

**THE LAMENTABLE TRIBULATIONS AND LANDMARK  
CONTRIBUTIONS OF BALTIMORE'S GERMAN CATHOLICS:  
1784–1877**

**T**here were German Catholics in Baltimore even before there was a Catholic parish in the state of Maryland or, for that matter, a Catholic bishop or diocese in the new United States of America. German Catholics were certainly in the town as early as 1784, because, in that year, the leader of all Catholics in America expressed publicly his concerns about them. A group of German Catholics had broken away from Saint Mary's Church in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, then under the authority of the Reverend John Carroll, "Superior of the [Roman Catholic] Mission in the thirteen United States,"<sup>1</sup> and Father Carroll spoke out against their insurrection because, he argued, such like actions would be imitated by German Catholics in the projected "Roman Catholic congregation of Baltimore-town," which was the next year, 1785, to be incorporated by the Assembly of Maryland.<sup>2</sup> What Carroll feared would be imitated in Baltimore was the dissatisfaction of the Philadelphia German-speaking congregants with the ministrations of the English-language priests in that city.<sup>3</sup>

**INAUSPICIOUS BEGINNINGS**

The German Catholics of Baltimore, at least ten percent of the city's four-thousand-member Catholic population, had early on voiced the need to protect their rights as equal members of the metropolitan Church.<sup>4</sup> In fact, they gained the distinction of being the first of the Catholic foreign-language-speaking groups to question episcopal policy with regard to Catholic immigrants. This was nowhere more evident than in a famous clash of philosophies and personalities between the Americanism of John Carroll, who in 1789 would become the first Catholic bishop and in 1808 the first archbishop of Baltimore, and the determination of the German Catholics, clergy and laity, in his diocese, to set up on their own authority their own ethnic parishes.

The German National Parish in Baltimore, which would in due course become one of the paramount contributions of Germans to the Roman Catholic Church in Maryland, had, on the other hand, an inauspicious founder. His name was John Baptist Causse, and he was, to use the pejorative designa-

tion coined by Benedict of Nursia, a gyrovague or wandering friar.<sup>5</sup> Because of him and another German priest, both of whom were resident in Baltimore in the 1790s, the German National parish in that city had a belated birth and a somewhat restricted impact on the Catholic Church in the United States.

The dire need for German-speaking priests in Pennsylvania by the year 1791 compelled Bishop Carroll, elected by his clergy as the first Catholic bishop of the United States only two years before and a prelate of Americanizing tendencies who looked upon the development of ethnic parishes with, at best, serious misgivings, to grant Father Causse priestly faculties in his diocese in order to serve the German Catholics of Philadelphia. In short order, however, in that same *annum*, Carroll suspended Causse's faculties for "insolence and insubordination."<sup>6</sup>

The disobedient priest, undeterred, arrived in the city of Baltimore, the very seat of Carroll's diocese, on February 17, 1792, and without delay placed in the *Maryland Journal* the following announcement: "The German Roman Catholics will open next

Sunday for the first time Divine Services in their own language at the house of John Brown, near Centre Market."<sup>7</sup> The gauntlet had been thrown down.

That Sunday, February 19, more than Divine Services in the German language were held in Baltimore's Catholic community. From *his* pulpit Carroll delivered himself of a jeremiad, a fearful sermon, excommunicating Causse and all "German Roman Catholics" who continued to resort to him. Twice burned, Father Causse moved on soon afterwards to greener, if unspecified, pastures of the Lord!<sup>8</sup>

Matters within Baltimore's German Catholic flock did not improve with Father Causse's departure. At the beginning of 1797, a German Franciscan, Frederick Cesarius Reuter, appeared in Baltimore with respectable credentials in hand. He was soon employed by Bishop Carroll to attend to the needs of the still-small German Catholic community in that city. Father Reuter was, nonetheless, in short order on a ship heading to Rome, where he lodged charges against Carroll, who, he claimed, scorned the Germans, allowing no sermons or instructions in their native tongue,

and excommunicated those who violated his prohibitions. Reuter returned to Baltimore in January of 1799 and triumphantly placed in Carroll's hand a letter from *Propaganda Fide* (Propagation of the Faith), the Vatican's Congregation for the Missions, critical of his treatment of the Germans.<sup>9</sup>

Incensed by this act of insubordination, Carroll wrote the acting prefect of the congregation, Cesare Cardinal Brancadoro, emphatically denying all charges except that of refusing to allow Reuter to publish a catechism he had written in German. Carroll thought it "entirely out of place for the supreme power of the Apostolic See to be interposed by you to the weakening of the ordinary jurisdiction of the Episcopal see," and all without consultation or even warning, "for if this jurisdiction perish there will remain no bridle with which to control the conduct of clergy or laity."<sup>10</sup>

It was the strongest letter Bishop Carroll ever dispatched to Rome. He nevertheless granted Reuter conditional faculties as a priest of the Diocese of Baltimore and permission to build a chapel of ease, that is, a place of worship dependent on the cathedral church.

Hardly was construction begun on the chapel, Saint John's on Saratoga Street, before Reuter set off a second time for Europe, on this occasion armed with appeals from the German Catholic congregation of Baltimore as represented by fifty-three lay trustees, members of the laity intimately involved in the management of parish affairs. The trustees complained of Carroll's summary actions and requested an autonomous German Catholic diocese and a German bishop. This time Reuter received a stern rebuke from *Propaganda Fide* and he returned to Baltimore somewhat chastened.<sup>11</sup>

With the collapse of the schism in Philadelphia in 1802, Carroll allowed Reuter to assume permanent charge of the German congregation in Baltimore and granted the trustees permission to conduct a lottery to pay the debts contracted in the building of the church. In October 1802, Carroll blessed the Church of St. John the Evangelist. On the same occasion, he promised to grant it parochial status in one year if Reuter and the trustees conducted themselves in an appropriate manner. This proved to be a vain hope. At the settlement of the lottery, wealthy

subscribers were reimbursed, poorer ones not. An affluent trustee insisted that a shed be built for his horse and sedan chair, and in the quarrel that ensued Carroll sided with the trustees and Reuter, who opposed the demanding parishioner.<sup>12</sup>

By 1802 Reuter was once again suspended by Carroll, this time for “scandalous conduct”. A parishioner reported that his wife had been intimate with Reuter. The offended husband assaulted the priest in public, and a distasteful trial ensued. It was Reuter who had taken the man to court, but the priest was awarded damages of only one cent by an unfriendly jury.<sup>13</sup> When Carroll appointed the Reverend Francis X. Brosius to replace Reuter, a riot broke out inside the church edifice itself between the supporters of Reuter and those of his replacement.<sup>14</sup>

The case finally reached the Baltimore courts in May 1805. It was to prove significant in both the history of the Catholic Church in the United States and the annals of American jurisprudence. The court ultimately issued an explicit interpretation of the meaning of *jus patronatus*, one that upheld a Catholic bishop’s right of ecclesiastical discipline and that prohibit-

ed trustees, German or otherwise, from hiring and firing their pastors at will.<sup>15</sup>

The defendants, Reuter and the German trustees of St. John the Evangelist Congregation, contended before the court that they possessed an ecclesiastical right of patronage. Father Brosius, representing Bishop Carroll, as *ordinarius* of the Diocese of Baltimore, claimed that according to current Roman Catholic canon law no such right existed and, therefore, “only those were rightful pastors who had received and continued to retain an appointment from the ordinary” (bishop) of the diocese.<sup>16</sup>

The German trustees and Reuter claimed that Brosius had been appointed pastor:

...without previous consent and approbation of the majority of the members of the said corporation and in opposition to their declared wishes and choices and contrary to the rules, laws and canons of the Catholic Church, and we do further certify that [according to] the fundamental laws, usages and canons of the German Catholic Church aforesaid to which we belong, that the members of the church who found and build and contribute to

the support of the church and the pastor thereof have the sole and exclusive right of nominating and appointing their pastor and that no other person whether bishop or pope have a right to appoint a pastor without the assent and approbation of the congregation or a majority of the same.<sup>17</sup>

On May 13, 1805, the court ruled in Brosius' favor and against the trustees, because they did not supply sufficient evidence to determine that Brosius' appointment was against the laws of the Catholic Church and that it was, in fact, "unlawful without previous approbation of the majority of the members of the congregation."<sup>18</sup>

When Father Reuter finally capitulated and departed Baltimore in the late spring of 1805, Carroll, to everyone's surprise, relieved Brosius of his office in order to appease the trustees and supporters of the ousted Reuter, replacing him with the Reverend John Mertz, a German priest who, as Carroll anticipated, eventually calmed the turbulent members of the German Catholic community. As late as 1814 Carroll would nonetheless have occasion to note Mertz's "painful situation with respect to his *Jacobinised* trustees."<sup>19</sup>

#### THE GERMANS MAKE A DIFFERENCE

Although the last decades of the eighteenth century and the early years of the nineteenth are often thought of as a period marked by the discreditable introduction for German Catholicism in Maryland, one remarkable achievement of that community stood out as a sign of better things to come.

In 1796 the Baltimore Benevolent Society was founded by German Catholics, the first such Catholic organization in the United States. Its purpose was to provide insurance and retirement benefits for practicing Catholics through monthly dues.<sup>20</sup> It did not represent, as did later Catholic benevolent societies at the end of the nineteenth century, an attempt to isolate Catholics. Baltimore's members of the Church of Rome, reflecting the pervasive spirit of civic charity of the Christian Enlightenment, were simply imitating the other religious denominations of the city in providing for their poor, elderly, and infirm. This was not particularly unusual, since German Catholics and Protestants had for years been associating amicably with one another in the German Society of Baltimore.<sup>21</sup>

As the landmark endeavor of the Baltimore Benevolent Society indicates, the more regrettable contemporary episodes involving German clerics and lay trustees early in the history of the Diocese of Baltimore and the German Catholic community in Maryland were not indicative of the future. The first great wave of German Catholic immigration into Maryland in the middle decades of the nineteenth century was to provide the community with many occasions to display its mettle.

By the mid-1840s a dramatic change was occurring in Baltimore and in other major cities of the East. Between the years 1845 and 1855 the greatest influx of foreigners in proportion to the population in the history of the United States took place: three million in a country of barely twenty million. With regard to the German Catholics the phenomenon took place for several reasons. There was widespread hunger in Germany in the 1840s, and the famine hit Catholic Silesia with special virulence. Cyclical poor harvests caused bread prices to fluctuate wildly during this time, doubling and even quadrupling prices of ordinary foodstuffs. Many Germans left their homelands after the

particularly hard time between the years 1846 and 1849, especially in response to the European revolutions of 1848.<sup>22</sup>

In 1850 there were some 26,000 German-born individuals living in Maryland. With over 19,000 of these residing in the city itself, Baltimore boasted the fifth largest number of German-born inhabitants after New York, Cincinnati, Philadelphia, and Saint Louis. Baltimore clipper ships carried tobacco to Bremen, Germany's largest port of debarkation, and brought back hulls filled with immigrants. Most of them moved on to the farmlands and cities in the German Triangle of the Midwest, (Cincinnati, Saint Louis, and Milwaukee) but at least a quarter stayed in Maryland.<sup>23</sup>

Though thirty percent of German immigrants were Catholic nationwide, the percentage was probably higher in Baltimore as a result of the publicity given the city by German Catholic mission-aid societies. As was the case with the Irish-American population, German Catholics were at first among the poorest in the city, and priests who could care for their spiritual welfare were in short supply. Sometimes, as one Baltimore account of the 1850s put it, their

daily lot meant nothing more than selling scraps of rags, bones, or coal, salvaging, even stealing; it would lead them—or worse, their children—into lives of crime and destitution.<sup>24</sup>

Unlike Bishop Carroll (1789–1815), who used the ultimate weapon in his ecclesiastical arsenal, excommunication, against no less than three German-speaking pastors, thereby incurring charges of national prejudice, the archbishop of Baltimore at this time, Samuel Eccleston (1834–1851), who had been born near Chestertown on the Eastern Shore, encouraged the development of national parishes.<sup>25</sup> The German parishes were the first to be identified as such and would be accorded a special status during his tenure with the arrival of the Redemptorist Order of priests.

Founded by Saint Alphonsus Liguori in the Kingdom of Naples in 1732, the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer had prospered remarkably in German-speaking territories. The Redemptorists had first worked with the Native-Americans in the United States as early as the 1830s, but under their German-American superior, Joseph Prost, they were, a decade later, instructed to minis-

ter to the German Catholics of the eastern coast. In Baltimore Prost was approached by Father Benedict Bayer, pastor of the German congregation of Saint John, who begged him to take charge of that still-troublesome parish. Prost perceived at once the advantage of Baltimore as headquarters for the Redemptorists in America. He remained at Saint John's while Bayer traveled to Vienna to inform the Redemptorist superiors there of Prost's plan and beg funds from the Leopoldine Society, an organization founded in Vienna in 1829 to aid German-speaking Catholics in America.<sup>26</sup> With him Bayer carried a letter "to each and all" from Archbishop Eccleston that called attention to the misery of the German Catholics in Maryland for want of priests who spoke their own language. Eccleston promised to build not only a new church for the Germans in the city of Baltimore, but also a college to prepare priests to serve German Catholics throughout the nation.<sup>27</sup>

While a national seminary for German-speaking priests advanced no further than the planning stages, it proved an inducement, not only to the Leopoldine Society but also to the powerful



Copy of original owned by the Maryland Historical Society. No reproduction or use without permission.  
PHOTO BY: ALPHONSE COHEN, BOSTON CO. OF MARYLAND COPIERS.

St. Alphonsus Hall  
Photograph by the  
Hughes Company, 1933

Both images courtesy of the Maryland Historical Society



Copy of original owned by the Maryland Historical Society. No reproduction or use without permission.  
PHOTO BY: ALPHONSE COHEN, BOSTON CO. OF MARYLAND COPIERS.

Altar of St. Alphonsus Roman  
Catholic Church  
Photograph by the  
Hughes Company  
1933



Ludwig-Missionsverein founded in Munich in 1838 to aid American missions. From these, and the Propagation of the Faith in Lyons, came some \$17,000 in 1841 for the work of the Redemptorists.<sup>28</sup> Their generosity enabled German Catholics to raise a magnificent church in Baltimore. The old church structure of Saint John would be torn down and a new one built on the spot. On May 1, 1842, German societies with bands and banners paraded from Saint James, an old Irish parish transferred to the Germans by Eccleston, to Saratoga Street for the laying of the cornerstone of what would eventually become Saint Alphonsus Liguori Church. This dedication was the first public display in which the German Catholics of Baltimore could take pride. Canon Josef Salzbacher of the Leopoldine Society laid the cornerstone and Archbishop Eccleston himself said the mass. Measuring 150 feet by 68 feet with a spire that would reach 220 feet, Saint Alphonsus was designed by Robert Carey Long, Jr., one of Baltimore's most famous architects.<sup>29</sup> The structure took almost three years to complete; the archbishop performed the dedication on March 14, 1845, again amid much spectacle.

The presence of the Redemptorists effected a remarkable change in the German Catholic community of Maryland. Father (later Saint) John Nepomucene Neumann, was himself a Redemptorist. Although from Bohemia, his father was a native of Bavaria. After being assigned for a few years to the German national parish of Saint James in Baltimore, Neumann reported to the Leopoldine Society in 1843, that while scarcely half his congregation had gone to Mass on Sunday at Saint James in 1840, now one to two hundred souls could be counted on each weekday. The German Catholics of Baltimore were not only devout, they were also growing. Their numbers rose from four thousand in 1840 to some six thousand by 1846.<sup>30</sup> A third church would soon be needed.

Archbishop Eccleston wished fervently that the very capable Redemptorists do nothing less than take charge of all the Germans in his archdiocese. The priests of the Congregation needed little prompting, having already pushed as far north as York, Pennsylvania, as far south as Richmond, Virginia, and as far west as Cumberland, Maryland, from their central house in Baltimore, Saint

Alphonsus Rectory.<sup>31</sup> At Eccleston's request they also began a parish in Washington, DC, which would remain part of the archdiocese of Baltimore until 1939. In 1846 Father Matthias Alig built a church at 5th and G Streets, NW, on land donated by General Peter Van Ness for the score of German Catholic families who did not feel at home in the basement of the "Irish" church, Saint Patrick's.<sup>32</sup>

Whenever a Redemptorist appeared in Cumberland, 150 to 200 German Catholics would appear as well, some walking thirty to eighty miles from Virginia and Pennsylvania. By 1847 the population had expanded sufficiently to petition the archbishop for a resident pastor. The Redemptorists agreed to establish a parish in Cumberland at the site of the old Revolutionary fort. The cornerstone for that church, Saints Peter and Paul, was laid on July 4, 1848. A "free-church" party, a vestige of the old trustee system, wanted no pew rents, only voluntary contributions. In a one-sentence reply Archbishop Eccleston told the Redemptorist superior that these innovations were forbidden.<sup>33</sup> The church was completed by September 23, 1849. With great ceremony, the Redemptorist vice

provincial presided over the dedication the following month.

Back in Baltimore, the growing number of German Catholics in Fells Point, served from Saint James, needed their own church. A grammar school was built for them on the northeast corner of Regester and Pratt streets in 1845. Next to it, the cornerstone for the Church of Saint Michael the Archangel was laid by Archbishop Eccleston on October 30, 1850,<sup>34</sup> but he would not live to see its completion. In 1850 the Redemptorists at Saint Alphonsus on Saratoga Street began to serve an outpost of farmers from Hesse-Darmstadt, who had settled near Fullerton, a few miles northeast of the city line.<sup>35</sup> It would eventually be established as the parish of St. Joseph.

Another principal contribution by German Catholics in Maryland in conjunction with the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer, and a major contribution to the Roman Catholic Church in the United States, was the introduction of German-speaking nuns into the Archdiocese of Baltimore for the purpose of the education of children. The Redemptorists placed a high priority on the opening of grammar

schools for their parishes, often erecting imposing buildings for that purpose. In 1845 schools were built for Saint Alphonsus' and Saint Michael's parishes. In 1847 the Fathers brought the School Sisters of Notre Dame from Bavaria to staff these two schools and that of Saint James' parish, giving the nuns the former rectory at Saint James as a convent.<sup>36</sup>

The School Sisters' inaugural endeavor in Baltimore was, however, anything but felicitous, and the long-term ramifications were significant. When the nuns decided to open a parochial school at Saint James, Archbishop Eccleston objected to the location, because of its proximity to a high density population of poor German Catholic immigrants, and the Redemptorists balked at the semi-cloistered life the sisters led, believing that it would be a hindrance to their pedagogy.<sup>37</sup> These objections may have played a part in the decision of Mother Theresa Gerhardinger, [Blessed Maria Theresa of Jesus] the foundress and superior-general of the congregation, to establish the American headquarters of the School Sisters not in Baltimore but in Milwaukee, where John Martin Henni, a very strong German bish-

op, ruled. After the Civil War, of course, the School Sisters would purchase land out on Charles Street in 1871, and the next spring begin construction of what in 1895 would become the College of Notre Dame of Maryland, the first Catholic college for women in the United States. Mother Caroline Friess came from Milwaukee in 1876 to establish a second province for the School Sisters in Baltimore "to the honor of God and the enablement of people".<sup>38</sup> The city would, from that point on, become a key center of this German order's American presence.

In 1848, only two years before the Redemptorists began to serve the German farmers in Fullerton, Maryland, the congregation's mission in America had been raised to a vice province under Father John Neumann. By the next year, 1849, there were forty-seven German-speaking Redemptorist priests in the United States, fully a quarter of them in the Archdiocese of Baltimore. They were then constituted a province under the able Father Bernard Hafkenschied with the provincial headquarters at Saint Alphonsus, Baltimore. In 1851 Hafkenschied established a semi-

nary for the training of the Redemptorists at Cumberland. The following year he would inaugurate a novitiate at Annapolis.<sup>39</sup> Maryland was now unquestionably the epicenter of the Redemptorists, and therefore, the German Catholic mission in the United States.

#### IRISH AND GERMAN INEQUITIES

During the 1850s, approximately 245,000 German Catholics arrived in the United States; another 200,000 came during each of the next two decades. Following the *Kulturkampf* (1871–1878), another 400,000 Catholic Germans came to America. Numbering almost one-fourth of the U.S. Catholic population by 1870—or approximately one million Catholics—they would double this figure by the year 1900.<sup>40</sup>

Nevertheless, complaints by German Catholics who were sent back to Europe during this period, not only in Baltimore but from other dioceses in the East and Midwest as well, in particular to the *Ludwig Missionsverein*, the influential sponsor of the German-American missions, pointed to the tendency on the part of some American Catholic leaders, mostly Irish hierarchs, to use even missionary donations from German

sources without regard to the needs of the ethnic German-speaking minority in the United States.<sup>41</sup> A temperate, albeit critical, report was made to the *Missionsverein* in 1845 by the provincial of the Belgian Province of the Redemptorists after a visitation tour of the society's American stations:

In all these stations in which the Congregation, through its priests, cares for souls and establishes schools, no other source of financial assistance can be relied on except for the societies of the faith in Europe and from the Catholics of those missions. The American bishops have to provide so much for the American and Irish Catholics under their care that they can do nothing, even with the best of will, for the German missions. They consequently abandon the building of churches and schools as well as the support of religious exercises for the Germans....<sup>42</sup>

This blatant neglect of their needs bothered the German Catholics, because they realized that the German-Americans who had preceded them had been as important and influential to the

early church in America as any other immigrant group.

Cognizant of this state of affairs, the German Catholics of Baltimore led the way, not only among their compatriots and co-religionists, but among immigrant groups in general in the formation of the mutual aid societies and savings and loan associations for the purpose of acquiring homes. The first of several of the latter groups chartered by the Maryland Assembly in 1850–51 was the St. James Building Association sponsored by St. James Parish in Old Town, Baltimore, that part of the city east of Jones Falls.<sup>43</sup> Father Neumann had previously counseled the Leopoldine Society in 1843 that the Germans were joiners, and pastors would have to work zealously to form just such Catholic organizations, so as to keep German Catholics from affiliating with Protestant and secret societies.<sup>44</sup>

#### AN UNCERTAIN FUTURE

Yet, even as their increasing numbers made them America's largest non-English-speaking Catholic group, and their ground-breaking efforts singled them out as a genuinely innovative force within the Catholic Church in the United States, German Catholics conceded

that their place in the American church was being jeopardized by the growing influence of Irish-Americans, especially within the upper ranks of the clergy. In the latter decades of the nineteenth century, German Catholics began to be troubled by what they perceived to be the disapproval of the English-speaking Irish Catholics, the Americanists, who, to their point of view, found German immigrants unwilling to adapt to American ways. Deriving identity as much from their religion as their nationality, German Catholics in America determined to make their presence, as Germans, felt especially within the Catholic Church in Maryland. This determination would give rise to friction between German and Irish Catholics on a whole host of issues that confronted the Catholic Church, not only in Baltimore, but throughout the United States, in the final quarter of the century.<sup>45</sup>

It was certainly cold comfort to the German Catholics in Maryland, therefore, when on October 3, 1877, a son of Baltimore, the young and vigorous Irish-American named James Gibbons, who would go on to become the quintessential Americanist hierarch, succeeded to the

TRIBULATIONS AND CONTRIBUTIONS

archbishopric of the Premier See of Baltimore in the Cathedral of the Assumption, the edifice commissioned by John Carroll, a zealous foe of ethnic German Catholicism.<sup>46</sup>

— REV. JOSEPH S. ROSSI, S.J.  
LOYOLA UNIVERSITY MARYLAND

## NOTES

- 1 Jay P. Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience, A History from Colonial Times to the Present* (Notre Dame 1992), 105.
- 2 Peter Guilday, *The Life and Times of John Carroll, Archbishop of Baltimore (1735–1815)* (New York 1922), 291.
- 3 Joseph L. J. Kirlin, *Catholicity in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia 1909), 123–29, 151–59.
- 4 Terry D. Bilhartz, *Urban Religion and the Second Great Awakening: Church and Society in Early National Baltimore* (Rutherford, N.J. 1986), 19.
- 5 Trustees of the Catholic Cathedral Church of Baltimore, *Minutes of Meetings*, I: 7, September 4, 1797.
- 6 Thomas O'Brien Hanley, ed., *The John Carroll Papers (JCP)*, 2: 18.
- 7 Thomas W. Spalding, *The Premier See, A History of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, 1789–1989* (Baltimore 1989), 32.
- 8 *ibid.*
- 9 Vincent J. Fecher, *A Study of the Movement for German National Parishes in Philadelphia and Baltimore (1787–1802)* (Rome 1955), 35–60.
- 10 *JCP*, Carroll to Brancadoro, Baltimore, February 9, 1799, and August 20, 1799.
- 11 *ibid.*
- 12 Bilhartz, *Urban Religion*, 49–50.
- 13 *ibid.*
- 14 The Archives of *Propaganda Fide*, *Congressi* 3: 104r–15v, Baltimore Trustees to Propaganda, October 11, 1799.
- 15 Fecher, *Study of the Movement for German National Parishes*, 45–46, 49, 51, 239.
- 16 John G. Shea Collection, Georgetown University Archives, Francis X. Brosius vs. Caesarius Reuter *et alios*, May 13, 1805.
- 17 John G. Shea Collection, Georgetown University Archives, Francis X. Brosius vs. Caesarius Reuter *et alios*, May 13, 1805.
- 18 *ibid.*
- 19 *JCP*, 3:273, Carroll to Fenwick, Washington, June 11, 1814.
- 20 Bilhartz, *Urban Religion*, 102.
- 21 Sherry H. Olson, *Baltimore, The Building of an American City* (Baltimore 1980), 26–31.
- 22 Maldwyn Allen Jones, *American Immigration* (Chicago 1960), 94.
- 23 Bilhartz, *Urban Religion*, 12.
- 24 Gerald Shauhnessy, *Has the Immigrant Kept the Faith?* (New York 1925), 112, still the most reliable source historically for the immigrant population in the first half of the nineteenth century.
- 25 Columba E. Halsey, “The Life of Samuel Eccleston, Fifth Archbishop of Baltimore, 1801–1851,” *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia* 76 (1965), 70.
- 26 Michael J. Curley, *The Provincial Story: A History of the Baltimore Province of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer* (New York, 1963), 1–55.
- 27 Archives of the Leopoldine Society, Eccleston to “each and all,” Baltimore, July 26, 1840.

TRIBULATIONS & CONTRIBUTIONS, NOTES

- 28 *ibid.*, Eccleston to Milde, Baltimore, November 13, 1841. In the three years 1841–1843 the Society for the Propagation of the Faith at Lyons sent \$30,000 (*Annales, passim*).
- 29 Religious Cabinet I (1842): 356–57; *United States Catholic Magazine* 2 (1843), 297–304.
- 30 Archives of the Leopoldine Society, Neumann to Milde, Baltimore, December 6, 1843.
- 31 John F. Byrne, *The Redemptorist Centenaries* (Philadelphia 1932), 93–94.
- 32 Charles L. Boehmer, *History of St. Mary's Church of the Mother of God, Washington, D.C., 1845–1945* (n.p., 1945), 13–18; Curley, *Provincial Story*, 91–92, 110.
- 33 Thomas J. Stanton, *A Century of Growth, Or the History of the Catholic Church in Western Maryland* (2 vols., Baltimore, 1900), 2: 132.
- 34 *The Story of St. Michael the Archangel Church, 1852–1977* (Hackensack, N.J., 1978), 8.
- 35 Byrne, *Redemptorist Centenaries*, 116–17
- 36 [Sister Dymphena Flynn], *Mother Caroline and the School Sisters of Notre Dame in North America* (2 vols., St. Louis, 1928), 31–33.
- 37 *ibid.*, 46–52. M. Hester Valentine, ed., *The North American Foundations: Letters of Mother M. Theresa Gerhardinger* (Winona, MN 1977), 73–80.
- 38 *Catholic Mirror*, November 25, 1876, September 1, 1877.
- 39 Curley, *Provincial Story*, 99–100, 113–119.
- 40 Jones, *American Immigration*, 94.
- 41 Theodore Roemer, O.F.M. Cap., *The Ludwig-Missionsverein and the Church in the United States 1838–1921* (New York, 1933), 83–84.
- 42 Archives of the *Ludwig-Missionsverein*, Friedrich von Held, C.Ss.R., to Director of *Ludwig-Missionsverein*, Munich, November 3, 1845.
- 43 Olson, *Baltimore*, 117, 400.
- 44 Archives of the Leopoldine Society, Neumann to Milde, Baltimore, December 3, 1843.
- 45 Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, 82-H-6, Moore to Gibbons, St. Augustine, December 19, 1886.
- 46 John Tracy Ellis, *The Life of James Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore, 1834–1921*, 2 (Milwaukee, 1951), 164.