organization. Every Catholic argument against every possible heresy must be inserted in some manner. Young *Zenosius* is lost in a labyrinth of Sectarianism. *Eirene*, the angel of peace, appears before him in answer to his prayer for help. She leads him to a 'holy man' (read priest) in the 'village of———.' His instruction begins and he is soon able to confute all the schools of infidelity: Deism, Pantheism, Materialism, Zeno, Epicurus, Spinoza, Voltaire, Rousseau. The holy man then outlines for him the inconsistencies of Protestantism, the sum of which is the desire to be Catholic while rejecting the doctrines of true Catholicism.¹²

Eirene reappears to tell *Zenosius* he is to go on a pilgrimage to Rome. Before he departs he requests his sister *Euthalia* to take instruction from the helpful priest of the village. We see *Zenosius* next in London. When he visits St. Paul's Cathedral he exclaims: 'How cold!' At Westminster Abbey the Genius of the Abbey appears and tells him: 'I am here to watch over

¹² The holy man's eleventh and final point, that Protestants profess 'the charity of Christ,' yet are bitter enemies of their fellow-Christians, is a direct reply, so Pise says in a footnote, to an article in the *Episcopalian Churchman*.

the sarcophagi of the Catholic dead; and to witness, long ere the resurrection, that of the Catholic Church again in England, where she hath found a temporary tomb.' His next instructor is a clergyman 'of the Church of ancient England' (a Catholic priest, that is) who delivers him a long discourse, under seven heads, on the doctrines of the Reformation which aimed at the destruction of the Catholic Church.

Conveniently for the author, who intends to encompass and refute every heresy, Zenosius in crossing the Alps falls in with a Greek nobleman who has abandoned the Greek Orthodox Church and is in communion with Rome. This well-instructed Greek is also, as it happens, an authority on the false claims of Mahomet as well as the Greek schism.

Rome at last. Eirene reappears, to plan a guided tour of the Holy City on which Zenosius will be accompanied by a Capuchin friar. The climactic approach to St. Peter's is gradual. Many churches must be visited first. Zenosius finally kneels at the tomb of the Fisherman and the next day is admitted to the presence of 'the Father of the Faithful.' The Pope feelingly says to this American pilgrim: 'Would to God that all the deluded Children of the Reformation would act with a courage and sincerity similar to thine, my beloved child. . . . Return to thy native land, and be an example and an encouragement to thy well-disposed and thy truth-seeking countrymen.' Zenosius does return. If, after all these enthralling experiences, life seemed tame to him, at least he has the consolation—as he begins his work—that his sister has meanwhile become 'a vestal of Religion, a devoted Sister of Charity.'

Zenosius is Father Pise's most ambitious effort. He gave to it all he knew—in theology, homiletics, and literary strategy. One senses in it his devotion to the Holy City which he saw first when he was himself a pilgrim there at the age of nineteen. The novel also testifies to his love of the institution

which shaped his faith. It is dedicated to Mount Saint Mary's Seminary, 'my second *alma mater*.' A heart-felt tribute, although small and late. And may thy sons, far scattered though they be, Reading 'Zenosius,' drop a passing prayer for me.

Two authors could hardly differ more than Dr. Pise and the next priest-novelist, the Rev. John Boyce (1810-1864). Pise was a native-born Catholic who, until he wrote *Zenosius*, tried to reason gently with Protestants. Boyce, who came to this country from Ireland at the age of thirty-five, never lost his fervent Irishism. He evidently despised Protestants and found many Yankee characteristics unendurable. The two careers point up the differences between the Maryland Catholicism of Archbishop Carroll and the Irish Catholicism of Massachusetts.

Boyce was born in Donegal, Ulster, where violent resentment against the Protestant establishment had to work in covert ways.¹³ His father was a well-off hotel proprietor and magistrate. Boyce attended the preparatory seminary at Navan, County Meath, where he graduated with highest honors in rhetoric and philosophy. After finishing his training at the Royal College of Maynooth in 1837, he served in the Irish mission for eight years. He then decided, in 1845, to come to America. His first parish was Eastport, Maine. In 1847 he removed to St. John's, Worcester, Massachusetts, where he remained the rest of his life. In addition to his three novels, Boyce wrote sketches and criticism. He was a contributor to the Boston *Pilot*, established by Bishop Fenwick in 1829 as the *Jesuit or Catholic Sentinel*. It was to become the Church's most influential periodical.

The setting of the first and third of Father Boyce's novels is Ireland; the second is set in the England of Queen Eliza-

¹³ There is a brief account of Boyce in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York, 1907-1914). The author is Edward P. Spillane. The memoir in *Souvenir Volume of the Fiftieth Anniversary of St. John's Parish, Worcester, Massachusetts* (Worcester, 1896), (pp. 50-53) does little more than praise Father Boyce for his 'wonderful charity' and 'innate nobleness' and summarize his activities as a missionary priest.

beth. Only in his third novel did he attempt to portray an American. His two Irish novels take their place with the many nostalgic pro-Catholic novels written by Americans for the pleasure and edification of their fellow Irishmen in Ireland as well as in America.

Boyce's first novel, *Shandy M'Guire; or, Tricks upon Travellers, Being a Story of the North of Ireland*, by Paul Peppergrass (the pseudonym used for all three novels) was issued in 1848 and 1850 by Edward Dunigan and Brothers of New York. There was also an 1853 edition by the Boston house of Patrick Donahoe.¹⁴ The time is '182-', the place, Donegal in Ulster. The theme is the struggle of the Irish Catholics, most of them peasants, to maintain their religion and their civil rights in the face of Protestant oppression. Father Domnick is their spiritual leader; their champion is Shandy M'Guire, a Robin Hood figure who plays most of the tricks which make fools of the Protestants. Lined up on the Protestant side are Colonel Templeton, the rector Baxter Cantwell, and his nefarious son Archy who is the Colonel's agent.

The novel was reviewed at length in the January 1849 issue of *Brownson's Quarterly Review* (pp. 58-90). Brownson is surprisingly kind to *Shandy M'Guire* in view of the fact that he frequently inveighed against the chauvinism of immigrant Irish Catholics. The bringing of old European religious feuds to America, he believed, might be disastrous to American Catholicity. Still, he says, in this instance, that Father Boyce will go far to redeem the character of the Irish with our countrymen 'from the ridicule and contempt thrown upon it by the injudicious attempts of ignorant and conceited editors, lecturers, and historians to exalt it.' Brownson goes on to assure the Irish in America that we admire Irishmen not for

¹⁴ James Pilgrim dramatized the novel as *Shandy Maguire; or, The Bould Boy of the Mountains*. According to A. H. Quinn (*A History of American Drama from the Beginning to the Civil War*, New York, 1946, p. 483) it was produced on August 18, 1851. Pilgrim wrote two other Irish plays: *Robert Emmet* and *Ireland and America*.

their Irishness, 'but because they share our common humanity.' Thus we tend to dislike their claims and complaints in regard to issues we cannot understand. Boyce should have been pleased with this review. That he was not, we infer from the satirical portrait of Brownson, disguised as Dr. Henshaw, in his third novel, *Mary Lee; or, The Yankee in Ireland*.

Boyce's *The Spaewife; or, the Queen's Secret*, published by Murphy of Baltimore in 1853, is an historical novel. Queen Elizabeth is shown as having been a strong Catholic in her youth who later supported Protestantism because it gave her power and because she hated the Pope who had declared her a bastard. She is presented as able but wanton (though wishing to be thought a virgin), jealous, vain, and cruel. The 'secret' is Elizabeth's child by Leicester, not put to death as she had supposed, but given by Leicester to Nell Gower, the Spaewife, a female fortune-teller, to hide. Catholicism in these dangerous times is represented by the Wentworth family and particularly by the devout and beautiful Alice Wentworth who is tried for her faith and declares herself ready to go to the block rather than give it up.

This time Brownson gave Father Boyce a devastating notice (*B. Q. R.*, April 1853, pp. 279-280). He begins by commending Messrs. Murphy & Co. for their enterprise in publishing so handsome a book (it is indeed an elegant piece of book-making), takes account of the fact that the novel has been praised by the Catholic press as 'a masterpiece of its kind,' and then enters a number of demurrers. The story lacks *vraisemblance*. The characters, except for the Irish, are not always happily drawn. 'The *morale* of the book is open to criticism. Elizabeth is lauded too highly as a Queen, and blackened too much, we think, as a woman.' The reviewer has been informed that 'this book is merely introductory to another which [the author] is preparing on Mary, Queen of Scots.' He implores Father Boyce, if he does write the sequel, not to show the quarrel between the two women as activated

'by petty female jealousy or rivalry. . . . Catholic historians and novelists should take higher and more comprehensive views of the causes that produced the terrible events of Elizabeth's reign than was taken by the gossips of the time.' Father Boyce did not write his sequel. Whether Brownson successfully warned him off we do not know. His third novel turns again to Ireland.

Paul Peppergrass' *Mary Lee; or, The Yankee in Ireland* appeared first in a Catholic monthly, *The Metropolitan* of Baltimore. The publishers of this journal were Murphy & Co. but they did not bring out the novel in book form. It was issued in 1860 by Kelly, Hedian, and Piet of Baltimore. The book version contains many alterations. *Mary Lee* is a confused novel. Boyce tried to link together many disparate elements and as a result the tone changes abruptly from suspense and mystery to satire, to polemics, to nostalgia for Ireland. The main plot is the love story, with a happy ending, of sweet, devout Mary Lee (Catholic, of course) and Randall Barry, a rebel against the British for whose capture £300 have been offered. The mystery about Mary's identity has to be cleared up. Though she lives simply with her uncle, the lighthouse-keeper, there are hints that she may be an heiress. She is, it turns out, the daughter of William Talbot who is still alive somewhere in America, and she will have a fortune. Yankee Ephraim C. B. Weeks of Ducksville, Connecticut, has got wind of this back home and is in Ireland to win Mary and her money by any means he can employ. For good measure Boyce adds the conversion of Kate Petersham, the activities of good Lanty Hanlon who watches over Barry, the ministrations of admirable Father Brennan, and, finally, a satiric portrait of Orestes Brownson, who enters the novel as Dr. Henshaw, a vain and silly Scot who has recently become a Catholic. (In the magazine version this character is Dr. Horseman, a Yankee.) *Mary Lee* reveals the attitudes of an Irish-American priest who could not forget the woes of

Catholic Ireland and whose dislike of many features of life in his adopted country never abated. Brownson's review of the novel (*B. Q. R.*, January 1860, pp. 118-130) attempts to show how little Boyce understood America after a residence of several years in New England.

We are most interested, of course, in Ephraim Weeks and the American-Scotsman Dr. Horseman-Henshaw. Boyce's attempt to satirize the Yankee character is devastatingly criticized in Brownson's review (pp. 124-126).

Weeks is represented as a merchant, and a native of Connecticut; but he is also represented as a Virginia slaveholder, and as an overseer on a Virginia plantation, and nigger-driver. We cannot very well reconcile these several characters in the same person. Weeks is too low and vulgar in his language and pronunciation for any one of the characters assigned him. His vulgarisms are such as are heard only from the very coarsest country bumpkin, and some of them are never heard from any one born and brought up in Connecticut. Any man who knows well the United States, can easily tell to which State any native American he meets belongs, from his provincialisms and intonation. The intonation of Weeks belongs to Maine, his religion to Massachusetts, his notions of trade to Connecticut, and his provincialisms in part to the South and West. . . . No American can possibly locate Weeks, and there is no one, who knows the country well, who would not pronounce him an impossible Yankee, in either sense of the word, and as much a foreigner as the celebrated Sam Slick himself,—a pleasant creation enough, but no Yankee in character or dialect, though possibly, for aught we know, a genuine Blue-nose. Taken as a representative character, Weeks represents no national character we ever heard of; and taken as an individual, representing only himself, he may be a 'Yankee in Ireland,' but not in America.

Dr. Horseman-Henshaw, who intrudes himself into the novel for no reason except to afford Boyce a means of striking at Dr. Brownson, is depicted as an intellectual Catholic who has only contempt for such a simple, warm-hearted priest as Father Brennan. At one point Dr. Henshaw speaks to Brennan as follows:

Intellectual men need intellectual treatment; and whilst your Sisters of Charity, and so forth, have done much, and are still doing much, in their own way, there is still need of men who, like myself, endeavor, according to our poor abeilities, to defend truth and combat error, by means of that vary pheelosophy, logic, and theology you seem to think of so lightly.

Father Brennan (speaking for Father Boyce) answers.

You think—or seem to think, at least—that nothing has been done in the church for the conversion of heretics till you joined her, and that in the ardor and freshness of your zeal you are expected to make up for the neglect. [And so on for three pages more.]

One other strain in the novel should be noticed: Boyce's bitter denunciations of the treatment Irish-Catholic immigrants have received in America. What recompense has their adopted country given them for the labor of their stalwart limbs? What return has there been except 'to hate and spurn you?'

They give you freedom! What! freedom to live like helots in the land they promised to make your own—freedom to worship your Creator under a roof which a godless mob may, at any moment, fire with impunity—freedom to shed your blood in defence of a flag that would gladly wave in triumph over the extinction of your race.

Brownson's review ridiculed Boyce good-naturedly for having metamorphosed Dr. Horseman, the Yankee, into Dr. Henshaw, the Scot. He admits that like the original Yankee Doctor he chews the weed, wears gold-bowed spectacles, and sometimes speaks in a gruff, harsh voice. But the revised Dr. Henshaw is 'nobody, serves no purpose, and has no right to be among the *dramatis personae* of the book.' He hopes that in the next edition Dr. Horseman will be restored. 'So here is our hand, Father John, only give us back our friend, Dr. Horseman, and remember for the future that Jonathan can

bear with good humor a joke, even at his own expense, if it lacks not the seasoning of genuine wit.'¹⁵

Brownson's main objection to *Mary Lee* was that, like so many Irish-Catholic novels, it failed to do justice to the Irish character. 'Why is it,' he asks, 'that Irish fiction almost uniformly paints the Irish hero as a rollicking, hard-drinking, fighting, blundering devil-may-care, though perhaps a good-hearted fellow, and the Irish people without manliness or dignity?' There are 'deeper, stronger, nobler, and more manly elements in the Irish character than [Father Boyce] draws forth.' Secondly, Brownson cannot refrain from taking Boyce to task for making Yankee Weeks both a fool and a villain. What the author has done is in bad taste. 'We know no reason why an Irishman migrating to this country and making it his home, should take greater liberties with us than his countrymen would be willing an American settled in Ireland should take with them.' How would the Irish like it, Brownson asks, if an American were to emigrate to Ireland, choose that country for his home, and write and publish a novel, called, say, *Bridget Flynn, or Paddy in America*, designed to show up the Irish both at home and abroad?

Father John T. Roddan wrote only one novel, *John O'Brien; or, The Orphan of Boston, A Tale of Real Life* (Boston, Patrick Donahoe, 1850), but it is by far the liveliest and most down to earth of the priest-written novels. I do not know Father Roddan's dates. The best sources of information about his career are the second and third volumes of Henry F. Brownson's biography of his father.¹⁶ The friendship between

¹⁵ In his review of *Mary Lee* Brownson speaks directly of Boyce's wish to rebuke him. 'The author felt himself aggrieved by the reviewer's handling of his previous works, and wished no doubt to pay him off somewhat as Byron did his "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers."' He also wished to rebuke the editor's indiscreet zeal and earnestness in insisting on the doctrine that, out of the Church there is no salvation,—a doctrine quite incompatible with the false liberalism some Catholics affect, and finally to prejudice him as much as he could in the minds of Irish Catholics. Now here were motives enough, and fair motives enough too. An author has the right to show up his reviewer, if he can, to rebuke indiscreet zeal and mis-directed earnestness, and to warn his countrymen against one whom he regards as their enemy' (pp. 126-127).

¹⁶ *Orestes A. Brownson's Middle Life* (Detroit, 1899); and *Orestes A. Brownson's Later Life, from 1856 to 1876* (Detroit, 1900).

the priest and the Catholic intellectual began in 1848, four years after Brownson's conversion. Roddan, who had not yet been ordained, wrote Brownson from Rome (the letter is dated, 'Propaganda, Oct. 14 1848') urging that efforts should be made to establish a library of Catholic theology in Boston and suggesting the names of influential Catholics who might supply the money. (He had already written to 'two men eminent for their charity.'¹⁷) After ordination the young priest returned to the Boston diocese. His first assignment was to Quincy, with one or two missions nearby. H. F. Brownson reports that it was a common thing for him to go to Chelsea before noon on a Monday and discuss all kinds of matters with Brownson until Wednesday afternoon. 'None of Brownson's friends, unless Dr. Cummings¹⁸ be an exception, agreed so completely and understandingly with all his political, social, religious and philosophical views.'¹⁹ Archbishop Fitzpatrick, who was no intellectual (he had somewhat reluctantly received Brownson into the Church) admired Roddan and appointed him editor of the diocesan paper, *The Pilot*. When Fitzpatrick left for Europe in 1854, he delegated to Roddan his powers as censor of *Brownson's Quarterly Review*. Henceforth Brownson dutifully read his articles to Roddan before publication. There was a nice irony in the situation. Not only was Roddan an admirer and good friend of Brownson; he had contributed unsigned articles to the *Review*.²⁰

¹⁷ H. F. Brownson, *Middle Life*, pp. 148-151.

¹⁸ Dr. Jeremiah Williams Cummings (1814-1866), Irish-born priest, linguist, and writer. He was much interested in Catholic education but attacked the quality of the teaching in the parochial schools and seminaries. He quarreled with Archbishop Hughes over the issue. Cummings and Brownson were staunch friends. See Theodore Maynard, *Orestes Brownson, Yankee, Radical, Catholic* (New York, 1943), *passim*.

¹⁹ H. F. Brownson, *Middle Life*, p. 151.

²⁰ We get a pleasing glimpse of Father Roddan in Truman H. Bartlett's *Art Life of William Rimmer* (Boston, 1882), p. 19. Rimmer was a self-taught but talented sculptor, painter, and teacher of art. Bartlett reports that for a time while Rimmer was living in Randolph, New Hampshire, Father Roddan was his appreciative friend and patron. He invited Rimmer to play the organ in his church and instruct the children of the parish in music. Rimmer painted for Father Roddan 'a large altarpiece, containing the figures of the Virgin, the Infant Jesus, and Joseph, all life-size, and two smaller pictures.'

John O'Brien; or, The Orphan of Boston reflects Father Roddan's quickness of mind, his skill in theological debate, and his humanity. The novel is so interesting that it makes one wish the author had continued to write fiction. Roddan crowds into the novel so much of the Irish Catholic experience in Protestant New England that he may have felt he had no more to say on the subject.

John O'Brien is ingeniously organized as a first-person narrative of a young Irishman, born in Boston in 1819 and now (about 1850) writing down his picaresque adventures among wily non-Catholics, from Calvinists to free-thinkers. John's father, who had emigrated from Ireland in 1816, is a good Catholic, but, feeling himself superior to other 'Paddies,' he unwisely sends his boy to Protestant Sunday Schools, thus weakening John's belief in the teachings of the Church. When he is eight, his father and mother die and John begins a series of moves and removes in Protestant and infidel households. As John grows older, he learns how to combat the irreligion or false religion of his masters. Though the voice of Father Roddan is heard in the young man's counter-arguments, young John is pictured as a brash and mischievous youngster whose impudence often gets him into trouble. This realistic characterization mitigates the novel's propaganda.

One of John's first jobs is on the farm of a libertarian Frenchman. He is dismissed when he plants a flower bed in the shape of the cross. For a time he is in the house of a High Church Episcopalian. He next works for Mr. Smallaxe, a member of Dr. Channing's Unitarian congregation. He is sent away because the Bishop of Boston, whom he has met by chance, asks his master to permit the boy to practice his religion. At Lawyer Black's John gets something of an education, but his faith is weakened because his old doubts about confession trouble him again. He falls in with bad companions and is arrested for stealing a box which another boy had planted on him. Then follow two years in a House of Reforma-

tion, 'Friends and Fathers,' which mixes good and bad boys in a prison-like institution. Catholic boys are not permitted to have the ministrations of a priest.²¹

While working for Mr. Talfourd in Hartford, Connecticut, John sees the Connecticut 'blue laws' in operation and turns in disgust from fanatical Protestantism. This episode affords Father Roddan a chance to show that Protestant orthodoxy is a kind of religious insanity. There are few suicides among Catholics because they feel secure in the grace which comes to them in the sacraments.

Back in Boston, John, whose powers as a disputant increase daily, encounters Methodism (which stirs up the animal in man) and works briefly for Bowen, a Baptist. He continues to move among Protestants (joining a library company that does not discriminate against Catholics) but finally decides that 'mixed societies *always* hurt a Catholic soul.' There is only one remedy—'to make such a society exclusively Catholic.' Meanwhile John has begun to prosper. At the end of the novel he has married his childhood sweetheart and is bringing up his young son in the right Catholic way.

John O'Brien is one of the few Catholic novels in which there are no conversions. What Father Roddan aims at is the exposure through their own words and deeds of the rabble of non-Catholics through which John amiably disputes his way.²²

²¹ Catholics naturally disliked these institutions, most of which were Protestant charities. Even in those which were conducted by city governments the Protestant clergy had a free hand. It was the custom, as in the House to which John O'Brien is remanded, to send the boys out of state when they were sufficiently 'reformed,' to be apprenticed to farmers who were ignorant or intolerant of Catholicism. This motif, of a Catholic orphan in a Protestant controlled House of Refuge, occurs in several of the Catholic novels. See below, the accounts in Charles James Cannon's *Harry Layden* (p. 56) and Mrs. James Sadlier's *Aunt Honor's Keepsake* (p. 108). The movement to build Catholic orphanages began in 1814 when three Sisters of Charity arrived in Philadelphia to open St. Joseph's Orphanage.

²² In one of the most telling passages in the novel John talks at length about the vicious anti-Catholic fiction which gave fanatical Protestants so much satisfaction. He is most concerned, and rightly so, about the activities of Samuel Smith, a renegade priest who edited a wretched anti-Catholic periodical, *The Downfall of Babylon*. In 1835 Smith sponsored one of the worst but most widely read of the anti-Catholic novels, *Rosamond*;

Eventually secure in his faith, he takes them as they come, listening, arguing, and refuting. He does not hate Protestants, as we suspect Father Roddan did not. The novel is an authentic picture of the vexed and often bitter Catholic-Protestant relations in New England in the years between 1829 and 1850. Father Roddan and his John O'Brien were expert witnesses.

Brownson, who conscientiously reviewed American Catholic novels, bad and good, gave considerable attention to *John O'Brien*, in part, no doubt, because Roddan was his friend, but chiefly because he saw it as an example of what a Catholic novel ought to be.²³ It is effective because it is bold and energetic and puts Protestantism on the defensive. Brownson likes the informal style, for 'we must break through many a conventionalism and forget ourselves in the effect we would produce.' He wishes that young John were more of an ideal character but realizes that Father Roddan was trying to make his readers conscious of the real character of boys in these circumstances. It is all too true that many Catholic boys are 'rowdy on the streets of big Eastern cities.'

Father Hugh Quigley, author of three Catholic novels, was as well educated as Father Roddan, but he was too intensely serious ever to indulge in any good-natured ridicule of the Protestant enemy. He fought hard and continuously

or, a Narrative of the Captivity and Sufferings of an American Female under Popish Priests in the Island of Cuba, with a full disclosure of their manners and customs, written by herself. Father Roddan concludes the passage with a satiric thrust at *Rosamond*. He has John say:

'It seems that sausages are made of Protestant meat in some of the West India Islands. The way it is done is this: The churches and convents have dungeons under them, for the punishment of heretics. One of these is a sausage factory. The Protestant is tumbled into a kind of hopper, that soon makes mincemeat of him. He goes in, buttons and all, at one end, and comes out at the other, half a mile of sausages. These are reserved for the eating of priests and nuns.
'Protestantism must be dying when it gives such very desperate kicks.'

As usual, Father Roddan is letting the Protestants convict themselves. The sausage passage is in *Rosamond*! Roddan merely substitutes Protestants for negro boys in the hopper.

²³ *B. Q. R.*, Jan. 1851, 120-124.

for his faith, all the way from Tulla, County Clare, where he was born in 1819, to San Francisco, where he published in 1878 (the year before his death) *The Irish Race in California, and on the Pacific Coast*, a volume of 541 pages, issued by subscription. (The names of the subscribers fill eleven pages.) *The Irish Race* contains a brief biographical sketch of Quigley by 'W. M.' (pp. iii-xvi). We learn from it that he received a classical education and was destined to train for the priesthood at Maynooth College, a Catholic seminary established in 1795. Because he refused to take the oath of allegiance to the British government, he could not complete his education in Ireland. He studied for five years in Rome where he stood first in his class and received the gold medal for distinction at the Università della Sapienza. He held at least two curacies in Ireland before being sent on missions to England and Scotland. He joined the 'Young Ireland' movement of '48, but became disgusted with the repressive measures of the English Government and decided to emigrate to America. He wrote Archbishop Hughes for an appointment. Dr. Pise and Dr. Power (the influential pastor of St. Peter's in New York) advised him to place himself under the Bishop of Albany (McCloskey, later a Cardinal). Quigley spent the next ten years in this diocese, chiefly at Lansingburgh, now a part of Troy. (Herman Melville lived there briefly after his return from the South Seas.)

In this period Quigley wrote his first two novels, *The Cross and the Shamrock; or, How to Defend the Faith. An Irish-American Catholic Tale of Real Life*²⁴ and *The Prophet of the Ruined Abbey; or, A Glance of the Future of Ireland*.²⁵ He also published *A Series of Letters in Answer to the Rev. S. S. Beeman's Letters to Archbishop Hughes of New York* (Troy, 1852). Beeman was a Presbyterian clergyman in Troy who had attacked Hughes and Catholics generally. The letters

²⁴ Boston, Patrick Donahoe, cop. 1853.

²⁵ New York, Edward Dunigan and Brother, 1855.

show the 'Rev. H. Quigley, D. D. of Schaghticoke'²⁶ with his Irish blood at the boiling point. His parting shot at the unfortunate Beeman was the disclosure that the Presbyterian had once owned three slaves.

Quigley's progress across the American continent is obscure. He served in parishes in Ogdensburgh, New York, Milwaukee and La Crosse, Wisconsin. (His third novel, *Profit and Loss*, 1873, is dedicated to the Right Reverend Michael Hess, D.D., Bishop of La Crosse.) For seven months he served in Eureka, on the northern coast of California.²⁷

Father Quigley concludes his Preface to *The Cross and the Shamrock* by warning the critics that 'regarding style, method, and arrangement of the matter, the author has no apology to offer, except that the work has been written in great haste, and by one who, in five years, has not had a single entire day for recreation or unoccupied by severe missionary duty.' The novel does show signs of having been hastily composed. The story backs up and starts over again in several places. Last minute revelations are pushed in to clear up obscure episodes. Quigley interrupts his narrative frequently to preach little sermons on the hypocrisy, lechery, and double-dealing of Protestants. As Brownson said in his review (*B.Q.R.*, April 1854, pp. 269-270): 'his Irish characters are saints, and his Yankee characters natural-born devils.'

The novel opens with the pathetic death of Mrs. O'Clery who leaves four children orphaned. Before Father O'Shane can visit the family and offer help, the evil poormaster, Van Stingey, carries the children to the county house and then hands them over to a farmer named Prying. We soon see that Paul, the oldest of the children, is destined to be the protector of the others and to become a person of importance. The Pryings do all they can to deprive the children of their re-

²⁶ A village about 15 miles from Troy.

²⁷ 'W.M.' prints in his biographical sketch an address by the Catholics of Eureka to the Rev. Dr. Quigley, on the occasion of his departure from among them, together with Dr. Quigley's answer. The address is dated June 9, 1876.

ligion even to the extent of intercepting Paul's letters to Father O'Shane. One interesting episode shows Van Stingey attempting to make a fortune in railroad construction. Quigley intrudes to inveigh against the 'cruelty, avarice, and malice of contractors, storekeepers, overseers, and bosses' in handling the men (Irishmen, of course) who build the railroads.

If there be any irresponsible, cruel, barbarous despotism on earth, in savage or civilized life, it is emphatically in the discipline that prevails on the railroad *régime*. There is no man daring enough to speak a word in favor of the cruelly-oppressed railroad man, except an odd priest here and there; and even he has often to do so at the risk of having a revolver presented at him, or having his character maligned by the slanders of the moneyed ruffians whose crimes and excesses he may feel it his duty to reprimand.

After Paul finishes his apprenticeship to the Pryings, he works for a Vermont lawyer and editor, Mr. Clarke, and begins his self-education. Mr. Clarke, who enjoys arguing with Paul about religion, soon argues himself out of his Episcopalianism and becomes Paul's first convert. Eventually all the members of Mr. Clarke's 'Literary and Religious Society of Vermont' follow him into the Church. Paul decides to become a priest and 'his virtues, learning, and genius' soon attract the notice of the princes of the Church. Consecrated bishop *in partibus infidelium*, he is now 'a pillar of God's Church, and an ornament in his sanctuary, as archbishop in one of the great cities of British India, in Asia.'

In his Preface to *The Cross and the Shamrock* Father Quigley advances four reasons for having written the novel. He wished to reach 'our poor, neglected, and uninstructed brethren' who are in danger because of their ignorance of their religion. It was also his intention to offer something in place of the 'cheap trash literature' which is to be found in every 'rail car, omnibus, stage coach, steamboat, or canal packet.' He had sought to impress on his people, the Irish

Catholics, 'the honor and advantage of defence and fidelity to the CROSS and the SHAMROCK,' two ideas which will aid them in most of their active life. His fourth and leading motive was to provide arguments which would enable Catholics 'to refute, in a simple, practical manner . . . the many objections proposed to them about the faith.'²⁸

Quigley's second novel, *The Prophet of the Ruined Abbey* (1855), is set in Ireland, so we shall only glance at the plot, which was founded, the author declares in his subtitle, 'on the "Ancient Prophecies of Culmkill" and other Predictions and Popular Traditions among the Irish.' The Reverend Father O'Donnell has been sentenced to death for marrying a Catholic girl to a Protestant. As he is attempting to escape to America, his ship is wrecked on the remote Irish coast. He takes up life there as a holy hermit, celebrating mass secretly in a ruined abbey. Quigley had several purposes in mind in writing *The Prophet*. He hoped that many an 'Exile of Erin' will derive pleasure from reading it in the midst of his family, by the stove-side, and recognizing that he once heard these tales in another tongue 'by the fire of the blazing turf.' His second purpose was to keep alive in the bosoms of the Irish-Americans genuine sentiments of patriotism, threatened by 'the arrogant assurances of a few feeble-minded spirits' who would persuade the Irish race in this country to forget 'their country, their origin, their descent, their history, their traditions,' and, though this may not be intended, 'to forget religion.' There is a 'school' which would have the Irish, the best Catholics in America, 'amalgamate with the parvenu nondescript breeds of the New World.' (The reference to Orestes Brownson is transparent.)

Even their enemies grant that the Irish are a great missionary race. 'If such be their high vocation, they ought not to blend with, but rather remain separate from, the people

²⁸ Quigley's biographer, 'W.M.,' declares that over 250,000 copies of *The Cross and the Shamrock* were sold.

which they are ordained to regenerate and reform! But, if they become absorbed in the amalgam of races which form the population of these United States, and as a consequence adopt their prejudices and vices, their usefulness as missionaries is at an end, and instead of converting others they become themselves perverted.'

Quigley's *Profit and Loss: A Story of the Life of the Genteel Irish-American, Illustrative of Godless Education* (New York, T. O'Kane, 1873) appeared first in serial form in the *Northwestern Celt* of St. Paul, Minnesota.²⁹ In his preface to the novel in book form the author tells us that it has been popular in the northwest, 'perhaps because the scenes and characters delineated in its chapters were taken from occurrences of everyday life and objects familiar in the Western country.' He can say that the style and manners are his own. Though there is 'no borrowing from Dickens or others,' the novel is 'racy of the soil.' In a crude but robust way this is true. One can believe that the individuals and scenes had been observed at first hand. There are many passages that have an autobiographical cast.

The plot makes use of the immigrant novel formula, but by planting it in new surroundings Father Quigley gives it considerable freshness. An Irish family, the Mulroonys of County Kildare, have emigrated to the mid-west. Michael, the father, begins his new life as a railroad master in Milwaukee, but decides to settle on 320 acres of fine prairie land along the St. Croix. He makes his first mistake when he insists on sending Pat, the bright boy of the family, to the Academy at Brighton instead of letting him continue in the school at Irish Corners, as his mother wishes. His Protestant schoolmates make fun of Pat, calling him 'Fooldooney' and 'Mulcoony,' but when he proves that he can lick any of the boys, including Spike, son of Methodist Elder Bull, they take

²⁹ I have been unable to find a run of this journal and cannot, therefore, date the serialization of the novel.

him in. Inevitably, Pat finds them and their games (forfeits, the needle's eye, fair-landers, Johnny Brown, old soldiers), their picnics, sociables, camping and hunting trips, much too congenial. He deserts his faith not long after and is soon tricked into marriage with Miss Spooner.

When Pat comes to his senses, he throws out the Protestants who are swarming in his new home. For kicking Elder Redtop into the street he gets a jail sentence. Father Quigley resolves Pat's difficulties in short order. Pat's wife and infant conveniently die of smallpox. Elder Redtop is sent off to a lunatic asylum. Pat starts life over again, on the right track this time, in the East. When the novel ends, he is a wealthy contractor. The 'profit' had been a few prizes, a name of being a smart man, and a county superintendency; the 'loss,' peace of mind, the deaths of his parents, and his faith, 'at least for a time.'

As this synopsis will suggest, *Profit and Loss* is almost a parody of the Irish Catholic immigrant novel. Everything goes in. (I have said nothing about one stock character, Father John, who, single-handed, holds up the Catholic side.) But Father Quigley had finally learned to write. His characters are distinct, the dialogue is realistic. The propaganda is projected through the arguments and the satiric episodes.

In the 1840's the writing of Catholic novels began to pass from the priests into the hands of professional authors. Of these, five stand out by reason of the amount of fiction they produced: Charles James Cannon; George Henry Miles; Jedidiah Vincent Huntington; Mrs. Anna Hanson (McKenney) Dorsey; and Mrs. Mary Anne (Madden) Sadlier. By the time these novelists began writing, there were several well-established Catholic publishing houses which were pleased to take novels and advertise them extensively: in Baltimore, John Murphy and Hedian and O'Brien; in New York, Edward Dunigan, P. O'Shea, P. J. Kenedy and Sons (this house is still in existence), and D. and J. Sadlier, of New

York, Boston, and Montreal; in Boston, Patrick Donahoe. One of these five novelists, J. V. Huntington, was published by Putnam, Appleton, and Redfield, as well as the Catholic firm of Sadlier.

In the early years the chief sources of revenue for the Catholic publishers were cheaply printed devotional works, sold at Church missions, over the counter in Catholic supply stores, or through religious book societies. By 1850 Catholic novels were advertised prominently in the publishers' lists alongside the devotional works. The first novels by the professional writers must have been issued in small editions, since many of them have all but disappeared. But Mrs. Dorsey and Mrs. Sadlier were soon very popular, at least in the Catholic community, with the result that many of their novels were reissued in later reprint series.

Cannon (1800–1860) was born in New York, the son of a first-generation Irishman in America. He earned his living as a clerk but devoted all the time he could save to writing.³⁰ He belonged to a small circle of Catholic intellectuals in New York which included Dr. Pise and John Gilmary Shea, the distinguished historian of the Catholic Church in America. For a time Cannon was advisor to Edward Dunigan and for this house he compiled school readers and *The Practical Spelling Book* (1852).³¹ He published volumes of verse in 1831, 1835, 1841, and 1843. One play, *The Oath of Office*, laid in Ireland at the close of the fifteenth century, was produced at the Bowery Theater in March 1850. Though Cannon wrote other plays, which he collected in volumes published in 1851 and 1857, this was apparently the only one to be produced. He turned to novel writing in 1842, with *Harry Layden* (New York, John A. Boyle).

³⁰ The sketch of Cannon in the *DAB* is superficial and inaccurate. Of his six novels, three are listed correctly (the title of one of these is misspelled), one is called a drama, one is guessed at, and one is not mentioned.

³¹ Thomas F. Meehan, 'Catholic Literary New York, 1800–1840,' *The Catholic Historical Review*, IV (Jan. 1919), 413.

Cannon was so determined to write sentimental romances which would sell widely that the Catholic teaching he dutifully introduces is often mechanically forced into the story. His plots are hopelessly complicated. The reader needs to keep a record of disappearances and reappearances if he tries to find his way to the end. The standard items of the sentimental romance are present in abundance: the abandoned orphan, the rediscovered father, the lost fortune (usually recovered), the mysterious stranger (usually benevolent), the love-child, false arrest, bigamy, forced marriage (when the victim is under the influence), stolen jewels, assorted fevers (most of them fatal), harrowing deaths by the dozen. Infant mortality is high.

Harry Layden: A Tale of New York might well have the subtitle "The Ups and Downs and Ups Again of an Orphan." Harry's mother has died and his father is lost somewhere in the South. (Eventually he just comes back.) Little Harry suffers the usual woes of a Catholic orphan when he is for a time in the care of the (Protestant) Overseers of the Poor and later when he works for a brutal factory owner. But Harry prospers, for reasons not specified. He eventually comes into two fortunes and plans nobly to relinquish a third. The one standard trial Harry does not have to undergo is loss of faith. He is a cradle Catholic and never wavers. The Catholic interest is introduced into the subplot which has to do with Agneta de Ruyter and her Catholic husband Hugh Redmond because of whom her aristocratic father disinherits her. We see a long way ahead that the Redmonds' daughter (her parents die in poverty) will be Harry's bride and two fortunes (one recovered) will be united in the marriage.

Cannon seems to be feeling his way in *Harry Layden*, asking himself how much Catholic teaching he can afford to introduce and still appeal to Protestant as well as Catholic readers. He says as much in his preface. He wrote the novel, he tells us, in no controversial spirit, but 'for the purpose of saying

something in favour of that portion of the Christian family which every dabbler in literature feels himself at liberty to abuse.'

In his second novel, *Mora Carmody; or Woman's Influence* (New York, Edward Dunigan, 1844), Cannon made a much bolder defense of his faith. The narrator (only at the end do we learn that his name is Marbury) seeks relief from city life in a New England village. He persuades the Carmodys (father, small son Hugh, and daughter Mora) to take him as a boarder. He soon discovers that there is some mystery about the family and their standing in the village. The trouble is that they are Catholics.

Cannon has got his characters into the position so useful to Catholic novelists: a Catholic daughter of the house and a susceptible young Protestant under the same roof. Mora and narrator argue doctrine at length. Narrator brings forward the usual doubts and perplexities: the worship of images, purgatory, Popery, heresy, prayers to the Virgin and the saints, relics, the two Bibles. Narrator is smitten and proposes, but Mora will not have him unless he turns Catholic. He is not ready for conversion.

Narrator returns to the city and gives himself a stiff course in apologetics by reading Milner, Bossuet, and Moehler.³² Now a convert, he goes to offer himself again to Mora. The Carmodys have vanished! Five years later narrator is in the South. Stricken with yellow fever, he is attended by Sisters of Charity. From them he learns about Mora's saintly death in an earlier epidemic. 'And the name she took was—
SISTER ATHANASIA.'³³

³² Doubtless *The End of Religious Controversy*, by the Rt. Rev. Dr. Milner; *The History of the Variations of Protestant Churches*, by the Rt. Rev. James Benign Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux; and *Symbolism; or, Exposition of the Doctrinal Differences between Catholics and Protestants*, by Johann Adam Möhler. These works were widely advertised by Catholic publishers. The Catholic novelists frequently resorted to them for arguments in support of Church doctrine.

³³ Cannon dedicated *Mora Carmody* to the Very Rev. John Power, D.D., 'The Scholar, the Gentleman / and / The Christian.' Father Power (1792-1849) was the much loved pastor of St. Peter's at the corner of Barclay and Church streets in New York. (St. Peter's is the oldest Catholic church in the city. The present building, an impres-

Father Felix: A Tale (New York, Edward Dunigan, 1845) is another conversion novel, though the moment when Adrian, the hero, turns Catholic is lost in the convolutions of the plot. Scion of an aristocratic Dutch family and, of course, an orphan, Adrian is preparing for the Protestant ministry when we first meet him. On a visit to New York he makes the acquaintance of the Catholic Fenwicks, brother and sister, and comes to know through them Father Felix. Adrian learns from him that the Church does not prohibit consultation of the Scriptures but does exercise power in interpreting them. Thus the first barrier to conversion goes down. Another falls when Father Felix asserts that good works are necessary for salvation but are not sufficient without Grace. He also explains ingeniously and satisfactorily the doctrine of the Real Presence.³⁴ The novel ends melodramatically, with a false charge of murder against Adrian, soon cleared away so that he can be happily married to Sarah Fenwick.

Cannon endeavored to portray Father Felix as the kind of priest Protestants might admire. Brought up in a Puritanical family, he had been disinherited when he turned Catholic. Gentle and undogmatic, he understands troubled Protestants and leads them to the Church by love.³⁵

Cannon's specific purpose, as a propagandist, in writing *Scenes and Characters from the Comedy of Life* (New York, Edward Dunigan, 1847) is impenetrable. We follow the fortunes of Catholic Jack Toland, a rising young journalist in

sive Greek revival structure, was erected in 1838.) Barclay Street was then—and still is—the Catholic publishing and bookselling center in New York. Father Power had been a seminary professor in Ireland and was a scholar of some note. Meehan says of him ('Catholic Literary New York,' p. 409) that he 'might be canonized as the Patron of Barclay Street.' The Catholic novelists admired Father Power and frequently introduced him into their stories. Cannon's dedication suggests that Power had given him encouragement in his venture into fiction writing.

³⁴ Cannon acknowledges in a footnote his use of *The Faith of Catholics*, 'a book to which the author has been indebted for most of the explanations put into the mouth of Father Felix.'

³⁵ *Father Felix* was dedicated to William Quarter, who became the first Bishop of Chicago in 1844. His first assignment was to St. Peter's, 1829–1833. Meehan says (p. 413) that *Father Felix* was translated into French and German.

New York. Much of the novel (it is, rather, a series of loosely-connected scenes) is taken up with satire of Protestant clerical types: Brother Dawdling, a priest-hater; Mr. Trim, a low-church Episcopalian who is a fanatical anti-Papist; and Brother Hoover, who in the end becomes a Mormon and a warm advocate of the system of 'spiritual wives.'

In *Bickerton; or, The Immigrant's Daughter* (New York, P. O'Shea, 1855) Cannon for once tells a straightforward story, although it takes him some time to cover the woes of the immigrant O'Hanlon family and get his readers to Bickerton, a city with 'broad avenues and palatial residences' not far from the 'mean and filthy lanes' of Little Dublin. Bickerton is dominated by two men. Self-made Pelatiah Hubbard had been brought up to dread popery, but no foreigner, not even an Irish Catholic, ever asks aid of him in vain. His son Fred is of the same stripe. The other power in Bickerton is 'Fire-and-Brimstone' Scroggs, paster of Rock Church in Plymouth Place, 'a gray granite structure of the New-England-Barn order, upon whose cruet-shaped turret was perched a glittering Shanghai, that was forever turning its tail to the wind—to show the controlling influence of the popular breath even in religion.'

Scroggs is a proponent of the new political party, the Order of United Americans (read Order of the Star-Spangled Banner or Know Nothing Party). They are responsible for many outrages in the city, the first of which is the tarring and feathering of Father Eldridge, the fighting pastor of St. Mary's.³⁶ When they organize a monster parade to frighten 'popish-foreignism' out of the land, their 'demonstration' ends in a murderous assault on Little Dublin and the burning of St. Mary's. Meanwhile Fred Hubbard who had been drawn to the Thugs, as his father calls the Order of United Ameri-

³⁶ Cannon obligingly tells us in a footnote that he based this episode on the tarring of Father Bapst, S.J., by the people of Ellsworth, Maine (on October 14, 1854). In 1860 Bapst became the first rector of Boston College.

cans, comes to his senses and tells them off in a letter refusing to be their candidate for the Senate.

Cannon cannot resist a final romantic turn to his story. Fred marries the Scroggs's daughter, who, we soon learn, is not their daughter but an orphaned O'Hanlon who escapes them and rediscovers her Catholicism. The novel's last paragraph is an item from the Bickerton *Meteor*.

'Hubbard, the young American *millionaire*, whose beautiful wife has created such a sensation this winter in the best circles of Roman society, was received into the Church on Holy Saturday by Cardinal Antonelli, greatly to the delight of his zealous lady who, it is said, had prayers put up for his conversion in every church in the city. Let young men take heed how they marry lovely Catholic wives, and come to spend their honeymoon in Rome. There is more danger to their protestantism in the experiment than they are aware of.'

After making this one attempt, in *Bickerton*, to deal realistically with the persecution of Catholics in the 1850s, Cannon reverts to the sentimental mode in his next novel, *Tighe Lyfford* (New York, James Miller, 1859).³⁷ Tighe is in love with Lizzie Condon whose family lives in genteel poverty. Influenced by his wealthy mother, a widow, he turns away from Lizzie. He attends parties where rich Protestants and agnostics gather. 'He had renounced—virtually if not formally—the faith of his plebian and uneducated father, and adopted in its stead the fashionable indifferentism of the day.' Cannon uses (again) the device of a false murder charge to bring his hero back to Lizzie and his father's faith.

Tighe Lyfford has little Catholic content, though the moral is plain enough: Catholics who consort with high-life Protestants are certain to be perverted. At one point Cannon puts a Catholic message in the mouth of Maurice de St. Remy, a handsome young Catholic intellectual who delivers an address on Public Opinion at the fashionable Stuyvesant Insti-

³⁷ The prefatory note to *Tighe Lyfford* says that it 'was written years ago for the employment of an idle hour.'

tute ('the place, you know, where Fanny Kemble gave her first readings'). The essence of his argument is the failure of Protestants to concede that Catholics have made great contributions to western civilization, whose growth and prosperity Public Opinion attributes to 'Anglo-Saxon energy, diffused among us through Puritan blood.'

I have spent this amount of space on Cannon because he was the first of the laymen to write a series of Catholic novels. The problems he faced in making his fiction both readable and Catholic (he was aware of them) are of special interest. The priest-novelists were seldom troubled by any such difficulties. They often introduced doctrine heavy-handedly and even preached directly with little concern for readability. Ambitious of popular success, Cannon tried all the forms—poetry, drama, sketches, short stories, and novels. Some of his characters discuss the problems of the artist as writer. Cannon speaks of his novels in several places, always in a humble and deprecatory tone. In these asides he plays down the doctrinal content of his fiction. The brief preface to *Tighe Lyfford* assures the reader that it is a novel 'and it is nothing more.' 'The author has no spleen to gratify, no enemies he would openly confront.' In the preface to *Bickerton* Cannon apologizes for introducing into a work of light literature matters so grave as the extracts from the Pastoral Letter of the First Provincial Council in Cincinnati. The reader has his full permission to 'pass them by unread.' Cannon reveals his ambitions as a novelist most explicitly in the 'Advertisement' (preface) to *Scenes and Characters*. If this work succeeds, the author intends to 'follow it up with another and another which though they may not be worthy of a place in the "Cabinet" of one curious in the rare things that come from abroad,' will be considered 'Choice Reading at the Fireside of every "Home" and "Family" in the country.'

Orestes Brownson's adverse judgment of Cannon's efforts is not surprising. This kind of fiction was not the kind of

Catholic literature Brownson repeatedly called for. In reviewing Cannon's second novel, *Mora Carmody* (*B.Q.R.*, Jan. 1845), Brownson warned that Catholic fiction must set forth 'the faith with a fulness and degree of evidence which must command intellectual assent on the part of the Protestant reader.' Do not try to win Protestants by pointing out Catholicism's 'internal beauty and glory.' The only door to the Catholic faith is through the infallibility of the Church. Conversions without assent to this doctrine (even in fiction) 'are no real conversions at all.' In another review, based largely on the *Dramas* (October 1857), Brownson admits that Cannon deserves credit for having labored long and industriously 'to promote in our Catholic population a taste for polite literature, and to contribute what he could to create for us such a literature.' Despite his deep religious sensibility, Cannon is often wrong in his attempted moral lessons. Catholicism is combined with 'the moral notions of philanthropists, sentimentalists, and Transcendentalists. His tone is too Catholic for non-Catholics, and not Catholic enough for Catholics, and in this fact, we suspect, lies the secret of his not having met with that brilliant success to which he aspires.'

Like Cannon, George Henry Miles (1824-1871) was ambitious to succeed as a writer, and not just as a writer for an audience of Catholics. Before he settled into a pleasant life as professor of English at his old college, Mount Saint Mary's at Emmitsburg, Maryland, in 1859, he had received some recognition as a poet, novelist, and dramatist whose plays had been produced. He was a much better writer than Cannon, partly because of his family background and a solid classical education.³⁸

Several of Miles's ancestors on both sides of the family made their mark in America. His great-grandfather was a

³⁸ The *DAB* article is by John C. French. See also 'Sketch of the Life of George H. Miles, Late Professor of English Literature at Mount Saint Mary's College, Emmitsburg, Maryland. Condensed from the MS. of Thomas W. Kenny, M.D.,' *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*, X (1899), 423-447. Apparently French did not consult this informative though, in some places, inaccurate article.

colonel in the British army. His grandfather, George Henry Miles, for whom the writer was named, was a sea-captain and ship-owner in Boston. William, the writer's father, was born in New York but moved to Baltimore where he succeeded as a merchant. For a time he was a commercial agent of the United States in Haiti. William Miles married Sarah Mickle in 1823. Her father was a Scot; her mother a Miss Etting of Philadelphia. The Ettings, who were German Jews, had migrated to Pennsylvania from Frankfurt am Main. At the time William Miles and Sarah Mickle were married they were Unitarians. The wedding ceremony was performed by the Rev. Jared Sparks who had been installed in his Baltimore church in 1819 by William Ellery Channing, known as 'the Unitarian Pope.'

George Henry, the first child of William and Sarah, was the first member of the family to become a Catholic. At the age of nine he was sent to Mount Saint Mary's College while his parents were in Haiti. George was attracted to Catholicism by his teachers, particularly the Reverend John McCaffrey, successively professor, rector, and governor of the College. When the boy was twelve he asked his parents' permission to be received. Seven members of his family would follow him into the Church, including his parents and his Jewish grandmother who was converted when she was in her eighties. No wonder Miles's novels abound in conversions.

George Henry was graduated *summa cum laude* from Mount Saint Mary's in 1843. He then studied law in Baltimore and practiced for a time. But the urge to write was irresistible and in the '40s and '50s he was busy in his new profession. In 1849 Edwin Forrest, the leading American actor, offered a prize of \$1,000 for the best original tragedy. Eighty plays were submitted. The prize went to Miles for his *Mohammed, the Arabian Prophet*. Forrest did not produce the play, but it was performed in New York at the Lyceum Theater in October 1851. (It had been published by Phillips, Sampson &

Company of Boston in 1850.) Miles wrote *Hernando de Soto* for James E. Murdoch who produced it at Philadelphia's Chestnut Street Theater in April 1852. *Señor Valiente*, a comedy written at the request of John T. Ford, owner of Ford's Theater in Baltimore, received productions in Baltimore (1859) and New York (1861). Miles's greatest success in the theater was a happy accident. In February 1861 he prepared a 'second act of national tableau' entitled 'Uncle Sam's Magic Lantern' to be inserted into *The Seven Sisters*. Miles's patriotic interlude, introducing such characters as Uncle Sam, Disunion, Diogenes, South Carolina, and Liberty, helped *The Seven Sisters*, which otherwise had nothing to do with the national crisis, to a run of 177 nights.³⁹

Miles wrote three novels in the late 1840s. The circumstances of their first publication in serial form, though still obscure, suggest that he was not confident of their quality.⁴⁰ At least he made no such effort to bring them before the public as he did with his plays. All three were printed in a Catholic magazine: *The Truce of God, A Tale of the Eleventh Century* in the *United States Catholic Magazine* of Baltimore (1847); *Loretto; or, The Choice* in the *Catholic Mirror* (1850); and *The Governess* in the *Catholic Mirror* in 1851. (The *United States Catholic Magazine* changed its title to the *Catho-*

³⁹ A. H. Quinn, *A History of the American Drama from the Civil War to the Present Day* (New York, 1927), I, p. 5.

⁴⁰ Kenny reports (p. 432) a conversation with Miles in which he talked about the influences on his novels. 'He also told me, when I expressed my delight with Canon Von Schmid's tales and "The Student of Blenheim Forest," "The Oriental Pearl," and other Catholic stories which I had read in Philadelphia at an early age—that he had rejoiced in them too, and that "Loretto" and the "Governess" owed a great deal to them and also to the fervent sermons of Dr. McCaffrey and the legends with which he used to illustrate his Catechism lectures.'

Orestes Brownson greatly admired Canon Schmid's fiction. In a note about Duni-gan's Popular Library (*B.Q.R.*, July 1848) he says: 'The series will commence with the charming Tales of Canon Schmid. As a writer for the young the venerable canon is without an equal, or even a rival, all over Europe.' Mrs. Anna Hanson (McKenney) Dorsey, whose fiction will be discussed later on, serialized the two novels mentioned in the *United States Catholic Magazine: The Student of Blenheim Forest* in 1845 and *The Oriental Pearl* in 1848. Evidently Miles read Mrs. Dorsey's novels only shortly before he tried his hand at fiction.

lic Mirror in 1849.) All three novels were published anonymously.

Apparently Miles's first novel, *The Truce of God*, was not published in book form until 1871 when it was issued by J. Murphy & Co. of Baltimore and the Catholic Publication Society of New York. In his dedication of the novel to Judge T. Parkin Scott (dated Baltimore, March 17, 1871) Miles makes a statement that would seem to settle the question of the date of publication. 'More than twenty years ago I wrote this story at your suggestion. It is now republished as specially applicable to the times we live in.'

Loretto; or, The Choice was issued by Hedian & O'Brien of Baltimore in 1851. The title-page offers this fact: 'First stereotype edition—revised and enlarged by the Author.' Miles's name is on the title-page. But there is evidence that there was an earlier printing—in 1850. A laudatory notice of the novel in *B.Q.R.* (July 1850) lists the novel as published 'Baltimore: Hedian. 1850 pp. 274.' The reviewer, undoubtedly Brownson himself since the favorable assessment of the novel accords with Brownson's theories of what Catholic fiction should be, did not know the name of the author. This suggests, of course, that Miles's name was not on the title-page of the 1850 edition. Further, the statement that the 1851 edition was 'revised and enlarged by the Author' explains the words in the review about the length of the novel—274 pages. The 1851 edition, 'enlarged,' runs to 324 pages.

The facts about the book publication of *The Governess; or, the Effects of Good Example* are clear. It was issued by Hedian & O'Brien in 1851, with a dedication to O. A. Brownson, L.L.D. We may guess that these two Catholic intellectuals had been brought together by the 1850 publication of *Loretto* which elicited from Brownson the assertion that the anonymous author must be 'a man of real genius, a layman, and a man who is or has been in some sense a man of the world,—a poet, and a musician; but also a well-instructed

Catholic.' Brownson was even right in his guess that the author 'is still young.'

The Governess did not disappear into the limbo of the many Catholic novels that were issued once and then forgotten. In 1883 the Boston firm of Thomas B. Noonan & Co. published a second edition. Miles's *The Truce of God* also received further circulation than that given it by the Murphy edition of 1871. Kenny (p. 433) says that it reached 'a sixth and eighth edition.' (In the nineteenth century 'edition' often means what we now call a reprinting.) I have seen an edition issued by Joseph F. Wagner of New York, as No. 5 in 'My Bookcase Series. A Library of Standard Books for Catholics.'

The reason why Miles resurrected and published *The Truce of God* in book form twenty years after it was serialized is found in a statement in the 1871 preface. The period of the novel, the rule of Pope Gregory VII (Hildebrand) is, he says, of the highest interest "inasmuch as it is the great prototype of the persecution which now assails His Holiness, Pius the Ninth." Pio Nono's political maneuvers had indeed brought him in 1871 to the lowest point in his long years in office. In 1870 he refused Victor Emmanuel's request to occupy Rome when the French garrison withdrew. The plebiscite went overwhelmingly against the Pope and Rome became an Italian instead of a Papal city. Pius rejected the 'law of guarantees' in May 1871, shut himself in the Apostolic Palace, and became 'the prisoner of the Vatican.'⁴¹ The resemblance between the two strong, not to say stubborn and autocratic pontiffs would not have been apparent in 1847, when *The Truce of God* was serialized. Pius IX had been Pope only one year. During his first two years in office he won world-wide acclaim as a progressive.

Essentially *The Truce of God* is an account of Hildebrand's efforts to bend Henry IV of Austria to his will, abolish investitures, and enforce the celibacy of the clergy. Miles fills

⁴¹ John P. McNight, *The Papacy, A New Appraisal* (New York, 1952), p. 205.

this historical frame with a romantic story about a family feud which is ended by Gilbert de Hers's love for the saintly Margaret de Stramen.

Though the setting of *The Truce of God* is Europe in the eleventh century, the theme is one on which the American Catholic novelists composed many variations: the civilizing influence of the Church exercised through the power of the Pontiff. Just as Father Omehr is trying to put an end to the barbarous local fighting between the two families, so Hildebrand is seeking to establish order in the two larger societies, the Empire and the Church.

Miles twice discusses his purposes in writing *Loretto*; or, *The Choice*. In the 'Prefatory Letter' to the Rev. John McCaffrey, D.D., his teacher at Mount Saint Mary's, which Miles wrote for the 1851 edition, he takes note of the fact that he has heard 'all sorts of hard things' about the novel in its earlier version. Some readers found the characters intolerable or incomprehensible. He has also heard it said that 'it was full of sneaking little allusions, which only appeared on a second reading—that it was rather a treatise on music, than a transcript of Catholic life—that there were no good solid arguments in it, extracted from standard theological works, and adroitly diluted with courtesy and sweetened with sentiment, to suit the fastidious public.'

Miles had no intention of giving in to these objections, as he tells us directly on pages 130-131. There may be those who will reproach him because he has 'not thought proper to insert here and there a chapter of pointed theological discussion to balance the ingredients of love and folly which must necessarily appear in a faithful reflection of every day life.' He hopes, however, that there is something 'beneath the glittering surface of *Loretto* which even the good and wise need not despise.' There are books of controversy capable of carrying conviction to every man's door. 'Our catechism is within reach of the poorest.' Go to these and to the churches.

'Go listen there, ye who seek instruction, ye orphans who pine for a mother! Waste not a moment over these pages in the hope of a sentimental conversion!' Let his readers not mistake his purpose. He wishes only 'to caution the young, aye, and the old, against the siren songs' of the world. Nothing is so little valued by society as the pleasures of religion, whilst nothing is less prized by religion than the pleasures of society. These things he would illustrate.

Living on the beautiful estate of Loretto are Colonel Cleverton, his sister (whose husband deserted her years before), and her daughter Agnes, who already has her heart set on the conventual life. The Colonel, a 'decatholicized Catholic' and a man of the world, hopes to prevent her from becoming a nun. To this end he sends her on a visit to her cousin Ellen Alney and her family in 'the city.' Here Agnes comes in contact with wealth and fashion. But she moves among these frivolous people 'as unnoticed and unmolested as if the seal of her vocation, glowing on her forehead, had been universally intelligible.'

From this point Miles moves his story ahead by means of the usual devices of the sentimental Catholic romances which he says he disliked, though there are no interpolated sermons or arguments between characters drawn from the Catholic apologists. Agnes must refuse the love of Melville, Ellen's young man (they are not yet betrothed). Mr. Alney must lose his fortune. Agnes' father (the mysterious 'Wanderer') must return, repentant and asking and receiving forgiveness. In spite of Miles's promise to the reader, there are conversions, wrought by Agnes: first Ellen and her father, then the free-thinker Melville. The Colonel comes close, but needs one more night of contemplation before submitting himself to a priest. Death intervenes.

Since Miles makes use of several devices dear to the writers of sentimental romances, how could Orestes Brownson ad-

mire *Loretto* extravagantly? A paragraph from his short review puts his reasons succinctly.

The story is Catholic in its tone, its morals, and in its tendency, but is not a 'Catholic novel.' It has no theological controversy with heretics, does not attempt to teach theology, but aims to guard youth against immorality, and to incite both old and young, without set exhortations, to the practice of their religious duties. It is a good specimen of the class of works we have repeatedly called for, and we have presented it as a birthday present to our only daughter.

Although *The Governess* is dedicated to Orestes Brownson, Miles largely ignores in it the prescriptions and caveats for fiction writers which Brownson repeatedly set forth. The novel is sentimental and full of preaching and Catholic apologetics. Possibly the preaching was acceptable to Brownson because it is done incidentally by Mary, governess in the Fairface family, as part of her duty.

Mr. Fairface, strangely moody and withdrawn, we presently learn, had once been affianced to Mary's mother, but did not keep his promise to turn Catholic and so could not marry her. (He has fought hard against 'opium, alcohol, insanity, suicide.' Protestantism has also helped to bring him nearly to ruin.) The influence of Mary begins to work in the Fairface household, first with little Jessie who is neglected by her parents. Mary has been told that she must never attempt to subvert her charges, but Jessie absorbs Catholicism through her love for Mary. At the end of the novel conversions take place in rapid succession. Since Jessie has secretly become Catholic, the family permits a confessor to be present when she is dying of croup (remaining remarkably articulate the while.) Charles, the oldest son, recently returned from his travels, is next. His father disowns him. Then follows Julia, once betrothed to Charles. Then Mrs. Fairface. When Mr. Fairface learns that she has just returned from her first communion, he too is ready. 'It is my turn now,' he whispered,

bending his head. 'May God accept my contrition and pardon my delay.' For good measure Miles adds Dr. Wright, Julia's pastor. He is the sixth.

After Miles returned to Mount Saint Mary's to teach English literature, he wrote several plays adapted from novels. They had little success on the stage.⁴² In 1866 he published his collected poems—*Christine: a Troubadour's Song and Other Poems*. The last poem in the volume, 'Alladin's Palace,' inveighs against the follies of the age, finally coming to the behavior of American Catholics, whom he does not spare. They 'serenely chaunt the rights of laymen/While pastors starve and Bishops drudge like draymen.' They look down on European Catholics, 'but Yankee Papists are immaculate.' While abhorring the sinful writings of Europeans, they never read anything but the most insipid stuff. Miles then turns on the writers of Catholic novels who supply this 'stuff.'

*We shrink from Sue and Sand, our only care is
To sigh with Kempis, or to sift with Suarez;
With fiction false to faith we never grovel,
Our lightest reading, the religious novel;
We count our soul-refreshing tales by scores,
Where heroes sin not—save in being bores;
Where heroines sing like controversial linnets,
Converting heretics in twenty minutes,—
Here Agnes answers to the Convent Bell—
There jilted William meditates a cell.*

Did Miles include his own Catholic novels in this indictment? We infer that he did not, since five years later, the year of his death, he permitted the republication of his *The Truce of God*.

Jedidiah Vincent Huntington (1815–1862) stands out among the Catholic novelists for several reasons. Before he

⁴² In a short article about Miles in *Biographical Sketches of Distinguished Marylanders* (Baltimore, 1877) Esmeralda Boyle says (p. 306): 'At the time of his death he was engaged in the writing of a novel which would doubtless have gained for him a high place amongst the authors of his native country.'

was converted in 1849 he had tried three professions, medicine, teaching, and the ministry, as a priest in the Episcopal Church. He had lived and traveled abroad. After his return to America, following his conversion, he did not confine himself to Catholic society but mixed in wider intellectual and artistic circles. His five novels must have been popular with non-Catholic as well as Catholic readers. This we surmise from the number of reprintings and the many favorable reviews he received in both America and England. He held strong opinions about many subjects, such as the copyright question, the abolition of slavery, and 'Catholic' literature, and spoke out vigorously in defense of his views. His novels were considered 'controversial,' chiefly because many readers thought them 'indelicate.' Huntington was certainly the most worldly of the Catholic novelists. He was also the most talented.⁴³

Huntington's father was a New York stockbroker who provided his son with a patrimony that made him financially independent. His paternal grandfather, Judge Benjamin Huntington, served as a member of the Continental Congress and as a Federalist member in the Congress of the new nation. His maternal grandfather was General Jedidiah Huntington, a Revolutionary War hero who later became mayor of Norwich, Connecticut, and, by President Washington's appointment, collector of customs at the port of New London. Jedidiah's brother Daniel (1816-1906), a distinguished portrait and landscape painter, was for twenty-one years President of the National Academy of Design.

Young Jedidiah was prepared for Yale by private tutors. He left before taking a degree and continued his education at the University of the City of New York (now New York University) from which he was graduated in 1835. Three years

⁴³Huntington deserves a biography. The best accounts are the *DAB* article by Richard J. Purcell and J. J. Walsh's 'Doctor J. V. Huntington and the Oxford Movement in America,' *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, XVI (1905), 241-267 and 416-442. There is a brief sketch in E. B. Huntington, *A Genealogical Memoir of the Huntington Family in this Country* (Stamford, Conn., 1863), pp. 196-197.

later he received his M.D. from the University of Pennsylvania. He did not practice medicine, but took a position as a teacher of philosophy in St. Paul's College at College Point, on Long Island.⁴⁴ Having studied theology while in this post, he was ordained in 1841 an Episcopal priest and became rector of the church in Middlebury, Vermont. He married his first cousin, Mary Huntington, in April 1842. By this time there were signs that he might eventually settle down to a career in letters. His sonnet sequence, 'Coronation Sonnets,' published in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (September 1838), had been favorably noticed in England. In 1843 Wiley and Putnam of New York issued his *Poems* (a volume of 231 pages). The reviewer for the august London *Athenaeum* (Jan. 6, 1844) judged the poems 'classical and Wordsworthian.'

Meanwhile Dr. Huntington was becoming increasingly doubtful of his theological position, though he had been attracted to the beliefs of the English Puseyites. In 1846 he resigned his rectorship and went to England. The Oxford movement was at its height, and defections to Rome were the sensation of the day. Father Newman had been received in 1845 and in 1846 he was ordained priest. In 1847 he returned to England to establish the Birmingham Oratory.

When Huntington presently left London to live with his painter brother in Rome, he had gone as far theologically as the most extreme Puseyites but he was not yet a convert to Rome. His conversion, and that of his wife, took place in 1849, soon after the publication of his first novel, *Lady Alice; or, The New Una*. The characters Huntington approves of in *Lady Alice* take the Puseyite position as regards the sover-

⁴⁴ This remarkable church school (it was a college in name only) was founded in 1838 by the Rev. William Augustus Muhlenberg, an Episcopal clergyman. A brief account of the College is given in Anne Ayres, *The Life and Work of William Augustus Muhlenberg* (1880), pp. 125 and 140-141. On the faculty in the 1840-1841 session were nine professors and five instructors. Huntington is listed as Assistant Professor of Rhetoric and Intellectual Philosophy. All of these professors subsequently became Episcopal clergymen. A certain amount of ritualism—not Romish—was practiced in the College chapel.

eighty of Rome, and we suppose it was, at the moment, Dr. Huntington's own. When they are living on the Continent, however, they consider themselves under the authority of the Pontiff and insist that they have the right to receive the sacraments from Catholic priests.⁴⁵

During the remaining thirteen years of his life Huntington was mainly occupied in writing his four Catholic novels. He engaged in other literary ventures, most of which furthered the Catholic cause. His *St. Vincent de Paul and the Fruits of His Life* (1852), a short work developed from a lecture, was widely circulated. In 1855 he translated Segur's *Short and Familiar Answers to Objections against Religion*. He also translated Gabriel Franchère's *Narrative of a Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America in the Years 1811, 12, 13, 14* (1852).

Huntington's two attempts to conduct a Catholic magazine of high quality had a limited success. He edited for one year (1853-1854) the *Metropolitan Magazine*, issued by Murphy of Baltimore. Walsh says of this venture (p. 417): "The Catholics of this country, however, were not ready as yet, indeed were not, generally speaking, sufficiently educated to appreciate the type of literary magazine along Catholic lines which Huntington attempted to create."

Huntington tried a second time with *The Leader*, a Catholic weekly published in St. Louis. Though for a while it was issued as a daily paper, the life of the *Leader* was only one year, 1855-1856. Huntington's tactlessness was in large part responsible for its demise. He found western taste and manners abominable and said so. Writing about a tour he had made through Missouri, he commented on the dirty necks

⁴⁵ Walsh (pp. 245-246) makes an interesting observation that clarifies several episodes in the novel which have a 'Romish' look. According to Walsh, Father Newman had advanced the extreme *via media* doctrine that when in England a High Churchman was an Anglican; on the Continent, his church was the Roman Catholic Church. Walsh adds this pertinent fact: "Indeed, it is said that some of the *via medianists* went so far as to make a regular quarterly trip over to Belgium in order to go to confession, whenever they happened to live in Anglican parishes where the rector considered it an effete Roman superstition to provide opportunity for auricular confession."

of the women who came out to political rallies. This was too much even for loyal Catholics. Another editor in the city, opposed to Huntington politically, remarked that his initials—J. V.—stood for Judaeus Vagrans, an allusion to Huntington's migration from New York to Baltimore to St. Louis. The joke caught on, and Huntington's brief venture in the West came to an end.⁴⁶

Although *Lady Alice* was written while Huntington was still a Puseyite, it has some relevance in a study of the tradition of American Catholic fiction. It was widely read and reviewed and thus established the author's reputation as a novelist.⁴⁷ Readers wanted more from him and were willing to accept, or at least endure, the Catholic intention of his subsequent novels.

Huntington wrote in 1851 that in despair of getting 'anything like a fair copyright for an *American* book' in this country (i.e., the United States), he had laid aside one he had planned and tried his hand 'at what I meant to be an English novel in imitation of Bulwer and Disraeli. With a half-sarcastic aim at first, I exaggerated their peculiarities, until I became interested in my own characters, a serious purpose developed itself, and so on; and thus I produced . . . an intensely American picture of English life, such as no Englishman could have written.'⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Walsh, pp. 418-419.

⁴⁷ D. Appleton of New York issued *Lady Alice* in a handsome two-volume edition in 1849. The author's name was not on the title-page. Earlier in the same year Henry Colburn brought out the English edition in three volumes (the usual lending-library format). Later in 1849 Appleton issued a cheaper one-volume edition printed in double columns. This edition was reprinted in 1850. Huntington complained about the cheap reprint, though he had consented to its appearance. The 'Publishers' Notice' explains why they were compelled to issue it. 'Lady Alice was highly reviewed, as an English work, on its publication in England; and on reaching this country, another Publishing House reprinted a large edition before they were advised that the work was written by an American. Considering the work was already printed, the Author gives his consent to the issue of an edition in the present form.' I have not seen the pirated edition. Appleton reissued *Lady Alice* as late as 1868.

⁴⁸ This statement appears in a letter on the copyright question sent to the *London Times*. The letter (dated July 22, 1851) is printed by Walsh, pp. 259-266.

Huntington did indeed out-Bulwer Bulwer. In *Lady Alice* we move in the highest society in England and on the Continent, attend balls and soirées in the most magnificent town and country houses, worship in awe-inspiring chapels and cathedrals of both faiths. Extravagances of other kinds abound. To give one example: the heroine is abducted by the wicked Matson and made to live disguised as a man (and an artist). He will release her only if she turns Catholic, and this she refuses to do.

The core of Huntington's argument, well concealed beneath the luxurious trappings of the novel, is the rightness of the High Anglican position. By chance, the hero, Frederick Clifford, a high-born English Catholic, rescues from drowning Lady Alice, youngest daughter of the Duke of Lennox, whose family has become Anglo-Catholic in the present generation. The purpose of the novel is to convert Frederick. He cannot have Lady Alice otherwise. His conversion from Rome to Canterbury is effected by the Rev. Mr. Courtenay, Alice's uncle. In Chapter VIII he and Frederick debate the claims to authority of the two churches. Ten (double-column) pages later Frederick capitulates. He has been won over by the argument that Rome is the real schismatic.

Many of the reviewers admitted that the author (some already knew it was Huntington) had succeeded in writing an exciting 'silver-fork' novel. Several of the American reviews ridiculed its 'high seasoning.' The *Literary World* noted that the author is 'determined to have everything of the best . . . The two volumes are a sort of drag-net of the British peerage.' The sober-sided *North American Review*, which seldom noticed novels, let its sense of outrage run through five pages which dwell at length on the 'licentious' character of the novel. The author groups round the waltz 'every association of sensuality that can appertain to it. Promiscuous public bathing of both sexes is represented as offensive only to a

taste not sufficiently catholic. . . . The use of the "nude" model by artists is a favorite topic.⁴⁹

Huntington's *Alban. A Tale of the New World* was issued by G. P. Putnam in 1851. Colburn brought out the English edition in three volumes the same year. In 1853 Redfield published a 'new and revised edition' in two volumes, with an altered title—*Alban or the History of a Young Puritan*. This edition was used for the German translation of 1854: *Alban, Geschichte eines jungen Puritaners* (Leipzig, C. E. Kollmann.) *Alban* is Huntington's best novel. It can be read with pleasure today, and deserves to be reprinted.

Most of the action takes place while Alban Atherton is a student at Yale College, though many of the scenes are laid in New York when he is on vacation there. *Alban* is an early American *Bildungsroman*, having to do with the growing into maturity of an ardent, thoughtful young man who is trying to sort out his ideas and come to a conclusion about the kind of life he intends to lead. The religious theme—Alban's quest for the true faith—accords naturally with the *Bildungsroman* form. Huntington's strategy is to expose Alban to a variety of religious positions and let him work his way, by reason and emotional response, to Catholicism. This device had been employed by other Catholic novelists, as we have seen, but Huntington's use of it is particularly successful. The faiths Alban encounters are associated with people whom he admires or loves or has compassion for or even dislikes. He responds to them in no stereotyped way. By turns he is doubting, mystified, awed, convinced, then unconvinced, until he makes his right and final choice. Huntington persuades us that Alban's perplexities and vacillations are genuine. In a dinner party conversation in New Haven, early in the novel,

⁴⁹ Characteristically, Huntington struck back at the critics of *Lady Alice*. Readers of his second novel, *Alban*, were given a four-page rebuttal in a prefatory note—"A Word about 'Lady Alice.'" Huntington says, in conclusion: "The faults of Lady Alice lie on the surface, like scum on the sea; it is unnecessary that I should confess them to be faults, or excuse them by showing that there is a pure and deep and cleansing wave beneath. Every body, whose good opinion is worth having, sees, or may see, both."

Alban replies humbly to a contemptuous High Anglican clergyman who accuses him of being an infidel: 'No, I am not an infidel, but a Christian sadly perplexed. I do not know how much I ought to believe. I do not know why I ought to believe it.'

One of Huntington's special assets as a novelist was his ability to describe scenes vividly—nature, the bustle of city life, the exteriors and interiors of buildings. He could also write believable dialogue. In *Alban* he was making use of scenes he had known as a young man. (Alban's years as an undergraduate correspond with Huntington's time at Yale.) We believe in Alban's religious doubts in part because he moves in scenes that are authentic. Huntington had written the 'American' novel he felt he could not find a publisher for at the time he turned aside to write *Lady Alice* in imitation of Bulwer-Lytton.

Born in the New England village of Yanmouth (? New London), Alban is nominally a Congregationalist. He has his first religious experience at boarding school. In a season of revivals there he believes he has been converted; but to what he presently discovers he does not know. At Yale he argues religion with his friends in the Brothers of Unity, and in one of their formal debates he finds himself defending the negative of the question, 'whether the increase of the Roman Catholic religion in America threatens the subversion of those hereditary privileges of ours . . . that *ancient* freedom, which is the haughty heir-loom of the great Anglo-Saxon race.'

At college Alban meets a young lady from New York, Mary de Groot, whose mother (now dead) had been a Catholic and whose father is a Unitarian with Transcendentalist leanings. Alban visits the de Groots in New York, where they live in one of the most elegant of the new brownstone mansions up Fifth Avenue from Washington Square. Alban is entranced by the glittering society he enjoys, so much so that he passes out from too much wine and waltzing at Mrs. Clinton's party.

There is trouble in the de Groot household. Mary has turned to Catholicism and wishes to be received. Her father is horrified and forbids her to go to (Old) St. Patrick's, which she has secretly been doing. In the end he relents. Mary is baptized and confirmed. Alban is so moved by the strange beauty of the rite that on coming out into the street he 'had some difficulty in realizing that he was in New York.'

Of course Alban cannot be far behind. When he returns to New Haven, he shocks his friends with his determination to be received. To one of his faculty mentors who tries to dissuade him he replies: "I have found Christ where alone He really is on this earth. I have not as yet found Him, indeed, as I hope to find Him, but I know where to seek Him; and he who knows where to seek has already found." When Alban helps a dying divinity student to die in peace by saying with him 'the Litany of the departing,' the college community is scandalized. The faculty rusticates Alban for three months. He returns for his graduation a Catholic and delivers an oration on 'The Necessity of Patience.' The audience is moved by his impassioned peroration, 'the words of a human being speaking from a deep personal experience and sustained by an invincible faith.'

Huntington loses control of his novel towards the end and does not resolve his plot, possibly because he was already planning further adventures for his hero in a sequel which is announced on the last page of *Alban*. Alban's cousin Jane (an early love) has come back into the novel. Will Alban marry her? Or will his bride be Mary de Groot? Possibly they cannot marry: 'Mary, it was understood, was in a convent, whether as a boarder or a postulant no one exactly knew.' Those who 'may feel curious' to find out what happened to Alban are referred to the sequel 'which will shortly appear.'⁵⁰

⁵⁰ In reviewing the action of *Alban* I have used the first version of 1851. All quotations are from this edition. Huntington explains the kinds of revisions he later made, in the Preface to the third edition, of 1853. He has omitted 'some grave theological matters' and restored 'certain narrative parts, before unwisely omitted.' He also toned

In *The Forest*, published by Redfield in 1852,⁵¹ Huntington transports several of the characters in *Alban* to a tract in the Adirondacks, a region he knew well because his painter brother Daniel had a camp there. Three Yale classmates, George St. Clair, Alban, and his cousin Henry Atherton (newly married), are presently joined by Mary de Groot who has received word that her father is near death in an Indian village beyond Racket Lake. The whole party goes with her to the village, where most of the action of the novel then takes place. The Indians, all good Catholics, have built a beautiful rustic church, described with Huntington's usual fidelity to detail. Who should be on a mission there but Father Smith, who had received Mary into the Church.

Huntington now has several strands to weave together. Mary, we discover, had been a boarder and not a postulant at the Ursuline Convent in Quebec, so the way is open for her to marry Alban. But there are new obstacles. Mr. de Groot, who favors the marriage, must first be restored to health. And he is cured, possibly by a miracle effected by Mary's dangerous pilgrimage to the shrine of an Indian virgin-saint. Something has to be done about Jane's love for Alban. (At one time in the earlier novel three young ladies had their hearts set on him.) With considerable tact, the author brings about Jane's conversion to Catholicism. At the end of the story she has become Sister Mary Catherine.

The Forest was favorably reviewed in America, by Protestant and secular journals as well as Catholic. The reviewer in the London *Athenaeum* had some just things to say about it. He was pleased to note that American literature was developing modes of its own in the writing of Irving, Cooper, Mrs. Stowe, and Hawthorne. Mr. Huntington, 'a writer whom we

down an extraordinary passage, for the time, describing a Lesbian assault made on Mary when she was at boarding school. She talks about the experience with Alban who responds by saying: 'I enter into your feelings perfectly. It is a pitiable tale.'

⁵¹ The Leipzig publisher, C. E. Kollmann, offered a German translation in 1854: *Im Walden, Eine Erzählung von J. V. Huntington*.

do not remember to have met with before,' is of their company. *The Forest* shows that 'he has a faculty and gifts to work with towards a good and profitable end.' The reviewer does not like the 'sectarian ejaculations,' but praises the forest scenes. 'The sports, the adventures, the perils of an Indian hunting-ground are put before the reader's mind with the sharp outlines, the humours, and the breadth of real life.' What the *Athenaeum* reviewer called 'sectarian ejaculations' are the realistic conversations of men and women troubled about religion and the counsels of Father Smith, who is by all odds the most believable priest in the Catholic novels.

Huntington's next novel, *Blonde and Brunette or the Gothamite Arcady*, published by D. Appleton in 1858, does not carry his name on the title-page.⁵² The 'Editor's Preface' pretends that the 'author was a singular character, and there are features in the story which are as singular as he.' These promises of singularity are not fulfilled. The novel is chiefly about an Irish Catholic, Pat Blake, who married the boss's daughter, prospered, and now moves awkwardly in Gothamite society. He has two daughters to marry off. Though Pat is a lapsed Catholic, the girls have been brought up in the Church. The Catholic import of the novel is concerned with mixed marriages, conversions, and the secrets of the confessional. Father Rowman of St. Peter's, a wise young priest, speaks for the church.

The best scenes in the novel are set in the studio of Donald McAboy, a rising young painter who eventually marries Melanie Blake. (Father Rowman permits this mixed marriage to take place.) Huntington introduces three chapters to satirize contemporary American attitudes towards art and artists, particularly the demands made by patrons and the nervousness of ladies who come to pose, though fully clothed and usually chaperoned. It is conceivable that Huntington felt

⁵² There is a mysterious re-issue of the novel by D. W. Evans of New York in 1860, with the title *A Tale of Real Life; or, Blonde and Brunette*.

these sharp chapters might hurt the reputation of his brother Daniel, then on the high-tide of success, if Jedidiah Vincent were known to be the author. The charming pen-portrait of Donald is undoubtedly J. V.'s tribute to his painter brother.

Huntington's last novel, *Rosemary or Life and Death* (New York, D. & J. Sadlier, 1860), was published when he was suffering from tuberculosis which would cause his death two years later.⁵³ There are many morbid passages in it, the first of which is a six-page disquisition on the theme 'Memento, homo, quia pulvis es,' placed as the Introductory Chapter of Book I. There is autobiography in the struggle with consumption of the hero, Rory O'Morra, a promising young sculptor.

The plot of *Rosemary* is extremely complicated and, by intention, mystifying. The reviewer in the *Athenaeum*, after making two errors in attempting to summarize the action, gives up and concludes in some disgust: 'Then, there are clandestine marriages to come to light and disputed points of parentage and legitimacy cleared up; till, what with mysteries, people, and perplexities supplemental the reader is left at last heavy and displeased.'

Whatever one may think of the novel, it is clear that Dr. Huntington knew what he was doing. He pauses in the Introductory Chapter of Book II to explain his intention.

This is not a prayer-book, but a story written expressly to win the attention of those who will read nothing but stories, and sensational ones at that; and if we succeed in adding to the species that literary merit in which most specimens that we have seen are notably deficient, we shall be content. It will go hard if we do not produce something at least as well worth reading as the master-

⁵³ The novel was serialized in the *New York Tablet*, a Catholic magazine, and then issued in 1860 by the Catholic publishers D. & J. Sadlier of New York. An item in *B.Q.R.* for April 1861 (p. 269) notes with pleasure that a 'second edition' (probably a reprinting) has already been called for. There is a Sadlier imprint of 1885. At this time the Sadliers had publication rights of four of Huntington's novels. An advertisement leaf after the last page of the 1860 edition announces 'The Works of Dr. J. V. Huntington.' The works listed are *The Forest, Blonde and Brunette* and *The Pretty Plate*, a Sunday-school story.

pieces of Mr. Sylvanus Cobb (Jr.), or the still sublimer productions of the author(ess) of the 'Hidden Hand!' After provoking such a comparison, nobody certainly will accuse us of a want of proper humility.⁵⁴

Rosemary is a romance, not a realistic novel, though it contains many scenes written with Huntington's usual close observation of life in the New York city of his time. It can be compared with Hawthorne's *The Marble Faun*, published in the same year, and Melville's *Pierre* (1852), which, as Melville wrote his English publisher, would be 'a regular romance, with a mysterious plot to it, & stirring passions at work.' In the 1860's this fictional genre was passing out of favor, for two reasons: it was being debased by such authors as Sylvanus Cobb and 'Ned Buntline' (E. Z. C. Judson) and realistic fiction was in the ascendant.

All the intricacies of the plot of *Rosemary* are neatly resolved in the end. Huntington's strategy was to hold the reader's attention by never clearing up a mystery at the time it is introduced. The solution is always somewhere further on. The opening scene, a real smasher, is a good example of his intent to mystify and then move on before the mystery is resolved. A group of medical students and their friends, including the sculptor Rory O'Morra, are in the dissecting room waiting for (hoping for) the delivery of a corpse by the body-snatchers. A coffin arrives. Even the most cynical of those present are horrified and awed when the coffin is opened and a beautiful young woman in her bridal dress is revealed. Dr. Galenson takes charge. His examination shows this is not death but 'suspended animation.' The revived 'marble bride' is secretly (and honorably) conveyed to Rory's boarding house and placed in his room, which he gives over to

⁵⁴ The reference to Sylvanus Cobb, Jr., is, of course, satiric. Cobb was one of the most prolific of the authors of sensational romances, cheap in substance as well as price. A few of his titles will suggest his province: *The Maniac's Secret*; or, *The Privateer of Massachusetts Bay*; *Paul Laroon*; or, *The Scourge of the Antiles*; *The Bravo's Secret*; or, *The Spy of the 'Ten.'*

Rose Marie
O.B. III NON. FEB. MDCCCL
AET. XVIII

This legend on the name-plate of the coffin is all the inquirers have, at first, to go on. At page 57 Rosemary begins her new life and Huntington embarks on the rest of the 522 pages needed to tell us her life history up to the moment when she appeared to drop dead on her bridal day and what happens to her after the gruesome scene in the dissecting room.

Rosemary was the orphan of well-born parents who were married clandestinely though with the approval of the Church. She had been brought up by her wealthy Dashon grandparents. The man she was about to marry is the French Vicomte Floréal. Rosemary had an enemy, her cousin Isabel Varick, who would get only a small piece of the Dashon fortune if the marriage were to take place. Isabel called in an accomplice to prevent it, the mysterious physician, Dr. Mannikin, whose treatise *Mannikin on Poisons* had made him famous and prosperous. His 'little packet of powders,' administered to Rosemary for dizziness on the wedding day, did its work well.

With the help of Rory, Rosemary begins her resurrected life. There is much to be done! Her Dashon grandparents must be told that she is alive and somehow protected from the shock the news will cause them. Isabel and her accomplice must be exposed and punished. New wills are executed, lost, recovered, and rewritten. It is fortunate that Rory's father is an able lawyer or the way might never be found through the legal tangles Huntington invents. Finally, the reader must be prepared for what he has been expecting all along, the marriage of Rosemary and Rory.

As in his other novels, Huntington manages to keep the Catholic rationale of the action before his readers without resorting to tract-like passages, exhortations, or sermons.

Because Rosemary's maternal grandfather and her mother were Catholic, her Dashon grandparents permitted her to be brought up in the Church. We see her confirmed. We hear her discuss marriage *vs.* the cloister with her friend and confidante Grace Atherton, Alban Atherton's daughter. She makes no important decisions in her life without the advice of her confessor. Since Rory is a Catholic there is no impediment to their marriage. At the end of the novel grandfather Dashon decides to send for good Father N. to 'put me through.'

Walsh testifies to the attention *Rosemary* received. 'Most educated Catholics read it, and I venture to say that no novel written by a Catholic has ever drawn such wide-spread notice in this country. It was widely discussed, and was supposed to be a picture of the times such as only an observant genius could have made.'⁵⁵

Brownson reviewed *Rosemary* most favorably in the October 1860 issue of his *Quarterly Review* (pp. 526-528). It was exactly the kind of novel he wanted Catholic authors to write. 'The moral, as it should, comes out of the incidents of the story, and is in the silent influence it exerts on the reader.' In Brownson's view Dr. Huntington is 'decidedly the first purely literary man Catholics in the United States can boast.' *Rosemary* will 'test the disposition of our Catholic community to sustain a native American literature, in harmony with Catholic faith and morals.'

From authorial asides and introductory notes in his novels we know that Huntington was fully aware of the problems involved in writing Catholic fiction. We have further direct evidence of his concern in an unpublished essay found among his papers. It was probably written just before he began *Rosemary*.⁵⁶ His intention was evidently to write a long

⁵⁵ Walsh, p. 428.

⁵⁶ Walsh (p. 416) says that Mrs. Huntington, who lived until 1899, directed that papers of his which she had preserved should be deposited with the editor of the *Catholic World*. Walsh prints eight pages from this essay (pp. 433-441).

review-essay of the work of the Irish novelist Gerald Griffin (1803-1840), much admired by Catholics, but he begins his piece, fortunately, with a well-argued statement of the problems and advantages of the Catholic novelist. A question much agitated 'wherever modern literature and Catholic faith exist side by side' is 'Can romantic fiction be imbued with Catholic faith and morality, so as to serve the interests of religion? . . . Can Catholics write romantic fiction as a simple art-creation.' Huntington answers in the affirmative, of course. He first defines fiction as belonging 'to the great class of the poetic arts.' Being a poetic art, Fiction has necessarily two aspects: 'one looking toward the visible and natural world, the other towards the invisible and supernatural.' As in the other poetic arts, 'so the more nearly fiction touches on the supernatural sphere of humanity, the nobler and loftier it is, the more moral, and the more universally popular it becomes.' The truly Catholic novel best fulfills these requirements. There have been non-Catholics who have written Catholic novels, the best example being Walter Scott. He described human life 'as it was in the ages of faith . . . when society rested on the supernatural basis of Christianity.' In describing this society truly, 'his work was unconsciously Catholic.'

These arguments lead Huntington to his definition. 'I define a Catholic novel as one that represents human life, in the present or in past ages, as interpreted by the supernatural element imparted to it by the Catholic faith.' The modern *controversial* Catholic novel does not meet these requirements, for it is essentially inartistic. Its failure 'arises from not confining itself to its proper sphere, which is to create the beautiful imitation of real human life, not to convince, not to refute even the most real and the most lamentable errors.'

Huntington's health failed rapidly after he finished *Rosemary*. He traveled to the northwest, where he seemed to

be making a recovery. His physician then advised that he try the climate of southern France. He sailed in November, 1861, and settled in Pau, the capital of the Basses Pyrénées. His condition worsened during the winter, and 'soothed by the tenderest care of wife and friends,' he died on March 10, 1862, going to his 'rest as calmly as a sleeping infant.'⁵⁷

Huntington's death at forty-seven was a sad loss to the cause of American Catholic literature. He had already abundantly proved Orestes Brownson's contention that Catholic writers could produce fiction which was both pleasant to read and doctrinally sound. Huntington's inventiveness had never flagged, and each new novel displayed new skills. His name does not appear in the standard histories of American fiction by Alexander Cowie and A. H. Quinn. He deserves to be remembered.⁵⁸

The last two novelists whose work I shall consider in detail, Mrs. Dorsey and Mrs. Sadlier, were alike in several respects. Each lived a long time, and since each began writing at an early age, their output was extraordinary. Both had friends among Catholic intellectuals; Mrs. Dorsey in Washington and Mrs. Sadlier in Montreal and later in New York. The American hierarchy appreciated their work, and the Holy Father took notice of their service to the Church.

Anna Hanson (McKenney) Dorsey (1815-1896) was born in Georgetown.⁵⁹ Her ancestors on both sides had been prominent Marylanders. Her father's people were Quakers but he was a Methodist preacher who was for a time a naval chaplain. In 1837 she married Lorenzo Dorsey of Baltimore. They soon removed to Washington where he had a place in the De-

⁵⁷ *A Genealogical Memoir of the Huntington Family*, p. 197.

⁵⁸ There is a biographical and critical sketch in the Duyckincks' *Cyclopaedia of American Literature* (New York, 1866), II, pp. 610-611, with a note about his last novel and his death in the 'Supplement,' p. 56.

⁵⁹ The *DAB* article is by John Donald Wade. The brief biography in *The Catholic Encyclopedia* is by Mary T. Waggaman. A two-page sketch of her career prefaces 'The Mad Penitent of Todi,' in *A Round Table of the Representative American Catholic Novelists*, New York, 1906.

partment of the Post Office. Influenced by the Catholic revival in England Mrs. Dorsey was converted in 1840 and her husband soon after. Four of the Dorsey children lived to maturity; a son was killed in the Civil War.

Mrs. Dorsey's first novel would seem to be *The Student of Blenheim Forest; or, The Trials of a Convert* (Baltimore, John Murphy, 1846), though she published two other novels in that year. From then on she kept steadily at her writing. Nearly forty books have her name attached to them.⁶⁰ She was still publishing fiction in the late '80s. Unlike Mrs. Sadlier who engaged in many good works besides her writing in support of her faith, Mrs. Dorsey busied herself only with her family and her fiction. In spite of her popularity, she was modest about her achievements. In the Preface to a volume of poems, *Flowers of Love and Memory* (1849), she says she does not have either 'the genius of a Longfellow or the highly attuned talent of a Hemans.' Catholic honors came to her. The Pope twice sent her his blessing and the University of Notre Dame conferred on her its Laetare Medal. Because Mrs. Dorsey's chief distinction as a Catholic propagandist is the variety of her plots, I shall follow her career through 1869 in order to show how inventive she was.

The Student of Blenheim Forest contains just about everything the Catholic formula novelists were discovering they might crowd in. The central action is the conflict between Louis Claving and his father, the wealthy and aristocratic owner of a great estate on the highlands of the Rappahannock. Louis' studies at William and Mary have made him discontented with Episcopalianism. Getting no satisfaction from his professors, he seeks the help of Catholic Father Francis who furnishes him with books of instruction. Louis' trials are increased by his father's insistence that he marry his cousin Isadora. (Louis is by nature ascetic.) In the midst of these

⁶⁰ The list of her works in *Novels and Tales by Catholic Writers*, edited by Francis X. Talbot, S.J. (The America Press, New York, 1930), is not complete.

trials he discovers that his mother is actually a Catholic and had married out of the Church. She had contrived to have Louis secretly baptized in the faith before the Episcopal bishop performed the public ceremony.

When Colonel Clavering demands that Louis agree to marry Isadora, Louis kneels, asks his father's blessing, says he will do as his father wishes, and then adds: 'I shall never again kneel at the altar you speak of; never partake again with you in the ceremonies of that church to which you are so devoted. I AM A CATHOLIC.'

The stunned father sends Louis from his presence and vents his anger on his wife. He next tries bribery. If Louis, after a grand tour, returns still an Episcopalian, he shall have a rich plantation and slaves to keep it going. Louis replies: 'I give up all. The splendor of earth's riches or the love of devoted parents or sincere friends could not accomplish my salvation.'

Louis' Catholic education now begins, in Baltimore in the home of a wealthy Catholic family who are friends of his mother, and in the study of Father Francis who is as learned as he is devout. 'Here Clavering was at home; culling strains from old Homer, quoting passages from the eloquent pages of Sophocles and Pindar and the more elegant inspirations of Dante.' Meanwhile he has made his first confession and received communion.

But life is not to go on happily for the convert. That fictionally useful disease galloping consumption intervenes. Father and son are reunited. The last rites are administered and a fine deathbed scene follows. In Louis' last whispered words the beholders can distinguish 'the holy names of Jesus, Mary, and Joseph.'

In her first novel Mrs. Dorsey is more strongly anti-Protestant, and particularly anti-Episcopalian and anti-Puseyite, than in any of her later works. As I have said, the novel gets in just about everything: the high tone and fervent Americanism of Catholic society in Baltimore; the learning and benevo-

lence of well-educated priests; the persuasive explications of dogmas and ceremonies. No wonder the novel continued to be popular with Catholic readers. There was a second, revised edition in 1867. Other editions followed in 1888 and 1896.⁶¹

In *Tears on the Diadem*, published by Edward Dunigan in 1846, Mrs. Dorsey turned back to the fifteenth century to retell the Richard the Third story from the point of view of Elizabeth, wife of Edward IV and mother of the murdered princes.⁶² Only the last chapter of the novel is overtly Catholic. In it, Elizabeth, while listening to the Gloria and Agnus Dei, is reconciled to the deaths of her boys. 'I yield my murdered babes at last, O Lamb of God! to Thee, and rejoice that they are Thine.'

Tears on the Diadem was No. III in Dunigan's Home Library of Religious and Moral Works for Popular Reading. Mrs. Dorsey's next novel, *The Sister of Charity*, in two volumes, constituted numbers V and VI. It is less adroitly constructed than *The Student of Blenheim Forest* and the Catholic propaganda is awkwardly introduced. The story opens with a shipwreck off the North Carolina coast, near the handsome home of Mr. Leslie and his two daughters, Blanche, the sensitive one, and Corinne who is more gay and intellectual. The rescuers bring to the house a four year old girl and a Catholic religious, Sister Therese of the Sisters of Charity. Even while recovering from the shock, the Sister begins instructing Blanche, whose soul had 'frequently experienced the insufficiency of the simple creed' she had been taught. Sister has a harder time with Corinne who holds the usual Protestant views of monks and nuns. She explains that with the Sisters of Charity 'our cell is generally within a plain enclosure; our cloister the streets of the city; our limits, obedience; our grate,

⁶¹ The first edition is *rarissima*. Lyle H. Wright's *American Fiction, 1774-1850* does not locate a copy. Wright's information about the edition came from an L.C. card, now withdrawn. I used a copy of the 1888 edition.

⁶² Mrs. Dorsey acknowledges her debt to Agnes Strickland's sketch of Elizabeth Woodville in *Lives of the Queens of England*.

the fear of God; and our veil, the most scrupulous modesty.' She adds proudly that Mrs. Seton was the 'foundress of our order in America.'⁶³

Sister Therese is making good progress—there is no great hostility to Catholicism in the Leslie family—but Mrs. Dorsey brings up reinforcements, as much to help the plot as anything. A young cousin, Edgar St. John, a recent convert, comes visiting, bringing with him a priest who had 'resigned titles, honors, and wealth, for the tonsure and breviary.' Edgar is urged to tell how he became a convert and obliges with a twenty-one page discourse. Then Father Borgia gets his chance in a mild dispute with Mr. Leslie over the doctrine of works and the alleged divine origin of the Church. Conversions follow in rapid succession. First the daughters ask and receive their father's permission to become Catholics. Then Mr. Leslie decides to join the procession. He transforms a summer music room and library into a chapel, with Father Borgia to preach and Edgar to play the organ. Mr. Leslie never does things by halves. He now has his slaves baptized and builds a house for the infirm. The conversions continue, the local Episcopal minister being the next to go over to Rome. The zeal spreads to the neighboring family of Judge Herbert, Speaker of the House of Representatives. When the parents of the rescued child turn up (they had not perished in the storm), they too become Catholics. If my count is correct, Sister Therese, Edgar, and Father Borgia effect nine conversions, a record even for Mrs. Dorsey. I have not counted in the slaves because Mrs. Dorsey neglected to say how many there were.

The Oriental Pearl; or, The Catholic Immigrants, published by John Murphy in 1848, follows the fortunes of three Ger-

⁶³ Elizabeth Ann Seton, a widow who became a convert to Rome in 1805, founded the community of the Sisters of St. Joseph in 1809. When they moved from Baltimore to Emmitsburg, Maryland, the same year, they adopted, with some modifications, the rule of the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul. After 1812 they were known as the Sisters of Charity of St. Joseph. Theirs was the first native American religious order. Mother Seton served as the first superior until her death in 1821.

man Catholics newly arrived in America, Gustav Conradt, his daughter Marie, and young Heinrich Steiner. They have left Germany because of religious persecution. In letters and papers from America they had read of 'the happiness, liberty, and prosperity of the people who lived there.' An old friend, Krunfeldt, helps them settle in Baltimore. They rejoice to stand on 'that soil which through [Washington] had become a refuge for the oppressed and unfortunate of every land.' Conradt and Heinrich decide to go west to take up land, leaving Marie provided for, Heinrich's contribution being an oriental pearl a dying sailor gave him in his seafaring days. Marie endures many trials while they are gone, including the (false) news that the two men have perished in a steamboat explosion on the Ohio. When they return, not much richer for their venture, they confirm what Krunfeldt had told them earlier about the progress of Catholicism in the West: 'Did I not say that everything flourished in the west, and most of all, but not only there . . . the truth of the Catholic religion is spreading with a steady and perfect light, until I sometimes think that before long all will acknowledge her divine law and come joyfully into her safe and sacred fold.'

Though Mrs. Dorsey wisely contents herself with reporting at second hand what happened to her Germans in the West, she seems to have known something about the condition of newly-arrived German Catholics in the Baltimore area. Her portrait of Father Holburg of St. Alphonsus Liguori, attended by the priests of the Holy Redeemer, suggests an original whom she knew. The emphasis in this novel is not on the rightness of Catholicism but on the prospects for its eventual triumph in America.

Her next novel, *Woodreve Manor; or, Six Months in Town. A Tale of American Life, to Suit the Merits and the Follies of the Times*, contains few Catholic passages. In the high life she depicts at Woodreve Manor, somewhere in Maryland, and in 'town' (presumably Baltimore), Mrs. Dorsey discovers more

follies than merits. The fact that the publisher was A. Hart of Philadelphia and not one of the Catholic houses may be significant. Possibly Mrs. Dorsey was seeking a larger audience than the readers of her avowedly Catholic novels. At times she seems to be saying to Protestant readers that they need have no fear that her novel will convert them. The mistress of Woodreve Manor, for example, says of herself, 'I am, as you know, neither a Methodist nor a religious of any kind, but believe firmly in the necessity of faith, and in the revelations of Christianity, for our peace here and hereafter.' Mrs. Willoughby has a son who had been kidnapped when a boy. When he is recovered, he is living as an artist, has an Italian name, and is a devout Catholic. He dies soon after he is united to his mother. In any other Dorsey novel such a fine Catholic death would have brought on at least one conversion. Mrs. Willoughby refrains. Her last days are devoted to charity and religion. To what variety of religion we are not told.

With *Conscience; or, The Trials of May Brooke, An American Catholic Tale* (1856) Mrs. Dorsey was back at her regular business, making as many conversions as she could work into the plot. She was also back with the Catholic publishers Edward Dunigan and Brother.⁶⁴ *Conscience* is a story of contrasts between two cousins, May and Helen, both orphans and both brought up as Catholics. When they are put in the care of their curmudgeonly Uncle Stillinghast, the contrasts emerge. May is charitable and devout; Helen is worldly and has all but deserted the Church. Uncle, who is not a Catholic, dislikes May's piety but she eventually converts him. When he dies he leaves a new will which endows several Catholic charities munificently. May is to have \$200,000; Helen \$50,000 and her harp. The avaricious Helen steals the will, which May thinks she had herself inadvertently burned with some old pa-

⁶⁴I have found a reference to an Edinburgh edition, but I have not seen the book. James J. Daly, S.J., notes that 'Her "May Brooke," appearing in 1856, is said to be the first Catholic book published in Edinburgh since the Reformation' ('Catholic Contributions to American Prose,' in *Catholic Builders of the Nation*, Boston, 1925, IV, 127).

pers. Helen's conscience begins to trouble her. Surrounded by luxury and elegance (made possible by a wealthy marriage) she despairs so deeply that she is about to take poison. She is saved when the gas-light illuminates the picture of the Mater Dolorosa. She now begins to travel the long road back to Catholicism. The will is recovered and May is reluctantly reconciled to a life of wealth. Her good works continue, of course, 'and better than all, her practical works of charity were continually adding members to the Church of Christ.' Her first convert had been Auntie Mable, a freed slave. Uncle Stillinghast was her second. Others come trooping to the confessional—Mr. Fielding, a lawyer-friend, and Helen's husband who makes his first communion at the Gesu church in Rome. Only Mrs. Tabb, the boarding-house keeper is beyond saving. She believes so firmly in the right of *all* to be saved, 'that she easily fell in with the New Light of the day—Spiritualism; and got her head so filled with "circles" and "progression" and "manifestations", that not recognizing the demoniac origin of it all, she became hopelessly insane.'

As we have seen, Orestes Brownson in his desire to promote an American Catholic literature dutifully reviewed in *Brownson's Quarterly Review* every Catholic novel which came to his desk. He was polite even when he could not praise. Mrs. Dorsey's *Conscience* strained his patience. In reviewing the novel in the issue of April 1856 (pp. 271–272) he envies the 'excellent author her facility in making converts' but uses the occasion to plead for a significant Catholic literature. Catholics already have the lead in architecture and music; why not in literature? His final sentences say more about *Conscience* than he may have intended to say. 'Let every man, every woman, old or young, that can write a passable book, write it. Even trash is better than nothing.'

Between 1856 and 1867 Mrs. Dorsey published no fiction though she wrote verse during the Civil War in support of the Union cause. Her next novel, *Coaina, The Rose of the Algon-*

quins (1867), published by P. O'Shea of New York, is on a theme that is new in Catholic fiction. As she tells us in a letter which the publishers used as a preface, she had known the story on which she builds the novel for twenty-five years. It had been written out by a French-Canadian priest, Father de Charbonnel (later Bishop of Toronto) as an English composition, when he was a student at the Seminary of St. Sulpice in Baltimore. In writing *Coaina* Mrs. Dorsey had one special object in view, 'to reprove the sins of uncharitableness, slander, and rash judgment, the three sins which crucified Christ.' She has never found anything which better illustrates the infernal sin of slander than this true story of the Indian maiden who suffered so severely for her faith.

The setting is an Algonquin village near Montreal, the time about 1838. The Indians, who are Catholic, have as their priest Father Etienne who, Mrs. Dorsey believed, was really Father de Charbonnel though he would never admit this directly. Coaina, an orphan, is living with an aunt whose daughter is jealous of her cousin because of her good looks, greater piety, and the admiration which all members of the tribe have for her. She begins to plot Coaina's fall and her wicked plans are soon successful. Coaina is to marry Tar-ra-hee, a handsome young chief. But the wicked cousin, Winonah, connives with Ahdeek, an Iroquois warrior who had been rejected by Coaina, to thwart the marriage. A rumor circulates that she has received presents from Ahdeek. By a false letter he lures her to the Iroquois camp where she is forced to witness a wicked pagan ceremony, the *Taho*. When she is released and returns home, she is cast off by her lover. Even Father Etienne fails to penetrate the wicked schemes of Winonah and Ahdeek. Coaina must endure a severe six-fold penance. Cholera strikes the village and in this time of terror and grief the truth comes out. Tar-ra-hee seeks Coaina again in marriage but she will not have him. 'I have [she tells him] found my true and constant Lover, He not only comforted and sustained me, when

all else failed, and the world abandoned me: but He also suffered and died for me.' 'Fading away like the morning star into the brightness of dawn,' Coaina, clothed in her bridal dress, receives the Viaticum and stretches out her 'thin dusky hands toward the Divine Guest.' Her last words welcome sweet Jesus: 'It is now that my wedding feasts are about to begin, never to end.'

At the end of the novel Mrs. Dorsey obligingly appends the story as Father de Charbonnel had written it (pp. 141-145). The priest's account is straightforward and, of course, edifying. Mrs. Dorsey added action and color. Of the malicious plots against Coaina Father de Charbonnel says only: 'Her aunt charged her with many crimes.' Mrs. Dorsey inserted the episode of Coaina's forced presence at the idolatrous ceremony of the Taho. She tells her readers in the prefatory letter where she found this and other materials to flesh out Charbonnel's story. The situation of the mission, the village, the calvary, the description of the people, the account of the 'Taho', are 'to be found in the "History of the Indian Missions in North America," which has been one of my favorite books for years past.'

In her next work Mrs. Dorsey makes a bow to the Irish Catholics in America, as nearly every Catholic novelist did at some point. In fact, she makes two bows, because the book contains two novels: *Nora Brady's Vow*, and *Mona the Vestal, A Tale of the Times of St. Patrick* (J. B. Lippincott, 1869). *Nora Brady's Vow* is dedicated to the Irish people: 'Brave and Unconquered, Bearing like Martyrs Oppressions to which they will not submit as Slaves.' The story is concerned with the bravery of young Nora, a lower-class Irish girl who resolves to emigrate to America on an errand of mercy. After enduring the horrors of the steerage, she finds a place in the Boston family of Mrs. Sydney. Meanwhile she pursues her errand, which is to seek out John Halloran who had emigrated and whose family has not heard from him. After some able detec-

tive work she finds John. She also finds the money a rich old man had lost (and receives some of it), and gets herself a good husband. The most interesting passages in the novel have to do with Nora's troubles adjusting to Mrs. Sydney's ridiculous Universalist faith and getting along with the Negro cook who is coarse, ignorant, and wasteful. 'Thus between two beings so adverse in race, color, and morals, there could be no harmony or comfort.' The cook has too good an opinion of herself because she had been rescued by the 'Equal Rights and Southern Transportation Company.' This episode is curious in view of Mrs. Dorsey's Northern sympathies during the War.

Mona the Vestal is another direct bid for Irish Catholic readers. Since the scene is Ireland in the times of St. Patrick, it need not detain us. Mona is a Druid vestal who encounters some of the precursors of St. Patrick in Ireland and sees mass performed. She resolves to become a Christian. Trying to escape the Druids, she is drowned, but her last sight on earth is the holy bishop extending toward her 'a crystal vase, framed in gold, which contained a consecrated Host.'

True to her evident determination of exploring in each work a new variety of the Catholic experience, Mrs. Dorsey invades Protestant New England in *The Flemmings; A True Story*, published by P. O'Shea in 1869. She pursues here the theme of the coming of Catholicism to a community where it was previously not only alien but unknown. The Flemmings, living in the Mt. Chocorua region of New Hampshire, are a well-off farm family of *Mayflower* descendants. The father, Wolfert, is an Elder in the church, which is, we suppose, Congregational. One snowy night a stranger asks shelter. At breakfast the Flemmings learn that he is a pedlar, an Irishman, and a Catholic. Mrs. Flemming wishes to send him away at once. Elder Flemming will not permit this and Patrick McCune lingers for a time. Much follows from his stay at the farm. He is a charming fellow, with stories to tell and ballads

to sing. He leaves presents behind, powerful presents as we soon learn, particularly the picture of the Blessed Virgin, given to daughter Eva, and Milner's *End of Controversy*, Elder Flemming's present, which he at first refrains from opening.

What Patrick brings into the lives of the Flemmings begins to transform them. When the father finishes Milner, he exclaims: 'If this is being a Roman Catholic, then, by God, I am one—heart and soul.' His wife is horrified, but even she has a strange thrill, never before experienced, when next she takes the bread and wine.

Mrs. Dorsey writes circumstantially of the vicissitudes the Flemmings suffer because of their turn to Catholicism. Hope, one of the daughters, is cast off by her lover. Son Nicholas is turned down when he applies for the local school. The School Committee declines all communications with, or employment of, Papists. Elder Flemming is summoned before the church for 'contumacy and backsliding.' He delivers his triumphant answer in a discourse which lasts from noon to sunset.

Things go from bad to worse, but all comes right in the end, and the family journeys to Boston to see the bishop, who has been helping Patrick help the Flemmings, behind the scenes. They attend midnight mass on Christmas eve, a scene written in Mrs. Dorsey's grand style. When the bishop approaches to administer the sacrament, he recognizes them. 'Tears of consolation rolled over his cheeks and glittered among the golden embroidery of his vestments.'

In her Preface to *The Flemmings* Mrs. Dorsey tells us that their story was related to her a year or two ago by a religious. Whether this is merely the usual authenticating device I do not know, but Mrs. Dorsey certainly understood the troubles of would-be Catholics in America and knew enough for her purposes about New England farm and village life. This is the least melodramatic and the least argument-ridden of her novels. It is, I believe, her best work, as far as I have gone. If I ever read all her novels, I still have twenty or more to go.

The Preface also enlightens us on Mrs. Dorsey's views about how converts are to be won. Protestants, she believes, are usually first attracted to the Church by the beauty of its ceremonies. This is as it should be, and they ought not then to be driven away by a priest who loads his sermons 'with stern invective and harsh expressions against a system which they have been taught to regard as sacred.' Bishop England of Charleston won more Protestants by the Christian spirit in his sermons than by his eloquence. He never used the words heretic or schismatic and 'never spoke of Protestants but as our "separated brethren."' 'Though Catholics are persecuted, they need not use the weapons of their persecutors. Mrs. Dorsey does not like to see Protestants driven, 'wounded and angry, from our temples when we *know* they come to learn something of that Faith whose garments, and the garniture of whose house, appear so fair and beautiful to their eyes.' Only in her first and most polemical novel, *The Student of Blenheim Forest*, did Mrs. Dorsey depart from the example of Bishop England. In her fiction Protestants are not heretics. They are 'separated brethren' to be brought home.

Although Mrs. James Sadlier (then Mary Anne Madden) emigrated from Ireland to Canada in 1844, at the age of 24, and lived in Canada and the United States the rest of her long life—she died in 1903—love of Ireland, her people and her history and of the Irish Catholics who suffered in the new world because of their faith and their Irish origins, motivated her writing and her activities as a Catholic layman. She was the most voluminous of the Catholic novelists and her works were undoubtedly the most widely read. Many of her novels were kept in print for 50 years or more.

Mary Madden was born at Cootehill, County Cavan, where her father was a prosperous merchant.⁶⁵ At sixteen she began

⁶⁵ There is no satisfactory account of Mrs. Sadlier's career. (A full-length biography is much needed.) Even the sketch in the *DAB* contains inaccuracies. Thomas F. Meehan's 'The House of Sadlier' (*America*, June 4, 1932, p. 214), though brief, is the most reliable piece. Martin P. Reid's 'Mrs. James Sadlier, Canadian Apostle of Catholic

her literary career with contributions to *La Belle Assemblée*, published in London. After the death of her father she decided to emigrate to Montreal. There she met James Sadlier, manager of the Canadian branch of D. & J. Sadlier, already the largest and most enterprising of the New York Catholic publishing houses. (The two brothers, emigrants from Ireland, founded the business when in 1837 they began issuing Butler's *Lives of the Saints* in monthly parts.) Married in 1846, Mary and James Sadlier were, for the next fourteen years, leaders in the English-speaking Catholic circle in Montreal. In March 1850, when James Sadlier brought Orestes Brownson to the city for a series of lectures, a friendship developed between the

Literature,' in the 1946-1947 *Report of the Canadian Historical Association* (pp. 105-113) gives a good deal of information, but much of it is vaguely stated and undocumented. It has been impossible to date with accuracy the first editions of some of her fiction. Her early novels were evidently read to pieces. As a result, the editions to be found in research libraries are often later printings. Early in this century P. J. Kenedy and Sons, which had acquired the assets of the firm of D. & J. Sadlier from Mrs. Sadlier in 1895, brought out a collective edition of several of her novels. That it was a collective edition we know from two facts. The novels are uniformly bound in green cloth and 'Kenedy' is stamped on the spine. The texts were printed from old plates and even the old title-pages were used. In *Ireland in Fiction, A Guide to Irish Novels, Tales, Romances, and Folk-Lore* (Dublin and London, 1916) Stephen J. Brown states (p. 223): 'Flynn of Boston publishes a uniform edition of her works at 0.60 each vol.' I have not seen any volumes of this edition.

The biographical sketches of Mrs. Sadlier are not even certain about the number of her works. Reid and the writer of the sketch in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* say she published sixty volumes. The *DAB* article changes this to 'about sixty novels.' Mrs. Sadlier was indeed a prodigious writer of fiction, but I doubt if her novels add up to sixty. I have found seven novels on American themes issued between 1850 and 1866. (My discussion of her fiction will be concerned with this group of novels.) There are at least twenty other novels, most of them making use of episodes in Irish history. Mrs. Sadlier collected her short stories in three volumes and translated at least four novels from the French. Her non-fiction works are many. She edited *Purgatory: Doctrinal, Historical and Poetical* (1886), a compilation dedicated to her Jesuit son, Francis Xavier, who died in 1885, three months after he went to his first 'obedience' at Holy Cross College in Worcester, Massachusetts (Reid, p. 111). Her translation of Abbé Orsini's *Life of the Blessed Virgin, Mother of God* (1885) is said to have been undertaken at the request of Archbishop Hughes (Reid, p. 106). To meet the needs of the parochial schools she compiled a series of Catholic readers (Meehan, p. 214). One of the most important of her tasks was the editing of *The Poems of Thomas D'Arcy McGee* (D. & J. Sadlier, New York, 1869). For this volume she supplied a detailed biographical sketch of this important Irish-Canadian author and statesman (for many years her friend) and an Introduction to the poems.

In compiling his *American Fiction, 1774-1850* and *American Fiction, 1851-1875*, Lyle Wright did not list Mrs. Sadlier's novels, evidently considering her to be, strictly, a Canadian writer.

Irish Sadliers and the native-born American Catholic which would have important consequences when the Sadliers moved to New York in 1860. As a result of Brownson's 1850 visit, the Sadliers started a Montreal English-language paper, *The True Witness*.

Mrs. Sadlier had been publishing fiction for at least ten years when the move to New York was made. (Her first novel, which I have not found, would seem to be *The Red Hand of Ulster; or, The Fortunes of Hugh O'Neill*, ? 1850.) She continued to publish, chiefly with D. & J. Sadlier, with amazing frequency. Through these works, her friendship with Brownson, and her activities as a Catholic layman, she became a leader among Catholic intellectuals in her new home. Among her friends were the successive editors of *The Tablet*, a journal founded by the Sadliers in 1857 when they took over the moribund *American Celt*, established in Boston in 1850 by Thomas D'Arcy McGee. In the *Tablet's* circle were Dr. J. V. Huntington, the novelist; William Denman, son of the publisher of the *Truth Teller*, New York's first Catholic weekly; Dr. Henry James Anderson, Columbia Professor of Mathematics and Astronomy, who had become a Catholic in 1849. Another influential friend of these days was Levi Silliman Ives (1797-1867), a former Episcopal Bishop of North Carolina who had made his submission to Pope Pius IX on Christmas day 1852. Like Mrs. Sadlier, these friends were doers as well as writers. Anderson organized the Catholic Union. He and Ives were among the founders of the New York Catholic Protectory, the most important of the city's Catholic charities. Ives was the first President of the Catholic Male Protectory (one of the two branches of the parent organization) and a promoter of the House of the Holy Angels.

After James Sadlier died in 1869, his widow stayed on in New York for a time and then returned to Montreal.⁶⁶ Dennis

⁶⁶ Reid (p. 105) gives 1880 as the year of her return. Meehan (p. 214) says 'after a short period.'

Sadlier carried on the business of the firm until his death in 1885. According to Robert C. Healy in his account of the house of P. J. Kenedy and Sons, *A Catholic Book Chronicle* (New York, 1951, pp. 38-39), Mrs. James Sadlier sold her interest in the firm to Kenedy in 1895. In that year she was awarded the Laetare Medal by Notre Dame University for her services to the Church. The presentation was made in the grand salon of the Bishop of Montreal. The citation, read by the President of St. Laurent College, praised her for having written 'not to indulge her own aesthetic tastes, not to win wealth, but to profit souls and advance the interests of the Church.'⁶⁷ In 1902 she received the special blessing of Pope Leo XIII.⁶⁸ Her funeral was held in New York at the Jesuit Church of St. Ignatius. Archbishop (later Cardinal) Farley presided at the requiem mass. She was buried beside her husband in Calvary Cemetery.⁶⁹

Each of the seven novels with American settings which Mrs. Sadlier published between 1850 and 1866 is explicitly directed to Irish Catholics in this country.⁷⁰ She is chiefly concerned to make them strong in their faith. She does not teach them by passages of apologetics or piety but by showing the dangers and difficulties they will encounter in trying to make a decent living, bring up their children in the Church, and preserve in their families a love and reverence for Ireland, her history and heroes. Reid (pp. 109-110) says that in several instances the subjects of her novels were suggested by her Catholic friends. Father Isaac Hecker's request for a story about the dangers of domestic service resulted in *Bessy Conway*. Dr. Ives asked her to write about the way Catholic orphans were lured from the faith by officials in charge of the Protestant-controlled asylums. She obliged, Reid says, with

⁶⁷ Reid, pp. 111-112.

⁶⁸ *DAB*, p. 284.

⁶⁹ Reid, p. 105.

⁷⁰ I have not included *Elinor Preston; or, Scenes at Home and Abroad* (1861), although a few episodes take place in America as the emigrant heroine makes her way from New York to Montreal. The novel is dedicated 'To my Friends in Canada.'

Aunt Honor's Keepsake. One doubts if Mrs. Sadlier needed these suggestions. She was as much aware of the vicissitudes of the Irish in the eastern cities as any of her friends 'in high places.'

Taken together these seven novels present a complete and circumstantial account of teeming Irish-Catholic life in the cities in the 1850s and 1860s. Though they have in common the theme of difficulties overcome, bigotry punished, and steadfast Catholic faith rewarded, Mrs. Sadlier addresses herself to a particular problem or abuse in each novel. It would seem as if she had laid out a program for herself in writing these American novels. The first two, which were written while she was still in Canada, show already a remarkable knowledge of the conditions she portrays.

In the Preface to *Willy Burke; or, The Irish Orphan in America* (Boston, Patrick Donahoe, 1850) Mrs. Sadlier voices her concern for young Catholic boys in their 'struggle with the tempter.' Her aim is to disprove the notion that 'men make their way better in this money-seeking world by becoming Protestants.' If Catholic boys will take her Willy Burke for their model, 'humble as he is,' the Irish in America will soon become 'wealthy, esteemed, and respected.' (Mrs. Sadlier's early optimism diminished as she progressed in her series of American novels.)

Her husband having died on the voyage out, Widow Burke does her best to bring up her sons Willy and Peter in the faith. Peter hungers for money and position, even if success means he must desert the Church to get on with his Protestant employers. Willy blunts any sneers at Catholicism with a simple answer: 'I'll just tell you that I believe it because the Church believes it, and teaches it to her children.' Willy's honesty and decency win the respect of his employer, Mr. Weimar, a German who had formerly disliked Catholics. In the end Weimar dies in the Church, leaving \$5,000 to Willy. Meanwhile Peter has had his eyes opened to the corrupting influence of his seem-

ing (Protestant) friends. Willy's money is salted away in railroad shares until the time comes when the brothers can go into business together. Mrs. Sadlier offers her Q.E.D. in the last chapter. She has 'shown to the best of my ability the beneficial results which may accrue from the fulfillment of [a young Irish boy's] duty.' This is her first homily: let young immigrant Irish-Catholic boys learn from Willy Burke and from his wayward brother Peter.

In *The Blakes and the Flanagans, A Tale Illustrative of Irish Life in the United States* (New York, D. & J. Sadlier, 1855) Mrs. Sadlier contrasts the Catholic piety of Tim Flanagan, leather-dresser, and his family with the falling away from the faith of Tim's brother-in-law, Miles Blake, and his children.⁷¹ The two families are first divided and go their different ways when Miles, eager to get ahead in the Protestant society, sends his children to the (public) Ward School rather than the school attached to St. Peter's Church, which the Flanagan children attend.

Young Harry Blake wants to think of himself as an 'American' who can choose his own religion. He learns to sneer at Catholics, lies to his father, sneaks off to the theater, and attends salacious Protestant parties. A friend of his father persuades the family to let him go to Columbia College and become a lawyer. He says later to a Methodist friend, 'the truth is, my stomach lost its Catholic tone at old Columbia, and has never recovered it.' Harry eventually becomes a politician who knows how to use his Irish charm to get votes. Meanwhile his sister Eliza has become an even worse apostate. She marries a Protestant (the wedding is Methodist). She is punished in the end, when she dies in childbirth, with no priest to hear her confession, though she shrieks for one in her anguish.

The steadfast Flanagans have come up in the world, without wavering in their Catholicism. Thomas is ordained a

⁷¹ A German translation of the novel was issued in 1857 with the title *Alt-Irland und Amerika*.

priest. Edward and John are ready to take over their father's business when he dies.

Mrs. Sadlier's moral this time is that the children of Catholics who waver in their faith are certain to be more irreligious than their parents. What happens to Harry's children proves this.

Henry T. Blake came from Columbia College a very bad Catholic, his sons went into it without religion of any kind, saving a sort of predilection in favor of the Baptist sect—what they came out may well be guessed. Ebenezer and Samuel were trained up by their mother and her family in a wholesome horror of Catholicity, and a great contempt for everything Irish; it is, therefore, quite probable that they are now to be found in the front ranks of the Know-Nothings, urging on the godless fanaticism of the age, in a crusade against the religion of their fathers and the children of their own race.

Mrs. Sadlier's next novel, *Old and New; or, Taste versus Fashion* (New York, D. & J. Sadlier, 1862), is a warning to Irish Catholic wives whose husbands prosper in the new world. The 'old' way is represented by Mrs. Von Wiegel, born in Ireland but married to an aristocratic German. They live in one of the few dwellings left in New York which 'remind us of the good old times when *New Amsterdam* was a staid and sober city.' In this household we see Catholic life at its best.

Contrasted with the Von Wiegels are the 'new' Gallagher and Fogarty families. Though one husband began as a butcher and the other as a baker, they have prospered and have installed their families in brownstone houses in the new fashionable mode. The husbands are hard-working, plain, sensible men, but their wives and daughters think only of clothes, parties, and match-making. Worst of all, they despise their Irish origins.

Why [says Mrs. Sadlier in conclusion] should they lend themselves to the senseless folly, the *un-Catholic* prejudice that here makes the word *Irish* synonymous with disgrace? Not that I would have them *love* America less . . . but I would have them *respect* Ireland more than they do.

Confessions of an Apostate; or, Leaves from a Troubled Life (New York, Sadlier, 1864) is Mrs. Sadlier's best novel, by far.⁷² The characters are well drawn, the elegiac tone is consistent, and the events are believable. A mysterious old man appears in County Wicklow and dies there, leaving the manuscript story of his life. He was Simon Kerrigan who had emigrated as a boy to Boston. At his boarding house there he experiences for the first time the contempt Protestants feel for Irish Catholics. Simon begins, step by step, to move down the road to apostasy. The break with his faith and his Irish past is complete when he goes to New Haven and becomes an indispensable employee of Deacon Samuels. The Deacon says to Simon: 'You have no *idea* how Papists are disliked down our way. Can't you oblige me now by making no one the wiser as to what you are?' Simon does oblige by changing his name to Kerr and permitting Eve Samuels to convert him. ('I'll be whatever you wish, Eve Samuels.') He proposes to her and is accepted.

Passing as a Protestant, Simon becomes the Deacon's partner. Now a prosperous and respected citizen, he lives the lie for years.

With reckless desperation I clung to the outward form of Protestantism, which I still knew and felt to be a rotten shell. Such as it was, however, I believed that it secured me wealth and consideration amongst men, and for that I prized it even when my heart and soul were most deeply stamped with the burning brand of Catholicity scorching and withering with its fiery faith.

At a Catholic mission Simon is reconverted. New Haven is horrified, believing, of course, that Protestant Kerr has gone over to Rome. A mob threatens his house when he takes a priest home to dinner. Simon and his son Joel quarrel. Joel knows the true situation and taunts his father: 'Worse even

⁷² The *DAB* sketch gives 1868 as the date of publication. This is incorrect. The notice in *B. Q. R.* (July, 1864) records the date of issue as 1864. The British Museum has a copy of the 1864 New York edition.

than [a Papist]—an Apostate AND A HYPOCRITE.' Stung by this accusation, Simon strikes his son.

Life is now impossible in New Haven. Simon makes over his business to Joel, transfers a small funded property to Dublin, and returns to Ireland. Before he leaves America he witnesses the most distressing event of his life—Joel leading the mob in the attack on St. Augustine's Church in Philadelphia.⁷³

Con O'Regan; or, Emigrant Life in the New World (New York, Sadlier, ?1864) was written to assert still another of Mrs. Sadlier's convictions about the way Irish Catholics should manage their lives in America. This time she urges them to leave the inhospitable eastern cities, rife with temptations to Catholics, and take up land in the West where they can be farmers as their Irish forebears were and where they will encounter little or no anti-Catholic prejudice.⁷⁴

Young Con O'Regan comes to America in 1844 to make a home for his family. He suffers the usual humiliations in a 'New England city.' Some of his Irish friends succumb to urban temptations and are lost to the Church. Con is fortunate in winning the respect of his employer, Mr. Coulter, who admires the good nature and strong faith of Irish immigrants. The Coulters suggest to Con that he go out into 'the millions of broad acres' still awaiting the 'tiller's spade' in the west. The Coulters lend him the money, and Con is soon settled in Iowa and able to send for his family. Mrs. Sadlier's last chapters are an Irish-American idyll: a mild climate, teeming crops of corn and potatoes, first-rate hogs fattening to the kill, cream in the churn, 'rale Irish Shamrock growin' in the gar-

⁷³ The burning of St. Augustine's was the climax of three days of anti-Catholic rioting in Philadelphia in May 1844. See 'The Philadelphia Riots of 1844,' chapter IX in Ray Billington, *The Protestant Crusade 1800-1860* (New York, 1938).

⁷⁴ The Preface tells us that the novel appeared first in T. D. McGee's *American Celt* and was later reprinted in the *New York Tablet*. Mrs. Sadlier also says that it was inspired by the Buffalo Convention, eight years earlier, which had advocated that the urban Irish move from 'the overcrowded cities of our Atlantic seaboard to the safer, calmer, and more healthful pursuits of agricultural life, whether on the smiling prairies of the West, or by the great waters of the North.'

den,' a benevolent priest, visiting back and forth among the families, new arrivals coming to fortify the Irishness of the little community. These chapters are Mrs. Sadlier's version of the American dream in which the virgin west yields its riches to the despised poor of whatever nationality streaming from the port cities of the east.

The theme of *Bessy Conway; or, The Irish Girl in America* (New York, Sadlier, ?1865) can be guessed from its title. Designed as a companion piece to *Willy Burke*, which was a message to Irish Catholic boys in their 'struggle with the tempter,' this novel shows Irish working girls 'how to win respect and inspire confidence on the part of their employers, and at the same time, to avoid the snares and pitfalls which have been the ruin of so many of their class.'

Mrs. Sadlier had another aim in view. *Bessy Conway* is also a warning to Irish girls to stay in Ireland if conditions are at all tolerable. Bessy resists the snares and pitfalls in America but in the end she returns to Ireland and marries the heir of Ivy Lodge, a reprobate landlord who has reformed and returned to the Church. When her neighbors ask her about emigration she tells them: 'Keep your girls at home—if you can live here, so can they, and you'll find it better in the long run.' Do not let them be tempted by the promise of life in the 'great Babylons of the west.'

Mrs. Sadlier and the Catholic intellectuals in her circle in New York were strong advocates of Catholic schools and charitable institutions where children could be instructed in their religion and warned against the evils of American society. Her favorite charity was 'The Society for the Protection of Destitute Catholic Children,' founded in 1863. The Society maintained two houses, one in 86th Street for boys, under the care of the Brothers of the Christian Schools, and one for girls, directed by the Sisters of Charity.⁷⁶ The urgent need for the expansion of the work of the Protectorate is the theme of *Aunt*

⁷⁶ *King's Handbook of New York City* (Boston, ?1892), p. 398.

Honor's Keepsake (New York, Sadlier, 1866).⁷⁶ To strengthen her arguments and authenticate the harrowing episodes in her story, Mrs. Sadlier documents it heavily.

Little Charlie O'Grady happens to be with Dan Kerrigan when Dan steals a loaf of bread and is caught. The boys are taken before a magistrate who sends them to the House of Refuge. There every effort is made to drive their Catholicity out of the boys. Charlie is not permitted to say his prayers. Aunt Honor (who had brought Charlie to America) is forbidden to visit him after she talks up to the Assistant Superintendent. When a priest attempts to preach to the Catholic boys, he is shown the door, although other denominations may send in their ministers. Relatives of the boys apply, without success, to the Supreme Court of New York County for a writ of *habeas corpus*. Meanwhile, to forestall a writ, Dan has been sent to New Hampshire. Charlie endures the Refuge four years more and is then taken to Illinois in charge of an agent of the Society for the Reformation of Juvenile Delinquents. He is placed with a Methodist minister who hates Catholics. Charlie is forced to change his name from O'Grady to Graham.⁷⁷ The relentless Protestant pressure has its effect. Charlie begins to talk like a bigot.

New families arrive in the settlement, among them several Irish Catholics. One of them, wise old Mr. Callaghan, knows Charlie for what he is and starts him on the road back to his Church.

'I don't know who your parents may have been, young man, nor what your origin is, but from the manner in which you express yourself with regard to the Catholic religion, one would be inclined to suspect that you had once been a Catholic yourself. *None but apostates hate the old faith as you do.*'

⁷⁶ I have not seen a copy of the first edition. The novel is dedicated to two of the most active supporters of the Protectorate: the Rev. William Quinn, its Advisory Chaplain, and Dr. L. Silliman Ives, President of the Society.

⁷⁷ Mrs. Sadlier tells us (p. 174) that she has made use of 'Mr. Gherard's valuable work, *Illinois As It Is*,' in her descriptions of Charlie's life in the west.

The rest is melodrama. Charlie narrowly escapes marrying Rachel Hume who is actually his lost sister. (Aunt Honor's Keepsake, preserved almost miraculously, saves them from incest.) Back in New York, Charlie undergoes instruction and is permitted to take the sacrament. Conversions (infrequent in Mrs. Sadlier's novels) are gathered in—five in all. One of these converts is Rebecca, daughter of the Methodist with whom Charlie had been placed. They marry, of course.

These matters concluded, Mrs. Sadlier brings on her statistics and her plea in the last section, labeled THE MORAL. She tells us that the 1865 report of the managers of the House of Refuge shows that of the 730 children in the House 441 were Irish and so, presumably, Catholics. No sooner are these boys 'reformed' (as Protestants), Mrs. Sadlier continues, 'than they are sent off to some other State, very often under fictitious names, and so all the money expended by the State of New York for their "Reformation" turns to the account of Connecticut, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, any state, in short, but the one that paid for their "reformation" and their bringing up. Is this conformable to the spirit of American Institutions, or is it not?'

Because of these intolerable conditions, Catholics have been driven to setting up their own Protectorate for Destitute Roman Catholic Children of New York. This admirable charity will be a heavy burden on the Catholic community, but there is no alternative.

To the State or the City it matters little who brings up the child, so long as it is well and judiciously trained according to the laws of Virtue and Christian morality. To Catholics it is of vital importance to have the bringing up and (where reformation is necessary) the reforming of their own children, believing as they do that the Catholic Church is the recipient of all truth, and that all other forms of religion are inadequate to secure salvation.

Mrs. Sadlier ends with a plea for the support of the New York Society for the Protection of Destitute Roman Catholic

Children. She rejoices in the fact that there are now Protectorates in Boston and Buffalo, 'but New York, as the great center of emigration, will always be the great stronghold of proselytism.' Mrs. Sadlier stops short of passing the plate.

During the years between 1840 and 1865 when the professional writers took over the task of providing a body of Catholic fiction, zealous amateurs, from time to time, fired salvos at the enemies of the Church. Though few of these novels have much to recommend them but their zeal, they must be entered in the record. I shall discuss briefly those which require particular consideration and mention the others in a footnote(86).

The Chronicles of Mount Benedict. A Tale of the Ursuline Convent. The Quasi Production of Mary Magdalen (Boston, Printed for the Publisher, 1837) is the work of Norwood Damon, who, from remarks made in the Preface, seems to have been a schoolmaster in New England. It is unusual in being satiric throughout. The first part parodies the anti-Catholic novel in which the setting is sinful Catholic Europe. A plot is on foot, led by Father Pertinax and sanctioned by the Pope, to send a group of nuns and priests (all of them lustful and blasphemous, of course) to America in order to establish the Ursuline Convent in Charlestown, Massachusetts. (Three hundred years elapse before their ship enters Boston harbor.) The last part of the novel is an effective satire of the many 'disclosures' of convent sinning which fed the anti-Catholic resentment that led to the burning of the Ursuline Convent in August 1834.

I do not know who wrote *Father Oswald; A Genuine Catholic Story* (New York, Casserly & Sons, 1843). It may be an import, since the setting is contemporary England. The author tells us in the Preface that the anti-Catholic *Father Clement* has done a distressing amount of harm; *Father Oswald* was written as an antidote to it. The plot is standard: Jesuit Father Oswald's persistent and finally successful effort to win to the Church Mrs. Sefton and her bigoted husband.

Abbott Hall Brisbane's *Ralph-ton; The Young Carolinian of 1776, A Romance on the Philosophy of Politics* (Charleston, Burgess and James, Printers, 1848) is, so far as I know, the only Catholic novel from the deep South. Brisbane (1804-1861) was graduated from West Point in 1825, served in the war against the Seminole Indians in 1835-1836 and so distinguished himself for bravery that he was called the South Carolina Hotspur.⁷⁸ When he returned to Charleston, he was made Brigadier General of Militia. He held various positions as supervising engineer and in 1847 was made Professor of History, Belles Lettres and Ethics at the Citadel Academy. In 1853 he retired to his plantation, 'Accabee,' near Charleston. Brisbane and his wife were converts. After his death she entered the Ursuline Convent in Columbia.

Ralph-ton is a tract for the times, decorated with fictional episodes. Brisbane held unorthodox views about political economy and used his novel to propagate his 'philosophy of politics.' The setting is the Charleston region during and just after the Revolution. Father Duane, a Jesuit, ministers secretly to the few Catholics in the area. (In 1773 Pope Clement XIV issued his Bull suppressing the Society of Jesus.) Among Father Duane's students and later a convert is Frank Ralph-ton, a farmer's son. He is taken up by Landgrave Langdon, whose wife is Catholic. Partly through Ralph-ton's influence Langdon resolves to put the Jesuit's economic theories to the test. Precisely what these theories are it is difficult to say, though Father Duane expounds them on every convenient occasion. He is certainly a foe of laissez faire economics and a believer in economic controls. The perfect society is to be brought about by a proper interaction of the powers of the state, the Church, and wealth and by the equivalence of the agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing interests. These

⁷⁸ I am indebted to Professor Hennig Cohen for calling my attention to the biographical sketch of Brisbane in the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, XIV (Oct. 1913), 179-180.

theories should be tested first in an area of a convenient size where conditions are propitious.

The Revolution ends. Landgrave Langdon serves in the first Congress and then goes abroad to study the social structure in Austria, Russia, England, and France, where he has an interview with Napoleon. He also discusses the future of American Catholicism in an audience with the Pope. He advises the sovereign pontiff 'that the see of Rome should look exclusively to the college of bishops in America for all ecclesiastical information touching this country' and assures him that no resident cardinal will be required. If the 'pomp and circumstance of the European church' are not permitted in America, then Catholicism here will escape 'the prejudice, and even aversion of a large portion of the American people.'

When Langdon and his party (including Ralphton and his bride) return to Charleston, they find that Father Duane who had been left in charge of the experimental community has built the perfect society in little. He has also built a chapel, 'whose spire, elevated above the rest of the pretty group of buildings, lifted on high the emblems of Christian peace and unity.' Catholicism in Dorchester no longer has to work in secret.

Ralphton presents a unique variant of the theme of the benevolent priest who guides his people wisely in all their affairs. Father Duane preaches economics, only seldom Church doctrine! There is evidence that Brisbane took for his model Father John Carroll, S.J., the patriot-priest of the Revolution who became Prefect Apostolic in 1784 and was consecrated the first bishop of the American hierarchy in 1789, with his see (Baltimore) coterminous with the entire territory of the United States. Brisbane alludes to Carroll in his Preface. '[The author] adopts the person of father Duane to emulate the person of Father Carroll, in his high and beautifully modest mission during the times of our revolution. A tribute is hence paid to the past, and a perfect confidence evinced in the fu-

ture—the minister of God's republic is no mean adviser in the republic of man's creation.'⁷⁹

Having reviewed so many Catholic novels and instructed their authors in the theory of Catholic fiction, Orestes Brownson was in duty bound to write a novel himself. Exemplification was not, however, the motive behind *The Spirit-Rapper: an Autobiography* (Boston, Little, Brown, and Company, 1854).⁸⁰ Brownson had seized on an idea he wished to develop as attractively as possible. The novel form was convenient for his purpose. Its thesis is that one who denies the existence of Satan also denies the existence of God. As Bayle said, 'Prove to unbelievers the existence of evil spirits, and you will by that alone force them to concede all your dogmas.'⁸¹ Throughout history Satan has done his evil work through the deluded ones whom he possesses—from Mahomet to the leaders of the Protestant Reformation. In the modern age, Satan uses the spiritualists, animal magnetizers, mesmerists, and spirit-rappers.⁸² The narrator of *The Spirit-Rapper* is at first repelled by their practices. He then becomes fascinated and masters the black arts. 'The public never suspected me of having had any

⁷⁹ When a mission was sent to Canada in 1776 to attempt to persuade the Canadian people to support our Revolution, Father Carroll reluctantly joined Franklin, Samuel Chase, and his cousin Charles Carroll in the (unsuccessful) enterprise. It was hoped that a priest would be useful in explaining to Canadians the true objects of the Revolution. It is odd that Brisbane should model his Father Duane on Carroll since, aside from this one excursion, Carroll all his life scrupulously avoided any involvement in politics. Obviously Brisbane revered Bishop Carroll, as well he might.

⁸⁰ I have not seen a copy of this edition, but used the 1884 reprint (Detroit, Thorndike Nourse). *The Spirit-Rapper* was not Brownson's first work of fiction. In 1840 he published *Charles Elwood; or, The Infidel Converted*. Written four years before Brownson became a Catholic, the novel presents a hero who is converted from infidelity to 'the Christianity of the universal church.' After his conversion Brownson had printed in his *Review* several dialogues or conversations in fictional form.

⁸¹ There is a good discussion of the intent of *The Spirit-Rapper* in Theodore Maynard's *Orestes Brownson, Yankee, Radical, Catholic* (New York, 1943), pp. 223–226.

⁸² Several of the Catholic novelists were concerned about spirit-rapping. Was it a natural phenomenon or the work of Satan? Huntington devotes a partly satiric episode to the problem in *Alban*. Young Atherton has been rusticated from Yale because of his Romish convictions. In the house of the Rev. Mr. Cone to which he has been sent, terrifying spiritualistic happenings break out. In desperation Mr. Cone calls in a High Church minister, Mr. Soapstone, to exorcise the demonic spirits. He fails. A stranger, seeking lodging for the night, succeeds and tranquillity is restored. The stranger, who is a Carmelite in mufti, hears Alban's first confession.

hand in producing the Rapping-Mania; and the Fox girls,⁸³ even to this day, suspect no connection between the flowers I gave them and the mysterious knockings which they heard.' In the end, through the arguments of Mr. Merton (evidently a Catholic though never alluded to as one), Narrator perceives what monstrous acts he has committed under the sway of Satan. 'By that same process of reasoning by which Mr. Merton compelled me to admit the false miracles, the lying signs and wonders of Satan, I was forced to admit the true miracles, therefore the divine commission, and therefore the divinity of Christ, because Christ claimed to be the Son of God.' The baptismal waters are poured over him. He is confirmed 'by the holy Chrism' and now lives in hope that his pact with Satan 'is broken and his soul delivered.'

Brownson's biographer, Theodore Maynard, declares that of all his books *The Spirit-Rapper* is 'without doubt' his worst. If we judge it as a novel, Maynard is right, but Brownson was careful to fend off criticism on this score. In his Preface, he remarks that he is himself puzzled to say what the work is. 'It is not a novel; it is not a romance; it is not a biography of a real individual; it is not a dissertation, an essay, or a regular treatise; and yet it perhaps has some elements of them all, thrown together in just such a way as best suited my convenience, or my purpose.' Though the arguments are pedantic and the historical sections tedious, *The Spirit-Rapper* shows Brownson's lively mind at work on a disturbing phenomenon of the time, the 'rapping-mania.' The book may be eccentric in theme and dull in places but judged as a kind of Platonic dialogue, it succeeds. Like Socrates, Mr. Merton always wins the argument.⁸⁴

M. A. Wallace's *Well! Well! A Tale Founded on Fact* seems to have survived only in its second edition or printing (New

⁸³ Margaret, Katherine, and Leah Fox. Their series of seances conducted in Rochester, New York, in 1848 touched off the rapping mania.

⁸⁴ Many contemporaries of Brownson appear in the novel, some of them friends of earlier days. Priscilla is Fanny Wright (with some touches from the personality of Margaret Fuller). Emerson is disguised as Mr. Edgerton, 'a New England transcendentalist, a thin, spare man, with a large nose, and a cast of Yankee shrewdness in his

York, Sadlier, 1863). The copyright notice is dated 1855. It is a run-of-the-mill novel about an immigrant Catholic serving-girl who outwits her Protestant employers and brings about several conversions. It is of interest because the author was prompted to write it by the example of other Catholic novelists. *Well! Well!* is dedicated to J. V. Huntington, and the Preface states: 'His [the author's] desire was to aid that impulse which he considered necessary to form a Catholic *American* literature.' American Catholicism has now much to be proud of. America has, for instance, 'native Priests and Bishops; she has her celebrated Reviewer [Brownson], whose fame is as wide as the world; she has her Chief Justice [Roger Brooke Taney], no less a Christian than a scholar.'

I have not uncovered the author of *The Life and Death of Sam, in Virginia* (Richmond, A. Morris, 1856).⁸⁵ 'By a Virginian' on the title-page must be fact since the novel shows a close acquaintance with the attempt of the Know Nothing Party to take over the government of the Commonwealth in the election of 1855. Henry Alexander Wise, the Democratic candidate who defeated the Know Nothings and became Governor, is a character in the novel. Wise's victory broke the Know Nothing power in the South. Since this had taken place just before the novel was written, 'Virginian' was able to use it for the triumphant conclusion of his tale. Attacks, usually satiric, on the Know Nothings occur in several of the Catholic novels but *The Life and Death of Sam* is the only one which is entirely concerned with the Nativist Movement's threat to the country.

Mrs. Mary Jane Hoffman joined the professional Catholic novelists in 1864 with her *Agnes Hilton; or, Practical Views of Catholicity* (New York, P. O'Shea). During the next twenty-five years she would publish five more novels, the last being *The King's Daughters*, 1889. *Agnes Hilton* earns a place here

not unhandsome face.' Bronson Alcott is satirized as the 'American Orpheus' who advocates a 'return to the simplicity of childhood.' These satiric sketches are entertaining and deserve study.

⁸⁵ Wright, *American Fiction, 1851-1875*, gives 'Gardner, _____' as the author.

because it is the first work of the newest arrival among the Catholic novelists and happens to fall in line just before my cut-off date of 1865. It is still another series of homilies trying to disguise themselves as a novel. Pride must be humbled, charity taught, suffering endured, and, above all, the dogmas of the Church explained. Mrs. Hoffman learned nothing about how to write a Catholic novel from Father Roddan or J. V. Huntington or Mrs. Sadlier. From the lesser writers she learned that she need only edify her readers. As we might expect, Orestes Brownson called her to account—gently. Things are the color of the rose to her. May they always be so. Still, 'your aim should be not didactic teaching or controversy, which may be bought in any quantity, any day, in any Catholic book shop, but to embody the rich and living soul of your broad universal faith in creation with which to commune is to expand the mind, elevate the soul, purify and ennoble the heart' (*B. Q. R.*, April 1864, pp. 255–256).

How often had Brownson said just this and how few of the Catholic novelists had hearkened to him! He must have felt that the cycle was beginning to revolve again thirty-five years after Pise's *Father Rowland*.⁸⁶

⁸⁶ Here are the also-rans.

1847. Bryant, John Delavan. *Pauline Seward; A Tale of Real Life* (Baltimore, John Murphy). Wright (*American Fiction, 1774–1850*) records a fourth edition in 1848.

A conversion novel. Bryant (1811–1877), an Episcopalian converted in 1842, took his M.D. at the University of Pennsylvania in 1848. In the early 1860s he edited the *Catholic Herald* for two years. See the biographical sketch by Joseph Walsh in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*.

1847. McSherry, James. *Pere Jean; or, The Jesuit Missionary. A Tale of the North American Indians* (Baltimore, John Murphy). A revised and enlarged edition was published by Murphy in 1860 as *Father Laval; or, The Jesuit Missionary. Canada in the 1640s*. A German translation was published at Freiburg in 1922, as *Der Schwur des Huronerhäuptlings; eine Erzählung aus der älteren Missionsgeschichte Kanadas*.

1851. McSherry. *Willitoft; or, The Days of James the First* (Baltimore, John Murphy).

Written to praise the persistency of Catholics for the last three centuries in England. A German edition of *Willitoft* was published at Frankfurt in 1858. McSherry (1819–1869) was graduated from Mount St. Mary's College in 1838, studied law, and practiced in Gettysburg. He was a frequent contributor to the *United States Catholic Magazine*. There is a sketch of McSherry by J. P. W. McNeal in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*.

1853. McDermott, Rev. John. *Father Jonathan, or, The Scottish Converts. A Catholic Tale* (Philadelphia, H. & C. McGrath). Not in Wright. There is a copy at A.A.S. The setting is Scotland at the time of writing, but the author was an American priest then serving in Salem, New Jersey. Father McDermott gives as his third object in publishing *Father Jonathan* the hope 'that by its sale, I may be enabled to diminish the debt incurred by me in the erection of the church, for my poor congregation, in Salem, New Jersey' (Preface, p. 7). There is a brief account of Father McDermott's successful efforts to build St. Mary's, the first Catholic Church in Salem, in Josephine Jaquette, *The Churches of Salem County, New Jersey* (Salem, 1964), pp. 22-23.
1854. *Proselytizing; A Sketch of Know Nothing Times. Founded on Facts* (Cincinnati, John P. Walsh). Not in Wright. I have not discovered the author. Despite the title, the novel is largely a satire of bigoted Protestants in conflict with good Irish Catholics.
1854. Edgar, Mary C. *Father Drummond and his Orphans; or, The Children of Mary* (Philadelphia, H. & C. McGrath). There may have been an earlier printing. O. A. Roorbach, *Bibliotheca Americana* (New York, Oct. 1852), gives 1851 as the year of publication. The setting of the novel is England of the time. It is possible that this is an import. I know nothing further about the author except that she published a short novel in 1844: *A Catholic Story, or Four Months Residence in the House of a Convert from Protestantism* (not in Wright).
1856. Berkley, Cora. *The Hamiltons; or, Sunshine in a Storm* (New York, Edward Dunigan and Brother). Catholic piety of Margaret Hamilton vs. the heartlessness of fashionable Cincinnati.
1857. Clarke, Mrs. DeWitt. *Lizzie Maitland* (New York, E. Dunigan & Brother). Wright was not able to locate a copy of this novel, nor can I. His information about it was obtained from the L.C. card for a copy withdrawn from circulation. The novel was 'edited' by Orestes Brownson, though in what sense I do not, of course, know.
1859. Tenney, Mrs. Sarah (Brownson). *Marian Elwood; or, How Girls Live, By One of Themselves* (New York, E. Dunigan & Brother). Catholic Marian Elwood's struggles with her wealthy uncle, proud of his Puritan ancestry and violently anti-Catholic. The characterization of Marian has merit. She is not the usual sweet and pious Catholic heroine. Orestes Brownson said of the novel (*B.Q.R.*, Jan. 1859): 'The author lives and breathes in the atmosphere of Catholic morals, and Catholicity, without being obtruded, pervades her whole book, but as life, rather than as a dogma.'
1864. Meaney, Mary L. *Grace Morton; or, The Inheritance. A Catholic Tale* (Philadelphia, Peter F. Cunningham). Dedicated to 'the young Catholics of America, more particularly of our own dear State [Pennsylvania] in which its scenes are laid.' A sensational romance—orphans, a will torn up, disinheritance, happy Catholic slaves on Mr. Clifton's plantation in the Old Dominion, and a fine Catholic marriage to end all.

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