

The Sisters of the Holy Cross in Utah

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in the U.S.A.

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The archives' account of the coming of the Sisters of Holy Cross to Utah on June 6, 1875 sounds rather prosaic and ordinary. Educational foundations had been established in the East, the South as well as the Middle States, and Sister Augusta and Sister Raymond had come at the invitation of Rev. Lawrence Scanlan to open a Catholic school in the very capital of Mormanism. The account is not even factually acceptable. The Sisters had come to take an active part in establishing the American Catholic Church in Utah. The story is not simple and prosaic; it is a complex of history, and economic and physical geography, and biography and dramatic poetry, and chance and the providential hand of God.

I make no claims to original research and scholarship. I bow to those who have examined the archives of the Los Angeles Diocese, the records for the Propagation of the Faith in Paris, to scholars like Monsignor Stoffel and Archbishop Dwyer, for whom the Church in Utah has been a life-long preoccupation. But I would love to construct the parts into a cognate whole in which the Sisters of the Holy Cross would hold the place assigned to them by the Apostle of the Intermountain West, Lawrence Scanlan.

Decisions that will be referred to within the paper have convinced me that the role of the Sisters in Utah Church History has not always been appreciated within the Congregation. And the foreword to One Hundred and Fifty Years of Catholicity in Utah,¹ written by His Eminence, Patrick Cardinal Hayes, on the occasion of the installation of Bishop John J. Mitty, would seem to indicate that it has not always been recognized by those outside. This

passage was written after the Sisters of Holy Cross, one of the two religious congregations laboring within the state at that time, had for fifty years conducted day schools, resident schools, hospitals and an orphanage. They had just completed building the College and Academy of Saint Mary of the Wasatch.

No one surely will peruse the story here appealingly told without feeling the glow of appreciation of the heroic pioneers, the apostolic bishops, the self-sacrificing priests, and the laity of an unerring and unfailing faith, whom neither mountains nor desert, neither canyon nor waterways, neither smallness of number nor distance from native hearth. . . discouraged or deterred from giving yeoman service and superhuman devotion to the territory now known as the State of Utah. (The emphasis is mine.)

Catholicism had come to Utah in 1776. The Spanish missionary explorers, Fray Francisco Dominguez and Fray Silvestre Escalante, kept a diary of a journey beginning on June 29th and ending almost a year and a half later on the 3rd of January 1777, that took them through deserts and mountains, across rivers and around lakes in the land of boundless horizons and unlimited possibilities that became Colorado and Utah. They celebrated Mass, blessed land formations and streams with names drawn from the Sanctoral Cycle of the Liturgical year - in most cases the names have not been retained - assisted the ailing, taught the Indians as far as they were able, and suffered only those hardships associated with crossing uncharted regions with inadequate provisions. The original purpose of the journey was to discover a northern route to Monterey in California, but for a brief time Christ was mystically and sacramentally present in Utah, and there is reason to think He claimed it for His own. I particularly like our entry

of the Journal dated September 14: "We called the stopping place the Vega de Santa Cruz (the Plain of Holy Cross). We took observations by the polar Star, and found ourselves in 41 degrees 19 minutes latitude."² They were in the region of the Utah Lake, probably their closest approach to the area that has become Salt Lake City.

The influence of the Spanish Franciscans was, of course, not permanent. For the many years that followed, the Catholics who came to Utah and looked and departed were adventurers on their way to the fabled gold of California, or trappers, or soldiers or priests to or from another assignment. But the territory was, at least juridically associated with the Spanish missions of California.³ In 1847 Brigham Young and the Mormons, who had been driven out of one settlement after another, claimed the valley of the Salt Lake as their "place." There are broad and deep differences in theology between the Latter Day Saints and Roman Catholic orthodoxy, but as Bishop Scanlan said in the St. George Tabernacle, "I think you are wrong and you think I am wrong but that should not prevent us from treating each other with due consideration and respect."⁴ This seems to have been the official attitude of the two Churches; it would be foolish to claim that equal graciousness characterized all members of the two congregations. Brigham Young showed himself a just and generous man in dealing with Father Kelly over a disputed land title. He received Mother Augusta graciously and it is almost unfair to repeat the statement about his lack of financial assistance for the proposed school. Brigham Young felt strongly that parents should provide for the education of their own

children; he taught that it is the knowledge that communities gain by the labor of their own bodies and brains that brings them freedom, independence and happiness.⁴ In addition, six Evangelical Christian groups had been laboring in the Territory since 1869 to convert Mormon children to "true Christianity" by establishing free schools. The Presbyterians opened twelve schools between 1869 and 1881 and invested more than a million dollars in their missionary efforts. The Methodists operated twenty-six schools in the quarter century after the Civil War and their expenditures were in excess of \$600,000. The Congregationalists, Baptists, Lutherans and Disciples of Christ were working in education with similar aims, if somewhat smaller budgets.⁵ The Episcopalians opened St. Mark's, which exists today as Rowland Hall, in 1869 for the education of children of Episcopalian families. How was Brigham Young to know what the Roman Catholics would do? Bishop Scanlan had been in Utah for almost two years and the pioneer religious leader and colonizer was within two years of his death. Kind and gracious words probably represented heroic restraint on his part.

In spite of missionary zeal, the fact that Utah did not remain entirely Mormon was due to the building of the railroads, the opening of the mines, and in no small measure, to the coming of the Irish. Robert Dwyer claims: "To the Irish people history has assigned a role in the expansion of Western culture and civilization beyond any reasonable expectation based on their numbers or their political influence."⁶ On the eve of the American Revolution, it is estimated that no less than 17 percent of the total

population was Catholic, largely Irish, seeking religious freedom. The 19th Century introduced a new economic era and America beckoned to the Irish with ever brighter attractions to solve the problems becoming increasingly insoluble at home. In the decade of the 1820s some 50,000 Irish landed at American ports. In the next ten years the number jumped to 200,000 and between 1850-60 the climax was reached with 914,119. The majority who survived the passage and the industrial complex into which they were plunged settled in New York, Boston or Baltimore where the hierarchy was straining every resource to provide the Catholic immigrant with churches and schools that would supply the needs of his religious life. For prelates like Archbishop John Hughes of New York, it was folly to encourage the immigrant to fan out over the country, to the Midwest as farmers, to the Mississippi Valley where Protestantism was in control, much less to the far West which, as far as he was concerned, was a howling wilderness spiritually as well as physically.⁷

So what brought the Irish to the Far West? It was the abject poverty of the typical Irish immigrant which prompted him, when more conventional means of employment failed, to turn his hand to digging canals and building railroads. The saying goes that the Erie Canal was lined with the bones of Irish laborers; certain it is that you can trace the growth of the Church in upper New York along its channels. It was the concentration of Irish railroad builders who changed Chicago from an unpromising site to a far greater Hibernian center than Dublin itself. And as the railroads crept west all through the 60s, the Irish were in the vanguard, smoothing the gradients and laying endless miles of tracks. Here

again the Catholic Church in America marked the stages of the road with episcopal sees planted along the right of ways: Davenport, Omaha, Grand Island, Lincoln, Denver, Cheyenne until finally Salt Lake City was reached.

In the meantime another event had turned the eyes of the world to the West, the discovery of gold in California. The year 1849 coincided closely enough with the surplus of Irish labor in the East and the winding down of railroad employment as the Central and Union Pacific lines approached Promontory Point to contribute large numbers to the argonauts who followed the gold dust trails from Sacramento into the mother lode country, then into the high Sierra Nevadas and through the passes into Nevada, Idaho, Montana, Colorado and Utah. Robert Dwyer writes:

The stage, then, is set for the entrance of the ubiquitous Irishman into the Intermountain West. He came because he liked to travel and was enamoured of adventure; he came because he was poor and had a yearning to get rich quick; he came because he built the railroads that brought him there; and he came because he had heard as one Paddy would tell another, in the steerage passage, along the sidewalk on Mott Street, out along the tie-siding in Nebraska, that there was gold in the West and a fortune at the foot of the rainbow.⁸

For the bishops of the United States meeting in the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1866, it was clear that something would have to be done for that vast area of mountain land that in three years would be linked to the East and the Pacific coast by the transcontinental railroad. Reports were reaching them of scores of mining towns that were springing up over night and of thousands of Irish immigrants pouring into them needing the services of religion. One such report would have come from Father Macheboeuf

who in 1864 had dispatched his assistant, Father Raverdy, on a scouting tour that took him to Salt Lake City and the Idaho mining camps. Another would have come from the harrassed Vicar Apostolic of Marysville, California, Eugene O'Connell, who had sent one of his priests, Father Edward Kelly, to investigate conditions in the heart of the Morman territory. By June, 1866 Father Kelly was in Salt Lake City making a census of the Catholic population and planning a permanent residence and a chapel.⁹

The decision of the Council was manifest two years later in 1868. It was to erect a Vicariate of Denver with Macheboeuf as bishop having jurisdiction over Colorado and Utah; to erect a Vicariate of Idaho and Montana with Louis Lootens, a Belgian priest then working in Monterey, California, as bishop, and to transfer Nevada to the care of the Archbishop of San Francisco. Robert Dwyer insists that there were several obvious flaws in the decision; it left Utah and Nevada in somewhat the position of spiritual step-children; it was clearly premature in the case of Idaho; and it gave charge over an overwhelmingly Irish immigrant population to a Frenchman, Macheboeuf, a Spaniard, Alemany, and a Belgian, Lootens.¹⁰ In the last case, Bishop Lootens struggled for a hopeless decade with the economic fluctuations of the Idaho mines and resigned. Nor was Bishop Macheboeuf all that happy with his Utah inheritance. One of his first acts as bishop was a visitation of Salt Lake City where he confirmed in Father Kelly's little chapel and at Fort Douglas, and he sent priests to Utah whenever he could. Among these was Honore Burion, fresh from France, who said he could not make a living among the Mormans and returned home. It may have been more

accurate to say he could not live comfortably among his Irish parishioners. At any rate, matters dragged on until 1871 when Archbishop Alemany was prevailed upon to take over Utah with Nevada. With evident relief, Bishop Macheboeuf wrote his sister,¹¹ "at last I am disembarassed of the Mormans."

Archbishop Alemany appointed Rev. Patrick Walsh pastor of Salt Lake City in 1871. Immediately he began the construction of the first Catholic church in Utah, St. Mary Magdalen, at the cost of 12,000 dollars on the property purchased by Father Kelly. He seems to have been hard working and energetic in his apostolate in Salt Lake City and Ogden, but he was replaced by Father Lawrence Scanlan in August, 1873. Only now, with the dawning of the age of Scanlan, were all things in place for the establishment of the Catholic Church in Utah.

Maybe first we should look at the parish which embraced the entire State of Utah, an area of 84,990 square miles. It is estimated that in 1873 there were approximately 800 Catholics in the territory, ninety of whom were settled in the City of the Latter Day Saints and in Ogden; the other 700 broadcast over the area in mining camps and railroad centers. Seven years later in 1880, Father Scanlan could report to his Archbishop that the Utah deanery now counted approximately 5000 Catholics, most of them of Irish birth or parentage. Of these 400 were settled in Salt Lake City¹² and 800 in St. Mary's Parish, Park City. If all, or even a fair percentage of the people had remained, their descendants today would form a considerable segment of the population of the Intermountain West. But they had allied themselves with mining fortunes

of the region. To some few it would bring wealth and social esteem, but to the majority mining was only a temporary means of livelihood, and the rapid and unpredictable fluctuations of the economy connected with it, would prove disheartening and prompt them to seek security in California, Montana or Colorado. Brigham Young who was intent on establishing his Church in a stable, self-sufficient society saw gold fever as a threat to the patience, perseverance and industry required of home builders. He declared, "I hope that gold mines will be no nearer than 800 miles."¹³ His prophetic vision was accurate but his wish was not fulfilled. Gold was discovered in Bingham Canyon.

Rev. Lawrence Scanlan, not quite thirty years old when on August 14, 1873 he took charge of St. Mary Magdalen Church, the only Catholic institution in the Territory of Utah, was born in¹⁴ County Tipperary in the shadow of the ruins of Holy Cross Abbey. He evidently never lost the influence of the County Tipperary; you can't miss it in his description of the Sister nurses of Holy Cross Hospital, and through forty of his forty two years of labor in Utah, he had the assistance of the Sisters of Holy Cross. The first born of a pious family, he went off to prepare for entrance into the missionary seminary, All Hallows in Dublin. According to his associate, Father Denis Kiely, he was the greatest athlete ever to have entered its portals. He excelled, it seems, in all sports, jumping higher, throwing further, kicking more accurately than any of his of his companions in the cassock. Certainly he had the build for it, over six feet tall, with a mop of black hair, vast¹⁵ shoulders and comfortably large hands and feet. After ordination

in June, 1868 and first Mass and final farewells, Father Scanlan set out for the mission land of America, more specifically for San Francisco. Archbishop Alemany, although docilely reluctant to be drawn from his Dominican Community and raised to the episcopacy of Monterey in the autumn of 1850, on his way home from Rome paused at All Hallows Seminary looking for clerical recruits for his new mission. That sojourn was loaded with consequences for the Church in the Far West, for in its train, came Eugene O'Connell and a ceaseless flow of priests to evangelize the last frontier.¹⁶ Arriving in New York, Scanlan transhipped to a vessel bound for the Isthmus of Panama, then by foot to the further shore, and by a Pacific mail-ship to San Francisco.

Bishop Alemany assigned the young priest to St. Patrick's Church on Mission Street, then loaned him to the Northern California missions at the request of his brother prelate, Bishop Eugene O'Connell. But Scanlan's real pastoral experience, before Salt Lake City, came in Pioche, the wildest and roughest of the Nevada mining towns. On the 300 mile trek between the Central Pacific Railroad and the Nevada mission, Father Scanlan succumbed to an illness, later diagnosed as mountain fever. He rested a few days at Hamilton and then pushed on with nothing like proper medical care. There is evidence that the effects of the sickness were life long and contributed to the exhaustion and debility that marked his later years. The infirmity grew to include a distrust of the written word and is used to explain the paucity of early Salt Lake City diocesan records.

The miners welcomed their priest with open hearted generosity.

They helped him build a church which he dedicated to St. Lawrence, but they were not at all eager to reform their lives. The young missionary, just twenty-six years old, whose closest priest counselor was a hundred miles away, refused to mitigate his message. He preached in plain language Sunday after Sunday to ever emptier benches. The priest grew gaunt and his clothes became shabby but his sermons did not change. Finally it was the congregation, in whom the spark of faith burned no matter how dimly, that capitulated. One by one they returned, half in anger, half in admiration, of the priest who had bested them. The time of testing was over and Pioche remained a faithful and fruitful apostolic assembly until 1873 when Father Scanlan was recalled by Bishop Alameny and assigned to a prosperous Church in California.

We do not know the reason for withdrawing Lawrence Scanlan from Pioche, not Patrick Walsh from his newly constructed church in Salt Lake City, but from the vantage point of time, we can see that the change was good. Father Walsh had eleven more years to give to his apostolic labors; Scanlan had more than forty. Father Walsh showed very little interest in working with the scattered and shifting population of the mining camps; Father Scanlan's Pioche experience made him the man to carry the word of God through the western mountains. But very quickly he realized that it was the face to face, and day by day encounter that had brought him success in Nevada and this was impossible in his new vast parish. He needed help and he needed it desperately; so he appealed for Sisters to teach the children. Mother Angela's first response to his request was negative. She wrote to Father Sorin as she prepared

to embark for LeMans in May, 1875: "I am so glad the Sisters did not go to Salt Lake City. I agree with you as to the importance of the foundation - had I the Sisters for it."¹⁷ But seemingly with Mother Angela on high seas, Father Sorin had his way and Sisters Augusta and Raymond were headed West. They arrived in Salt Lake City on June 6, 1875. Arrangements were made for them to stay in the home of Judge Marshall, whose wife was a Catholic, until the little adobe house on the property Father Scanlan had secured for the future academy could be fitted out for them. The corner stone of the initial academy building was laid on August 8, and incredible as it seems, the academy named St. Mary's of Utah was opened for classes on September 6. The Catholic population of Salt Lake City consisted of nine or ten families, but we are told that by the end of the first term, there were one hundred day students and six boarders. St. Mary's of Utah was an imposing four story brick building. Sisters Pauline Moriarity, Anna Crowley, Josepha McHale, Holy Innocents McLaren and Petronella Piggott had arrived on August 27 to prepare for the opening of school; so at least seven Sisters occupied the adobe house, later known as the "cottage" and used for the school infirmary.

The foundation was followed by the establishment of Holy Cross Hospital in 1875, first in a leased building and then in its present site, by Sacred Heart Academy in Ogden in 1878, by a hospital and school in Silver Reef, Utah in 1880, a day school in Park City in 1883 and another in Eureka in 1890, and by the establishment of St. Ann's Orphanage in 1891. In addition there was a St. Joseph's School for boys connected with the Academy in

Salt Lake City and another, with Sacred Heart Academy in Ogden and a Holy Cross Hospital Parish School from 1882 to 1886.

A considerable amount of Catholic missionary extension work in the United States was aided by financial grants from the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, a charitable organization founded in Paris in 1882. Prelates in underprivileged areas submitted annual reports of their activities along with proposed programs they had outlined for the coming year. Excerpts from the letters of Bishop Scanlan dated November 16, 1875, October 12, 1876, October 31, 1879, November 18, 1880 and November 3, 1881 reveal something of his own personality and the state of the nascent Catholic community in the predominately Mormon territory.¹⁸

The following letter and the 1879 account were reproduced by Francis J. Weber, then archivist for the Los Angeles Diocese, from the records of the Propagation of the Faith in Paris, and on deposit in the Chancery Archives of the Los Angeles Archdiocese:¹⁹

In my last report, I most strongly represented to you, among other things, the great necessity of establishing in this territory Catholic Schools, as a means - the only means - of saving to the Church the rising generation and of thus sparing our successors in the ministry, the labor of converting to the Church those who, if in their early Christian education had not been neglected, should be her faithful members. In order to meet this necessity I implored your assistance and cooperation; and now I feel happy in being able to state that my appeal to you has not been made in vain. Through your generous contribution of more than one thousand dollars, and the assistance of God, we have been able to bring here a handsome Colony of Sisters who have already firmly established themselves in Salt Lake City, the Capital of the Territory. The Sisters of the Congregation of Holy Cross from St. Mary's, South Bend, State of Indiana arrived here on the sixth of last June. The outlook then was wild and gloomy, but they were not discouraged. They - two daughters

of the Holy Cross - full of the spirit of their high calling - came to encounter and if possible to surmount every obstacle; and hence, without losing a moment in brooding over hardships and crosses and the suffering that stared them in the face, they at once set themselves to the unpleasant work of collecting funds to make a commencement. Through their great zeal and wonderful energy they succeeded in accomplishing their object. Accordingly a beginning was made: a very commodious lot of ground in a most desirable part of the city was secured, and about the first of August the corner stone of what is now known as the "Academy of St. Mary's of Utah" was publicly laid in the presence of a large assemblage of people. The building is of brick, four stories high, forty feet wide and sixty long, and is the most elegant and largest educational establishment in the Territory. The school was formally opened by the Sisters on the Sixth of September, and since has progressed very rapidly, the number of pupils now being over one hundred, most of whom, of course, are Mormons or non-Catholics.

The Sisters have also leased a building for the purpose of a hospital for the poor miners, many of whom get sick from time to time, and have hitherto died for want of proper care. It is the Sisters' intention also to start very soon a school for small boys. This very flattering success of the Sisters here in so short a time constitutes the chief feature of the progress of Catholicity in Utah during the past year; and furnishes us the best proof that there is here a wide and fruitful field for Catholic operation. . . .

Judging from the past, this territory presents a bright future to the Catholic Church, if only her wants are timely supplied. What are those wants? In the first place, there is need for at least another priest here. There are only two here at the present who are wholly inadequate to meet the growing demands of the whole Territory. But, the difficulty is that there is no means of support for a third priest. . . . Another pressing want is that of a pastoral residence. We have, at present, to live in a few small, uncomfortable and unhealthy rooms attached to the rear of the Church . . . while this unpleasant state of things continues, it will be very difficult to get priests to remain here. . . .

I wish also to call your attention to the necessity of building a church in Ogden City. This is and always will be a city of importance, and consequently, its Catholic interests and wants should be attended to as soon as possible. The number of Catholics there is increasing and would increase more rapidly if there were

a Catholic Church. There is also a number of Catholic children, who if not attended to in time, will be practically lost to the Church. In order to save the old and the young, I intend to build a church and also a school to be conducted by the Sisters. 20

The 1876 letter which follows, and the 1881 letter of Bishop Scanlan to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith in Paris, were seen by John Bernard McGloin, archivist of the University of San Francisco in 1957 when he was engaged in some research on the post-Franciscan phase of Roman Catholicism in the West. 21

In my last report I had the honor of stating to you that we succeeded in bringing to Salt Lake City and establishing therein a colony of faithful and devoted Sisters of the "Holy Cross." I hope the Catholics of this Territory shall never forget the generous support which you have rendered them in accomplishing this grand and glorious work. These good daughters of the "Cross," since their advent here, have been indefatigable workers, and have done more to remove prejudice and give tone and prominence to our Cause than we priests could have done in many years of hard work.

The Academy of St. Mary's of Utah: This large and commodious brick structure, described in my last report, was opened for the reception of boarders and day pupils on the 6th of September, 1875, from which time it has been wonderfully successful - to the great credit of the good Sisters. The average attendance is about 100, and when we remember that the great majority of these are non-Catholic, and that there exists in the minds of non-Catholics, generally, in this country a bitter prejudice against everything Catholic, this number must strike us as exceedingly large. But the Sisters, by their exemplary lives, their industry, their holy conversations, their solicitude and even love for the children and the good advice they give them, are silently - but surely, not only removing all prejudice from their minds, but even gaining their respect and admiration! . . .

But apart from the effect which the Sisters have had upon non-Catholic children, who can enumerate or comprehend the blessings which they have brought to our Catholic children? We priests have been laboring here for the last ten years, have held catechism classes every week and have done all in our power to teach Catholic children the theory and practice of their religion: but, owing to the want of continual every day teaching, of a wholesome Catholic atmosphere, and, worse than all, the indifference, if not the scandalous

lives of their parents, our efforts were all but fruitless. We never could collect more than two or three every year fit for First Communion. The Sisters are at work only a year, and note the contrast.

The Archbishop (Alemany) paid us the honor of visiting us last July, when he had the pleasure of administering Confirmation, for the first time, in this land of Mormonism, to about fifty persons; and of witnessing the pleasing scene of about 40 children make their first Communion, all of whom had been gathered together, taught and duly prepared for these Sacraments by the persevering efforts of the daughters of the "Holy Cross". Verily, the "Cross" is becoming a power in this benighted land, and the little "mustard seed" is already extending its branches and yielding abundant fruit!

St. Joseph's School for Small Boys: This is a neat little building but sufficiently large, however, to accommodate, in a healthful and pleasant manner, from fifty to one hundred pupils. It is entirely separated from, but adjacent to the Academy. It is designed for the education of small boys of 12 years and under that age, and is also conducted by the Sisters. The average attendance is about forty, most of whom, also, are non-Catholics. What I have stated respecting the girls' school, apply with equal force and truth to this. The Sisters are giving the same good example, the same salutary instructions and training, and educating the Catholic boys with the same gratifying results!

Holy Cross Hospital

This is the crowning institution of our Church in this Territory. Persons may, and do, hate the Catholic name, but, in spite of themselves, respect and love its philanthropic spirit; its grand, broad-hearted charitable institutions. They may listen for hours unmoved to the grand orator in the pulpit . . . and when he has finished regard him as a hireling, a mere professional man, if not a hypocrite: (Now you can hear the man from Tipperary!) but the poor emaciated Sister leaning over the bed of suffering, wiping away the sweat of death from the pale forehead of the dying man, soothing his declining moments, softening his pillow, administering to his last needs, consoling him in his expiring agonies, standing by him as his friend, when perhaps his own desert him, encouraging him to enter with confidence on his long and mysterious journey, alleviating his suffering in life, and closing his eyes in the long last sleep of death - all these acts performed for no earthly reward, but through love of humanity, irrespective of creed, color, or country, and very often to an enemy, are sufficient proof, that even the most rigorous and seemingly repugnant maxims of the Gospel are, not only possible to be realized, but are actually realized every day by hundreds and thousands of these devoted daughters in the Catholic Church. All these, I repeat

speaking, indeed, true Christianity, and with a logic and eloquence which the most bigoted and prejudiced cannot resist. All this is the logic and eloquence with which the Sisters in charge of the "Hospital of Holy Cross" have loudly preached to the public, since its opening, and which has already exerted a wonderful power in closing the mouths of many revilers of our Holy Religion.

The Hospital was opened on the 26th of October, 1875 in a handsome brick building which was then considered sufficiently large, but which is now too small to accommodate, in a proper manner, the increasing number of patients seeking admission Over 500 patients have found in this institution, since its opening, a good home, kind treatment and nurses better than mothers - which is abundant proof of its necessity. The average number in the hospital is about thirty

You have suggested that your last appropriation be applied to the purchasing or securing of a pastoral residence. Although, as I stated in my last report, this is very much needed, not only for ordinary comfort but even for the health of priests; yet, seeing the vast amount of good the Sisters have done and are engaged in doing; and knowing that they are heavily in debt, upon which they are paying a high rate of interest - I have concluded to give them the amount appropriated and recommend the pastoral residence to a kind Providence and your future generosity. In pursuing this course, I hope to meet with your approval and not be disappointed in my expectations. 22

Less oratorical, but no less eloquent, testimony of the early history of Holy Cross Hospital can be found in the records on deposit at the University of Utah. One can find the names of railroad workers treated for frost-bitten hands or feet, of victims of mechanical accidents who required amputations, and of men from the mines and smelters whose lungs were coated with coal dust or poisoned by lead or arsenic. Evidently not only the miners but the railroad workers paid insurance while they were working so they could receive medical care when incapacitated. Both the Union Pacific and Denver Rio Grande Railroad Companies have their own admission records. Even in 1901 hospital rooms cost between \$12-

and \$20.00 a week; this included pleasant rooms, nursing care, a good and proper diet and all the medicine required. At the same time, major surgery cost \$10.00.

The Intermountain Catholic for January 13, 1900 carries a low keyed story of heroism. It seems that the Health Commissioner of the State had requested nurses for female small-pox victims. Bishop Scanlan communicated the urgency of the situation to the Sisters of Holy Cross Hospital; every Sister volunteered for the nursing duty. The diocesan paper reports that Sister Filippine and Sister Guadaleine were chosen to nurse patients in the isolated areas where victims of contagious diseases were housed.

The 1879 report to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith was actually written by Denis Kiely, the assistant pastor of the Parish of Utah and of the Church of St. Mary Magdalen. The reason for the change in authorship becomes clear as it is explained that Lawrence Scanlan spent the greater part of the year in Southern Utah building a church and a hospital in Silver Reef.

The story is that an assayer in Pioche, known as the "Metaliferous Murphy" was finding evidence of metal more frequently than the prospectors thought possible. So they brought a fragment of a grindstone and he estimated that it would contain two hundred ounces of silver per ton. The stone was sandstone; so the prospectors had proof positive that Murphy was not honest. No one had ever heard of ore in sandstone. He was told to get out of town while the getting was possible, but he didn't leave until he²³ learned that the grindstone had been made in Silver Reef, Utah.

Murphy, or somebody, found that sheets of silver could easily be exposed on the different reefs. About 9 million ounces of silver were produced at the Sandstone Camp between 1877 and 1903, but the boom days were over by 1880. The silver that was so accessible was also extremely limited. Father Scanlan arrived in 1878 and found a sizeable portion of his Ploche congregation extracting wealth from the land of Utah. He had no way of knowing that the 1300 inhabitants would begin to dwindle after 1881²⁴ and that within a year or so Silver Reef would be a ghost town. The University of Pennsylvania geology students are currently studying the phenomena of the sandstone camp that was Silver Reef.

. . . The past year has witnessed the commencement, and completion of a Catholic Church and Hospital. Within the past year the Church has extended her branches, deep and firm, not in one of the civilized places, which surround the beautiful city of Salt Lake, but far beyond the borders of civilized life, in a thriving mining camp, which is 375 miles from Salt Lake and 300 miles from any railroad.

The place above referred to is called Silver Reef. Two years ago this place was a barren prairie. About that time some silver mines were discovered there, and the excitement created by these discoveries brought such an influx of people to the place, that in less than a year, it was a thriving little town of 2000 inhabitants. (This would have included the population of nearby Leeds.) In the meantime Very Rev. Father Scanlan, Pastor of Salt Lake visited the place and finding there a rich harvest, for a new mission immediately commenced to work.

His first work in the little town was a church which he built with subscriptions raised in the place in addition to the aid received from the "Propagation of the Faith." The Church being completed, and seeing the great interest manifested by the people at large in the work which he had already commenced, Rev. Father Scanlan, in order to further supply the demands of the people who had petitioned him to establish a Sisters' school and hospital, found it necessary to accede to their demands and try to supply their wants.

Having from non-Catholics and Catholics an assured promise of liberal support for future undertakings, he immediately set to work and commenced a new building, which was designed as a hospital. The building once commenced was soon completed, and has been used for that purpose since last August.

The school, which was also one of the necessities of the place, could not be erected, as sufficient means could not easily be obtained. But in order to meet the earnest demands of the people, and further the cause of the Catholic Church, Father Scanlan so arranged his church that during the week the Sisters could hold school therein, which they have done since last August with great success . . .

At present there are in Silver Reef one resident priest and five Sisters of the order of Holy Cross. Two of the Sisters administer to the wants of the sick and three teach school in the church. Thus ended the year in the Southern part of the Territory where Father Scanlan spent the greater part of the year. He commenced and completed two grand Catholic institutions, and saw the work for which they were designed carried on therein by five self-sacrificing Sisters before he returned to Salt Lake.

The Catholic institutions in the city of Salt Lake are all in a flourishing condition. . . . St. Mary's Academy was never more prosperous, than it is this year. Pupils number 200, and of these 50 are boarders. During the past year more than \$2500.00 have been expended in the completion of the institution. At present with its magnificent cornice and beautiful porches and verandas recently put on, it looms up above all other buildings in the city, and is, if not the most costly, the grandest and most stylish building in Salt Lake.

The Hospital of Holy Cross is continuing its good and charitable work, under the management of its devoted occupants. Through it the Catholic Church has received more praise in this city, than it could otherwise possibly obtain. . . The building occupied by the Sisters as a hospital is only rented, and for the past two years, they have been visiting all the mining camps, in order to raise sufficient funds, with which to build a new hospital.

What Salt Lake seems most to need at present is an Orphan Asylum. Had such an institution been once established, it would live, thrive, and flourish, equally as well, if not better, than our other Catholic institutions, because it would have the sympathy of the entire community; and in addition to this, through it a great deal of good could be accomplished. Several parties, whose husbands or wives, as the case may be, have died, have applied to us and asked that we place their children in some Catholic institution, but having

no institution for such children, reluctantly but necessarily we must refuse. I hope and pray that before another year passes by, I may see such an institution at least commenced, and thereby have the consolation of knowing that through it, many little children, who otherwise would be lost to the true Faith, will be brought into the bosom of the Catholic Church. . . .

The Sacred Heart Academy, which opened a year ago in Ogden, has had a prosperous school during the past year, and as bright a future awaits it, as that which has crowned St. Mary's Academy in Salt Lake during the four years past. The pupils at present there number 150, and of these, 15 are boarders.

Park City, a mining camp 40 miles from Salt Lake City has a population of over 2000 persons. There are there not less than 20 Catholic families, twice as many as we have in Salt Lake with its population of 25,000, and I have no doubt that the aggregate number of Catholics there is double what we have in Salt Lake. We visit there once a month but in such visitations very little can be accomplished. No lasting impressions can be made on children, who if not trained in and habituated with Catholic practices, ceremonies and rites, will not, when grown up, be practical Catholics, or Catholics at all, unless the influence of the parents is very great, which in most instances, unfortunately, it is not. 25

Excerpts, from the Bishop's 1880 letter of appeal, are almost necessary to make the early history of Holy Cross in Utah complete, and to get into our records information, which has been preserved, as far as I know, by the Society in Paris and the Utah Historical Quarterly:

. . . Ten years ago there was no permanent residing priest in this territory. Now there are six such priests! Ten years ago there was not a church in the whole territory. Now there are three good substantial ones with a good prospect of adding two more to the number before my next report. Ten years ago there were in the city only a half a dozen regular attendants at the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, and still less as regular communicants. Now there are one hundred in Salt Lake and many more in Ogden and Silver Reef, besides those in several missions, while there are over two hundred communicants in the whole territory! Six years ago there was no Catholic school here, and few catholic children could be found anywhere, and even

these were attending Mormon and Protestant schools where they were fast learning the religion of their masters and everything anti-Catholic; now we have three of the best and most imposing schools in the Territory, wherein are being educated about one hundred and fifty Catholic and about two hundred and fifty non-Catholic children, and not a Catholic child, within reasonable distance of these schools, is to be found in Mormon or other non-Catholic schools. Six years ago there was no Sisters here; now there are over forty and still they come! Six years ago there was no hospital here, no place where the sick and dying Catholic could feel at home - where he could be kindly and patiently nursed - where his wounds could be tenderly dressed, where words of mercy and encouragement would fall on his ears in his last moments; now there are two good comfortable hospitals conducted by the Sisters of the Holy Cross; and it shall be known only on the last day how many poor sinners they have brought to penance and peace here, and heaven hereafter by their kindness, sympathy and prayers!

. . . . I am more in favor of schools here than churches because the greater my experience, the more I am convinced that, if we would strike at the root of the great evil prevailing here, we must do it, chiefly, if not entirely, through good schools, wherein young minds shall be impressed, at least by example, by the truth and beauty of our Holy Faith, before they are enslaved by passions and false teachings.

. . . Little, comparatively speaking can be done with the adult portion of the Mormon people. Their training, the persecution they fancy they have suffered for the Lord, and their whole ecclesiastical system have made them fanatics and "set in their ways," and hence there is no reasoning with them. Those who apostatize from the Mormon faith are opposed to every form of religion and generally become spiritualists or down-right infidels. The Mormons, like their Protestant progenitors claim internal illumination by the Spirit; and hence when pressed to give a reason for their faith, answer by saying, "The Spirit tells me that I am right. I know that I am right, and whoever is baptized in the Mormon faith shall have the same Spirit and the same assurance." 26

In 1881 Father Scanlan - he was not ordained bishop until 1887 - could report that the two churches he had hoped for a year before were close to completion, one in the short-lived, affluent mining camp of Frisco, the other in Park City, away in the fast-

ness of the Rocky Mountains." He reported,

We have been also engaged, during the past year, in erecting a fine hospital for the Sisters in Salt Lake - the rented house hitherto used by them, being too small and otherwise unfit for hospital purposes and demands. The building of three stories - basement rock, and the other two stories brick - stands on a healthy and commanding site of ten acres and will be ready for use in about two months. When finished it will be, in all respects, well suited for its noble purpose and will afford ample accommodations for about eighty patients. 27

Scanlan firmly believed that the most attainable means of reaching the hearts of men were through schools, hospitals, and other charitable institutions of the Church; so he expressed the hope that with assistance from the Society for the Propagation of the Faith and the help of God, he might be able to establish a Sisters' school in Park City. Father Kiely was in charge of the Park City project and he tells that on December 10, 1882 he received the following communication from Mother Angela:

Rev. Dear Father

In order that you may have no false news, please let me state emphatically that we can not take the school in Park City. Do not think of getting our Sisters for it. With great respect,

Your Sincere Friend in J.M.J.

28

Sister Angela

Early in 1883 Father Scanlan wrote his request to the Superior General, Very Rev. Edward Sorin. A prompt reply was received that the school would be accepted and Sisters sent for the opening term in September. In August of that year, Mother Angela, with the Sisters who were to take charge of the school, arrived in Park City and the opening term began on schedule in September, 1883. The original church and school burned to the

ground in July after one school year, but two substantial rock buildings were ready for use in September, 1884. Father Kiely records that between 1874, when Park City became a mission of St. Mary Magdalen's Parish and 1884, the congregation had in-
 29
 creased 500 percent.

Unlike the Silver Reef and Frisco mining camps where the ore was close to the surface and quickly depleted, Park City's silver had to be extracted from the mountain caverns, but it continued to provide a livelihood for the workers over a period of years. The children of the settlers who went through the Sisters' school, for the most part, turned away from the arduous labor of mining and to the professions and businesses of Salt Lake City, but they and their children and their grandchildren have formed the nuclei of the parishes and Catholic institutions ever since.

Four names, in particular, are associated with the Silver King Mine: Thomas Kearns, David Keith, James Ivers and John Judge. Thomas Kearns sat in the State constitutional convention and became a United States senator at the turn of the century. He bought the Salt Lake City Tribune which is still controlled by his family. His wife, through her generosity, gave the family name to the Kearns-St. Ann's Orphanage. I went to school with Ivers girls at St. Mary of the Wasatch and taught two generations of Ivers at Judge Memorial High School. John Judge's wife built the Judge Mercy Hospital in his memory; later, under Bishop Glass's direction it was converted into Judge Memorial School. At a time when private education is struggling for existence and Catholic high

schools are an endangered species, Judge's problem is how to accommodate 800 students in facilities, designed twenty years ago for 500, and the problem is escalating as the Gentiles continue to come. David Keith, a Scottish Presbyterian, joined with William Manning O'Brien to establish a department store to which they gave their names. The O'Briens, especially Margaret, entered wholeheartedly into the tradition of generous support and encouragement of all things Catholic.

Recently there has been a television series in Utah focusing on places in the State where history still lives. I think that Old Park City is still with us when I see a little red-headed altar boy at weddings and funerals. He is a fourth generation McDonough, a family that has given Sister Marie Camille to the Congregation and lawyers, judges, business men and beautiful girls to the Salt Lake City Catholic community. The youngster's mother was Gay Gallivan, whose father is the editor of the Salt Lake City Tribune and her mother was Grace Mary Ivers. Mrs. McDonough's grandmother was a Sullivan from Park City. And these are only the relatives that I know.

In 1981 on the one hundredth anniversary of the founding of Saint Mary of the Assumption Parish in Park City, Father George Davich recalled the names of parishioners he knew as he was growing up in Park City. Hardly a name was unfamiliar to one acquainted with the contemporary Catholic community of Utah. If Archbishop Dwyer had been the speaker in that quaint mining-camp church, I am certain he would have introduced his talk with one of his favorite quotations from T. S. Eliot, "You are here to kneel where

prayer has been valid."³⁰

The demise of so many of the institutions established by Bishop Scanlan and the Sisters of Holy Cross is understandable. They were called into existence to meet the evident needs of the Church and they ceased to be when that call was no longer sounding. For example, the Twentieth Century introduced a new attitude toward institutional care for children deprived of their parents. That, a more affluent society, improved maternal care, expanded working opportunities for women, and the acknowledged social responsibilities of companies, eliminated the need for St. Ann's Orphanage. The depletion of the ore supply at Silver Reef, Eureka and finally, Park City either turned the areas into ghost towns or changed the locality completely. Wealthy Latin Americans or Arab millionaires now maintain luxury condominiums so they can enjoy winter sports in Park City. And the transient population of the resort town no longer ask for Sisters to teach the children. The State school system provides an adequate education for students residing considerable distances from centers of population; so the day of boarding schools, like Sacred Heart Academy, passed away.

But then there is St. Mary of the Wasatch. One has to question whether it was brought into existence to further the work of the Church in Utah, or whether the Sisters of the Holy Cross were finally establishing an institution. Bishop Scanlan did not live to see All Hallows College close and the Marist priests withdraw from the State. His successor, Bishop Glass, was bitterly disappointed that he was not able to turn the tide of events and retain an educational institution for men in Utah.³¹ And, as though

to compensate somewhat for the closing of All Hallows, the Sisters of Holy Cross during the early 1920s, with the cordial encouragement of Bishop Glass, determined on a new plant for St. Mary's Academy, and the launching of a full liberal arts college program. The Gilmer property at 11th East and 9th South was originally contemplated, but passed over, perhaps regrettably, in favor of a site³² at the base of the Wasatch Range, to the east of the City.

Bishop Glass returned from the ground breaking saying, "Brigham Young is not the only one who said 'This is the place'."³³ The 400 acres purchased by Mother Aquina from the Country Club commanded a magnificent view of the valley, the distant lake flaming in the sunset, and the purple Oquirrhhs to the West. The architectural design was the familiar Tudor schoolhouse Gothic³⁴ - an echo of LeMans Hall, St. Mary's. The building was ready for occupancy in September, 1926. By that time death had already claimed Bishop Glass, ever an ardent enthusiast for Catholic higher education. The beautiful campus was almost inaccessible during the winter months, and it removed the Sisters and the resident students from the Catholic community of which the Academy had been such an integral part. Then came 1929 and actual hardship for many Utahans who drew their wealth from silver and copper and wool.

During the thirty-three years of its existence, the college fell short of the high hopes the Sisters had initially entertained for its success. The Case Statement for the Endowment Program of the Academy claims that it was apparent to the Congregation in 1959 that the facilities and the Sisters could be used to greater advantage elsewhere.³⁵ With less than prophetic vision, some saw the

building being used for an academy and an infirmary for the Sisters of the Western Province. The long, cold trazzo halls and the exuberance of teenagers were only two of the factors that declared this an unworkable arrangement after one year. Statistics were presented to show how many more Catholics could be reached in other parts of the West. There were fewer than 800 Catholics per Sister of Holy Cross in Utah and 21, 25 or 29 thousand in Los Angeles, Seattle and San Diego. Quite evidently the Congregation was unmindful of its role in the history of the Intermountain Catholic Church while making decisions during its brief period of triumphalism. An institution that had proved unprofitable was being closed; no further explanation was necessary for the local Catholic community.

However, Holy Cross Hospital has remained and has retained its character as an arm of the Catholic Church in Utah. I can't wax lyrical as Bishop Scanlan did, but I am proud to identify myself with the Lord comforting and curing, teaching and ministering through individuals and institutions of Holy Cross in Utah.

Notes

1. Louis J. Fries, One Hundred and Fifty Years of Catholicity in Utah (Salt Lake City, Utah: Intermountain Catholic Press, 1926), p. 5.
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3. Jerome Stoffel, "The Hesitant Beginnings of the Catholic Church in Utah, " Utah Historical Quarterly, 36(Winter, 1968), p. 47
4. L. W. Macfarlane, John M. Macfarlane (Salt Lake City, Utah: L. W. Macfarlane, 1980), p. 156.
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5. T. Edgar Lyon, "Religious Activities and Development in Utah, 1847-1910," Utah Historical Quarterly, 35(Fall, 1967), p. 298.
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9. Fries, op. cit., p. 20.
10. Dwyer, op. cit., p. 229.
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12. Robert J. Dwyer, "Pioneer Bishop: Lawrence Scanlan, 1843-1915," Utah Historical Quarterly, XX(April, 1952), p. 145.
13. Richard W. Sadler, "The Impact of Mining on Salt Lake City," Utah Historical Quarterly 47(Summer, 1979), p. 238.
14. "Pioneer Bishop: Lawrence Scanlan," op. cit., p. 136.
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16. Albert J. Steiss, Ecclesiastes: The Book of Archbishop Robert Dwyer (Los Angeles: National Catholic Register, 1982), pp. 113-116.
17. Robert J. Dwyer, "Catholic Education in Utah," Utah Historical Quarterly, 43(Fall, 1975), p. 363.
18. Francis J. Weber, ed., "Lawrence Scanlan's Report of Catholicism in Utah," Utah Historical Quarterly, 34(Fall, 1966) p. 283.

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19. Francis J. Weber, ed., "Catholicism Among the Mormons, 1875-1879," Utah Historical Quarterly, 44(Spring, 1976), p. 141.
20. Ibid., pp. 143-145.
21. John Bernard McGloin, ed., "Two Early Reports Concerning Roman Catholicism in Utah, 1876-1881," Utah Historical Quarterly, XXIX(October, 1961) p. 333.
22. Ibid., pp. 335-341.
23. Mark A. Pendleton, "Memories of Silver Reef," Utah Historical Quarterly, 3(October, 1930), pp. 104-5.
24. Ibid. p. 109
25. Weber, op. cit., 145-148.
26. "Father Lawrence Scanlan's Report on Catholicism in Utah," op. cit., 284-289.
27. McGloin, op. cit., p. 342.
28. Denis Kiely, Unpublished History of the Diocese of Salt Lake, prepared at the time of the laying of the cornerstone of the Cathedral of the Madeleine, July, 1900. Utah Historical Library.
29. Ibid.
30. Steiss, op. cit., p. 1.
31. "Catholic Education in Utah," op. cit., p. 373.
32. Ibid.
33. Bernadine Martin Ryan recalls this quotation. She was Bishop Glass' secretary during the last years of his life.
34. "Catholic Education in Utah," op. cit., p. 373.
35. Case Statement for the Endowment Program in the Utah Historical Library.