Father Morgan Sheedy’s Role In Establishing The Catholic Summer School of America as a Response to Chautauqua

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Introduction
Northwest Pennsylvania abuts western New York state. Pennsylvania’s Erie and Warren Counties border New York’s westernmost county of Chautauqua, which contains picturesque Chautauqua Lake. The Iroquois word “Chautauqua” means “moccasins tied together” — a description of the shape of the lake. In 1874, Methodist Episcopal Bishop John Heyl Vincent (1832-1920) and businessman Lewis Miller (1829-1889) organized the first Assembly on the shores of Chautauqua. It became the site of an outdoor summer school designed to train Sunday School teachers. Later known as the Chautauqua Institution (1892), “Chautauqua” symbolized an adult education and social movement in the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries — located not only at the “mother” site but also in many local Assemblies throughout rural America, including itinerant “circuit” Chautauquas. The Assemblies appeared in 10,000 communities to audiences of more than 45 million. President Theodore Roosevelt described Chautauqua as “the most American thing in America.”

Protestant religious instruction, preaching, worship, secular lectures, political addresses, social reform presentations, musical performances including opera, family entertainment, and social activities were integral parts of the experience. Every major Protestant denomination maintained an office at the mother site, reflecting the reality that the institution was an interdenominational Protestant summer camp.

There was no Catholic presence or participation. Indeed, the first Assembly included as a speaker a former Catholic priest who spoke about the evils of “popery.” Anti-Catholic lectures were generally met with warm applause. Chautauqua talks were published, and Catholic bishops and priests warned against Catholic attendance. While historic Protestant concerns about Catholicism abounded (non-Anglo-Saxon ethnic groups, fears of Vatican involvement in American politics, and theological differences), the real division between Chautauqua and American Catholics was over the “school question.” Chautauqua and its related Sunday School Movement desired one public school for all, replete with the King James Bible in classrooms, and were outraged by Catholic demands for public funding of Catholic schools or even an exemption for Catholics from school taxes. One regular Chautauqua speaker described parochial schools as “an enemy of civil freedom” inasmuch as the students were loyal papists, controlled by the Jesuits.

Chautauqua attendees, upon their return home from Assemblies, redoubled their proselytization of immigrant Catholics in Western Pennsylvania. These evangelization efforts were particularly strong, given that the majority

“Deus illuminatio mea! — O God, my light!”
— Motto of the Catholic Summer school of America

Chautauqua Centennial Stamp (1974)
Source: Bureau of Engraving and Printing
“US stamp honoring the 100th anniversary of the Chautauqua movement,” USPS, 1974
Protestant population was comprised primarily of Presbyterians, Methodists, and Anglicans descended from immigrants from Northern Ireland, Scotland, and England—all of which had centuries-old anti-Catholic histories. Most Catholic priests in the western half of Pennsylvania had emigrated either from Ireland or the Catholic German States and were familiar with this religious history and the threat the Chautauqua Movement posed to the many Catholic immigrants who had an inadequate foundation in their faith given the dual realities of (1) centuries of British oppression of Catholics including prohibition of even secular education of Catholics in Ireland, and (2) centuries of religious wars in the German States that had culminated in Bismarck’s cultural war (Kulturkampf) against Catholics in the German Empire. The stakes for the survival and growth of Catholicism in Western Pennsylvania were high indeed in the face of this evangelical challenge that was so powerful in the general American culture.

Pittsburgh’s Parish at “the Point”

In 1868, immigrant Irish Catholics in Pittsburgh’s First Ward at “the Point” (the juncture of the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers that forms the Ohio River) purchased a house and converted it into a chapel called Our Lady of Consolation for the conduct of religious services. It served as a mission from St. Paul Cathedral Church, then located Downtown at the corner of Grant Street and Fifth Avenue. Two years later, the mission became an independent parish. Father Andrew A. Lambing became pastor in 1872. The church building quickly proved inadequate. In May 1876, the parish purchased Ames Methodist Episcopal Church at the corner of Third Avenue and Ferry (today, Stanwix) Street. After renovation, the church was dedicated on September 24, 1876, under the name of St. Mary of Mercy. Father Morgan Sheedy became pastor in October 1885 and the future of the parish was assured. Given Father Sheedy’s skills as a visionary priest, educator, lecturer, author, and fundraiser, it was a certainty that he would not only address his parishioners’ needs but—understanding the broader American cultural challenge to those of the Catholic faith—would also initiate a national Catholic response to the Chautauqua Movement. His subsequent undertakings can only be understood as the cumulative product of his religious zeal, ethnic heritage, education, intellect, scholarship, determination, and civic commitment. Who was this extraordinary priest?

Father Morgan Madden Sheedy

Irish Immigrant

Morgan Madden Sheedy was born in the townland of Knahill, to the west of the village of Liscarroll in County Cork, in southwestern Ireland, on October 8, 1853. He was one of nine children (six boys and three girls). “Morgan Madden” Sheedy was named after his mother’s oldest brother, Very Rev. Morgan Madden, a priest of the Diocese of Ross in the southwestern corner of County Cork. Knahill was part of the Diocese of Cloyne, which encompassed the northern and eastern parts of County Cork and had its cathedral in the ancient seaport of Cobh (Queen-
Young Sheedy attended the Latin School in the nearby town of Charleville for his elementary schooling. He then undertook three years of classical studies at St. Colman College in Fermoy, County Cork, under the direction of a seminary president who would later become bishop of the Diocese of Ross (Ireland). He then successfully passed a competitive examination entitling him to a free bursar at the national seminary, St. Patrick’s in Maynooth. The Maynooth Matriculation Register lists Sheedy as entering his studies in Philosophy I on September 27, 1871, as a candidate from the Diocese of Cloyne. He studied natural and moral philosophy for two years and took a three-year course in theology under several professors who would shortly be elevated to the archbishoprics of Dublin and Melbourne (Australia) and the bishopric of Down and Connor (Ireland). He graduated in 1876 but was too young to be ordained.

Sheedy immigrated to Pittsburgh at the invitation of Bishop John Tuigg who was, like Sheedy and Pittsburgh’s first Bishop Michael O’Connor, a native of County Cork. He took up residence at St. Michael’s Seminary in the Glenwood (today, Hazelwood) section of Pittsburgh, where he received final pastoral instruction from the rector and priest-professors. He was ordained a priest of the Diocese of Pittsburgh by Bishop Tuigg in the second St. Paul Cathedral (Downtown) on September 23, 1876. His first assignment was as professor of history and theology at St. Michael’s Seminary. The Pittsburgh Catholic newspaper correctly observed that “Father Sheedy’s chief interest has been in the educational and literary fields.” He would later receive honorary doctoral degrees from the University of Notre Dame (1906) and Mount St. Mary’s College in Emmitsburg, Maryland (1908).

After the closure of St. Michael’s Seminary in January 1877, Father Sheedy served as assistant pastor of St. Agnes Church in the Oakland section of Pittsburgh. After almost a year there, he became assistant pastor at St. Mary Church in Parker’s Landing (Armstrong County) for a year. Father Sheedy was then assigned as an assistant at St. John Church in Altoona in November 1878. During this time, he was naturalized as a U.S. citizen in July 1880. In March 1881, he was appointed pastor of St. Rose Church in Cannelton (an unincorporated community in Darlington Township, Beaver County) and the mission church of St. Mary in Clinton (also in Beaver County). While there, Sheedy was editor of the Pittsburgh Catholic newspaper.

**Pastor of St. Mary of Mercy Church**

Four years later, in October 1885, Father Sheedy was appointed pastor of St. Mary of Mercy Church at the Point (succeeding Father Lambing), where he remained for nine years. His tenure at the Point church was aptly described: “during his nine years there he exercised a powerful influence in the community.” The Rev. Dr. James Allison, editor of the Presbyterian Banner, defined Sheedy’s efforts in the acknowledged “red light” district of the city, famed for its “underworld,” in these blunt terms: “The fight down there in the First Ward is between Father Sheedy and the Devil.”

As pastor, the vigorous young priest undertook a number of initiatives:

† The original church on First Avenue was being used as the parish school. Father Sheedy promptly purchased a lot at 216 Penn Avenue and built a new three-story school which was dedicated in 1890. Sisters of Mercy staffed the school. After Sheedy’s pastorate, the district changed from residential to commercial. That demographic change led to the school’s closure. The building was leased for commercial use until its sale and demolition in 1938.

† Sheedy arranged to lease vacant classrooms in Duquesne School, a nearby public school at the corner of Second Avenue and Liberty Street, for his parish’s students who were overcrowding his parish school building. A “group of bigots” attempted to prevent this, and Sheedy fought the case successfully. The highly controversial arrangement of a single school — occupied by both public-school students and Catholic pupils, with the latter far outnumbering the former — lasted only one year.

† The church then in use was the former Ames Methodist Episcopal Church which had been modified by Father Lambing. Sheedy razed that building and constructed a larger brick church on the site. Dedication took place on May 28, 1893. That structure would remain in use for over four decades until its demolition in 1935, when it was replaced by a larger church and rectory (occupying the block on Stanwix Street between Third Avenue and the Boulevard of the Allies) which are still in use today.

**Altoona**

Father Sheedy returned to Altoona on November 18, 1894, as irremovable rector of St. John Church (where he had previously served as assistant) for the remainder of his...
life. His appointment was a promotion, as noted in *The Pittsburg Press*:

To those who may inquire whether Father Sheedy has been promoted in going to Altoona, it should be stated that St. John’s Church, the new charge of Father Sheedy, is the largest in the diocese. It has 3,500 members, is absolutely free of debt, and in the performance of his duty its pastor has the services of two assistants. Altoona is one of the churches in the diocese which are irremovable or permanent pastorate — that is, the officiating priest cannot be removed against his will unless it be to accept a promotion....

In 1901, with the erection of the Diocese of Altoona from the original territory of the Diocese of Pittsburgh and the designation of St. John as the cathedral, Father Sheedy became rector of the cathedral church. In 1923, he saw to the razing of St. John Church and the erection of its successor under a new name: the Cathedral of the Blessed Sacrament, followed by a new rectory and convent. Sheedy was also involved in community improvement efforts in Altoona.

* Literary Works

Among Sheedy’s many writings were *Briefs for Our Times*, *Social Problems*, and *Christian Unity*. He also authored the first history of the Diocese of Altoona. He was a member of the Writers’ Club of Pittsburgh, the American Catholic Historical Society, the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, the American Academy of Science, and the University Club. He was also listed in *Who's Who in America*, *Who's Who in the Clergy*, and *Thom's Irish Who's Who*.

Sheedy was founder and editor in 1895 of the *St. John's Quarterly* that he later changed into the *Altoona Monthly* in 1912; he continued as its editor until 1925. Sheedy was a frequent contributor of articles to Catholic newspapers and magazines, such as *The Catholic World*, *Donahoe’s Magazine*, *Commonweal*, and the *American Ecclesiastical Review*. He helped to organize and served as a director of the Columbus Club of Pittsburgh, a society devoted to literary and social exercises. Sheedy was an editor of the *Pittsburgh Catholic* for several years. He was also a scholarly contributor to the multi-volume *Catholic Encyclopedia* (1907-1912).

In 1929, he established the Sheedy Scholarship at Seton Hill College, through which a yearly scholarship would be competitively awarded to a student member of the Altoona cathedral parish. Sheedy was also a contributor to the secular press and his articles appeared regularly in Pittsburgh newspapers. In short, the literary output from Father Sheedy was enormous — and this was only rivaled by the press coverage of his many lectures throughout the nation.

*Acclaimed Lecturer*

Sheedy enjoyed a well-deserved national reputation as a public lecturer and was a much sought-after speaker at Catholic fundraising events. Representative of his high profile was a memorable lecture given at the Montauk Theater in Brooklyn on March 3, 1901, for the benefit of the Convent of the Precious Blood. The *Brooklyn Citizen* devoted a half page to its coverage and in its opening paragraph stated that “the lecture delivered by the Rev. Morgan M. Sheedy was worth going miles to hear.” The paper printed the complete text of the address. The lecture was combined with a concert of orchestra and chorus. Brooklyn Bishop Charles McDonnell, clergy, religious, and laity jammed the...
hall where Sheedy spoke on “The Religious Outlook.”

On the occasion of Sheedy’s lecture in Brooklyn, the Pittsburgh Catholic took the opportunity to explain the priest’s ability to draw large crowds to his public addresses:

Father Sheedy is very well known in the literary world and as a preacher and as a lecturer his name and fame are well established. He is in the prime of life, learned, cultured and eloquent, with a pleasing personality and an attractive manner that at once places him in perfect accord with an appreciative audience.  

Father Sheedy was as highly sought after as a speaker in Pittsburgh as he was in New York. The Pittsburgh Press was enthusiastic in announcing the return of Sheedy from Altoona to Pittsburgh to speak at the St. Patrick’s Day festivities of the Ancient Order of Hibernians to be held in Carnegie Music Hall in March 1910. The paper described Sheedy as “one of the most popular clergymen in the state, and a speaker of rare ability.”

Representative of the breadth of Sheedy’s oratorical outreach to all, regardless of religious affiliation or social class, was his address to the thirtieth annual convention of the Pennsylvania State Funeral Directors’ Association in 1912. Sheedy, the “principal speaker,” was received enthusiastically by the attendees who “were loud in their praises” and had the speech printed on the front page of the next day’s newspaper.

Educational Initiatives

Sheedy’s efforts on behalf of Catholic education, especially higher education, were described as “incessant.” As the outgrowth of his interest in literary and educational work, he was one of the most prominent promoters of the Catholic Reading Circles, a founder and first president of the Catholic Summer School of America, and a member of the latter organization’s board of trustees for 48 years until his death in 1939. Sheedy’s work in those two organizations is the focus of this article and will be described in detail later.

Temperance Movement

While at the Point, Father Sheedy began his work on behalf of the cause of temperance, which became a conspicuous feature of his life’s activities. St. Mary’s was located in a district that “was dotted with saloons, many of them of a low and disreputable order, and Father Sheedy was indefatigable in his efforts to reduce their number and to lead his parishioners and other friends in paths of sobriety and good citizenship.”

Sheedy was the affiant in a Remonstrance filed with the Liquor License Court that was considering 107 retail liquor applications for Pittsburgh’s First Ward in March 1892. The Pittsburgh Dispatch reported:

Rev. Morgan Sheedy is the affiant and … signer to a general remonstrance to any increase in the number of saloons in the First Ward, Pittsburgh. The paper comes from the Father Mathew Association, connected with St. Mary of Mercy’s Church, and is signed by … Rev. Sheedy as spiritual director. The statement reads:

We do this in the interests of the hundreds of people living here who suffer from the effects of the liquor traffic; in the interest of good morals; in short for the peace and good order of this community in which we are specially interested owing to the fact that a number of our members reside here. On behalf of our organization, numbering 48 persons, we pray you to give this remonstrance your due consideration.

Irish-born Capuchin Father Theobald Mathew (1790-1856) had led the temperance movement in the English-speaking world. In the years following Father Mathew’s death, Father Sheedy came to be considered by many to be one of the most prominent American leaders of the Catholic temperance movement.

In the 1890s, the Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America (C.T.A.U.A.) donated $25,000 to the Catholic University of America on the condition that public lectures would be given each year on the temperance work to which Father Mathew had devoted his life. Father Sheedy, who had served as national vice president of the C.T.A.U.A. (1888-1891), was chosen to inaugurate the annual lecture series in a public setting outside of the university by speaking from the pulpit of St. Patrick’s Cathedral in New York in March 1898. Appropriately, The New York Times headline of March 7, 1898 announced “Against Sunday Opening: The Rev. Morgan M. Sheedy, at St. Patrick’s Cathedral, Denounces the Liquor Traffic.” He addressed a packed cathedral, with every seat filled and the crowd jamming the aisles. The paper reported that Sheedy’s lecture was an “official declaration” of the archdiocese whose archbishop, Michael Corrigan, presided from his cathedral in the sanctuary.

The Irish Independence Movement

Father Sheedy, Irish-born and serving Catholic parishes at the Point and then Altoona that were comprised almost exclusively of Irish immigrants and their children, keenly followed all political developments concerning his homeland that remained under British rule after several hundred years. His return trips to Ireland and the arrival of his younger siblings in the United States certainly intensified his views regarding Irish and American Irish efforts to seek independence for Ireland. Brothers John and Paul Sheedy were actively involved in, and Father Morgan Sheedy also did not ignore, the Irish cause.
An Act of Union had been passed in 1800 to form the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. Subsequently, Ireland had been governed by Coercion Acts which “made every expression of national feeling a crime.” Each effort by the Irish to secure basic human rights was met with new British legislation. Parliament had already legislated an Insurrection Act for Ireland (1796). The Coercion Act of 1833 (formally, the Suppression of Disturbances Act) was a reaction to Catholic tenant farmers’ resistance to paying compulsory tithes to the Protestant Church of Ireland — suspects were tried by military court martial, with penalties including whipping, transportation for life, and death. The Habeas Corpus Act (the right not to be arrested without charge) was later suspended due to Fenian (Irish Republic Brotherhood) agrarian agitation. A new Coercion Act (officially, the Peace Preservation Act) was passed in 1870, allowing magistrates to detain suspects without trial, detain witnesses, and imprison witnesses until they testified. By the 1880s, the Land League — led by Irish nationalist Charles Stuart Parnell and others — attempted to halt evictions and lower rents at a time of economic recession. Over 11,000 evictions were enforced by the police and British military. The “boycott” or social ostracism was the main weapon of passive Irish resistance. Another Coercion Act followed in 1881.

Events built incrementally to a crescendo after the assassination in 1882 of the two highest ranking British officials in Dublin in the “Phoenix Park murders.” Conservative Party leader Lord Salisbury became Prime Minister in 1885. In 1887, The Times of London published a sensational “Parnellism and Crime” series, which linked the Irish nationalist leader to the Phoenix Park murders. The government promptly
sought enactment of another Coercion Act under which suspects could be imprisoned without trial by jury and “dangerous” associations such as the Land League could be prohibited — a promised “repression as stern as Cromwell’s.”61 Thus, the British view — described by one of its politicians — was that coercion was “the best machine that has ever been invented for governing a country against its will.”62

The reaction among the Irish diaspora and others was immediate. In Pittsburgh, a mammoth rally was set for April 30, 1887 “to protest against the monster of coercion.”63 An estimated 10,000 jammed the spacious Grand Central Rink (in the 500 block of Penn Avenue near Sixth Street). Henry Gourley, president of Pittsburgh’s Select Council, served as president, with Father Sheedy as secretary. While the event was decidedly Irish, the audience was comprised of Protestants and Catholics, native-born and Irish-born, Scots-Irish and Catholic Irish, Germans and other ethnic. After the president’s introductory remarks, Sheedy took center stage and read letters of regret from major politicians and other prominent persons who could not attend — including Pittsburgh Coadjutor Bishop Richard Phelan who wrote: “the coercion bill now before the British parliament, a bill the most outrageous enacted in modern times, even by that body, and calculated to crush out every vestige of freedom among the Irish people, and if enforced render them virtually a nation of slaves.”64

Several speeches were given. A Resolution was then read by Sheedy attacking the proposed Coercion Act as suppressing constitutional liberty, suspending trial by jury, abolishing freedom of the press, and interfering with the public right to gather peaceably. The Resolution noted that such an Act was repugnant to principles of right and justice, unwarranted by the low crime rate in Ireland, and would impede settlement of the Irish question. The Resolution concluded with an expression of support for British opposition Liberal Party leader William Gladstone and Irish Parliamentary Party leader Charles Parnell in the struggle for justice. The meeting appropriately ended with the singing of “The Shamrock.”65

After the meeting, Sheedy and Gourley went to the telegraph office and sent cablegrams to Parnell and Gladstone. Sheedy arranged for publication in the local press of an account of the meeting that included the speeches,66 the cablegrams,67 and the letters of regret.68 Sheedy wisely played a secondary role in connection with the meeting — allowing a Protestant to serve as president and for the participation of prominent non-Catholics as speakers on stage — thus avoiding criticism that the event was a purely “Catholic” one. Moreover, the role of secretary dovetailed perfectly with Sheedy’s writing talents. The enthusiasm of attendees at the meeting and the subsequent positive press coverage certainly benefited the cause of Irish freedom.

On St. Patrick’s Day 1891, Sheedy traveled from Pittsburgh to address a “Faith and Fatherland” assembly in a packed St. John’s Church Hall in Altoona where he assailed the “English-made famine of 1846-7” in which untold numbers died and a million emigrated. He criticized oppressive British coercion laws for Ireland and concluded that “agitation” rather than force or emigration was the only feasible method to achieve change.69

Other Interests
Father Sheedy was quite active in the Maynooth Alumni Association, composed of the more than 60 graduates of the Irish national seminary who resided in the United States. He was elected president of the association at the sixth annual convention held in Cleveland on November 14, 1897.70 Father Sheedy was regularly mentioned in the Pittsburgh diocesan newspaper in connection with his activities in the temperance movement, parochial duties, participation in the funerals of brother priests, dedication of the nurses’ home at Mercy Hospital in Altoona, and participation in episcopal ceremonies. He received even more coverage in the secular press due in part to his novel and extraordinarily creative fundraising efforts for his parish and various Catholic charities and causes. One example will suffice: In order to raise funds for the construction of the new St. Mary of Mercy Church, Father Sheedy conducted an enormous bazaar in the former post office building which included “a gypsy tent with the weird fortune teller.”71 A veritable army of volunteers enabled this and Father Sheedy’s other fundraising events to reap “a goodly sum.”72

Father Sheedy was also a founder of the Pittsburgh Polytechnic Society. The scope of his interests and his demonstrated accomplishments was breathtaking.

Relations with Protestants
Father Sheedy’s literary and oratorical exchanges with Protestant ministers who attacked Catholic doctrine and practices — including Rev. J. T. McCrory of the Third Presbyterian Church, whom Sheedy styled a “third-rate lucifer of the pulpit” — captured the attention of Pittsburghers of all faiths.73

Sheedy also successfully exposed the lies of Rev. Mr. Bowlby of the First Presbyterian Church in Altoona who had asserted before both the latter’s Protestant congregation and the Altoona Ministerial Association that three prominent Catholic prelates favored “Bible reading in the public schools.” Sheedy obtained original letters from James Cardinal Gibbons of Baltimore and Archbishop John
Ireland of St. Paul denying the assertions and had both response letters published in Altoona’s leading secular newspaper — along with Sheedy’s comment that the third Catholic prelate did not even exist! But Sheedy’s most pointed attack was directed at the minister’s “source” of the alleged hierarchical position — a “five cent tract” from Pittsburgh — which Sheedy concluded:

… of course [it] was worthless, evidently prepared by the same class of people who get up and circulate the Jesuits’ and Knights of Columbus’ alleged oaths. His brethren of the Ministerial Association, the knowing ones among them, must have quietly smiled at this method of proof. And was it quite fair to the simple minded among them and to the unsuspecting public, who read the daily Tribune, to attempt to lead them astray in an important matter like this?74

But Father Sheedy did maintain excellent working relationships with other Protestant ministers, including Rev. Dr. George Hodges75 of Calvary Episcopal Church. The two together sponsored a series of sacred music concerts in Exhibition Hall in summer 1892. Sheedy was the closest friend of Hodges, who later became dean of the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge, Massachusetts. This friendship and their cooperative works attracted national attention. The Burlington Independent (Vermont) described their friendship in these words:

Signs and wonders! Rev. Father Morgan Sheedy, Catholic, and Rev. George Hodges, pastor of the richest Protestant church in Pittsburgh, have been holding joint praise meetings for three last Sunday afternoons in the Pittsburgh Exhibition Hall with a total attendance of 16,000. The same clergymen have joined hands in a fair for the joint benefit of the Roman Catholic Roselia Foundling Asylum, and the Protestant Bethesda for Fallen Women the net profits for which were $20,000. And why not? Both clergymen worship the same God, and follow the same Christ whose life was largely devoted to good works.76

Unknown today is the fact that Father Sheedy collaborated with Dr. Hodges to establish the Kingsley House as a social settlement center at 1707 Penn Avenue in the Strip District in 1893.77 That area consisted mostly of factory and railroad workers who were predominantly Irish Catholic immigrants.78 Appropriately, these two clergymen established a settlement house that bore the name of a famed English clergyman and socialist, Rev. Charles Kingsley.79

Father Sheedy’s many friendships facilitated his positive reception by Protestant groups. In November 1909, he addressed the Church Club (an organization of laymen) of the Episcopal Diocese of Pittsburgh at a dinner in the Duquesne Club, which was the most exclusive private Protestant club in Pittsburgh. Announcement of the speech made the front page of The Pittsburgh Post.80 Little wonder that Father Sheedy was described by non-Catholics and secularists as “the most popular Catholic priest of Pittsburg.”81 He was well received in a stratified society where Catholics were virtually absent except at the very bottom.82

During Sheedy’s later years in Altoona, he became one of the founders of the Blair County Historical Society. And he was a founder of the Central Pennsylvania Humane Society where he took an active part in its work.

Zeal for New Initiatives

Father Sheedy’s enthusiasm was displayed in his seemingly boundless energy. For example, the Catholic Union and Times of Buffalo reported that at the 1904 Catholic Summer School at Cliff Haven, Sheedy said daily Masses, gave informal addresses throughout the day, delivered formal daily lectures, provided full evening lectures on such topics as “How and What to Read,” “Formation of Reading Circles and How to Conduct Them,” and “A History of the Summer School From Its First Inception” — while also participating in executive management meetings and officiating at social gatherings (including those at individual cottages)

Rev. Dr. George Hodges, 1919
during the day, in the evenings, and over the weekends.\textsuperscript{83} Father Sheedy's work with the Catholic Summer School of America and the other organizations he actively participated in, led naturally to new undertakings of which he became either a principal figure, lecturer, or founder. For example, the 1897 Catholic Summer School identified the needs of Catholic school teachers in the public school system. That issue spun off into the organization of the first Catholic Child-Study Congress in New York City in December of the same year. Working with the Paulist Fathers, Sheedy organized a three-day Congress for teachers from throughout New York City.

Father Sheedy was selected to deliver the sermon at the Solemn High Mass inaugurating the Association of Catholic Colleges of the United States, held at St. James Church in Chicago in April 1899. This prominent role reflected Sheedy's work to organize a complete Catholic educational system that would operate throughout the country. Delegates from several dozen colleges participated. This organization led in turn to formation of the Catholic Educational Association in 1904.\textsuperscript{84}

\textbf{Almost a University Rector, Almost a Bishop}

The decades of Sheedy's zealous work and scholarship culminated in his being a candidate for the rectorship of the Catholic University of America in 1902 when that position became vacant due to the promotion of his friend, Bishop Thomas Conaty, to the bishopric of Monterey-Los Angeles. The position of rector at that time led to the episcopate. As fate would have it, Father Denis J. O'Connell — a close confidant of Cardinal Gibbons and former rector of the Catholic University of America in 1902 when that position became vacant due to the promotion of his friend, Bishop Thomas Conaty, to the bishopric of Monterey-Los Angeles. The position of rector at that time led to the episcopate. As fate would have it, Father Denis J. O'Connell — a close confidant of Cardinal Gibbons and former rector of the North American College in Rome — was selected as the university's rector, rather than Sheedy.\textsuperscript{85}

In the view of some, Sheedy's candidacy for the rectorship in 1902 was considered as a consolation prize for his having been passed over at the time of creation of the Diocese of Altoona in 1901, when Eugene Garvey of Scranton was instead selected as the first bishop of the new see. In 1908, Sheedy was considered for the position of coadjutor archbishop of San Francisco. Bishop Thomas Conaty suggested his old friend's name to Archbishop Patrick Riordan, who wrote to Father Daniel E. Hudson, C.S.C., editor of \textit{The Ave Maria} magazine at the University of Notre Dame, inquiring as to his knowledge of Sheedy and observing that he had heard a great deal about the Pennsylvania priest, all favorable.\textsuperscript{86} Edward J. Hanna of Rochester was instead selected as auxiliary bishop to Riordan in 1912, becoming archbishop of San Francisco after Riordan's death in 1914.

By then, priests promoted to the episcopate were typically young (in their 40s) and increasingly American-born rather than foreign-born. For Sheedy, then in his mid-50s, the episcopal mitre and crosier were no longer within reach.

\textbf{Personal Side}

Father Sheedy was not “all work and no play.” He was an avid golfer and a member of the U.S. Senior Golf Association. His skill was reported by the \textit{New York Herald} in 1920 in these words:

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\textbf{Milestones: Catholic Newspaper Recognition of Sheedy}

Western Pennsylvania Catholic newspapers recognized Father Sheedy's significant contributions on the occasions of his major priesthood anniversaries — 25th, 40th, 50th, and 60th. The \textit{Pittsburgh Catholic} celebrated his silver jubilee of priestly ordination in its September 25, 1901, issue with a column devoted to the priest's accomplishments. The article was accompanied by a rarity for the newspaper — a large photograph of Sheedy.\textsuperscript{93}

Pittsburgh's second Catholic newspaper, \textit{The Catholic Ob-
Rev. Morgan M. Sheedy, LL.D.

On Thursday, September 23, a venerable and beloved priest, for many years affiliated with the diocese of Pittsburgh, and in the formation of the diocese of Altoona, ipso facto located in its boundary, the rector of St. John's Altoona, the Rev. Morgan M. Sheedy celebrated the Golden Jubilee of his priesthood. To our older members, particularly in the City of Pittsburgh, the name and memory of Morgan M. Sheedy is a precious and revered one. Among the candidates who on that day were ordained by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Tuigg, of sainted memory, none stood higher than this grand young man, who consecrated his life to the service of the Church. He brought to his high vocation the fullness of its riches; he gave a mind endowed with splendid intellectual attainment; his education was a finished one, complete, sound and flawless. It may be said of him that from the day he went forth clothed with the priesthood of Melchisedek, and in all the fifty years of his valiant, vigorous, strong ministry, he ever was true to his mission, a fearless, dauntless upholder of the Cross.

Father Sheedy was never a laggard. He was never in the background. To shirk a duty, to deafen to a call — were not part of his makeup. Wherever and whenever a work was to be done and he was of help: ever in the front he was found.

What a grand lover of Catholic education he was! How he strove to join our youth in circles, wherein combined in strength and union, they could reach Olympian heights — “Ad Altiora Votis.”

In his humble and unpretentious parish in the Point district of Pittsburgh, he raised it from coldness and apathy, by hard struggle, until he resurrected the old historic spot, and made it glow with a new-born life. When THE CATHOLIC passed from the hands of Jacob Porter, he was a sustaining force to the new management. In the halcyon days of the Columbus Club, he was the head and brains of the fine field in its literary and educative pursuits. For years in the Sunday edition of the Pittsburgh Post his erudite, thoughtful column on the current topics of the day was a rich treat and a mine of thought and resolve to the reader. The jewels of Father Sheedy's mind were given lavishly, and to the one superlative end “Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam — to “The Greater Glory of God.”

A cardinal virtue is Temperance. Prohibition never accomplished so well and effectually, the work that in all his priestly years, enabled this follower of Father Mathew to raise the submerged wreck. It would take pages to tell the grand mission in this sacred career of Father Sheedy; and this, without disparaging his brethren coadjutors in the priesthood, and the faithful laymen at his back.

So might we go on, on this beautiful anniversary of fifty rounded out years and tell the fruitful story of a life which is a joy and pleasure to one who knew him well, from the days of his curacy in Parkers Landing, until the present one in the Mountain City. He was missed from our great city, but duty's call exacts sacrifice. The mellowed years have come

Grave of Rev. Morgan M. Sheedy in Altoona cathedral courtyard

in dear Father Sheedy’s life. Like grains of a celestial rosary, they are recorded in the Book of life.

Dear Father Sheedy, until the victory is won, the crown gained, the shadow of earth’s pilgrimage deepened into the dawn of the celestial morn, and the reward of the faithful servant at the triumphant Cross stretched hands of the eternal High Priest — Christ the King.95

Sheedy’s sixtieth ordination anniversary was celebrated in September 1936 with a front-page article in the Pittsburgh Catholic entitled “Father Sheedy to Mark Anniversary — Former Pastor of Point Church Will Be 60 Years Ordained on Wednesday, Sept. 23.”96 The years were passing and a long life was coming to a close.

Death and Legacy
Father Sheedy died on October 25, 1939, at age 86, having served as a priest for over 63 years.97 He is appropriately buried in a specially constructed vault midway in the courtyard between the Altoona cathedral and the rectory. The vault was originally covered by a large stone set at an angle so that passersby could read the inscription on the tablet which was engraved with a brief resume of Father Sheedy’s life.98 Later, the tablet was replaced by a tall Celtic Cross, inscribed with the verse “How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings and that preacheth peace” (Isaia, Chapter 52, Verse 7). At the base of the cross is inscribed the name of Morgan M. Sheedy, with the dates of his birth, ordination, rectorship of the cathedral, and death.99 The cross is illuminated at night.

A measure of the importance of Father Sheedy lies in the recognition that while few priests in his time received publicity in religious and secular newspapers, Sheedy did — and was unique in the extent of his biography and its dissemination nationwide. A bishop might achieve such recognition but rarely did a priest — which presents the question: had Father Sheedy remained in Ireland, would he not have entered the episcopate as did all of his Irish mentors? Sheedy’s disinclination for ecclesiastical preferment produced a priest totally devoted to the service of the Catholic laity — not just in Western Pennsylvania but also at the national level.

His death removed the last living link with the original seminary of the Diocese of Pittsburgh, St. Michael’s Seminary established by Bishop Michael O’Connor in 1843. The St. Michael’s Seminary Alumni Association kept the memory alive after the 1877 closing of the seminary, until death claimed its former students one by one. The next-to-last student, Father Robert McDonald of St. Thomas Church in Braddock, died in February 1939. The death of Father Sheedy, the last living student (albeit briefly) and seminary professor, just eight months later closed that chapter of diocesan history.
While the Altoona cathedral stands as a permanent visible monument in stone to this zealous priest’s industriousness, Father Sheedy’s other great contribution to the strengthening of Catholic life in the United States was his critical role in developing Catholic Reading Circles throughout the country, leading the growth of the Catholic Educational Union, and organizing the Catholic Summer School of America — all as a counterweight to Chautauqua and its national Movement. His roles as president and as board trustee in the last two Catholic organizations, coupled with his supportive literary publications, displayed the full range of his talents harnessed to the service of his fellow Catholics.

American Educational Developments in the late Nineteenth Century
The conclusion of the American Civil War in 1865 brought peace to the United States, enabling leaders to address the cultural, educational, and religious needs of a society that was encountering massive immigration, religious tensions, rapid industrialization, and widening economic disparities. Education was seen as the key to addressing the needs of the masses. As compulsory education was not yet required in all states, educational efforts were often a private matter. Philanthropy spurred popular education. Andrew Carnegie financed the opening of thousands of local libraries. Book salesmen appeared in house-to-house canvassing. Newspapers multiplied, especially those catering to the sensational. Lectures were a significant part of popular education. Learned societies, reflecting industrial development and research, were formed. Literary societies became an increasing feature of community life. In short, an “educational renaissance” was under way. These developments were seen as a cultural antidote to existing social activities such as saloons, pool halls, roller skating rinks, and secret societies.

There was Catholic interest in these new developments — for young men as well as for young women. Various Catholic associations developed. The Third Plenary Council of the American bishops approved the National Union of Young Men’s Catholic Associations at its meeting in 1884 — but the individual societies totaled less than a hundred. The Pastoral Letter of the Third Plenary Council of the American hierarchy in 1884 insisted upon a sound popular education, encouraged the opening of Catholic schools, and noted that education did not end with the termination of formal schooling. Catholics were urged to continue reading, especially history and biography, and to band together in societies to develop the faith.

The bishops saw the broader cultural developments and recognized the challenges presented by militant Protestant educational groups, such as Chautauqua, which had opened a decade earlier in 1874 and was already an established and popular Institution and national Movement. By the 1880s, the “mother site” was internationally famous and had spread nationwide, utilizing a four-year reading course that even addressed unschooled reader-students. Diplomas and other forms of recognition were an integral element of the Chautauqua plan. The Institution’s historian concluded that half of the students participated as individuals, while the other half were united in groups termed “local Circles.” Three-fourths were women. By 1892, one hundred thousand students were enrolled in the Circles, with half of those between the ages of 30 and 40.

Chautauqua invested in its own printing press and published The Chautauquan, a monthly magazine beginning in 1880 to supplement the regular reading courses and strengthen ties among the various “local Circles.” While the importance of Chautauqua and its existential threat to Catholicism will be addressed at a later point in this article, it is necessary to first present early Catholic educational developments.

Catholic Reading Circles — Early Developments
Chautauqua’s summer Assemblies and its Reading Circle Movement did not go unnoticed by Catholics. In the late 1880s, local Catholic Reading Circles came to exist in a small number of communities, organized by enterprising priests and laity. The estimated number was less than a hundred, and each operated on its own — in some instances modeling aspects of the Chautauqua-style Circles since there was no formal “Catholic” model to follow.

The spread of these Reading Circles among Catholics in that time period reflected the hunger among Catholics for basic Catholic literature since Catholic reading materials were excluded from the curriculum of public schools — which was the only educational system available to Catholics who lacked parochial schools or private academies. The existence of Catholic authors, books that included the Catholic contributions to history and culture, and texts with a Catholic point of view were unknown to most Catholic youth. Catholic Reading Circles were initiated to remedy
this critical religious and educational need.

In those days, the organization of Reading Circles among Catholics occurred informally — an announcement by a pastor from the pulpit or word of mouth among parishioners would prompt an initial meeting. Extant newspapers do not evidence significant publicity about Catholic Reading Circles until 1889.

Newspapers reported the organization of Catholic Circles in such disparate locations as Cincinnati [established personally by the archbishop] (July 1889), Buffalo (February 1890), Lima, Ohio (February 1891), women at St. Peter Hospital in Brooklyn (May 1891), and St. Paul (November 1891). New York City alone had several by December 1889: St. Patrick’s Cathedral library, the Ozanam Center, and the alumnae of Visitation Academy.

Among these early local Catholic Circles was one established in Youngstown, Ohio by layman Warren E. Mosher. In fall 1885, Mosher had been invited by a friend to join a Reading Circle that followed the Chautauqua plan of instruction. Mosher remained in that Circle for four years, became familiar with the Chautauqua system, served as the group’s presiding officer, and in his own words — “from that time the desire took possession of me to institute such a system of popular education for our Catholic people.”

At the beginning of April 1889, Mosher formed a Catholic Reading Circle called the “Home Reading Circle.” He planned to organize additional Catholic Reading Circles.

**The Catholic Educational Union**

A mere two weeks later, on April 16, 1889, Mosher — after having consulted with his pastor, Father James Mears of St. Columba parish in Youngstown — announced formation of a “union” of the existing disparate Catholic Reading Circles to be known as the Catholic Educational Union (C.E.U.).

From the period 1889-1890 forward, the initiation of Catholic Reading Circles and the growth of the C.E.U. — with the latter functioning as both an organizing entity and the developer of the framework that the Circles would adopt — occurred simultaneously. Keeping in mind that this was a dual process, this article shall nonetheless endeavor to present the distinct elements of each of these two developments separately.

Mosher’s latest action was promptly reported in Western Pennsylvania newspapers:

**Catholic Educational Union.**

Pittsburg, May 1. — A Youngstown, O., special says: Leading Catholic divines and educators have formed the Catholic Educational Union, the aim of the organization being to give those who find it difficult to pursue their studies after leaving school an opportunity to follow a prescribed course of reading which combines secular and religious literature, and in general to encourage individual study in an approved and systematic course. It is proposed to establish local branches in every city and town.

The C.E.U., based in Youngstown, unsurprisingly elected officers who were local Youngstown residents: two priests as president (Father James Mears, aforementioned pastor of Mosher’s parish) and vice president, respectively. Two laymen were elected as treasurer and secretary, with the latter position filled by Warren Mosher. The organizers considered the group to be temporary, in light of their intended plan to place control in the hands of nationally prominent Catholic educators. In fact, the C.E.U. would last for more than two decades as a major force in Catholic educational efforts. It would come to conduct annual national conventions in order to bond the local Circles together, communicate a uniform message to all, and develop leadership talent at the local level.

By October 1889, Mosher had stimulated the formation of new Catholic Reading Circles under the umbrella of the C.E.U. At that point, those Circles entered upon a...
reading program that Mosher prescribed. From then until January 1891, he maintained the connection between the Circles and the C.E.U. by means of monthly leaflets that contained the order of directed readings. In January 1891, Mosher initiated publication of a monthly journal as the official organ of the C.E.U. with respect to all participating Catholic Reading Circles. He modeled his approach on Chautauqua's success: form Reading Circles, establish an organizational structure (the “Union”) and an instructional reading program, and work toward the ultimate objective of organizing a Summer School for Catholics. Mosher had correctly concluded that the historical pattern of earlier failed attempts to develop Catholic Reading Circles or to sustain them once formed, and the inability of a single small religious order (such as the Paulists) to reach the growing American Catholic population, necessitated the formation of a national organization that would promote development of Reading Circles and oversee a structured educational program for their participants.

Between 1889 and 1900 Catholic Reading Circles would come to be present in most cities and many towns. A family gathered in a midwestern farmhouse would be treated as a “Circle.” All the Circles would animate Catholics with a desire for self-improvement. The Circles themselves were an outcome of the general educational movement of the times in the United States. One historian described the phenomenon thusly:

The Reading Circles were largely a movement of the laity, led by able lay and clerical leaders. Through the Catholic Reading Circle Review ... the members of the Catholic Educational Union ... received a great stimulus to their own interests in self improvement. From [this] magazine the various members of the different circles learned of each other's activities and developed an interest in their fellow Catholics and in their Church.

While the idea of a Catholic Reading Circle was Warren Mosher's and the strategy to organize such Circles into a Union was also his, it fell to Father Morgan Sheedy to utilize his educational talents to formulate a detailed methodology to be used in the operation of Catholic Reading Circles. Let us now turn to the philosophical concept and methodological organization that Mosher and Sheedy would develop and articulate.

Early Concept of the Catholic Educational Union in 1890
Warren Mosher began to attract national publicity by 1890, when his name started to appear with some frequency. He began to address various Catholic groups outside of Ohio to encourage them to do three things: (1) develop local Catholic Reading Circles, (2) join the Catholic Educational Union which he had formed, and (3) promote development of a Catholic Summer School, akin to the Chautauqua Institution which most Americans were aware of if not actually participating in.

Mosher delivered a speech in May 1890 — just one year after his formation of a “union” of Catholic Circles — to his Youngstown Circle. The gathering was the first of what would become annual conventions for the C.E.U., albeit initially an assembly of the Youngstown Catholic Reading Circle along with representatives from some other Reading Circles.

Mosher's speech was published in several secular and Catholic newspapers throughout the country because it was the first comprehensive public statement as to the purposes of both Catholic Reading Circles and the Catholic Educational Union, and the relationship between the two. The Irish Standard in St. Paul-Minneapolis reprinted Mosher's speech in its entirety, from which the following excerpts are taken:

This institution [C.E.U.] is called Catholic because it advocates strictly Catholic principles and aims to advance the interests of the Catholic church in lines consistent with her teaching and it is also called Catholic because it is universal. The scope of the plan is not restricted by boundary lines, nor is any Catholic who desires to aid the cause or who aspires to self-improvement debarred from participating in its fellowship. It is educational because it aims to improve the mind and instill into the hearts of its members a love of truth, virtue and intelligence. It is aptly termed a union because it aims to unite in communion the earnest young Catholics of the whole country who are ambitious to devote the spare moments of daily life to the pursuits of knowledge and the cultivation of the intellect.

Mosher then continued:

The Catholic Educational Union is, in fact, a co-operative educational institution in which each member contributes, according to his talents and ability, to the good of the society at large as well as to those with whom he is in approximate association. ... Definite courses of reading are indicated having unity and connection, arranged in progressive order and pursued in a systematic manner. These prescribed courses embrace entertaining and instructive readings in history, literature — secular and religious — and in physical, mental and moral science. They are
carefully arranged and prepared so as to be adapted to the average young man or woman as well as to the close student. The books used indicate the line of thought and serve to arouse an interest for more extended readings and study.114

Mosher also explained how Reading Circles fit into the educational plan:

Reading Circles are the principal means of carrying out the general idea. They adopt the books recommended by the main organization, whose counsellors are experienced educators, and read them in the order and manner outlined. Their meetings are conducted so as to afford the greatest assistance to those interested. Literary and musical programmes [sic] are provided, consisting of papers, essays and talks supplementary to the reading, besides exercises of a social character. The formation of Reading Circles is urged because they afford mutual help and encouragement in the studies and form ties of pure social friendship.115

Continuing, Mosher addressed why the Catholic Educational Union had been formed just one year earlier:

Just one year ago the Catholic Educational Union was organized, after having received careful and deliberate consideration by its projectors, who recognized the necessity of counteracting the evil influence of the sensational and pernicious literature of our times by fostering and encouraging a love of good reading, and also the great need of an institution that would help to check the growing tendency of rationalism, indifferentism and unbelief.116

Thus, the contemplated effort was to educate the Catholic masses through the means of a popular plan. Mosher acknowledged that the Youngstown Reading Circle’s adoption of a plan had stimulated formation of additional Reading Circles throughout the country:

The first Circle to show its earnest and practical appreciation of the plan was the Home Circle of Youngstown, which now contains over 100 members. Other cities quickly responded to the suggestion of the Catholic Educational Union. When the regular course of reading was taken up in October last, the very first to send in his allegiance to the cause, with a roll of more than twenty members, was the Rev. Michael A. Lambing of Scottsdale, Pa. Then in rapid succession followed Meadville, Oil City, Derry and Philadelphia in Pennsylvania … New York … Ohio … Michigan … Wisconsin … Maryland … Georgia … Texas … Missouri … Nebraska … Kansas … New Mexico … California … Massachusetts.117

Next, Mosher addressed an issue underlying the reluctance of some Catholic Reading Circles to join the Union since many Catholics had the erroneous idea that by joining Reading Circles and identifying those Circles with the Union presupposed “ignorance” on their part, while others would rather “remain ignorant” than to admit that they were in need of instruction. He termed such an attitude “foolish pride” and “absurd.” He went on to add:

Many educated Catholics have entered into the spirit of the plan … and have organized circles in which are found together professional men, business men, teachers, mechanics, and persons from every walk in life. Those who have … received opportunities of advanced education, sound training and good social and moral influence, could not do a more commendable act than to ally themselves with Reading Circles and aid in lifting up their less fortunate brethren…. Good example, fellowship, discussions and interchange of ideas are the elements which constitute the educational advantages of Reading Circles.118

Mosher continued by noting that the Union did not conflict with existing Catholic associations such as lyceums, institutions, and youth groups.119 These entities maintained literary societies that existed in “name only” that could be reinvigorated by adopting the Union’s educational plan. Since many of these had libraries and meeting spaces, those resources should be shared through outreach that the Union would facilitate. Women should also be admitted to all-male groups. The speech concluded with recognition that the study of history, literature, art, and nature would lead all to acknowledge the divine presence in human life.120

Mosher’s efforts at the national level were exemplified in one of his earliest public forays — a lecture delivered at the convention of the Catholic Young Men’s National Union121 in Washington, D.C., in October 1890. The press reported his address in these words:

The [Catholic Educational] Union has among its members a number of able orators not the least among whom is Mr. Warren P. [sic] Mosher, who made such an interesting address at the afternoon session yesterday on the question of the interest that is taken everywhere in Reading Circles and in other educational methods. Mr. Mosher is secretary of the Catholic Educational Union of Youngstown, Ohio. He has one specialty and is devoting all his energies to have it adopted by the [Catholic Young Men’s
Father Sheedy articulated the benefits of the Catholic Reading Circle Movement in these words:

… there has been no movement that aims at doing so much for the intellectual and social advancement of our young people as the Reading Circle Movement. For its purpose is to awaken an interest in the rich heritage that is ours in the world of letters, philosophy and art; to create a love of good reading among our people to encourage the diffusion of sound literature; it aims especially to give those who desire to pursue their studies, after leaving school an opportunity to follow prescribed courses of approved reading; to enable others who have made considerable progress in education to review their past studies, and particularly to encourage individual home reading and study in systematic and Catholic lines. It is especially designed to meet the requirements of those who have had limited educational advantages and who are desirous of self-improvement. It aims to unite earnest young Catholic men and women of the land who are ambitious to devote some spare moments of daily life to the pursuit of knowledge and the cultivation of the intellect.

Sheedy concluded with this observation:

Ten young men, it has been said, acting with a common and intelligent purpose and in earnest about it, can rock an empire. What, then, may not ten thousand Catholic Reading Circles throughout the different dioceses of the United States with a common intelligent purpose effect?

The Methodology of a Successful Reading Circle

Father Morgan Sheedy provided Catholic Reading Circles with a specific ten-point program to achieve successful results at each weekly meeting with participants limited to between thirty and fifty:

1. Open and close with a musical number
2. Respond to the roll call with quotations from classical authors
3. Employ “light” literary features where possible
4. Give a brief presentation on a current topic
5. Deliver a recitation or oration
6. Present book reviews of both a current novel and a Catholic book or literary masterpiece
7. Allow five minutes of readings from current magazines
8. Use a connected series of topics, or special books, for the core study
9. Use a question box, with the answers — devised by a committee — given to questions placed in the question box at the previous meeting
10. Include a social break of ten to fifteen minutes in the middle of a program or follow the meeting with a reception designed around a lecturer or prominent visitor.

Mosher Initiates Publication of a Journal

In January 1891, Warren Mosher — who was serving as secretary of the C.E.U. — initiated publication of a monthly magazine entitled The Catholic Reading Circle Review. A year’s subscription cost $2. This journal was the official organ of the C.E.U. and served as the guide for local Reading Circles. It would carry out an instructional plan and unite the local Circles into a national group. Like the Chautauqua, it publicized the activities of local Circles and provided supplemental readings and guidance. The magazine’s novelty was inclusion of a “Teachers’ Council” section consisting of articles designed to aid teachers with guidance on student behavior and other pedagogical problems. The counsellors were a “Who’s Who” of prominent educators, religious and lay, from New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, St. Paul, and New Orleans.

It would shortly also become the official organ of the Catholic Summer School of America. This one publication thus integrated the educational plans of the Catholic Reading Circles, the C.E.U., and the Catholic Summer School of America.
Mosher’s new journal assured that his name would now appear regularly in print. He was the editor. Father Morgan Sheedy authored an article for the first issue; indeed, he would be one of the journal’s regular and most prolific contributors. Press releases containing extracts from the Review’s content provided an even broader dissemination of Reading Circle and C.E.U. information to both Catholic and secular newspapers nationwide. Typical was this article that appeared in the Catholic Union and Times of Buffalo:

The first number of The Catholic Reading Circle Review has just appeared. It is published at Youngstown, O., and Warren E. Mosher is editor. The Review is to be the special organ of the Catholic Educational Union, and judging by the first number, which is filled with good material, it will find a field large enough to ensure prosperity. Among contributors to the initial issue are Rev. Morgan M. Sheedy….128

The publication would subsequently change its title to Mosher’s Magazine (1898-1902) and then to The Champlain Educator (1903-1906). Mosher’s journal is indispensable in understanding the intertwined development of both the Catholic Reading Circles (as the phrase appears in the journal’s very title) and the Catholic Summer School of America (whose story is told not just through narrative text but also through photographs, illustrations, financial information, and building plans). The journal issues were:129

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The toll upon Warren Mosher from his years of sole editorship of the journal, extensive travels, and the onset of heart problems did not escape notice by the officers of the Catholic Educational Union or the Catholic Summer School of America. Monsignor Michael J. Lavelle, president of the board of trustees of the Summer School and rector of St. Patrick’s Cathedral in New York, drove the decision to (1) place the journal on a firm financial footing and (2) assure an uninterrupted editorial arrangement. Accordingly, Mosher’s Magazine carried a January 1902 announcement that it would incorporate in New York state as a capital stock company in the amount of $50,000, with shares to be sold publicly at $10 each. A three-person Editorial Department was formed with Warren Mosher as head, with two assistants. Pittsburghers, including Father Regis Canevin, were among the initial stock subscribers.130

The journal was published in Youngstown until Mosher moved to New York state five years before his death. At that time, the Mosher Publishing Company was established at 39 E. 42nd Street in Manhattan. What began as a monthly
publication evolved into a quarterly in its final years. The journal ceased publication following Mosher’s death in 1906.

The Inter-Relationship of Reading Circles, C.E.U., and Summer School

The day after Mosher’s second annual C.E.U. convention in July 1891, *The Pittsburg Dispatch* carried a brief article that evidenced the elision of three distinct concepts into one Catholic educational effort:

**A Catholic Chautauqua**

**The Young Educational Union of That Church Meets at Youngstown**

[Special Telegram to The Dispatch]

Youngstown, July 30.—The annual meeting of the Catholic Educational Union, organized here two years ago, and which now has branches in more than 100 cities, was held here to-day. The society is on the same plan as the Chautauqua L.S.C., and is designed for Catholics. It has the endorsement of Cardinal Gibbons, Bishop Keane and other high dignitaries of the Catholic church.

At the session this afternoon, Rev. Morgan M. Sheedy, of Pittsburg, was elected President … and Warren E. Mosher of Youngstown, Secretary. Among those elected to serve on the Board of Councelors [sic] were … Rev. John Murphy, President of the Holy Ghost College, Pittsburg.…

The following course of reading was adopted: English history, English literature, History of the Church of England, contemporaneous Irish and secular church history, geology, and revelation. The following supplemental studies will be included in the *Catholic Review*, the official organ published here: English and Irish politics, studies in composition and oratory, and relations between science and the Bible. The term begins October 1 and closes July 12. Among other matter discussed was that of a summer educational retreat.

*The Kansas Catholic’s* coverage of the C.E.U. convention provided detail about the qualifications that Father Sheedy would bring to his new role leading the Union:

The Rev. Edward Mears [of Youngstown], who has held the office of president since the organization of the Union … has been succeeded by the Rev. Morgan M. Sheedy, of Pittsburg, Pa. Rev. Sheedy has a national reputation as an able and zealous advocate of education and temperance, and now fills the important and honorable position of vice president of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America.

The Big Three: Sheedy, Mosher, and Laughlin

From the inception of these efforts, it was clearly recognized that success would depend on a core group of educators who would formulate, guide, and coordinate the efforts of the Circles and the C.E.U. in order to realize the capstone of their work: creation of a Catholic Summer School. The organizations, while separate and distinct, would collaborate through key shared officers. The history of the Catholic Reading Circle Movement authored by Father Sheedy in a 1904 article in the *American Ecclesiastical Review* confirms that this was the operative plan of Sheedy and Mosher.

What emerged in the progressive development of the Reading Circles, the C.E.U., and the Catholic Summer School of America was the collaboration of three men — Father Morgan M. Sheedy, Warren E. Mosher, and Monsignor James F. Laughlin — who worked to achieve three goals: (1) develop an instructional framework for Catholic Reading Circles, (2) design a structure to foster and unite local Circles through
a monthly educational journal and annual conventions, and (3) organize a Catholic counterpart to Chautauqua in the form of the Catholic Summer School of America.

A biography of Father Morgan Sheedy was provided above. A brief biography of each of the other two collaborators is appropriate at this point:

- **James F. Laughlin** (1851-1911) was a native of Auburn, New York. He attended the Urban College of the Propaganda in Rome and was ordained in the Eternal City in April 1874. Incardinated into the Archdiocese of Philadelphia, he was assigned as a professor of canon law and moral theology at St. Charles Seminary in Overbrook. He became chancellor in 1892, was made a domestic prelate with the title of Right Reverend Monsignor in 1899, and was named pastor of Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary Parish in Philadelphia in 1901. With Father Sheedy and Warren Mosher, Laughlin was one of the few long-termers who served on the board of trustees of the Catholic Educational Union. Laughlin was a founder and trustee of the Catholic Summer School of America and its second president. A prolific author of church history, he was co-editor of the *American Catholic Quarterly Review*. Laughlin would die prematurely from rheumatoid arthritis at age 59 in 1911.136

- **Warren E. Mosher** (1860-1906) was a native of Albany, New York. Moving to Youngstown, he introduced the Knights of Columbus to Ohio and became their first State Deput there in 1898. Mosher was active in Catholic educational efforts, organizing a Catholic Reading Circle in Youngstown in early 1889. He was largely self-educated, though he had a private education in his youth. Mosher initiated publication of *The Catholic Reading Circle Review* in 1891. With Father Sheedy and Monsignor Laughlin, Mosher was one of the few long-termers who served on the boards of trustees of the Catholic Educational Union and the Catholic Summer School of America. He was the secretary of the Catholic Summer School of America and would be regarded as the “father” of the Summer School because he originated the idea for such an institution. His labor was purely unselfish as he received no salary for his Summer School work. Mosher returned to live in New York state in 1901, settling in New Rochelle (Westchester County). He died suddenly at his home in March 1906, at the age of 45 of heart disease with which he had struggled for the last four years of his life. He was survived by a wife and six children. Mosher’s journal did not survive his death.137

The background of each of the three would prove crucial to the accomplishments of the group, and the existing role of each would explain how their individual histories would help direct their future actions for the remainder of their lives. These were the “core” three of the few individuals who served virtually life-long terms as members of the board of trustees of the Catholic Educational Union and the board of trustees of the soon-to-be-formed Catholic Summer School of America.138

Father Sheedy would attribute the later success of the Catholic Summer School of America to the Catholic Reading Circle Movement — in which, as a movement, dozens and dozens of unrelated groups were shaped into the Catholic Educational Union. This reflects a two-step process, albeit occurring almost simultaneously in a dual development. Let us now turn in sequence to a further examination of the Catholic Educational Union and then to the Catholic Summer School of America — and explore further the roles of the three individuals who were key to the success of all these inter-related organizations.139

**The Second C.E.U. Convention — Father Sheedy Takes Control in 1891**

The C.E.U.’s second annual convention was held in Youngstown on July 29, 1891. Representatives of some 100 local Circles attended. Delegates elected Father Morgan Sheedy of Pittsburgh as president, while Warren Mosher continued as secretary. Sheedy’s influence was apparent in the election of Father John Murphy, C.S.Sp., president of Holy Ghost College [today, Duquesne University] in Pittsburgh, to the Board of Counselors. The convention concluded with discussion of the ultimate objective: “Among other matters discussed was that of a summer educational retreat.”140 One Pittsburgh newspaper’s account of the convention headlined its article as “A Catholic Chautauqua.”141 Catholic newspaper accounts provided much more detail than their secular counterparts. Buffalo’s *Catholic Union and Times* noted that at that meeting:

> The Rev. Edward Mears, who has held the office of president since the organization of the union … has been succeeded by the Rev. Morgan M. Sheedy, of Pittsburgh, Pa. Father Sheedy has a national reputation as an able and zealous advocate of education and temperance….

The Catholic Educational Union adopted a four-year plan of reading. The enrollment charge was fifty cents, with the course running from October 1 until July 1, with an examination given at the end of the school year. It had the backing of Cardinal Gibbons of Baltimore.

Thus, the stage was set for Father Sheedy and Warren Mosher to advance plans to enhance operations of the Catholic Reading Circles and to bring to fruition the dream of a Catholic Summer School. The objectives were two-fold:
(1) enlarge the Catholic Educational Union as the structural framework to stimulate the formation of, guide, and direct the nascent Catholic Reading Circles, and
(2) use the union of Catholic Reading Circles to organize a Catholic Summer School.
All would be accomplished within the brief span of three years — from the 1889 activation of Youngstown’s Catholic Reading Circle to the opening in 1892 of a Catholic Summer School.

Before proceeding to the actual organization of the Catholic Summer School, it is necessary to examine the early organizational development of Catholic Reading Circles and the Catholic Educational Union in Pittsburgh and Western Pennsylvania.

A Catholic Reading Circle and the C.E.U. as Twin Developments in Pittsburgh
The first step in organizing a Catholic Reading Circle in Pittsburgh and joining the parent Catholic Educational Union occurred on September 29, 1891. On that date, the first Catholic Reading Circle was formed, and the group promptly decided to join the nascent union of other Circles in the United States. The Pittsburgh Catholic carried a brief account of the evening meeting and the decisions reached by the participants:

Catholic Reading Circle.
The attendance at Duquesne Hall on the evening of the 29th ult., for the purpose of forming a Catholic Reading Circle in this city was largely attended. Mr. Warren E. Mosher of Youngstown, the organizer of these circles, was present and addressed the meeting. He explained the purpose and plans of the union, the advantages to be derived from membership therein, and gave our young men some excellent advice. A circle was formed under the auspices of the Father Mathew Association of St. Mary of Mercy. Too much praise cannot be given to the movement, and we hope it may succeed.

Secular papers provided a more detailed account of the meeting and the educational underpinning of the initiative. An excerpt from The Pittsburgh Post’s lengthy article gives a richer history of the September 29 event:

The Catholics of Pittsburgh have taken the first steps toward the formation of a literary and educational union in Western Pennsylvania. At a public meeting held last evening in Duquesne Hall, Penn Avenue, the aims and objects of the union were fully explained and the Father Mathew Association of Pittsburgh announced its intention of formal-ly adopting the code of the Catholic Educational Union of North America. … Rev. M. M. Sheedy, as president of the Catholic Educational Union, was unanimously elected chairman. … Warren E. Mosher, secretary of the union, delivered an address on the methods and results of reading circles among members of the Catholic religion. Incidentally, Mr. Mosher said that the aim of the C.E.U. was to educate the Catholic masses in a most Catholic manner. The methods by which the C.E.U. proposed to accomplish its object were carefully prepared reading courses and wisely selected books. … Where several persons in the same parish were able to assemble together they might form a local reading circle for mutual help and encouragement. At the conclusion of each year’s reading, printed books containing examination questions on the studies of the year were to be distributed among the members of the various unions. Every member answering 80 per cent of the questions correctly would receive a diploma. The annual fee would be 25 cents, except in case of clubs, when 10 cents per capita would be the fee required.

The Post also noted that at the meeting, Mosher explained the multi-year program:
• Year 1: classic history, literature, physiology, hygiene, Christian doctrine
• Year 2: medieval history, the Reformation, geology, astronomy
• Year 3: English and Irish history, English literature, electricity, art, general science
• Year 4: American church history, political economy, chemistry.

Mosher also stated that the Catholic Reading Circles were intended to draw Catholic young men from the saloon and the poolroom. His speech was “loudly applauded.” The secretary of the three-year-old Father Mathew [Abstinence] Association then spoke and noted that since more than half of its meeting time was devoted to literary study and discussion, his Association would join the C.E.U. The meeting closed with an address by Father Regis Canevin, cathedral rector and future bishop of Pittsburgh, who earnestly advised all in the audience to join a Catholic Reading Circle within the Catholic Educational Union.

This organizational effort in Pittsburgh was an initiative of Father Sheedy, pastor of St. Mary of Mercy Church at the Point, who would oversee the Reading Circle. In the 20-year period between 1891 and 1911, the Pittsburgh Catholic would carry 31 articles on Catholic Reading Circles — almost all of those appeared in print prior to 1899 during the period...
of the Movement’s greatest activity.

In the ensuing period, Catholic Reading Circles were organized in the Pittsburgh area — some were based on geography (e.g., proximity to an available public school building in the city of Duquesne); others were established within a parish (e.g., St. Mary of Mercy parish); and additional Circles were organized within existing social, religious, literary, and ethnic societies for their own members. The Pittsburgh Post noted that Circles were formed at the Ursuline Academy in Oakland, St. Mary Convent (Motherhouse) of the Sisters of Mercy on Webster Avenue, St. Brigid Church in the Hill District, and two at St. Paul Cathedral (Downtown).

Father Sheedy and Warren Mosher continued their collaborative approach to grow the Reading Circles. The Pittsburgh Catholic would report that at the 1897 Summer School, Father Sheedy presided at a meeting of the Philadelphia Reading Circle. The paper noted that Sheedy remained chairman of the board of trustees of the C.E.U., which then comprised 460 Reading Circles with a membership of 15,000 — most of whom were in the United States, while others resided in Canada and in South America. Growth of the Circles and the Union was explosive!

The Reading Circles’ Objective: Establishment of a Catholic Summer School
These Catholic Reading Circles would grow into the Catholic Summer School, due to national events that had occurred in 1889 just as Warren Mosher was organizing his Circle and forming the Union in Youngstown. In that year, Cardinal Gibbons hosted the centennial celebration of establishment of the American hierarchy in Baltimore with the appointment of John Carroll as the first American bishop (1789). A Lay Congress accompanied the religious celebration. That was followed by the dedication of the Catholic University of America in Washington, D.C. There was general agreement that Catholic educational efforts warranted a more extensive training program. Father Sheedy and other educators envisioned that the Catholic Reading Circle Movement would establish an intense summer educational program, as the next step in this progressive development.

By 1892, the success of popular Catholic education through Reading Circles and various lecture series was apparent. What was lacking was a summer assembly where educators could meet for intensive training, like the Chautauqua Assemblies.

An Historic Meeting in Pittsburgh and its Aftermath
One of the least known but seminal events in American Catholic history occurred on a cold afternoon in January 1892 in the rectory of St. Mary of Mercy parish, located at No. 48 Third Avenue, a few doors from the parish church at Pittsburgh’s Point. A meeting was convened with only three attendees: Father Morgan Sheedy who was the host, Monsignor James Laughlin who had traveled approximately 11 hours by train from Philadelphia, and Warren Mosher who had reached Pittsburgh after a two-hour train ride from Youngstown.

Mosher was on a mission to discuss with Sheedy and Laughlin whether and how to use the Catholic Reading Circles to form a Catholic Summer School. Sheedy was supportive, while Laughlin declared:

It will never do, our people will look upon it as a kind of camp meeting; the Bishops will crush it at the start, the thing can’t be done; it will strike our people as too strange and novel; better drop it at once.

After an intense discussion with the other two, Laughlin changed his mind. The three agreed that Laughlin would write a letter to be published in New York’s Catholic Review newspaper that would ignite a national movement to make the “idea” of a Catholic Summer School a “reality.” Laughlin had been brought around to acceptance of the belief that the Reading Circles and the Summer School would mean better informed Catholics, stronger in their faith. Catholic interests would be rooted and the bonds of Catholic fellowship in the United States would be cemented. Support from key bishops would forestall episcopal opposition based on the absence of hierarchical control of the Summer School. Selection of a school name that did not conjure up the image of Protestant-aligned Chautauqua and inclusion of Catholic literature and topics in the Summer School’s educational program would distinguish this Catholic Summer School from Chautauqua.

The project of a Catholic Summer School was thus announced in the January 17, 1892, issue of the Catholic Review newspaper and reprinted immediately in the February 1892 issue of The Catholic Reading Circle Review, which journal Mosher edited. Laughlin wrote a letter in his capacity as president of the Catholic Young Men’s National Union, and formally raised the question as to whether a national Catholic summer assembly might be convened. The Philadelphia priest’s letter read as follows:

A few weeks ago Mr. Warren E. Mosher, the secretary of the Catholic Chautauqua movement and editor of the Catholic Reading Circle Review, consulted with me [and Father Morgan Sheedy] as to the feasibility of choosing some desirable place where the Catholic educators of the country and those who are interested in reading circles might assemble during the summer vacations and devote some time
to the discussion of educational matters, listen to addresses from prominent and experienced teachers etc. … a novelty, I answered bluntly that the “proj-
et" was visionary” and yet when we take a second thought, what is there wild or impracticable about Mr. Mosher’s project? There has been an immense and widespread awakening of interest during the past couple of years in the improvement of Catholic pedagogy and the cultivation of Catholic literature. How to perfect our schools, how to interest our young men and women in mental culture are ques-
tions uppermost in the minds of clergy and laity. Why not hold a formal Congress for the discussion of such questions? And what better plan than a general assembly during vacation time?154

Laughlin then went on to state that Mosher had suggested that a “Catholic Chautauqua” might meet in upstate New York, since his own Catholic Young Men’s National Union would hold its annual convention in Albany. Continuing, Laughlin wrote:

Every Catholic interested in the improvement of self or of Catholic youth might be invited to attend. A special invitation might be extended to that valuable and much neglected body, the Catholic teachers in the public schools. Now dear Review don’t look to me as organizer of the movement. … I … will be glad to see the project succeed. And now let the discussion begin.155

The plan devised by Mosher, Sheedy, and Laughlin worked. The response to Laughlin’s letter came in the form of a tremendous outpouring of letters of support published in subsequent issues of The Catholic Reading Circle Review, and favorable publicity in many Catholic newspapers. And the letter placed firmly in the mind of all that the idea of a Catholic Summer School was that of Warren Mosher, editor of The Catholic Reading Circle Review and secretary of what was initially termed the “Catholic Chautauqua” Movement.156

The response was so encouraging that the C.E.U. announced and sponsored a meeting at the Catholic Club in New York City on May 11–12, 1892, to move forward on the proposal. Father Morgan Sheedy headed the select group of some twenty-five in attendance, primarily drawn from the northeastern United States. The name “The Catholic Summer School of America” was selected and The Catholic Reading Circle Review was designated as the Summer School’s official organ. “Under the provisional constitution the Reverend Morgan M. Sheedy was elected president…. Father Sheedy selected the heads of [all] committees…”157

A three-week meeting was planned for summer 1892 and the site selected was New London, Connecticut. Halls and boarding accommodations were to be made for the start of classes on July 30. The adoption of the Summer School’s name was intended to avoid introduction of the word “Chautauqua” — of which name many Catholics had a visceral dislike due to its strong Protestant, specifically Methodist, association. The Buffalo Catholic newspaper summed up the attitude of many:

Some of the most prominent educators among Catholics met in the Reading Room of the Catholic Club to arrange the program for the Catholic Chau-
tauqua. Happily the enterprise escaped the name and has been christened instead the Catholic Summer School.158

Mosher and others would subsequently attend many meet-
ings in various cities to acquaint Catholics with the purpose of the Summer School, accustom them to this innovation, and promote registration to attend. The Pittsburgh Catholic began to carry, as of 1892, articles and announcements about the Catholic Summer School of America. One of the first detailed articles entitled “Prospectus of the Catholic School Assembly” appeared in the June 30, 1892 issue of the Catholic.159

The Three Key Figures in the Formation of the Cath-
olic Summer School

From this time forward, the organization of the Catholic Summer School was attributed to three individuals: Warren Mosher, Father Sheedy, and Monsignor Laughlin. But, over time, some Catholic publications would omit Mosher in favor of Monsignor Thomas Conaty of the Catholic University of America.160 That erroneous substitution reflected two facts:

(1) Mosher died in 1906, effectively removing his name from people’s minds, and

(2) a deep lay deference to clerics that translated into a simple conclusion that the first three “yearly” presidents of the Summer School (Sheedy, Laughlin, and Conaty) must have been the “founders” since they were priests — and only priests could assume a leadership position in a prominent Catholic organization!

Such a common but inaccurate conclusion ignored the complex history that produced the Summer School. Laugh-
lin, like Mosher, died prematurely — in 1911, five years after Mosher died; and Laughlin’s increasingly debilitating rheumatoid arthritis effectively limited his ability to actively participate for some time prior to his death.

Of the three men, Father Sheedy would live another three decades, remaining nationally active in Catholic affairs and
thus guaranteeing that his name would survive in the later histories of these events that took place in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Even had Laughlin and Mosher lived longer, Sheedy’s volume of lectures and writings would have eclipsed anything that the other two might have produced. It is also clear that even had Laughlin and Mosher lived, Laughlin would certainly have entered the episcopate (assuming his health stabilized) — effectively removing him from the detailed activities of the Circles, the Union, and the Summer School. Mosher had endured four years of advancing heart disease prior to his death. Even had he lived longer, his health restrictions would have ended his national travel, lectures, and likely also the intense editing that his journal demanded. In short, Mosher would not have been able to continue immersing himself in the Summer School nor continue editorship of the Catholic Reading Circle Review. Regrettably, in an increasingly educated world — that the Reading Circles, the C.E.U., and the Summer School espoused — Mosher lacked the formal education that Sheedy and Laughlin possessed. And, while Mosher was a prominent lecturer, he lacked the polished skills that Sheedy so easily demonstrated in his lectures.

Given all this, it is not surprising that in the significant histories and in much of the secondary literature, Father Sheedy is given a lion’s credit for the Circles, the Union, and the Summer School — with some works citing him as a founder and sometimes as the sole founder of the Catholic Summer School of America because of his follow through on Mosher’s idea and his ability to bring Laughlin to support the Summer School cause. In this regard, it must be noted that Mosher’s limited formal education always placed him at a disadvantage when he was compared to Sheedy and Laughlin, both of whom had superior educations. And as noted earlier, Sheedy’s higher profile as writer and lecturer as compared with Laughlin, and Sheedy’s outliving Laughlin and Mosher by decades helped bring and keep Father Sheedy in the public’s eye for many years.

Another factor was also present in the prominence given Sheedy. He was for years the vice-president of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America. Increasing Catholic concern about the issues of alcoholism and family life, especially among immigrants, heightened Sheedy’s profile. His popularity among those seeking to manage or eliminate the consumption of alcohol carried over to any activity in which he became involved. This lionization of Father Sheedy was present to some extent in the positive public attitude about his work in other organizations — which would account to some degree for his elevation in the histories of the Catholic Reading Circles, the C.E.U., and the Catholic Summer School of America to the disadvantage of both Mosher and Laughlin.

While the idea for the Summer School was Mosher’s, his early death and the national prominence of Father Sheedy as the “survivor” of the original group of three collaborators virtually assured that Mosher would receive but passing mention in the future while Sheedy became embedded in the popular understanding of who had shepherded the three groups (Reading Circles, C.E.U., and Summer School) to a national prominence that enhanced the role and appreciation of Catholics in a majority-Protestant United States of America. Furthermore, Sheedy authored three of the five principal histories of the intertwined Catholic Reading Circles and the Catholic Summer School of America: (1) “The Reading Circle Movement” (1904), (2) “The Story of the Catholic Summer School” (1904), and (3) “History of the Catholic Summer School of America” (1916). These histories, written almost contemporaneously with the events described therein by a principal actor intimately involved in both Movements, are particularly valuable since only two later histories were written — almost twenty and fifty years later, respectively.

Father Sheedy: The Purpose of a Catholic Summer School

Father Sheedy, in one of his published histories of the Reading Circle Movement and the Catholic Summer School as the outgrowth of the Movement, addressed directly the fundamental question as to the purpose of such a School. He framed the discussion in these words:

The main purpose of the Catholic Summer School is this: to give from the most authoritative sources among our Catholic writers and thinkers the Catholic point of view on all the issues of the day in history, in literature, in philosophy, in art; in political science; upon the economic problems that are agitating the world; upon the relations between science and religion; to state in the clearest possible terms the principle underlying truth in each and all of these subjects; to remove false assumptions and correct false statements; to pursue the calumnies and slanders uttered against our creed and our Church to their last lurking place.

… And therefore the ablest and best equipped among our Catholic leaders of thought whether lay or clerical, are brought face to face with a cultured Catholic audience, and give their listeners the fruits of life-long studies in those departments of science or letters in which they have been eminent. They state in single lectures or in courses of lectures, such principles and facts and methods as may afterwards be used and applied in one’s reading for the detection of error and the discovery of truth. To achieve such work is the mission of the Catholic Summer School.
This articulation of the Summer School’s philosophy, educational mission, and religious objectives appeared in numerous Catholic publications and lectures in the early years — and can be directly attributed both to Father Sheedy and Warren Mosher. Their shared vision dominated publications’ pages and enlivened the national Catholic lecture circuit.

The First Catholic Summer School — New London, Connecticut

Father Sheedy, who had been elected as the first president of the Catholic Summer School of America, would play a central role in the inauguration of this new American Catholic educational venture. Father Sheedy headed the elite group that toured upstate New York in spring 1892 in search of a location for the Summer School. On May 18, the site of the initial Catholic Summer School was selected — New London, Connecticut, which was midway between the two largest Catholic population centers of New York City and Boston.

The price of admission to the Summer School lectures was set at five dollars for the full course and two dollars for any one course. Fifty-one different lectures were to be offered in five areas: ethics, literature, science and religion, economics, and miscellaneous. The Summer School would operate for three weeks. Ten priests, a religious brother, twelve laymen, and three laywomen would deliver the lectures. When accommodations appeared to be inadequate, a steamboat accommodating 250 people was engaged. Attendance would reach between 600 and 1,000.

Summer School Publicity

Father Sheedy was a savvy businessman who knew how to attract an audience. He had had considerable success in the advertisement of novel fundraising ventures for his parish in Pittsburgh and press advertisements marketing his many books. As president of the Catholic Summer School, Sheedy would do no less in order to assure the success of this new venture, both short term and long term. He undertook a media blitz. Information was provided to secular newspapers large and small, resulting in broad dissemination of the details about the planned Catholic Summer School. This included complete listings of the courses to be offered as well as biographical information about the instructors. While some lectures were specific Catholic doctrinal or historical offerings, most were not specifically religious in title or content.

Thus, many non-Catholics — aware of the Chautauqua system of lectures and outings — were attracted to this Catholic offering. “Indeed, several Protestant clergymen have signified their intention of attending the school at New London.”

Sheedy also recognized the fact that existing Catholic newspapers reached only a small portion of the Catholic population. Hence, the placement of information about the Catholic Summer School in secular papers would assure that the maximum number of Catholics would be reached and apprised of this educational opportunity. An additional benefit to this approach lay in the general public’s view that Catholics — many of whom were immigrants — were following the Protestant (Chautauqua) lead in bettering themselves through a structured educational program. It built upon Teddy Roosevelt’s observation that such Summer Schools were “the most American thing in America.” The Catholic Summer School program thus painted a truly positive picture of Catholic integration into the larger American cultural life.

To further encourage a large attendance at the Catholic Summer School of America, Sheedy and Mosher also negotiated favorable transportation rates with railroad companies and shipping lines. The Boston Pilot reported the following information:

Reduced fares will be made from all points in the country at the rate of a fare and a third to New York City [and return round trip, instead of two full fares], whence they can go to New London by the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad at a similar rate. There will also be reductions of fares from local points in New England.

Father Sheedy’s ongoing contacts with news reporters assured that a series of articles would appear in newspapers throughout the country. Coverage in Pittsburgh newspapers was regular and detailed, beginning with an interview before Sheedy’s departure for New London. The Pittsburgh Post’s first report stated:

Rev. Father Sheedy, pastor of St. Mary of Mercy’s church, and a number of persons from this city have gone to New London, Conn., to attend the opening session of the Catholic Summer School. …most of those who will attend come from the Eastern States. Before leaving Father Sheedy said that although this is the experiment of the Catholic Summer School idea, he had no doubt that it was going to be a success. The attendance of registered students is much larger than was at first supposed, and the committee of arrangements, instead of wondering if there would be enough students to cover the expenses of the distinguished lecturers, are now asking if they can accommodate the crowds …
The first week’s session had not yet concluded before newspapers were labeling the Summer School as a success: “…every steamer and train bring new arrivals. The Summer School will soon be a friendly rival of its sister, the Chautauqua.”174 Reports noted that:

Rev. Father Sheedy, of Pittsburg, delighted his old friends and made many new ones during his days stay in New London. As President of both the Summer School and the C.E.U., he preached the first Sunday evening sermon of the course. His subject, “The Church and Intellectual Development,” brought a large audience to hear him and to be charmed with the truth of his statements and the grace of his utterances.175

Sheedy not only attended the Catholic Summer School of America but tacked on a lengthy tour of Catholic educational institutions in the United States. Upon his return to Pittsburgh in late August 1892, Sheedy was interviewed by a reporter for The Pittsburg Dispatch about the future of the Summer School and, as its president, Sheedy offered these comments:

“I have no hesitancy in saying that it is the most gigantic and extensive movement that was ever started among the Catholic educational institutions of this country. Upon its floor, meeting upon a common level, we are to have the clergy, secular and religious orders, teachers of the public and parochial schools and the laity in general. … The Summer School may be termed a plan of university extension.

There are three phases to this school life of which we are certainly very considerate. There is the intellectual, recreative and social phases.”176

Sheedy’s interview with The Pittsburgh Post newspaper provided some additional insights into the summertime gathering at New London:

We made arrangements expecting an attendance of about 200 students, but there were over 600. The attendance at New London itself was greater than could be comfortably cared for. People came from as far West as Green Bay, Wis., and as far South as New Orleans.177

Father Sheedy went on to state that it was the intention of the board of trustees of the Summer School to establish summer assemblies throughout the country, with the possibility that there would soon be one held in Pittsburgh.178 Regrettably, the initiation of “satellite” Catholic summer schools never occurred. The Pittsburgh Post noted that Father Sheedy had played a central role not just in the educational program, but also in the Summer School’s religious programs — Sheedy served as chaplain to the bishop who offered an opening Pontifical High Mass and he also preached the sermon at evening vespers. New London papers “speak delightedly of his sermon.”179

Initial Success Promises a Future

The enthusiastic reception of the 1892 Summer School by both sponsors and attendees assured another would be held in 1893. Father Sheedy headed the large Summer School committee charged with examining the 50 proposals submitted for a permanent educational site. The committee visited a number of sites after conclusion of the first Summer School in New London. Four locations made the final cut: the Thousand Islands in New York state, Lake Champlain in New York state, Point Pleasant in New Jersey, and New London in Connecticut.180

The Regents of the University of the State of New York sought to influence the decision-making process by offer-
ing to incorporate the Catholic Summer School and confer New York State degrees upon Catholic Summer School graduates — provided that the Summer School selected a site in the state of New York. This was most welcome news to Father Sheedy, as president of the Catholic Summer School.182

While a permanent site was preferred, no location was selected until a railroad offer decided the issue in early 1893 — Cliff Haven in the Town of Plattsburgh, New York. The site is located in Clinton County, which is the northeastern-most county in the state of New York, bordering the Province of Quebec in Canada. The town is situated on the northwestern shore of Lake Champlain in the northern Adirondack Mountains and contains a lakeside section known as Cliff Haven. The rural area was convenient to the large Catholic population centers of New York City and Boston.

The Delaware and Hudson Railroad, facing stiff competition, presented the Summer School with a 450-acre farm known as the Armstrong Homestead. It was an ideal site: three-quarters of a mile of lake frontage, a good beach, good drinking water, and a source of building stone. Adjoining the property was the Champlain Hotel with its wharf, a railroad station, tennis courts, and other attractions of a resort hotel.

Located in the state of New York, the Summer School could take advantage of New York’s laws favoring education. The Catholic Summer School of America was granted a state charter on February 9, 1893, as a regular teaching institution with the power to conduct extension courses and confer degrees.183 These were the same rights enjoyed by Chautauqua, which was also located in New York state.

The Catholic Summer School at Its Permanent Site
On July 16, 1893, the Summer School formally opened with a Pontifical Mass at St. John Church in Plattsburgh, celebrated by Bishop Henry Gabriels of Ogdensburg. Thirty morning and evening lectures were given over three weeks. Receptions and excursions constituted the recreation. An estimated 600 to 1,000 persons attended, with most coming from New York and Massachusetts. The Summer School transformed a Lake Champlain farm into a site of popular education.184

The board of trustees selected officers for the ensuing 1894 School and Father Sheedy became the treasurer.185 Sheedy, after conclusion of his presidential term, would continue to serve as a board trustee until his death in 1939, deliver lectures, and exert personal influence to assure the continued success of the Summer School. His continued role as president of the Catholic Educational Union facilitated a unique interplay with the Summer School. His lectures on labor and capital in light of Pope Leo XIII’s 1891 encyclical Rerum Novarum established him as a regularly-sought-after speaker at the Summer School and at Catholic events throughout the country.186 School attendance in 1894 soared to 1,500 students from 24 states and 169 cities.

The Expansion of Cliff Haven
Suitable buildings would now have to be constructed at Cliff Haven to meet the burgeoning attendance demands.
Lots would be sold to individual Catholics with the expectation that they would build cottages there. Lot sales, bond issuances, and the sale of memberships financed part of the building program. An Administration Building was constructed in 1894. The Auditorium, the Chapel, the Central Dining Room, and three cottages were erected in 1896. Macadam roads, electric lighting, trolley service, telephone, telegraph, and steamboat service followed. A post office, laundry, and barber shop opened. For some years, the Kellog Service managed the Dining Hall and the restaurant at the Champlain Club with both à la carte and table d’hôte service.187

Dozens of “cottages” were built — a colloquial term at that time but somewhat misleading in today’s terminology. The typical cottage cost approximately $10,000 and contained a dining room, kitchen, and twelve or more bedrooms distributed over three floors. Some were built collectively by groups from various cities. Larger cottages were barnlike with spacious porches, many windows, pillars, dormers, hipped roofs, and gables. Just twenty of these picturesque cottages cost over $400,000. The Washington cottage had 60 rooms capable of accommodating 100 guests; it joined other cottages named The New York, The Philadelphia, and The Boston — named after the places from which those who built them came. Monsignor Michael J. Lavelle, rector of St. Patrick’s Cathedral in New York City, assumed administration of the building program and proceeded to expand it rapidly in the years 1897 to 1903. By 1903, the buildings could accommodate 800 persons, and by 1905 the number living on the grounds was 1,100.188

Overall attendance at Cliff Haven rose above 7,000 in 1905.189 Later estimates took the summer attendance to a peak of 13,000 to 14,000 people.190 The tripartite combination of a high-end resort, an educational institution, and a vibrant Catholic community achieved this stunning result, which continued for several decades.

The recreation program expanded to include many forms of entertainment and athletics for both men and women. Steamboat excursions, railway trips, and special tours to Montreal, Quebec City, and the Shrine of Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré were an integral feature of the Summer School. Shorter trips were made in the afternoon and longer ones over the weekends. Dancing, singing, card playing (especially euchre), and receptions at the various cottages were normative. Plays, dramas, and recitations were given.

As American participation in sports grew, Cliff Haven kept pace with its facilities for golf, tennis, basketball, archery, bowling, baseball, track and field, croquet, boating, and bathing. Four o’clock in the afternoon was the established time for the daily “bathing hour” in the lake. Bicycles and horses were available for riding. Rowing races and shooting matches were part of the outdoor play. The humorous

Source: “A Story of the Champlain Summer School,” Mosher’s Magazine 20, no. 4 (July 1902), 271
touches of egg, sack, and obstacle races were also featured.

In 1924, the Knights of Columbus initiated a yearly program in conjunction with the Catholic Summer School at Cliff Haven titled the Annual Summer School of Boy Leadership, which offered a comprehensive training course to priests and laymen seeking to undertake boys’ work. In the first twelve years, more than 600 priests received instruction. Staff from the Knights’ Supreme Council Boy Life Bureau, assisted by representatives of major agencies for boys, conducted training.191

The Cliff Haven facilities and staff soon attracted other conferences: teacher groups from throughout New York state (Teacher Institute), soldier-like camps for Catholic boys (College Camp), and a businessmen’s club (Champlain Club). An Alumnae Auxiliary Association was formed for women. As the Summer School approached its fortieth year of existence, Fordham University in 1928 inaugurated an extension course program at Cliff Haven for students and teachers, allowing credits toward undergraduate and graduate degrees.192

In 1929, the Summer School opened the Father Duffy Camp for Boys, named after the famed chaplain of the Fighting 69th who was then serving as president of the Summer School.193 After Father Duffy’s death in 1932, the boys’ school would undergo changes in name and focus. It served those under age 18, often orphans or those in foster care in New York’s Catholic institutions.

To reinforce the existing bonds among Cliff Haven attendees and to assure their return, the Summer School held an annual reunion — sometimes as a grand dinner with dancing, other times as a theatre party. The annual reception in 1926 was held in the grand ballroom of the old Waldorf-Astoria Hotel on Fifth Avenue, the largest hotel in the world at that time.194 The 1929 gathering was built around the play Holiday at the Plymouth Theatre in Manhattan. Tickets were sold in advance at the Summer School’s business office in Manhattan.195

Marketing developed to include the employment of golf professionals who offered special programs with championship play and medal awards at the Cliff Haven Golf Club. The popular golfer Peter Sheehan supervised the 1935 golf program. The 18-hole golf course was reserved exclusively for Summer School attendees during the season.

The number of luncheons, teas, bridge parties, and formal dances grew exponentially. Facilities for ballroom and “modern” dancing were provided. Private card instruction was offered. The Happy Days Club for younger children was established with a full range of arts and crafts activities.196

The Summer School’s publicity program was quite advanced for that time. A Prospectus with the full program for each yearly session was printed. It contained all information about lectures and lecturers, and also provided detailed information about Cliff Haven for general vacation guests. There was a separate Bulletin for Teachers’ Courses and also a booklet entitled Vacation Paradise for Catholics. All were available at no charge by contacting the business office of the Summer School at 321 W. 43rd Street in Manhattan, New York City, which was open throughout the year.197

Cliff Haven was visited by the celebrities of the time: Presidents William McKinley, William Howard Taft, and Theodore Roosevelt; Cardinals Gibbons, Satolli, and Martinelli; Spanish American War heroes, a U.S. vice president, senators, congressmen, a U.S. Supreme Court justice, and state governors. All of this tended to promote a better understanding between Catholics and their fellow non-Catholics. Postcards commemorating some of the visits by prominent non-Catholics were produced in order to present the Catholic Summer School as an “all-American” tradition.

The Broad Appeal of Cliff Haven

The popularity of the Catholic Summer School of America can be measured, to some degree, by newspaper reports of the School’s activities over the years. For example, the Pittsburgh Catholic carried over 300 separate mentions — some were front page articles while others were announcements, program offerings, and participant reports. At times, half a page in the Catholic was devoted to Catholic Summer School coverage.198 This coverage in the Pittsburgh diocesan...
weekly continued through April 1941. Similar extensive press coverage appeared in other diocesan weeklies and in many secular newspapers across the country.

The Catholic Summer School Press was opened in conjunction with Fordham University to publish Catholic books that would service students at both the Sumner School and in the local Catholic Reading Circles. This venture was funded by the Knights of Columbus. The publications were not lightweight fare, typically exceeding 400 or 500 pages. Two works became instant classics: (1) *The Thirteenth, Greatest of Centuries* (1907), of which 30,000 copies were printed at the expense of the Knights of Columbus, and (2) *The Century of Columbus* (1914). James Walsh, the author of both volumes, was a lecturer at the Summer School. Father Sheedy’s own volume, *Social Problems*, was issued in 1896 as a number in the Catholic Summer and Winter School Library series. Quite a few Summer School lectures were subsequently printed in various Catholic publications, such as *The American Catholic Quarterly Review*.

### The Winds of Change Affect Cliff Haven

By 1910, the Catholic Summer School was firmly established as a center of Catholic popular education. Yet there were indications that the Reading Circle Movement had entered a decline. Warren Mosher had died in 1906, with several unfortunate results: (1) an end to publication of Mosher’s journal which had provided quality instructional guidance to the Reading Circles, leaving them with no future educational programs, (2) a halt to the sharing of ideas and reports of activities among the Reading Circles that Mosher’s journal had afforded, (3) a stop to the practice of a single dedicated person who would travel the country to reinforce existing Circles and stimulate the opening of new ones, (4) the elimination of a central contact person to whom the Reading Circles could turn for guidance, and (5) a stop to dissemination of media reports to Catholic and secular newspapers that had resulted in consistently positive coverage of Catholic Reading Circles and which in turn had attracted Catholic laity to join such groups. Mosher had done exceptional work in his devotion to the Reading Circles for a decade and a half, but after his death there was no one prepared to fill that truly unique role. Thus, the bonds within individual Circles and among the Circles within the Union began to fray and disappear.

There was a corresponding decline in the Summer School Movement, hastened by the disruption that ensued upon the entrance of the United States into World War I in 1917. Later, the Great Depression’s economic fallout depressed attendance at Cliff Haven. The growing popularity of the automobile provided new travel destinations for many and attendance at the Summer School noticeably decreased in the 1930s. The 1930s also witnessed Cliff Haven’s use of Fordham University’s extension program in a effort to rebuild shrinking attendance to fill the increasingly under-used buildings. The opening of World War II in 1939 cast a shadow over the next two years as Americans awaited the United States being drawn into the war.

In summer 1941, Cliff Haven celebrated its golden (fiftieth) anniversary, which proved to be its last. The *Brooklyn Tablet* carried an extensive report on the “Golden Jubilee Session.” Many former attendees, along with new patrons, attended the festivities. The celebration opened in the Auditorium with an energetic address by Monsignor Michael J. Splaine of Boston who recounted the spiritual, intellectual, social, and recreational achievements at Cliff Haven over fifty years. Two hundred and fifty Knights of Columbus held a banquet in the Champlain Club. The first Mass of
the season was celebrated by the summer chaplain, Father William Orchard, who had been an Anglican priest and pastor of one of the largest Protestant churches in London prior to his conversion to Catholicism. The Alumnae Auxiliary Association planned the annual Carnival for late July. Father John Courtney Murray, S.J., professor of theology at Woodstock College in Maryland, was slated to deliver five daily lectures. The speakers and the attendees read like a “Who’s Who” of the Catholic literati and establishment in the United States. All of the cottages were opened to accommodate the huge crowds in attendance throughout the Summer School.

Thus, ironically, Cliff Haven lasted until Pearl Harbor in 1941; after the entry of the United States into World War II, Cliff Haven was all but abandoned. A few cottages were rented out, and an effort was made to open the Champlain Club, the School’s main social building, as a restaurant. Some buildings burned down while others were torn down.

The Diocese of Ogdensburg brought the story of Cliff Haven to a conclusion with a report that the Summer School had functioned “in a very limited capacity” in the post-war years of 1946 and 1947. Indeed, the activity in 1947 consisted of a theater group conducting a workshop — “but there were neither lectures nor courses conducted under the auspices of a college or university as in former years.” Thereafter, the remaining buildings sat empty.

In 1955, construction of a new Plattsburgh Air Force Base (East Coast operations center for the Strategic Air Command during the Cold War) was undertaken along with activation of the 380th Bombardment Wing. To meet the housing needs of the military and their families, a developer acquired the Cliff Haven property. The first buildings in the new Cliff Haven Estates were constructed in 1955. The Boston Cottage was the last of the original School buildings to be razed by 1960. Housing construction was well under way by the early 1960s.

Memorialization at Cliff Haven
A boulder with a tablet memorializing Warren E. Mosher and his role in both the Catholic Reading Circle Movement and the Catholic Summer School of America was placed on the Cliff Haven grounds in the period 1910-1919. The tablet reads:

This tablet is here placed in Memory of Warren E. Mosher
Who devoted his life to Catholic Education:
A Leader in the Reading Circle Movement,
the originator of the idea of the Catholic Summer School. One of its founders and its secretary from MDCCCXCI to MCMVI

A century later, in August 2015, the Town of Plattsburgh, the Clinton County Historical Association, and the William C. Pomeroy Foundation arranged placement of a roadside historical marker honoring the “Catholic Summer School of America 1896-1941” at the former site of the Summer School. The marker’s location is on the median between the southern end of Lakeshore Drive and Route 9.

The Chautauqua-Catholic Relationship
But what of Cliff Haven’s “competitor” at the opposite end of New York state — Chautauqua? With the opening of Chautauqua, and the spread of its Movement, what was the Catholic reaction? Candidly, there was no direct Catholic response at first. Then several disparate efforts were initiated; some were intermittent and uncoordinated, and often came to naught. Chautauqua co-founder John Heyl Vincent wrote to Bishop James Ryan of Buffalo in 1885 inviting a priest to offer Mass. Ryan agreed. Catholics were invited to attend an organizational meeting at the Methodist House and 37 attended; but ten years were to pass before a Mass was held.

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Memorial Boulder to Warren Mosher, Cliff Haven
Source: Author’s personal collection

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The first Mass was celebrated at Chautauqua by Father Edmund Gibbons on August 4, 1895, in the Moorish-styled College building with 50 persons in attendance — many of them curious Protestants. While Gibbons went on to became bishop of Albany, the Catholic “presence” at Chautauqua soon faded. A faint spark remained: there were occasional Sunday Masses offered in various locations by visiting priests, and later on a regular basis by priests from St. Mary Church in nearby Mayville.

Masses occurred in 1896 and the numbers grew to almost 100. Then, the new bishop of Buffalo, James Quigley, declined to continue sending a priest to offer Mass. He considered Chautauqua’s influence too threatening to any Catholic attendees and decided it would be preferable to
open a Catholic Chautauqua. Accordingly, he purchased property about six miles south of the Institution. A house with a chapel was constructed, but the camp never opened, with the building instead used as a vacation and retreat cottage for priests. The nascent Catholic competition soured whatever faint relationship existed with Chautauqua. The Institution's gates were locked on Sundays, and no one was allowed on or off the grounds — rendering Sunday Mass fulfillment an impossibility.  

A further chill on attempts at accommodation ensued with the publication of Pope Leo XIII’s 1899 letter Testem Benevolentiae Nostrae, which condemned Americanism and was interpreted as putting a damper on Catholic-Protestant engagement. Only in 1904 was Paulist Father Alexander Doyle invited to lecture on the subject of Catholic schools. While Father Doyle argued passionately that Catholic schools posed no threat to public schools and reduced the tax burden, he was only politely received — and was not invited back for another ten years!  

In 1912, a priest traveled to the neighboring village of Mayville — to offer Mass initially in a private home and then in the local opera house. Subsequent introduction of the trolley facilitated attendance. The small mission chapel of Our Lady of Victory (popularly known as St. Mary’s) opened in Mayville in 1926 despite fierce Ku Klux Klan opposition and burning of a cross on the chapel’s lawn. Only a few Catholics from Chautauqua attended. Introduction of bus service in 1929 was later cancelled due to lack of use. Nativism continued. Pope Pius XI’s 1928 encyclical Mortalium Animos restated Catholic opposition to ecumenical efforts to unite denominations by means of searching for “collective truth” to create a “new church” — further alienating the leaders of Chautauqua.  

Priests began saying Mass regularly on Chautauqua grounds in 1942, but there were tensions and anti-Catholic suspicions surfaced after World War II. Publication of Paul Blanshard’s American Freedom and Catholic Power in 1949 was perhaps the most successful anti-Catholic book ever published in the United States. It called for all priests to be registered as foreign agents and predicted that religious violence was unavoidable. Contemporary circulars at Chautauqua warned of a conspiracy to put the pope in the White House.  

The Catholic Presence at Chautauqua Today  

One of the fruits of the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965) was an opening of the door at Chautauqua to a Catholic presence. But only in 1984 was a Catholic priest — Bishop James Malone of Youngstown — invited to serve as a “week’s chaplain” at Chautauqua. The spark reignited in July 1987 when a group of Catholics at Chautauqua began to meet — with the encouragement of the Chautauqua Department of Religion and the Institution’s president and board of directors — to establish a formal Catholic presence. To succeed at Chautauqua, it had to be a group effort. This led in 1988 to formation of a Section 501(c)(3) corporation, the Chautauqua Catholic Community (C.C.C.). The goal was “to enhance the Catholic presence through an expanded Mass schedule, two priests in residence each week, guest speakers, seminars and in any other way that would benefit Chautauqua’s Catholics and Chautauquans in general.” In 2004, the C.C.C. opened its own residence, Catholic House, offering accommodations, a small chapel, weekly socials, and a haven for those immersed in the intense Chautauqua Institution schedule. By the 2010s, Catholics were among those holding paid positions in the central administration at Chautauqua and constituted a significant attendance group.  

The Historic Role of Father Morgan Sheedy  

It was left to Father Morgan Sheedy, alone of all the many priests and laity involved, to articulate both a philosophy and a program for the Catholic Reading Circle Movement and to then lead that Movement — using the strength of the Circles united through the Catholic Educational Union — to its logical objective: creation of the Catholic Summer School of America. As both the first president and a mem-
Catholic life in Western Pennsylvania and beyond. The Sheedy initiative more than 130 years ago still shapes instructors (laity, religious women and men, and priests) to enable them to educate youth and adults in the fullness of the value of Father Sheedy’s work — which provided model pedagogical, programmatic, practical, and operational discipline in the first half of the twentieth century clearly demonstrates the success of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine as grounded upon Father Sheedy’s successful model. And the success of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine as designed and operated in the Diocese of Pittsburgh was achieved in numbers.

The history of St. Mary of Mercy parish is presented in: (1) A Joyous Parish Celebrates the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Church Dedication 1936-1986 (Pittsburgh: St. Mary of Mercy Church, 1986), (2) Point Century 1870-1970; St. Mary of Mercy Parish Centennial (Pittsburgh: St. Mary of Mercy Church, 1970), (3) Summer School of the Catholic Church in the Dioceses of Pittsburgh and Allegheny from its Establishment to the Present Time (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1880), 137-141. The present populations of Liscarroll (249) and Charleville (3,919) reflect present archival records of Morgan Sheedy typically give his birthplace as the town of Charleville, rather than the village of Liscarroll. The present populations of Liscarroll (249) and Charleville (3,919) reflect historical statistics and the fact that Charleville was the central town serving the neighboring villages. Liscarroll and Charleville are located 17 km (10 miles) apart, in northern County Cork near the border with County Limerick. Each was and remains a separate parish within the Diocese of Cloyne. The area is approximately 60 km (37 miles) north of the city of Cork and 40 km (25 miles) south of the city of Limerick. The online parish baptismal registers of the Diocese of Cloyne do not list Morgan Sheedy in either Liscarroll parish or Charleville parish records, or those of adjacent parishes. See Cloyne–Catholic Parish Registers at the NLI, accessed August 9, 2021.

Endnotes:

1 Rev. Morgan M. Sheedy, “History of the Catholic School of America,” Records of the American Catholic Historical Society 28, no. 4 (December 1916), 293.

5 The Methodist Episcopal Church was established in 1784 and had its roots in the evangelical revival movement within the Church of England. It was the largest religious denomination in the United States until the end of the nineteenth century when Catholicism surpassed it in numbers.


8 Ibid. Doubling down on its view of Catholics and their schools, Chautauqua invited Rev. Edward McGlynn (1837-1900) to deliver a lecture in 1891 — with full knowledge that McGlynn had been excommunicated by the Vatican. McGlynn was a vocal supporter of public schools and theated ecclesiastical discipline.

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10 “Morgan M. Sheedy,” Priests Register, Vol. 3, 101-101A, Archives of the Diocese of Pittsburgh (hereinafter “ADP”). Diocesan archival records include Sheedy references appearing in the Pittsburgh Catholic, the Catholic Observer, and the first diocesan history by Andrew A. Lambing, A History of the Catholic Church in the Dioceses of Pittsburg and Allegheny from its Establishment to the Present Time (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1880). The present author is indebted to Dennis Wodzinski, Director of the Archives and Records Center of the Diocese of Pittsburgh for providing these records.

11 Many histories of Morgan Sheedy typically give his birthplace as the town of Charleville, rather than the village of Liscarroll. The present populations of Liscarroll (249) and Charleville (3,919) reflect historical statistics and the fact that Charleville was the central town serving the neighboring villages. Liscarroll and Charleville are located 17 km (10 miles) apart, in northern County Cork near the border with County Limerick. Each was and remains a separate parish within the Diocese of Cloyne. The area is approximately 60 km (37 miles) north of the city of Cork and 40 km (25 miles) south of the city of Limerick. The online parish baptismal registers of the Diocese of Cloyne do not list Morgan Sheedy in either Liscarroll parish or Charleville parish records, or those of adjacent parishes. See Cloyne–Catholic Parish Registers at the NLI, accessed August 9, 2021, https://registers.nli.ie/parishes/0035. Records appearing at Ancestry.com do not show a baptismal registration entry for Morgan Sheedy. This suggests either (1) a private baptism at the family’s home, possibly coupled with the baptizing priest’s failure to subsequently record the event in the parish baptismal register, or (2) baptism at another parish, where the baptismal registration record did not survive. A genealogical history of Morgan Madden Sheedy appears at the Ancestry.com website, accessed August 12, 2021, https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/39597645/person/19389829435/facts. Morgan Sheedy (1832-1910), mother of Morgan Madden Sheedy, had several brothers who became priests: (1) Rev. Morgan M. Sheedy, (1811–1864) was ordained at St. Patrick’s College in Carlow (1835), served as vicar general of the Diocese of Ross, curate (1835-1845) and Parish Priest of Clonakilty (1847-1864); he was a candidate for the bishopric of Ross in 1857.
(2) Rev. Patrick Madden (1829-1884) served for a time in Australia before returning to the Diocese of Ross where he served as curate (1863-1874) and Parish Priest (1874-1884) of Clonakilty, as had his older brother Morgan.

(3) Rev. William J. Madden (b. ca. 1850, apparently of a second marriage by his father) was ordained in 1874, served as curate (1874-1877) and administrator (1877-1886) of Ross before he went to Australia where he remained until his death in 1897 in the Archdiocese of Sydney.


The familial relationship between Morgan Madden Sheedy and his uncles is confirmed by the research of the Global Madden Y-DNA project, with respect to “Madden Group A,” appearing at the Family Tree DNA website, accessed August 14, 2021, https://www.familytreedna.com/groups/madden/about/results.

24 A biographical sketch of Father Sheedy must note the complex history of his native County Cork, which was divided into three dioceses: (1) Cloyne — comprising northern and eastern County Cork, (2) Cork — comprising western County Cork and the city of Cork, and (3) Ross — comprising the southwestern corner of County Cork. The disruptions attendant upon centuries of British occupation, magnified by the economic distress occasioned by the Irish famines beginning in the 1840s, caused the more truncated movements by the agrarian population of Ireland. These factors help explain both apparent Sheedy family movements and the absence of many records pertaining to the Sheedys.


25 See “Noted Physician of City Expires [John M. Sheedy],” Altoona Mirror, August 23, 1930, 1. Three of the Sheedy brothers would become doctors, relocating to America to join their brother Morgan. The family produced several doctors. In 2017, the family endowed the position of the Sheedy Director of the Center for Compassionate Care in Medicine at the University of Notre Dame. “Sheedy Family Makes Memorial Gift to University of Notre Dame,” Altoona Mirror, December 17, 2017.

The family would evolve into the Christian Brothers’ School, which produced both Archbishop Daniel Mannix of Melbourne (1864-1963) and Irish President/Prime Minister Eamon de Valera (1882-1975).


The Pittsburgh diocesan newspaper noted the ordination one week after its occurrence: “On Saturday morning, inst., the Right Rev. Bishop Tuigg, raised to the holy Priesthood, at St. Paul’s Cathedral, Revs. Thomas Devlin, Thomas Neville, and Morganus Sheedy, students of St. Michael’s Seminary, and Revs. Thomas Devlin, Thomas Neville, and Rev. Morganus Sheedy, students of St. Michael’s Seminary, and Rev. Joseph Michael Sheedy, of the Capuchin order of this city.” “Ordinations,” Pittsburgh Catholic, September 30, 1876, 4. The Pittsburgh Catholic’s identification of Sheedy as a student at St. Michael’s Seminary comports with the existing diocesan practice that European immigrant seminarians who had completed theological studies prior to their arrival in Pittsburgh would nonetheless receive pastoral instruction from the seminary faculty, rectory, and often the bishop prior to admittance of the seminarian to priestly ordination. As to the ordination, see also “Many Tributes Will be Given Father Devlin,” Pittsburgh Catholic, September 16, 1926, 1, 4.

The present author has completed a comprehensive history of St. Michael’s Seminary, established by Pittsburgh’s first bishop (Michael O’Connor), which is to be published.

“Father Sheedy to Mark Anniversary: Former Pastor of Point Church Will Be 60 Years Ordained Wednesday Sept. 23,” Pittsburgh Catholic, September 10, 1936, 1, 16.


“Father Sheedy’s Long Career Ends,” Pittsburgh Catholic, November 2, 1939, 16.

Rev. Dr. James Allison, as quoted in Morgan M. Sheedy, “Ten Years on Historic Ground: Early and Later Days at the Pittsburgh Point,” Western Pennsylvania History 5, no. 2 (April 1922), 142. The role of the Presbyterian Scots-Irish and the Presbyterian Banner in Western Pennsylvania history is succinctly described in Allison’s obituary: “Death’s Calls: Rev. James Allison, D.D., Succumbs to an Accident,” Pittsburgh Commercial Gazette (September 22, 1900), 3.


Sheedy’s appointment to the Altoona pastorate occasioned a laudatory editorial in The Boston Pilot, which was reprinted as “Father Sheedy Appreciated,” The Pittsburgh Press, November 18, 1934, 7.

“Father Sheedy’s Farewell,” The Pittsburgh Press, December 2, 1894, 5.

“Altoona Cathedral is Dedicated by Cardinal Dougherty,” Pittsburgh Catholic (September 10, 1931), 1.

Rev. Morgan M. Sheedy, Briefs for Our Times (New York: Thomas Whitaker, 1906). A master of marketing, Sheedy utilized a series of strategically placed ads in local, secular, and Catholic publications for his book. The ads contained endorsements from prominent reviewers, guaranteed to attract a reader’s attention and hopefully result in a purchase. See, e.g., the ad captioned “Briefs for Our Times,” Pittsburgh Press, October 26, 1939, 4. The lengthy boxed ad concluded with the words: “These brief extracts selected from many others show to serve the public estimation of this little volume, which, if you have not already done so, you should lose no time in securing a copy of.”

A reviewer of this book began his review with the comment: “Father Morgan Sheedy is one of the most learned priests and solid theologians in the United States.” J.F.H., Briefs for Our Times, in The Irish Ecclesiastical Review, 20 (July-December 1906), 478.


“Father Sheedy Dies After Brief Illness,” Altoona Tribune (October 26, 1939), 1; “Rev. Morgan M. Sheedy,” History of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, Vol. II (Chicago: A. Warner & Co., 1889), 540. For example, the Pittsburgh Catholic noted that:

Rev. Father Sheedy in Mosher’s [Magazine] for January, contributes the opening article, treating of the modern stage. The Catholic is charmed and delighted to have such a zealous ally in calling attention to the corrupting influences of the modern stage. Father
Sheedy tells us that “the new century is a good time to begin.”


The Catholic World was a Catholic magazine founded by Paulist Father Isaac Hecker in 1865 as an intellectual journal for a growing Catholic population. It was published by the Paulist Fathers for over a century, renamed New Catholic World in 1972, reverted to its original title in 1989, and re-published as The Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America (Philadelphia, 1914; 1913) and the publications of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union (Philadelphia, 1907); and (3) Sister Joan Bland, Hibemian Crusade: The Story of the Total Abstinence Union of America (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1951). The Union held its national conventions in Pittsburgh in 1880 and 1903; the Pennsylvania Union held its state convention in Pittsburgh in 1887. Pittsburgh Bishop J. F. Regis Canevin was elected president of the national union in 1904.


Lord Morley, as quoted in Macardle, The Irish Republic, 53.


“Words of Cheer,” 1, 3.

Ibid.

“Cablegrams Sent. The Expression of the Meeting Goes to Gladstone and Parnell,” The Post [Pittsburgh], April 21, 1887, 3.

“Letters of Regret.” The Post [Pittsburgh], April 21, 1887, 3.


In the Old Post Office; Father Sheedy’s Helpers Are Now Camping There,” The Pittsburgh Post, January 5, 1893, 8.


George Hodges (1856-1919) was an Episcopal theologian from New York who served as rector of Calvary Episcopal Church (1881-1894), co-founded with Father Sheedy the Kingsley Settlement House for immigrant workers (1893), and then became Dean of the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge (Massachusetts). A prolific writer, he authored some twenty books. See “George Hodges (theologian),” Wikipedia, last modified December 26, 2020, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/George_Hodges.


Rev. Morgan M. Sheedy, “Ten Years on Historic Ground; Early and Later Days at the Pittsburgh Point,” Western Pennsylvania History 5, no. 2 (April 1922), 142-143.

St. Patrick’s Church was located on Seventeenth Street between Penn and Liberty Avenues — a true indication of the ethnic composi-
tion of the neighborhood.

79 The Kingsley House would relocate more than once over the years. As to its history, see "Kingsley Association (Pittsburgh, PA)," Wikipedia, last modified September 28, 2020, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kingsley_Association_(Pittsburgh_PA).

80 "Priest to Address Protestant Laymen," The Pittsburgh Post, November 10, 1909, 1.

81 "Man of Zeal ... Fr. Morgan M. Sheedy is his Closest Friend," The Boston Daily Globe, November 17, 1893, 2.

82 See, e.g., "Society," The Pittsburgh Post, July 23, 1893, 5, which describes Sheedy as a registered guest among those vacationing at the exclusive Mountain House resort in Cresson Springs, Pennsylvania.

83 Hannah E. Looney, "Cliff Haven: Summer School of '04 Now A Delightful Memory—Impressive Closing Exercises," Catholic Union and Times, September 8, 1904, 1.


86 Letter of Archbishop Patrick W. Riordan to Rev. Daniel E. Hudson, C.S.C., San Francisco (October 21, 1908), University of Notre Dame Archives.


89 "Father Sheedy [editorial]," Altoona Tribune, October 26, 1939, 4.

90 Ibid.

91 Monsignor Thomas J. Conaty — a native of Ireland who worked with Sheedy in the Catholic temperance movement and the Catholic Summer School of America and would later become rector of the Catholic University of America — was a traveling companion of Sheedy to Europe. Hogan, The Catholic University of America, 15-16.

92 For an overview of his overseas travels by ship from Europe to Ellis Island in New York, see the website: The Statue of Liberty & Ellis Island, accessed August 9, 2021, https://heritage.statueofliberty.org/. These records indicate some inconsistencies as to the year of his birth, which Sheedy listed on passenger manifests variously as 1854 and 1856.


94 "Morgan Sheedy — Marks 40 Years as Cathedral Rector," The Catholic Observer, December 6, 1934, ADP.

95 Father F. Smith [editor], "Rev. Morgan M. Sheedy, LL.D.," Pittsburgh Catholic, September 30, 1926, 2. The phrase "Ad Altiora Votis" may be translated as "I pray for the higher things."

96 Pittsburgh Catholic, September 10, 1936, 1, 16.

97 "Father Sheedy's Long Career Ends," 1, 16; "Noted Rector of Cathedral Dies Away," Altoona Mirror, October 26, 1939, 1-2; "Father Sheedy Dies After Brief Illness," Altoona Tribune (October 26, 1939), 1-2; "Father Sheedy Dies at 86 in Altoona," The Pittsburgh Press, October 26, 1939, 17; "Father Sheedy Dead at 86, Altoona Rector," Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph, October 26, 1939, 26; "Father Sheedy [editorial]," Altoona Tribune, October 26, 1939, 4; "Last Rites Prepared for Father Sheedy," Altoona Tribune, October 28, 1939, 1-2; "Father Sheedy to be Buried This Morning," Altoona Tribune, October 30, 1939, 1-2.

98 His survivors included a nephew, Rev. Edmund J. Sheedy (1895-1952), then stationed at St. James Church in Pittsburgh's West End.


102 See "Lectures and Catholic Lecture Bureaus," The American Catholic Quarterly Review 11 (April 1888), 297-299.


106 Warren E. Mosher, "A Retrospective View," Mosher's Magazine 14, no. 3 (July 1899), 162.

107 Ibid.


109 "Learning and Literature: Both Are to be Encouraged by a New National Catholic Organization," Pittsburg Dispatch, May 2, 1889, 4.

110 Warren E. Mosher, "A Retrospective View," Mosher's Magazine 14, no. 3 (July 1899), 161-166. Mosher's history of the C.E.U. had originally appeared as "A Retrospective View of the Catholic Summer School of America," The Rosary 4, no. 5 (September 1894), 457-461, and was subsequently reprinted in his own journal in 1899.

111 Mosher's history of the C.E.U. as published in The Rosary and then in Mosher's Magazine recounts the earlier failed and ineffective Catholic efforts to organize or maintain Reading Circles.

112 White, The Founding of Cliff Haven, 57.

113 Warren Moser [sic]'s Address — What the Catholic Educational Union Is, What It Has Accomplished and What It Promises, The Irish Standard, May 10, 1890, 1. This was also the first instance of a sketch of Mosher appearing in a newspaper.

114 Ibid.

115 Ibid.

116 Ibid.

117 Ibid. Father Michael A. Lambing was a younger brother of Father Andrew A. Lambing.

118 Ibid.

119 Included by inference were groups such as the Catholic Young Men's National Union, and a variety of parish, institutional, ethnic, and independent Catholic groups.

120 "Warren Moser [sic]'s Address," 1.


124 Ibid., 339.

125 Ibid., 347.

126 The historic context in which The Catholic Reading Circle Review was established is presented in William L. Lucey, "Catholic Magazines: 1890-1893," Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, Vol. 63, No. 3 (September 1952), 133-156.


129 White, The Founding of Cliff Haven, 100. The series contained gaps in the numbering of volumes.


131 The journal became a quarterly publication with issuance of the January—March 1905 issue.


133 Edward Mears (1844-1923) was a native of Ireland, was ordained to the priesthood in 1869, and became pastor of St. Columba parish in Youngstown where he remained until his death in 1923. St. Columba's was the first and largest parish in Youngstown. Mosher was a parishioner of St. Columba's, which was then part of the Diocese of Cleveland.

134 "Catholic Educational Union: The Catholic Educational Union, Youngstown, Ohio — Objects and Aims," The Kansas Catholic [Kansas City], August 13, 1891, 8.

Of Mosher's many obituaries, the most detailed are: (1) "Death of Warren E. Mosher," *The Champlain Educator* 23, no. 9 (September 1904), 600-611.


Sheedy remained a trustee of the Catholic Summer School of America until his death in 1939.


"Catholic Reading Circle," *Pittsburgh Catholic*, October 1, 1891, 5.

"Combined For Culture," 2.

Ibid.


"Reading Circles Spreading," *The Pittsburg Post*, October 12, 1891, 3.

"At Cliff Haven," *Pittsburgh Catholic*, September 2, 1897, 2.


In this regard, see "Catholic Chautauqua — Summer School to Combine Health and Learning," 10.


Ibid.


Ibid.

"Catholic Summer School," 3.

Ibid.


"Selecting A Location," *The Pittsburg Dispatch*, November 17, 1892, 2. An inspection of the Catholic Summer School in 1902 by the head inspector of the University of the State of New York produced a report that concluded: "These courses will be accepted as the full equivalent of university courses in the same subjects by the school authorities of New York City." "Catholic Summer School Wins Approval of the Inspection Department," *The Pittsburg Dispatch*, September 19, 1892, 583-862.

White, "The Founding of Cliff Haven, 27.


Ibid.

"Summer School for Catholics: An Excursion to the Thousand Islands to Look for Suitable Ground," *The Sun* (New York) (May 22, 1892), Section II, 5.

White, "The Founding of Cliff Haven, 27.

Ibid.

"Summer School for Catholics: An Excursion to the Thousand Islands to Look for Suitable Ground," *The Sun* (New York) (May 22, 1892), Section II, 5.
The Library of Congress contains a collection of photographs of the Catholic Summer School at Cliff Haven; see “Catholic Summer School, Cliff Haven, NY” at the website: “Home: Library of Congress,” The Library of Congress, accessed July 11, 2021, http://www.loc.gov/. The Clinton County Historical Association also maintains a collection of Cliff Haven photographs which is available in the Photo Gallery at its Association’s website: Clinton County Historical Association Archives, accessed July 13, 2021, https://diviner.clintoncountyhistorical.org/diviner-browser/?search=Cliff+Haven&Page=1. A number of postcards showing Cliff Haven buildings are also extant. The Catholic Summer School china plate bearing representative photographs of Cliff Haven were also created and are preserved in the collections of the Clinton County Historical Association.

Author, “The Founding of Cliff Haven, 45.”


“Many Facilities at Summer School: Cliff Haven is Ideal Resort for Those Who Seek Recreation,” The Tablet [Brooklyn], June 22, 1935, 9.

Francis P. Kilcoyne, “Cliff Haven on Lake Champlain,” The Tablet [Brooklyn], May 2, 1931, 14.

“Summer School Has New Building,” The Tablet [Brooklyn], May 25, 1929, 6. Francis Patrick Duffy (1871-1932), a priest of the Archdiocese of New York, became active in the Catholic Summer School of America prior to World War I. He became a military chaplain during that war when the 69th New York Regiment (the “Fighting 69th”) was federalized and redesignated the 165th U.S. Infantry Regiment. Recognized for selfless service to his unit, Duffy emerged as the most highly decorated Roman Catholic in the history of the U.S. Army. He authored Father Duffy’s Story (1919). A statue of Duffy was later erected in the Times Square district of Manhattan, New York City.


“Summer School Has New Building,” 6. Katherine Hepburn was the understudy to lead actress Hope Williams in the play.


“Summer School Has New Building,” 6.

See, e.g., “At Cliff Haven: Continued Success of the Summer School — Synopsis of Interesting Discourses — Current Doings Etc.,” Pittsburge Catholic, August 12, 1897, 1.


James J. Walsh, The Thirteenth, Greatest of Centuries (New York: Catholic Summer School Press, 1907). The volume was dedicated to the then-president of the Catholic Summer School of America, Monsignor Michael J. Lavelle.


The lecture content of Sheedy’s volume Social Problems is described in an extensive press release appearing in the Post: “Social Problems,” The Pittsburgh Post, October 5, 1896, 4. The published notice explained the national reputation that Sheedy enjoyed as a lecturer on “labor and capital” issues.

America 3 (July 2, 1910), 318.


Alfred J. O’Neil, “Catholic Summer School of America Marks 50th Year of Notable Service,” Catholic Action 23 (July 1941), 9.

“Summer School in 50th Year,” The Tablet [Brooklyn], July 5, 1941, 18.


Letter of Rev. Arthur M. Leary, superintendent of Schools of the Diocese of Ogdensburg, to James Addison White, April 5, 1948, as quoted in, http://www.clintoncountyhistorical.org/diviner-browse/?search=Cliff+Haven&pPage=1. This time period is based on the appearance of a postcard, showing the memorial boulder, that was printed during the second decade of the twentieth century.

A picture of Mosher’s memorial boulder with tablet appears in the Photo Gallery at Clinton County Historical Association, July 13, 2021, https://www.clintoncountyhistorical.org/.


Schmitz, “The Narrow Gate Pass.”


Chautauqua Catholic Community, Inc., incorporated as a domestic non-profit corporation with the New York Secretary of State on April 29, 1992 (DOS ID # 1632714).


One may also posit that the efforts of Society of Divine Word seminarians Clifford J. King and Robert B. Clark in establishing the Catholic Students Mission Crusade (1918-1972) drew upon Sheedy’s model. See David J. Endres, American Crusade: Catholic Youth in the World Mission Movement from World War I through Vatican II (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1949).