CHAPTER 14

ETERNITY

Mother Seton wrote to Ellen Wiseman in August 1818, “why [be] uneasy at the fulfillment of the merciful designs of so dear a Providence who left me to take care of my Bec, to bring Jos to an age to take care of herself, and our dearest Boys to enter the way of life they were to choose... St. Joseph’s House [is] well established [and] wants not even my Nominal care—what would you have, darling, why be anxious if your poor tired friend goes to rest.”¹ Her words were reminiscent of Mary Post’s letter the year before in which Mary had remarked to her sister, “I still think you are blessed beyond the usual lot of mortals. I believe in a presiding providence, and that you have always been in its peculiar care is to me most certain.”² But if either woman expected Elizabeth Seton’s last days to be serene and free from care, events were to belie their hopes. The recurring problems posed by her children, during 1817 and after, were only part of a host of events which enlisted the attention of Elizabeth Seton, aroused her sympathies, or required her energy.

One of the crises of 1818 involved not St. Joseph’s house, but their friends on the Mountain, Mount St. Mary’s Seminary and College. The Society of Saint Sulpice had for some time been dissatisfied with affairs at the Mountain seminary. This dissatisfaction arose from a variety of sources, including the admission of Protestant boys, the nature of the seminary (that is, whether it was to be merely a preparatory seminary, or whether it should compete with the Baltimore major seminary), the shortage of Sulpician priests capable of maintaining such work, and, very important, the financial difficulties of Dubois’ establishment.³ Early in 1818 John Dubois wrote a masterly defense of his institution to Archbishop Maréchal, hoping to prevent drastic action against the Emmitsburg establishment.⁴ But this letter did nothing to deter the Sulpicians in Baltimore from continuing their consideration of suppressing Mount Saint Mary’s. Rev. John M. Tessier

The Mortuary Chapel and Saint Joseph’s Cemetery, original graveyard of the Sisters of Charity, Emmitsburg.
wrote to Rev. John F. Hickey 1 April 1818 in a letter marked “Private,” instructing him to “take a very attentive view of current expenses.” The Sulpician superior in Baltimore had found Dubois very touchy on the subject, he said, and he preferred Hickey’s unprejudiced views. Tessier stated pointedly:

The Sisters are more fortunate on their spot. I hear that they are going to build a large addition to their house and that they have the funds ready for the purpose. Whence comes it that they have been able to pay their debts and raise such a sum for building, whilst you with the same means in the Seminary, you have rather increased your debt?5

Although Tessier had an exaggerated confidence in the prosperity of the Sisters of Charity of St. Joseph’s in 1818, his letter indicated that the financial burden at Mount St. Mary’s was a considerable factor in Baltimore’s eventual decision. Both Bruté and Dubois, loving the Mountain school as they did, found the prospect of suppression unbearable, and Tessier told Hickey in May:

Mr. Bruté has been here half a day and gave us to understand that in case we would pronounce against the continuation of your college, he and Mr. Dubois might resolve to go on in opposition to the will of the majority. This disposition is in direct contradiction with the spirit of the Society [of St. Sulpice].6

Archbishop Maréchal had been present at the meeting on 22 May in Baltimore when the Sulpicians had discussed the issues involved.7 He was not wholeheartedly in favor of radical action at that time, and when Dubois later learned of the Society’s decision to discontinue Mount St. Mary’s he wrote to Maréchal bitterly:

If it is true...that you have given your sanction to the precipitous decision made without the least examination by our gentlemen [the Sulpicians] of Baltimore to destroy this establishment here—over which these gentlemen have only a right of limited surveillance, it seems useless to call on you to suspend the proceedings.8

When Dubourg heard the strange accounts about “our dear foster-child of the mountain,” he wrote sympathetically to Bruté, “I partake in all your feelings on the occasion. I still hope that Divine mercy will direct everything for his greater glory.”9
Tessier meanwhile had sent his ultimatum and John Hickey was recalled to Baltimore, as Dubois put it, “without time to put his affairs in order.” At this juncture the people of Emmitsburg became interested, and Mother Seton told her son, William:

A most interesting scene took place here last week, the Sulpicians of Baltimore (except poor Mr. [Simon] Bruté) solicited Mr. Dubois’ suppression of the Seminary, thinking he was rather getting in debt, and that the Masters he employed would be more useful in Baltimore and lo our good Emmitsburgers came forward [and] offered Mr. Dubois 8 or 10,000 [dollars] in hand and to buy the Seminary for him if he chose, if only he would not leave them—the Archbishop [Maréchal] seeing how hard it would go, has directed all to be left as it was before—so much for the good “country peeps” as Mr. [Charles] Duhamel called them.

Mother Seton was not quite accurate, however, in saying all was to be left as it was before. Mount Saint Mary’s, it is true, continued as a Sulpician seminary, and Dubois and Bruté remained: but the title of the property passed from Tessier to Dubois, and “the Mountain became dependent on Paris alone.” In July Dubois requested that in fairness to his institution an advertisement should be put in the papers, signed J.D. and S.B., and announcing that the Mount St. Mary’s school would not be suppressed. September found him informing Tessier that a bond of conveyance would be shorter than a deed in detail, and would suffice for a transfer of the property. The archbishop visited Emmitsburg on 21-26 September and gave official approval to the new arrangement since Dubois had passed the property to his Sulpician confrere, Bruté. On 3 November 1819, John Tessier noted in his journal:

I sent to Father Dubois the act of transfer of the property at Emmitsburg which I transferred to him with the consent of my confreres, that he might possess it, as I did, in the name of the Society of Saint Sulpice.

The confusion which the controversy over the Mountain illustrated was another evidence of the difficulties the Church faced as it adjusted to the American environment. Just as in the case of the adoption of the rules of St. Vincent by the sisters earlier, the exact delimitations of authority were not easily achieved. John Dubois said to Antoine Garnier with perspicacity:

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1 John Dubois reported this incident to Paris explaining that some neighbors offered an interest-free loan.
It must appear evident to you that Saint Sulpice has not yet any government in America, that, indeed, we need a constitution adopted to our local situation and to our distance from the central government; that we need leaders who by their talent for government, their inspiration and experience, their great virtues, can be the trustees of the authority of our Superior General, the faithful interpreters of his will, who can govern without a constitution, and what is more, without a council; for as a matter of fact, we haven’t any and we won’t be able to have any for a long time.17

Dubois on this mountain, like Mother Seton in the valley, was coping not only with a geographic frontier, but also with the subtleties of organization which adaptation to that frontier called into question and the impact of the ripple-effect of European politics on this side of the Atlantic.

The arrangement which separated the seminary in Baltimore from the one in Emmitsburg left a small legacy of rivalry between the two schools. One loyal “Mountain man” who later attended the seminary in Baltimore wrote to Dubois:

They call the Mount the little seminary. No doubt they allude to the house for we are now but 8 seminarians, all studying divinity and I expect in a short time we will be but seven so that the large sanctuary here is to look at, and this is the big seminary with only 8 students and yours is the little one with 20. However, I hope one day things will get their true names.18

For the most part, however, the crisis passed without serious consequences. Archbishop Maréchal continued to allow seminarians to assist with teaching at Mount Saint Mary’s.19 After Samuel Cooper was ordained he was sent to Emmitsburg to assist Dubois and Simon Bruté in their varied labors. Following Cooper’s departure in 1819, Maréchal considered sending a French priest to relieve some of Dubois’ burden, but when Hickey, who had been quite ill, recovered and showed a strong desire to return to Dubois, he was permitted to do so.20

Mother Seton and her daughters were greatly relieved to have matters settled in this way. Elizabeth Seton had said when she planned to go to Emmitsburg that the protection of the Sulpicians was a great factor

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1 Samuel Sutherland Cooper arrived 20 August 1818.
2 John B. Randanne served briefly as pastor of the Emmitsburg congregation in 1818, but his effectiveness was impeded by his lack of proficiency in English.
in her decision to locate there.\textsuperscript{22} The possibility of a complete suppression of Mount St. Mary’s in 1818 offered many causes for apprehension to the women in the valley. The presence of a superior in the immediate vicinity had been desirable in the early years of the sisterhood, and custom had increased this desire during subsequent years. Dubois and Bruté, in their own right, had proved invaluable friends to the community; their loss in 1818 would have “pressed hard.” The mountain school had provided a haven for sons of widows wishing to live at St. Joseph’s. The accounts at Mount Saint Mary’s\textsuperscript{d} also included St. Joseph’s business in many cases.\textsuperscript{23} Much of the manual work of St. Joseph’s farm was directed from the Mountain. Building projects were the province of the men as well. It was Dubois who made the contracts, met the obligations, and handled other negotiations. The removal of the Sulpician establishment from Emmitsburg at this time would have appeared calamitous to the Sisters of Charity of St. Joseph’s. The women rejoiced that their friends on the Mountain remained. Indeed, affairs at Mount St. Mary’s seemed to prosper by the change,\textsuperscript{e} for Mother Seton wrote to Richard in 1820:

Mr. Dubois, like a prince on his Mountain. Full school, debts paid, improvements in all directions, Egan, Mullen, Jamison, Wiseman still there. They are cutting the mountain in terraces to bring the garden up to Mr. Duhamel’s house.\textsuperscript{24}

The continued existence of Mount St. Mary’s indirectly led to the re-entry of Samuel S. Cooper into Mother Seton’s concerns. Although Mr.

\textsuperscript{d} The account books at Mount St. Mary’s University include pages listed “St. Joseph’s Sisterhood.” It is impossible to determine to what extent the transfer of property from John M. Tessier to John Dubois involved St. Joseph’s but Mother Seton’s letter to the Sulpician Louis-Regis Deluol of 30 December 1819, implies some community of interest. Referring to John Dubois’ direction that she write to Deluol she said, “I offered him indeed to obtain any compensation to the house of St. Joseph he might think proper rather than call back the affairs of former times, but he has no intention as I understand but to drop all in peace... With respect to what is further necessary than the notes already given, he will arrange all, he says, to the satisfaction of Mr. [John] Tessier.” (2.32, \textit{CW}, 2:633) Louis-Regis Deluol was the business manager of Baltimore’s Society of Saint Sulpice. Delul later became successively superior of the Sisters of Charity of St. Joseph’s and the Sulpicians in the United States. In these roles he negotiated the union of the Sisters of Charity at Emmitsburg with the Daughters of Charity of Paris under the superior general of the Congregation of the Mission and the Daughters of Charity. Mother Seton also had an account with St. Mary’s College in Baltimore from 18 June 1808, to 1 November 1819. This account shows a deposit of $1028.50 in June 1808, and $400.00 in July 1809, and deductions for chairs, rent for Paca Street house, wood, bread, etc. Some of the items, however, go beyond the period of her Baltimore residence and deal with boarders at St. Joseph’s. All together, Mrs. Seton had entrusted to Louis W. Dubourg’s management a total of $2350, according to Deluol’s “remarks on Mrs. Seton’s expenses.” This sum included money from the Filicchis, Mrs. Julia Scott, Wright Post, and boarders at Paca Street. It was the residue of this money, perhaps, that Mother Seton intended in her phrase about compensation proper to the House of St. Joseph.

\textsuperscript{e} Melville believed that a revised history of Mount St. Mary’s University seemed warranted, as well as a definitive biography of John Dubois. [The biography by Shaw had not yet been written. See ch.12, footnote g.] It has always been assumed that John Dubois was a poor business man, but there seems to be sufficient doubt appearing to justify a re-examination of the facts.
Cooper had entered the seminary the year Mrs. Seton arrived in Baltimore, he was not ordained until the summer of 1818, a decade later. During the interval, he had suffered from poor health, had traveled in Europe and had returned; but his path crossed that of his friend’s at several points. In 1810 he had supplied the community during their economic hardships with dried fruits and cloth, and Elizabeth told Julia Scott, “He will never let us want what he can give—We never see him—or even thank him for his pure Benevolence. Many strange beings are in this world.”

Cooper was a strange being in many ways, but his generosity to St. Joseph’s was never in question. Although he very soon became tired of the three-way ownership of the property, and would have preferred to vest it in Mother Seton alone, he co-operated quite willingly in the plan for incorporation proposed in 1816 and went on foot to Emmitsburg that November to discuss it with Dubois. He wrote to Mother Seton on 23 January 1817 when the legislature had finally passed the act, that it had long been his wish. “The property of St. Joseph’s can now be held in your own names,” he said simply “and I will make the conveyance when everything is prepared.”

Early that summer Samuel Cooper prepared to sail for Europe. His plans for leaving coincided with those of John Grassi, the Jesuit, and Mother Seton prepared letters for the Filicchis and William Seton to be carried by either Cooper or Grassi. Cooper returned from Rome in 1818 but Grassi was compelled to stay on because of Jesuit affairs relating to England. In August of that year, Cooper was ordained to the priesthood by Archbishop Maréchal and on 18 August 1818 Father Moranvillé wrote to Emmitsburg, “I heard that the Revd. Mr. Cooper who was ordained priest last Saturday will take the pastoral charge of Emmitsburg. If this be the case, our good friends will have one great care off their hands.” He added: I have some time ago asked that little place for myself, but the archbishop would not hear of it.

On 30 August, Samuel Cooper arrived to assume the pastoral duties of the village congregation in Emmitsburg, and went to live at the home of Thomas Radford, a parishioner.

The newly-ordained priest attacked his new duties with energy and fervor. Bruté described Cooper’s first sermon in Emmitsburg for John Hickey with the words:

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1 The conveyance was made 11 June 1819.
I wish I could have sent you the beautiful picture Mr. Cooper has drawn of the pulpit. He speaks indeed extremely well, such forcible, dignified simplicity, good sense, piety and elegance and delivered with the imposing countenance the good man has.\textsuperscript{33}

His enthusiasm drew larger numbers to the little church and the Easter confessions and communions\textsuperscript{8} in 1819 jumped from the 190 of Duhamel and Hickey to 225.\textsuperscript{34} Elizabeth Seton, who was always roused by a zealous priest, found Cooper’s example very edifying, and she commented to Father Bruté:

I glance a fearful look at you and Mr. [Samuel] Cooper and say secretly if I was one or the other, then adore and think I know nothing about it, only it seems to me that those who have light and grace already might be trusted to keep it and I would not stop night or day till I reached the dry and dark wilderness where neither can be found where such horrid crimes go on for want of them and where there is such a glorious death to be gained by carrying them. Oh, G., if I was light and life as you are I would shout like a madman alone to my God and roar and groan and sigh and be silent all together till I had baptized a 1000 and snatched these poor Victims from Hell—

—and pray Madame Bête, say you, why does not your zeal make its flame through your own little Hemisphere? True, but rules, prudence, subjections, opinions etc., dreadful walls to a burning SOUL wild as mine and somebody’s—for me I am like a fiery horse I had when a girl, whom they tried to break by making him drag a heavy cart, and the poor beast was so humbled that he could never more be inspired by whips or caresses, and wasted to a skeleton till he died ...but you and Mr. Cooper might waste to skeletons to some purpose, and after wasting be sent still living to the glories of the Kingdom.

In the meantime that Kingdom come. Every day I ask my bête soul what I do for it in my little part assigned, and can see nothing but to smile, caress, be patient, write, pray and WAIT before Him—\textsuperscript{35}

\textsuperscript{8} Charles Duhamel had 190 in 1817; John F. Hickey, 191 in 1818; Samuel Cooper, 225 in 1819.
The reports of Cooper’s good work reached Baltimore, and Archbishop Maréchal wrote approvingly:

I heard the other day with great pleasure that you are going very well indeed in your congregation. God be praised for it!! But be careful of your health. People express a fear that you lead a too mortified life.36

Samuel Cooper, as his superior suspected, was prone to overdo things, and only too soon his zeal went beyond the confines of prudence. The Emmitsburg community in the early nineteenth century was, like most towns of the day, liberally supplied with alcoholic beverages. Brute’s description of the town says:

The town numbers about seven hundred inhabitants. There are four principal taverns and perhaps seven or eight tippling-shops under the sign: “Liquors and fruits.” But besides these, the principal groceries and dry goods stores, of which there are six, quite considerable, sell drams and whiskey to anyone coming, particularly to their customers.37

It was quite natural that drunkenness was to be encountered in the village congregation. Father Cooper wished to take severe measures to cope with the problem, and he finally resolved upon public penance as the best solution. Writing to the archbishop on 15 March 1819, Father Cooper decried the scandal drunkenness created, “the mischief it produces among the Protestants is bringing disgrace on the Catholic Church.” He said:

Now, reflecting on the means the most probable to affect a change, it appears to me that if all those who give public scandal were obliged to kneel or stand, or sit in some particular place in the Church, and that their names should be mentioned from the pulpit, it would soon produce a most salutary effect.

As I did not wish to act upon this principle from my own private authority, it occurred to me that I should write to your Reverence for permission, in case it should not meet with your approbation.38

When Maréchal was first faced with the matter he wrote moderately of the difficulties involved.

If public penance be exacted, the law must embrace not one congregation only, but all those which exist in the diocese...
and if drunkards be subjected to it, why should it not be required from sinners addicted to any other vices equally scandalous? Not being sufficiently acquainted with the mind of the Christian people of Emmitsburg, I beg you to confer upon the subject with Rev. Mr. Dubois.39

When John Dubois spoke of the matter to Maréchal he said that Cooper’s desire to make public examples of four or five people seemed unwise.40 To Cooper himself, Dubois said he feared the resistance to public penance would make Cooper’s plan dangerous.41 Cooper, however, not having been positively forbidden to use public penance, went ahead. On Palm Sunday he announced from the pulpit that public injury required a public satisfaction. Reporting his action to Maréchal, Cooper described the scene:

The Church was full, and the impression this communication produced was truly affecting. The young and old, men and women were in tears. One man only got up and went out of the Church and the Congregation showed strong marks of indignation at his conduct, so as to leave the pleasing conviction on my mind that his holy regulation for public penance meets with the unqualified approbation of the people. My joy and satisfaction has been increased since, in observing with what avidity, zeal and sincerity they approach the holy confessional. It looks a little like the primitive times.42

He excluded the one recalcitrant offender, Radford, from the village church, and asked Dubois to refuse him entrance at the Mountain and St. Joseph’s.43 The storm of protest which followed belied Cooper’s sanguine predictions and caused the archbishop to forbid public penance. The pastor then found himself in a difficult position. Samuel Cooper was never a calm, judicious man, and this predicament was one he found hard to bear. After several trips to Baltimore, he concluded that he could not remain in Emmitsburg with his discipline thus repudiated.

John Dubois, Simon Bruté, and Mother Seton each hated to see Cooper go. Dubois wrote Maréchal that it was with pain he witnessed “Mr. Cooper’s resolution to withdraw from this congregation.” He suggested that, perhaps, public penance might be given a fair trial. Public scandals

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8 One of the chief offenders seems to have been Thomas Radford, a cobbler and the man at whose house Samuel Cooper first lived. Samuel Cooper later removed to a Mr. Govern’s house. Radford, along with Robert Moore, later witnessed Elizabeth’s last will and testament. See A-7.269, CW, 2:771.
were prevalent. Perhaps public penance was the solution after all.\textsuperscript{44} Bruté told Mother Seton:

\begin{quote}
I think calumny the most easy thing to bear with and think I would not get angry at it—nor sad—as I do unwillingly at defeated good—Mr. Cooper goes—past interfering! Nay, after seeing him I too dropped all interference. Maybe Providence and better!—excellent man—let him go. What a soul of fire—but what evidence more of the beautiful St. Paul’s “sober in good.”...Alas, alas, alas, Mother, my Mother, is not good impeded, embarrassed, prostrated worse than Calumny!\textsuperscript{45}
\end{quote}

On 15 June 1819, Cooper left Emmitsburg and returned to Baltimore. Not long afterward he went to Augusta, Georgia. It was there he received the news of Mother Seton’s death in 1821.\textsuperscript{46} Bruté and Dubois\textsuperscript{1} were once more faced with the Emmitsburg congregation and the unruly Mr. Radford.\textsuperscript{47} Mother Seton was saddened by the loss of her friend, and particularly, by what seemed like a defeat for the forces of good. Her own zeal redoubled and she tried more earnestly to overcome by prayer the obstacles to grace which persisted around her.

The blindness of the good non-Catholics, particularly, made a “deep, sad impression” on her soul. She exclaimed on one occasion:

\begin{quote}
Our God—they think they know him and love him, but have not the least glimpse of what Spirit He is of or their direct contradiction to it—Oh, the deep, sad impression to my soul—but we must pray this lady declares the Catholic faith is the true faith—but I see plainly she has obstacles to grace which our God alone can remove—Oh, then, to pray, pray is all I see. She kept my heart so well under the press showing all her oppositions to the reign of our Jesus (herself obstinately bent to support them) that I spent truly a day of tears and interior cry to him, to see how they bind His blessed hands, pervert His Word, and yet hold up the head in boast that they are true Christians—let my heart then bleed with yours.\textsuperscript{48}
\end{quote}

Again, when the uncertainty of another young woman caused her pain, she cried to Bruté, “Oh then pity and pray for such poor blind ones incessantly—can you lift the blessed chalice without thinking of them? I would say nothing to him but Thy Kingdom come all life long—Our God—

\textsuperscript{1} Radford visited Dubois and gave an energetic account of what Maréchal had told him after the Archbishop discussed the matter with Cooper.
our all—and we enjoying his fullness with what dreadful account if not improved.”

Many became interested in Roman Catholicism as a result of their acquaintance with Mother Seton and the Sisters of Charity. Some converts were among the girls who came to St. Joseph’s to be educated. Others were among women whom she met through benefactors and friends of the school, or through visits to homes in the neighborhood. The ones Elizabeth would have been happiest to see in Church, Julia, Sad, Mary Post, however, never came in. She accepted their attitudes but continued to pray. As she said to Julia the last time she brought up the subject of religion, “Well, dearest one, I carry you constantly in my heart before Him who loved us, and so much more than any friend can love friend—may He bless you, strengthen you, and make you truly pleasing to him, own dear friend of my heart.” The closer she got to death, the more it seemed to Mother Seton that the best she could do was pray. She explained to Father Bruté, “For at last, how much more good can we do by staying within with God, than by most zealous speculations. Plenty of people in this world to mind planning and opinions, but how few to build in God and be silent, like our JESUS.” As she contemplated the unity she so fervently implored, she conceived it as a chain, and elaborated:

- Link by link the blessed chain:
  - One Body in Christ—He the head we the members
  - One Spirit diffused thro’ the Holy Ghost in us all
  - One Hope—Him in heaven and eternity
  - One Faith—by his Word and his Church
  - One Baptism and participation of His sacraments
  - One God, our dear Lord
  - One Father, We His children—He above all, through all and in all.

Who can resist, all self must be killed and destroyed by this artillery of love one one one. Who could escape this bond of unity peace and love? O my soul be fastened link by link, strong as death, iron, and Hell as says the sacred Word.

The longer she thought about the consolations of her faith, the more grateful she became. Catherine Josephine Seton said of her mother, after Elizabeth’s death,
My mother was asked upon her dying bed by Revd. Bishop Dubois or Bruté how she considered the greatest blessing bestowed upon her by God during her life—she replied “that of being brought into the Catholic Church.”

It was with inexpressible gratitude that Mother Seton wrote:

O, Our Lord Jesus how great is the merit of that Blood which abundantly redeems the whole world—and would redeem a million more—and would redeem the DEMONS themselves if they were capable of penitence and salvation as I am—Yes, Lord, though your thunder should crush me, and a deluge overwhelm me, I will yet hope while you destroy my Body you will save my Soul.

While Mother Seton was increasing her zeal for souls, numberless minor concerns ebbed and flowed around her. Father Bruté, her friends in Baltimore and New York, her children, all clamored for her attention. When Simon Bruté returned to Emmitsburg in 1818, John Dubois had given him the care of “the college and young men and the congregation with Mr. Hickey, keeping to himself Emmitsburg, the Sisters and the general administration.”

Bruté chafed at the arrangement and voiced his impatience to Mother Seton, whose reply, though sympathetic, contained a note of reproof. She said:

I see a quiet moderate experienced man put in the center of a Congregation who is not “SAVED” for want of an active zealous driving man, because they must have “fire” cried in their ears—and I see a zealous driving man without experience, put in a Seminary where he will “SAVE” none because he cannot wait to gain a heart, or unfold a temper... His zeal instead of bedewing the plant in the thirsty ground crushes it under foot—alas, well if he does not root it out forever.

Bruté talked restlessly that spring of leaving America to do missionary work abroad. Cheverus wrote disapprovingly. “I cannot help desiring your stay among us,” and Elizabeth Seton exclaimed:

Again your restless thoughts strike me to the Soul—you made the lesson of “the grace of the moment” so very plain to me, I owe you perhaps my very salvation by the faults and sins it has saved me from, yet physician you will not heal yourself—you surely would not leave your brother [John

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1 [John Dubois was third bishop of New York in 1826–1842. Simon Bruté was the first bishop of Vincennes, Indiana, 1834–1839. Ed.]
Dubois] now, and if our God does indeed graciously destine you for China, will he not seeing the overflowings of your boiling heart for it, open an evident door—the “infidelities” blessed which may keep his designs suspended—at that another thing—that the point of reparation! And WE WILL DO OUR BEST!  

Mother Seton jotted down, for herself, the warning:

Our misery is not to conform ourselves to the intentions of God [but] as to the manner in which He will be glorious… what pleases Him does not please us—He wills us to enter in the way of suffering, and we desire to enter in action—we desire to give rather than receive—and do not purely seek His Will.  

It may have been at this point that Simon Bruté sent her the lovely lines:

O, then, that I had true humility, and humility is so gentle! That I might come to think only of my own misery, and easily “give up” every dear Brother’s and Sister’s little trial [which] I myself give them in life as little as possible.

A stillness of expectation of that grand, grand eternity I hear [about] me seems, drawing near, with its only praise, only love only peace; and no more offense; a silence and forgetfulness of our puny troubles in sight of that grand, beautiful, magnificent eternity filled with God alone. His Majesty, Sweetness and Goodness. O Eternity! O my God alone! Still now to act, and now in peace. Help, O help, my Lord!  

In the end Bruté stayed, and supported John Dubois through the painful crisis involving Mount Saint Mary’s.

Changes came to Mother Seton’s friends in New York. William Craig was bed-ridden with rheumatism. After suggesting [that] he ask Sister Rose what she used for relief, Elizabeth exclaimed, “Oh bless you all. I wish I had all your pains, if God would give them to me.”  

Young Leo Post was growing more feeble and toward the end of 1819 he started for Havana with Mary Bayley Bunch. Eliza Sadler, Mother Seton’s dearest friend in New York sailed for France on 25 October 1819, and Elizabeth knew now that she would never see her Sad again.  

\(^{1}\) Eliza Sadler sailed with her friends, the de Neuville’s, the French Minister, and his wife. After his return to France, Baron Hyde de Neuville served as intermediary between Archbishop Ambrose Maréchal and Louis XVII.
and Cecilia O’Conway in her letters to Emmitsburg called her “the refuge of the miserable.” It was to Dué that Elizabeth Seton wrote, “When I think of what I deserve, and what I have, I can never be too grateful.” But when Mother Seton’s thoughts wandered to New York they were more concerned with work still undone, and she wrote, beseeching Robert Fox about his daughters:

I cannot resist the desire of my heart this morning which has so often pushed me to entreat you to let your dear one come who has not made her first Communion...Jane and Eliza will be a great comfort to their dear Mother and yourself I trust...do hear my prayer for their dear sister who has not had their good opportunity...When we poor parents meet our beloved children in the great day of account and judgment, how happy if we can present them to Him from whom we received them without reproach at least on our part. I tremble often for my omissions and excessive indulgence to mine. Don’t say I take too great a liberty saying all this to you. You will never know in this world how tenderly I love your family. 

In November 1819, Dr. Chatard became very ill in Baltimore, and Elizabeth Seton heard the news with sorrow. She directed the community to pray for him. No one rejoiced more than Mother Seton when good news arrived a few days later. She wrote to Mme. Chatard, “I have two communions this week to thank and praise for you and with you—I would say so much to you, but can say nothing—you know my heart, your pains or comforts can never be more felt or shared by any as by yours EAS.” It was to Marie Françoise Chatard, she addressed her last letter of the year, telling her happily:

We had 15 first communions in a peace and simplicity of delight never enjoyed with the children before. It happened there was no doubtful or difficult one in the number. The instructions had been anticipated for several weeks by our fervent friend and Father [Bruté], and his daily letters he addressed with his rapid pen and burning heart to the children—the beautiful meditations written also by him for the blessed occasion [of First Communion] made all alive and happy in their fervor...Oh, the goodness of our God to us, dearest friend, how well indeed is my heart turned with yours to thank Him.

1 [Mrs. Seton addressed this letter to “Mrs. Chatard” and its text indicates that she was writing to the mother of Emily although Melville cited it differently in the first edition of this work. Ed.]
Spring, the last Mother Seton was ever to see, came in 1820 with its perennial wonders. Kit Seton went off to visit Ann Tiernan in Baltimore in April, and Elizabeth wrote to her:

Lilacs, little blossoms of many kinds and tiny branches from our dear graves are all around me. Our room looks so pinky from morning till night. You would laugh for I keep close by the cabinet and pick up my books so carefully that Sister Susy\textsuperscript{m} twirls in and out ten times a day and finds nothing to do.\textsuperscript{70}

In the evenings Sister Agnes or Sister Martha read Chateaubriand and Elizabeth’s renewed “delight in him” made her copy some phrases out for the absent Kit. News came second-hand from Boston that all on board the Macedonian were well when the ship was in Havana.\textsuperscript{71} In May, the contracts were discussed for the new brick school building, in spite of the gloomy economic conditions. The year before Mother Seton had commented that Dubois feared “to go on with the building since every one rich and poor it is thought are failing and our house may be empty enough next year.”\textsuperscript{72} It was a time of “trouble of Banks and General distress” owing to the war clouds which threatened.\textsuperscript{73} Writing to William Seton that fall of 1819,\textsuperscript{a} his mother had complained, “We hear of nothing but war war on all sides ...everything stands just as you left it. Losses plenty in the money way by our crazy merchants—but we push along—no new building in such hard times.”\textsuperscript{74} But by spring John Dubois felt more optimistic and contracts were the subject of exchanges between Dubois and Elizabeth. Although Mother Seton had written to Richard on 8 May 1820, that there was no building at St. Joseph’s,\textsuperscript{75} by the end of June the contract for the one story was given to Edward Yates.\textsuperscript{76}

June turned to July and Mother Seton’s thoughts rushed ahead toward January and the prospect of William’s return.\textsuperscript{77} To Ellen Wiseman she wrote, “\textit{January will come, my Ellen, but what it will bring he only knows who does all well}.”\textsuperscript{78} William Seton, cruising off the coast of Panama that summer, wrote that his ship was heading south toward Valparaiso. “I shall come like the prodigal son,” he warned. “I shall be ready for the newest fashions.”\textsuperscript{79} But his mother’s thoughts were busy with her old concern, and she wrote sorrowfully:

William, William, William, is it possible the cries of my heart don’t reach yours? I carry your beloved name before

\textsuperscript{a} Sister Susan Clossy
\textsuperscript{a} The panic of 1819 had complex causes, chief of which were the inability of manufacturing to reach a stable footing after the abnormal growth during the war was checked, and the speculation which accompanied the post-war expansion. Economic distress was very severe.
the tabernacle and repeat it there as my prayer, in torrents of tears which our God alone understands.

Childish weakness, fond partiality, you would say, half pained if you could see from your present scene, the agonized heart of your Mother, but its agony is not for our present separation my beloved one, it is our long eternal years which press on it beyond all expression. To lose you here a few years of so embittered a life is but the common lot, but to love as I love you and lose you forever, oh unutterable anguish—

A whole eternity miserable, a whole eternity the enemy of God, and such a God as He is to us—dreading so much your faith is quite lost having everything to extinguish, and nothing to nourish it. My William, William, William if I did not see your doting Bec and Nina above [in heaven] what would save my heart from breaking?

Yet her heart was not too full to remember her other friends, and it was touched by the sight of Cheverus’ letter in which he explained that frequent trembling in the hand prevented him from writing to her more often. She was distressed to learn of the illness of “The Revd. Dr. Carr” and Michael Hurley in Philadelphia. She learned with a pang that her dear “Père,” Father Babade, was returning to France, “breaking all the ties which bound him to many people in this country.” She was disturbed by John Hickey’s discontent in Baltimore and his wish to return to Dubois and Bruté at Mount Saint Mary’s. She wrote to him these words:

My heart and soul this week past has been under the press of the Beatitude, “Blessed are the Pure of heart; they SHALL SEE GOD!” O, my Brother, take the words on yours, and [at] my Sunday dear Communion I will beg our God to write them on it. Happy, happy are you to love all for Him, every bent of your heart’s affections, every power of your soul turned wholly to Him, without even the mixture of the innocent sojourning awhile with your old Father and dear Brother. How much purer is your service where you are above the midst of earthly attraction. One thing I hope you are convinced of (I as a wretched sinner know it well) that wherever we meet a little prop of human comfort, there is always some subtraction of Divine Comfort. And for my part, I am so afraid to cause any such subtraction that I feel

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80 Rev. Matthew Carr, O.S.A., died 29 September 1820, but Michael Hurley survived Mother Seton by sixteen years.
a reserve and fear in every human consolation that makes them more my pains than my pleasures, yet the liberty of children of God—I hope in all, I only mean to say we should be too happy when the Providence of our God keep[s] us wholly to Himself.

Your Father and Brother here are doing what would seem far beyond human possibility, but God will support and in his own time give them help, no doubt. You are remembered and loved here too much to make it a safe place for you unless you were sent by God Himself without the least agency of your own.84

Mother Seton’s spiritual life was incalculably refined during her last years. After 1818 her resignation was complete. She had written then to Sad, “Oh Eliza, I am to stay—Very well.”85 From then on she practised her own precept, “the Lamb which keeps nearest to its shepherd is the most loved—if he sleeps it does not quit him till he wakes or till it wakens him—then he redoubles his caresses.86 She explained to John Hickey:

All the illusioning and spider web of earthly weaving is broken, and nothing now more bright and steady than the divine lamp He feeds and trims himself because as I suppose I stayed in obedience. Oh, this Master and Father we serve. You in Your Glorious Embassy, I in my little errand! How can we be happy enough in his service—87

As her health seemed to improve in 1819, she wrote cheerfully to Father Hickey:

I am so much better—cannot die one way it seems, so I try to die the other, and keep the straight path to GOD ALONE, the little daily lesson [is] to keep soberly and quietly in His Presence, trying to turn every little action on His Will, and to praise and love through cloud or sunshine, is all my care and study—Sam [the devil] offers his battle from time to time, but Our Beloved stands behind the wall and keeps the wretch at his distance.88

She lived in the very sanctuary of the divine Presence, she told Antonio, since “we have but a partition between my little room and our chapel.”89 She added, “I try to make my very breathing a thanksgiving.”90
In July 1820, when Sister Jane Frances Gartland became mortally ill, Elizabeth’s yearning for heaven redoubled its force and she wrote longingly to Hickey:

Oh, my Father, friend, could I hear my last stage of cough and feel my last stage of pain in the tearing away my prison walls, how would I bear my joy—thought of going home called and by His Will—what a transport, but they say, don’t you fear to die? Such a sinner must fear but I fear much more to live and know, as I do, that every evening examen finds my account but lengthened and enlarged. I don’t fear death half as much as my hateful vile self.\(^91\)

And to her daughter Kit she said in a wry humor, “I am so well I despair of dying even when you won’t want me.” Then she added gently alluding to wheels, “[all] goes round. Peace and Love, My Soul’s Darling, look up at the blue heavens and love Him, He is so good to us.”\(^92\)

That last summer Mother Seton and Father Bruté were closer in spirit than ever before, although they seldom saw each other now. Bruté was very busy and Mother Seton told Hickey, “We have broken our old bonds; I seldom speak to him but in the tribunal. What a lofty Grace for this low earth, but it is to be nearer in heaven I hope. PEACE.”\(^93\) The love they had for each other could not be measured in sentences. Elizabeth had said to him once, “O my Brother for the day of language without measure!! How much I shall say to you—when it will be by a look of the Soul.”\(^94\) Simon Bruté directed the last retreat Elizabeth Seton ever made, and the instructions he gave are still preserved at St. Joseph’s.\(^95\) September ushered in the last problems they would face together.

The summer of 1820 saw the beginning of the school building for the day students. As the season waned, and the valley winds grew colder, Mother Seton grew weaker. One day, the enthusiastic Dubois summoned her to survey the progress the carpenters were making. He insisted that she climb a pile of boards, and when the sharp wind struck her, Elizabeth Seton felt the first real clutch of death’s icy hand. A strong fever developed rapidly and a few days later Dubois was summoned hurriedly to anoint her. The next Sunday Mr. Bruté began “Depart Christian Soul”\(^96\) it was the recommendation for the dying.

This illness apparently set in toward the end of August for Bruté noted at the top of a meditation on St. Augustine, “News of the Extreme Unction of Rev. M. Hickey. Mother Seton very sick too.”\(^97\) On 16 September, on

\(^91\) Sister Jane Frances Gartland died a few weeks later on the 20th of August. 398
one “of his hurried trips back to Mount Saint Mary’s, Bruté left a scribbled message for Dubois, “I was coming to inform how is Mother, (the same truly badly).” On Sunday, 30 September, Bruté was hastily summoned from Emmitsburg with the words, “Mother is dying.” He borrowed the “first horse at hand” and rode to St. Joseph’s, passing the sisters who had brought the message. The calmness of the house, as Bruté entered, struck his heart. But when he saw Mother Seton his hope returned. He had to hurry back to town for a high Mass and so he had her make a general confession and “announced her the last indulgence.” Mother Seton was “so calm, so present, so recollected and wholly trusted to her blessed Lord; her eyes so expressive—the look that pierces heaven and the soul visible in it” as she renewed her vows in the presence of Josephine and some of the sisters. It was on this Sunday, 24 September 1820 that he said “Depart Christian Soul!”

When Bruté returned to St. Joseph’s that evening he heard the sisters singing a hymn, Praise God, at the close of Benediction. They told him Mother Seton had requested it. But she apologized to Father Bruté later, saying, “I only pronounced the words, ‘Praise God,’ they thought I asked for it.” Bruté suggested that he might write to some of her former friends thanking them for their affection and attention, and she named some. Bruté named others. The list included Cheverus, Maréchal, Sibourd, Dubourg, Flaget, Hickey, Filicchi. When she came to John David her emotion increased and she said brokenly, “Mr. David—to ask him pardon for all pains I gave him.” When one of the sisters suggested sitting with her during the night, Elizabeth demurred but she expressed a wish that Bruté remain in the sacristy. Bruté wrote afterward:

I knew her faith for the presence of the priest and indeed the wish of the rituals that he might remain by the dying souls, but on my observing, “Better not, besides I trust you do not die this night,” she did not insist one word.

So Bruté spent the night in Emmitsburg at the house of a parishioner, James Hughes.

The week which followed was filled with alternating hope and fear. On Tuesday Mother Seton seemed much better and on Wednesday, out of danger. But on Thursday the doctor said he failed to see why Bruté and the sisters were optimistic. In October the sisters brought in a feather bed to ease the aching emaciated frame and when Bruté called, Elizabeth burst into tears. She had not asked for it, she said, but it felt so much better she feared the luxury of such comfort. Father Bruté told her she must submit to the charity of her sisters, and she humbly complied.
On 6 October, Bruté penned the following note for Mother Seton and also recorded her appearance in a sketch:

Your poor Spiritual Physician sees you seldom, but it is in order not to spare you fatigue. He maintains himself in tranquility knowing that the celestial Physician, the Well-Beloved, the only Spouse of your soul is present.

Present in love, confidence, abandon—all the most tender, the most simple, the most entire abandon.

Present in repeated avowals of penitence of contrition, of humility, of dependence, and resignation to suffer all united to Him, to His cross.

Present with His peace, His calm joy, His profound detachment, His grace for each moment, pain, or consolation.

“For all flesh is grass.” All the glory thereof, O Mother! O Josephine! as the flowers of the grass!—but, the Word of our God—His grace, His love liveth and remaineth forever! O joy! O sweet abandon to Him!

For the mother in glory 1820

Bruté was amazed to find that Mother Seton kept fasting all night in order to receive Holy Communion, in spite of being desperately thirsty from the persistent fever. Though he disapproved of her fast, Bruté did not withhold communion. He described one scene in these words:

Her joy was so uncommon that when I approached, and as I placed the ciborium upon the little table, she burst into tears, and sobbing aloud covered her face with her two hands. I thought first it was some fear of sin, and approaching her, I asked, “Be still Mother! Peace, peace be to you! Here is the Lord of Peace! Have you any pain? Do you wish to confess?” “No, no only give Him to me” as she said with an ardor, a kind of exclamation and her whole pale face so inflamed that I was much affected and repeating, “Peace, dear Mother, receive with great peace your God of Peace.” I have proceeded to give her communion and she has received it with great feeling and aspiration.

[Although Melville stated that Simon Bruté drew a sketch of Mother Seton with her hands covering her face, at the bottom of this description. The sketch and written document are detached. Mother Seton’s face is clearly visible. See ASJPH 1-3-3-12:2. Ed.]
For a little while after this she seemed to regain her lost strength. Bruté recorded years later that among her greatest spiritual gifts was her unabating desire of the holy communion, missing none—since September but one that I can remember because I came too late, and then she had it the morning after, as she had not joined [in attending Mass] that day with the community—so this morning, I remember, I said [when] leaving her. “Think not of yourself, think but of your Jesus whom you have tried to love and received so often in communion,” to which she gave her usual expressive assent of the yes [sic, eyes] lifted up, which I wish ever to remember.

Julia Scott heard with relief, by a letter from Catherine Josephine Seton, that Elizabeth was “happily recovering.” Bruté wrote to John Hickey, who was also recovering from illness in Baltimore:

My good friend, had we the eminent perfection to say: Neither life nor death but thy will and thy love! I hope you tried to keep so in the critical juncture and, so Mother Seton did, having almost no other answer for all how are you but “quiet,” or “His Will.” She thanks you for your kind remembrance and weak as yourself seems now however obliged to remain.

Elizabeth Seton, herself, wrote, “Now I am again better, he spares me a little while to see if any fruit will grow on his barren tree—and perhaps to make amends for the bad example I have often given.” From this time on her favorite prayer was always said for her or with her by the community. She would often begin the prayer herself. It was the beautiful prayer of Pius VII:

May the most just, the most high and the most amiable will of God be in all things fulfilled, praised and exalted above all forever.

The brief respite in October seemed designed so that Elizabeth Seton might bear the unhappy return of her son Richard from Leghorn. She rallied enough strength to pen the letters to Antonio Filicchi and Robert Harper. In October, too, she wrote a detailed letter about community concerns to Sister Elizabeth Boyle at Philadelphia. But after that, Kit again handled the letters for her mother. Mother Seton learned well the lesson that, “The virtues of the infirm are meekness, humility, patience, resignation, and gratitude for help received.” Kit wrote to Julia in November that her mother was far from
recovered from the “abscess on the breast,” and that she found her chief substantial support in a little port wine. Mother Seton rested uneasily, taking comfort from her own admonition, “Let broken rest be filled with good aspirations—anciently the just were called Crickets of the night.”

Simon Bruté, again busy with his other responsibilities, came seldom that November, but he wrote to Elizabeth:

My good Mother, your poor spiritual physician sees you seldom, but it is in order to spare you fatigue. He maintains himself in tranquillity knowing the celestial Physician—the Well-Beloved, the only Spouse of your soul is continually present. Present in love, confidence, abandon, the most tender, the most simple the most entire abandon.

Mother Seton’s condition naturally became the concern of many. Some like Cheverus knew her well and wrote to Bruté, “I hope that our saintly Mother will be preserved for her children again. Our Ursulines unite with me to beg this favor of God.” Others, who knew her less well, wrote, “I heard with sorrow of the indisposition of...that best of women Mrs. Seton. With gratitude to Heaven have I returned my thanks for...such valuable lives.” But all these good wishes and prayers could not prevent the steady decline which was obvious by Christmas. The abscess discharged so slowly that Elizabeth was reduced to almost a skeleton. The first day of the new year, a time which Mother Seton always welcomed as a new beginning of hope and high resolve, this time would be her last New Year’s Day. When Father Bruté, after Benediction, said the words of absolution she requested, and added “My peace I leave you,” she simply nodded in assent.

On 2 January 1821, John Dubois came at one o’clock and administered extreme unction. Then he called the community together and said to them:

Mother being too weak, gives me charge to recommend you at this sacred moment in her place—first to be united together as true Sisters of Charity—secondly to stand most faithfully by your rules—thirdly she requests that I ask your pardon for all the scandals she may have given you—I obey her desire. You know she gave none by the indulgences she means particularly in what she had to eat or other allowances for her situation in which she did but follow my express prescriptions and of the physician.

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1 It is generally believed Mother Seton died of tuberculosis, but not of the bone. The cause for this abscess is not certain. It seems clear, however, that it hastened her death.

2 Probably Bruté may have been shouldering more pastoral duties since John Dubois was sick this fall, also.

3 The same day Bishop Cheverus wrote to Mother Seton assuring her of his daily prayers.
On 3 January 1821, Father Bruté opened a retreat for the children who were to make their first Communion on the feast of the Epiphany. Knowing how Elizabeth Seton loved the feast he said to her, perhaps the Lord would spare her one Communion more on that day. “Ask Heaven,” he said, “to praise and love Him.” They were the last words he ever spoke to her, “indeed the last words of any priest on earth.” Mother Seton died that night, not long after midnight. Sister Anastasia Nabbs, the loyal woman who had been Mother Seton’s housekeeper in Baltimore, was watching over her friend when the hour came. She ran for the sister-assistant, Mary Xavier Clark, who rushed to the room. In a short time, Cecilia O’Conway, Susan Clossy, Josephine Seton, and several others came too. Josephine sobbed convulsively while her mother began, “May the most just, the most high...” Sister Mary Xavier, who knew how much Mother loved the French prayers, softly repeated in that language the Gloria in Excelsis and portions of the Magnificat. After an hour of agony, Elizabeth Seton became tranquil, and without any sound or movement, went to her beloved Eternity. A quarter of an hour later Simon Bruté arrived.

Bruté, as pastor of St. Joseph’s Parish, Emmitsburg, included a notation in the parish register for the 5th of January 1821. It was also Bruté who wrote her greatest eulogy. Writing to Josephine Seton some time later, after talking to Bishop Flaget, Simon Bruté said, in the confused phrases high emotion always produced in him:

Oh Mother, Mother, we said, could she ever have known what in the secret of our dear Lord was prepared to meet her simple offering of herself to His only glory and love as He would Himself see last,—only so purely, but the consequences so perfectly unforeseen to herself; nay equally so to those who at first could have feared to suggest too much sacrifice if, as she used to tell me, anything could be called sacrifice for God, for our Eternity!...All sacrifices were made with a heart that God Himself, whose grace accomplished them, through it, did know; although those who saw nearest that heart, so duly felt...Dwell also a moment, as I was doing with that good Bishop, on the present consequences, far and wide—far from these parts. Could I not add that it prompted

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* Simon Bruté’s says the time was “two after midnight”; Cecilia O’Conway says “½ past one o’clock”; John Dubois says “2 ¾ de la nuit.”
* [Buried at Saint Joseph’s [Valley] Anna Elizabeth Seton, the first mother of the Daughters of Charity come to be established in this parish in 1809. Let her rest in peace. She lived and died in the utmost peace and good will of this congregation—and I thought but proper and according to the feelings of all to enter this memorandum of it here—S. Bruté. Ed.]
and encouraged his own wilds in Kentucky thus to bud and prosper? Mr. David went, would have Sisters—had them. All, also, so beautifully blessed there...Look from your vale [sic, valley] to New York and every side. Not the 100s but now far above the 1000s of children blessed from heaven... by your Mother.\textsuperscript{119}

A New York paper carried, on 9 January 1821, the simple announcement:

\textit{Died:} at Emmitsburg on the 3\textsuperscript{rd} inst. Mrs. Elizabeth Seton, wife of the late Wm. M. Seton and daughter of the late Dr. Richard Bayley of this city.\textsuperscript{120}

Even the date\textsuperscript{w} was wrong in this brief salute to the passing of one of the city’s most noteworthy daughters. But the day would come when the little woman from Manhattan would be famous around the world.

\textsuperscript{w} Elizabeth Seton died 4 January 1821, but the error of the 3\textsuperscript{rd} was made several times and is understandable, since she died at night.
CHAPTER 14. ETERNITY

Notes

1 7.176, Elizabeth Seton to Ellen Wiseman, 20 August 1818, CW, 2:574.
2 Mary Bayley Post to Elizabeth Seton, New York, 5 April [1817], ASJPH 1-3-3-11:14.
4 John Dubois to Ambrose Maréchal, Emmitsburg, February 1818, AAB, AASMSU, 15-T-18.
5 John M. Tessier to John F. Hickey, Baltimore, 1 April 1818, ASMSU.
6 John M. Tessier to John F. Hickey, Baltimore, 27 May 1818, ASMSU.
7 Herbermann, 131.
8 John Dubois to Ambrose Maréchal, Emmitsburg, 21 June 1818, AAB, AASMSU, 15-T-9.
9 Louis Dubourg to Simon Bruté, New Orleans, 4 July 1818, UNDA.
10 John Dubois to Ambrose Maréchal, Emmitsburg, 21 June 1818, AAB, AASMSU, 15-T-9.
11 7.169, Elizabeth Seton to William Seton, Emmitsburg, 1 July 1818, CW, 2:566. John Dubois reported this incident to Paris with the words, “A certain number of our good neighbors banded together to offer to loan me $8000 without interest. I thanked them for their good will and observed to them that not having need of it I could not accept their offer but that if the occasion arose I would avail myself of their good will.” John Dubois to Antoine Garnier, 17 February 1819, AMSMU. Copies of Paris Archives.
12 Meline and McSweeney, I, 77.
13 John Dubois to Ambrose Maréchal, Emmitsburg, 28 July 1818, AAB, AASMSU, 15-T-11.
14 John Dubois to John M. Tessier, Emmitsburg, 4 September 1818, ASMSU.
15 Bruté chronology, AMSMU. Simon Bruté says, “September 26, Mr. John Dubois passed him the property as to a Sulpician.”
16 John M. Tessier’s journal, 3 November 1819, ASMSU.
17 John Dubois to Antoine Garnier, Emmitsburg, 17 February 1819, AMSMU. Copies of Paris Archives.
18 John F. McGerry to John Dubois, Baltimore, 7 September 1820, AMSMU.
19 Herbermann, 132.
20 John Dubois to Ambrose Maréchal, Emmitsburg, 5 October 1820, AAB, AASMSU, 15-U-22. John B. Randanne proved “quite incapable
of rendering any service for want of a knowledge of English.” Simon Bruté Papers, list of Emmitsburg pastors, 17 February 1819, AMSMU. Copies of Paris Archives.

21 Herbermann was in error in regard to the date of John F. Hickey’s return to Mount Saint Mary’s. John F. Hickey had been very ill the fall of 1820 and in November John Dubois invited him to come to the Mount to repair his shattered health and offered to send a gig, a light two-wheeled one-horse carriage, to get him. See 19 November 1820, AMSMU. John M. Tessier wrote to John F. Hickey the following June giving him permission to remain, saying he felt it was the Will of God that John F. Hickey remain with John Dubois. See also John M. Tessier to John F. Hickey, 19 June 1821, AMSMU.

22 5.21, Elizabeth Seton to Julia Scott, 23 March 1809, CW, 2:61-63.

24 7.246, Elizabeth Seton to Richard Seton, 8 May 1820, CW, 2:651.
25 6.30, Elizabeth Seton to Julia Scott, 26 March 1810, CW, 2:118.
26 6.128, Elizabeth Seton to Julia Scott, 12 March 1813, CW, 2:241.
27 Simon Bruté to Elizabeth Seton, Baltimore, 7 November 1816, ASJPH 7-3-1-3, #276.
28 Samuel S. Cooper to Elizabeth Seton, Baltimore, 23 January 1817, ASJPH 1-3-3-1:92.
29 John A. Grassi, S.J., to Simon Bruté, Georgetown, 20 May 1817, UNDA.
30 7.88, Elizabeth Seton to Simon Bruté, 4 June 1817, CW, 2:480.
31 John A. Grassi to Simon Bruté, Rome, 30 March 1818, UNDA. Cooper left Leghorn in May, carrying a letter from Richard Seton to his mother. See Richard Seton to Elizabeth Seton, Leghorn, 10 June 1818, 26-0-1, (2). Copy; original is in AMSJ.
32 John Moranvillé, C.S.Sp., to Elizabeth Boyle, Baltimore, 18 August 1818, AMSV.
33 Simon Bruté to John F. Hickey, Emmitsburg, 8 September 1818, ASMSU.
34 Simon Bruté Papers, “Easter Confessions and Communions,” ASMSU.
36 Ambrose Maréchal to Samuel Cooper, Baltimore, 22 March 1819, UNDA.
37 Handwritten copies of Bruté’s “description of Emmitsburg in 1823” are to be found in the archives of both the Daughters of Charity and
Mount St. Mary’s University at Emmitsburg, Maryland. ASJPH 7-3-1-1, #14.

38 Samuel Cooper to Ambrose Maréchal, Emmitsburg, 15 March 1819, AAB, AASMSU, 15-D-7.

39 Ambrose Maréchal to Samuel Cooper, Baltimore, 22 March 1819, UNDA.


41 Samuel Cooper seems to have misunderstood John Dubois for he told Ambrose Maréchal “he was of the opinion with me that it might be tried.” Samuel Cooper to Ambrose Maréchal, 13 April 1819, AAB, AASMSU, 25-D-8.

42 Samuel Cooper to Ambrose Maréchal, Emmitsburg, 13 April 1819, AAB, AASMSU, 15-D-8.

43 Simon Bruté Papers, 15 June 1819, AMSMU. This is a mere scrap of paper with one of Simon Bruté’s innumerable jottings.

44 John Dubois to Ambrose Maréchal, Emmitsburg, 11 June 1819, AAB, AASMSU, 15-U-16.

45 Simon Bruté to Elizabeth Seton, Emmitsburg, n.d., ASJPH 7-3-1-3, #B169.

46 Samuel Cooper to John F. Hickey, Augusta, 26 February 1821, ASJPH 7-3-7, #1.

47 Simon Bruté to John F. Hickey, Emmitsburg, 20 June 1819, ASMSU. Simon Bruté wrote “Mr. Radford comes to visit Mr. John Dubois and gives viva voce an account of what he says the Archbishop told him after having spoken to Mr. Samuel Cooper. I wish if Mr. Samuel Cooper is still with you might know what has been settled as penance in that case.”

48 7.109, Elizabeth Seton to Simon Bruté, 18 August 1817, CW, 2:500.


50 Ibid. See 7.236, Elizabeth Seton draft to Ann C. Tilghman, 1 January 1820, CW, 2:637-638.

51 Simon Bruté Papers, 4 May 1819, AMSMU. Simon Bruté wrote, “Mother announced to me a Protestant convert—a mother with child.” Another Protestant with whom Mrs. Seton discussed religion was introduced by Mrs. Montgomery. See 7.108 Elizabeth Seton to Simon Bruté, [August 1817], CW, 2:499. Mrs. Nat Elder was the means of bringing Mother Seton to another “poor eighty-odd years sinner from over the Mountain.” 6.195, Elizabeth Seton to Simon Bruté, CW, 2:330.

52 7.101, Elizabeth Seton to Julia Scott, 24 July 1817, CW, 2:492.
54 11.57, Prayerbook Inscription, CW, 3b:108.
55 Provincial Annals, copy of Catherine Seton’s Recollections, ASJPH 7-8-1, (2), 48. The original is in AGU.
56 10.1, St. Mary Magdalen de Pazzi Notebook, CW, 3a:478.
57 Simon Bruté Papers, chronological list, 4 April 1818, AMSMU.
59 Jean Cheverus to Simon Bruté, Boston, 9 April 1818, UNDA.
61 11.28 “Servant of Jesus...,” CW, 3b:42.
63 7.158, Elizabeth Seton to Eliza Sadler, 5 May 1818, CW, 2:551.
64 Mary Bayley Bunch to Elizabeth Ann Seton, New York, 25 October 1819, ASJPH 1-3-3-11:B40. See Maryland Historical Magazine, XXXIV, (December 1939), 344-5; Ambrose Maréchal to de Neuville, 4 October 1819.
65 7.221, Elizabeth Seton to Catherine Dupleix, 21 August 1819, CW, 2:623.
67 7.229, Elizabeth Seton to Marie-Françoise Chatard, 30 November 1819, CW, 2:630.
68 Ibid., 1 December 1819, CW, 2:631.
69 7.233, Elizabeth Seton to Marie-Françoise Chatard, 31 December 1819, CW, 2:634. See “Our Glorious Faith in the Holy Eucharist,” Meditations by Father Bruté, ASJPH 7-3-1-4, C 44; Reflections by Father Bruté, Ibid., 7-3-1-4, B.
71 Jean Cheverus to Simon Bruté, Boston, 4 April 1820, UNDA.
72 7.219, Elizabeth Seton to Catherine Josephine, [28 June 1819], CW, 2:620.
73 7.220, Elizabeth Seton to Julia Scott, 19 August 1819, CW, 2:621.
75 7.246, Elizabeth Seton to Richard Seton, 8 May 1820, CW, 2:651.
76 John Dubois and Edward Yates, builder, articles of agreement for erection of the Free School building at St. Joseph’s, 30 June 1820, ASJPH 1-3-3-5:34.
77 7.254, Elizabeth Seton to Julia Scott, 19 July 1820, CW, 2:661.
78 7.256, Elizabeth Seton to Ellen Wiseman, 25 July 1820, CW, 2:663.
79 William Seton to Elizabeth Seton, on board the Macedonian, 10 June

7.255, Elizabeth Seton to William Seton, 23 July 1820, CW, 2:662. Copy. The original is in UNDA.

Jean Cheverus to Elizabeth Seton, Boston, 22 August 1820, ASJPH 1-3-3-1:17.

Williamson to John Dubois, 2 October 1820, AMSMU.

John M. Tessier’s journal, 27 August 1820, AASMSU.


7.177, Elizabeth Seton to Eliza Sadler, n.d., CW, 2:575.

10.1, St. Mary Magdalen de Pazzi Notebook, CW, 3a:424.


7.214, Elizabeth Seton to John F. Hickey, 10 June 1819, CW, 2:614.

7.240, Elizabeth Seton to Antonio Filicchi, 18 April 1820, CW, 2:644.

90 Ibid., 643.


7.253, Elizabeth Seton to Catherine Josephine Seton, 10 July 1820, CW, 2:660.

93 7.252, Elizabeth Seton to John F. Hickey, 2 July 1820, CW, 2:659.


95 “Retreat of the Sisters, 1820.” ASJPH 7-3-1-2, # B115.

96 7.266, Elizabeth Seton to Elizabeth Boyle, 25 October 1820, CW, 2:671.

97 Simon Bruté, “Meditation on St. Augustine’s Penitent & Humble Death Model for Our Own,” 3 September 1820, ASJPH 7-3-1-2, #B53.

98 Simon Bruté to [John Dubois], Emmitsburg, 16 September 1820, AMSMU.

99 See A-7.268, Account by Rev. Simon Bruté, S.S., of Elizabeth Seton’s Last Days, CW, 2:765-70. Unless otherwise noted, all the facts of Mother Seton’s illness and death are taken from this account.

Ibid.

101 Simon Bruté, 6 October 1820, ASJPH 1-3-3-12:2. French. White includes additional text which is not with the document in ASJPH. See White, 515, n.43.

102 Cf. White, 440. Melville included this quotation attributed incorrectly to ASJPH 1-3-3-12:2. Ellin Kelly cites this quote as ASJPH 1-3-3-12:1, however, an exhaustive search of the Bruté and Seton collections
resulted in the conclusion that the page with this quote has inexplicably become separated from the rest of the document and is now missing. The passage does not appear in the published account of A-7.268, Bruté’s Account of Elizabeth Seton’s Last Days, CW, 2:764-70.

103 7.268, Bruté’s Account of Elizabeth Seton’s Last Days, CW, 2:766.

104 Catherine Josephine Seton to Julia Scott, Emmitsburg, 4 October 1820, ASJPH 1-3-3-11:B56.

105 Simon Bruté to John F. Hickey, Emmitsburg, 10 October 1820, ASMSU.

106 10.1, St. Mary Magdalen de Pazzi Notebook, CW, 3a:436.

107 Simon Bruté to William Seton, 29 June [1821], UNDA. Printed copies of this prayer used by Mother Seton are preserved in Robert Seton’s scrapbook at Emmitsburg. Simon Bruté wrote to William Seton, “Herself began it [so] that they should say it for her, and with her, all her last days or rather [for] three or four months.”

108 11.51, Elizabeth Seton’s Prayerbook, CW, 3b:74.

109 Catherine Josephine Seton to Julia Scott, Emmitsburg, 18 November 1820, ASJPH 1-3-3-11:B57. Catherine Josephine Seton wrote to Julia Scott after Mother Seton’s death. “The abscess which we supposed was on or near her lungs having (as I told you) again gathered, to all appearances broke and she had not the strength to discharge it.” Catherine Josephine Seton to Julia Scott, Emmitsburg, 15 January 1821, ASJPH 1-3-3-11:B59. See Exhumation of St. Elizabeth Ann Seton, 26 October 1962, “If Mother Seton died of tuberculosis, there is one thing certain: she did not have tuberculosis of the bone,” ASJPH 1-3-5-3a, (2),16.


111 Simon Bruté, 6 October 1820, ASJPH 1-3-3-12:2.

112 Jean Cheverus to Simon Bruté, Boston, 17 December 1820, UNDA. Cheverus wrote to Mother Seton, “You are every day with me before the Lord & you know how much I love you in the bowels of J.C.” Jean Cheverus to Elizabeth Ann Seton, 17 December 1820, ASJPH 1-3-3-1:18.

113 John Gibney to John Dubois, Baltimore, 15 December 1820, AMSMU. (There is no identification of Gibney.)

114 Catherine Josephine Seton to Julia Scott, Emmitsburg, 26 December 1820, ASJPH 1-3-3-11:B58.


116 Ibid., CW, 2:768.

AAB, AASMSU, St. Joseph’s Parish Register, Combination Record (1812-1843), Emmitsburg, Maryland, entry dated 5 January 1821.

Simon Bruté to Catherine Josephine Seton, Emmitsburg, n.d., UNDA.

New York Evening Post, 19 January 1821.
EPILOGUE

The Seton Legacy of Charity
Betty Ann McNeil, D.C.

In writing the biography of an American woman of the early Republic, Annabelle Melville presented Elizabeth Bayley Seton as a woman of the young United States of America. In her own day her vision was broader than North America. Elizabeth considered herself a “citizen of the world” although not anticipating that she would have international recognition as the first native-born canonized saint of the United States. Elizabeth Bayley Seton, the widow of William Magee Seton, was canonized as St. Elizabeth Ann Seton 14 September 1975.

Born in time but not bound by time, Elizabeth Seton defined herself by faith not by circumstances. Her experiences span the boundaries of time and space enabling others to identify with her and resonate with her steadfast courage and faith-filled hope in the face of life’s challenges. St. Elizabeth Ann Seton is a role model for people of all ages and walks of life as saint, mother, and foundress.

Saint

Thousands of visitors come to Seton sites in Baltimore, Emmitsburg, New York City, and also in Italy. The holy grounds at Emmitsburg, where Elizabeth Bayley Seton lived from 1809 until her death in 1821, invite persons to walk where she trod, to experience the peace of her valley, to capture her spirit, and to pray for her intercession at the National Shrine of St. Elizabeth Ann Seton. The age of miracles is not over. Stories of blessings received are reported regularly at the Seton Shrine where her remains rest.

Elizabeth inspired her pupils, companions, friends, and associates to become their best selves and to serve God in others. The way she lived her belief in God inspired others to serve their neighbor with kindness and compassion. In so doing the little woman living in the midst of a field in a valley became a model of holiness.
Although a woman of yesteryear, Elizabeth Bayley Seton is today as a saint and friend for all time, continuing to teach and inspire us to discover our deepest vocation and develop our fullest potential. Her way of life was rooted in Sacred Scripture and her steadfast belief in God on whom she depended in the best of times and also when poverty and sorrow encircled her. Come what may, Elizabeth responded:

Faith lifts the staggering soul on one side,  
Hope supports it on the other,  
experience says it must be—  
and love says let it be!²

### Mother

Elizabeth was a woman of her time whose legacy is for all times. She was an ordinary woman whose extraordinary ways as wife, mother, and widow, enabled her to parent five children alone, take initiatives, and make life-changing choices because of her convictions. The earthly weaving of the tapestry of Elizabeth’s life was strengthened by the warp and woof of both adversity and tranquility. She—

- As a child who barely knew her own mother³ and as a grief-stricken pre-schooler who also lost her infant-sister by death—⁴
- As a rejected step-child in a blended family of preferred half-siblings—⁵
- As one who knew the terror of impending violence in lower Manhattan during childhood—⁶
- As a pre-teen only too familiar with loneliness, family conflict, and separation—⁷
- As an idealistic and troubled adolescent who said “No” to a drug overdose of laudanum—⁸

She was a woman who enjoyed life, loved nature, relied on her friends, and trusted in Divine Providence at all times. Elizabeth Seton was not just any woman but she may be considered every woman who—

- Has enticed suitors to visit her during courtship—⁹
- Has known the joy of being a happy bride and the thrilling
prospect of a bright future and new home—10

• Has pined for an absent spouse during business trips—11
• Has loved her husband and children with all her heart—12

Yet Elizabeth embraced her crosses when they came her way. The themes of her life are classic and have been lived by many a woman in all cultures who have—

• Experienced a complicated pregnancy and delivery—13
• Worried about sick children—14
• Nursed sick family members and friends at home all the while knowing so well the symptoms—15
• Worked long hours as a temporary secretary or bookkeeper for a family firm late into the night—16
• Encountered financial crises and faced bankruptcy while praying for relief—17

Elizabeth could exclaim over the beauty of a sunset and feel the consolation of her Creator in the midst of acute sorrow:

• As a foreigner detained in quarantine by immigration authorities—18
• As a brave wife caring for a terminally ill husband—19
• As a grieving widow in a foreign country—20

Strengthened by her beliefs and friends, Elizabeth is like anyone who enjoys the leisure of hobbies, pursues careers, and chooses ways to contribute to society. For Elizabeth the privilege of motherhood drew her into new ways of being which shaped who she became. Her varied experiences are among the ways we may identify or connect with Elizabeth and remember her—

• As a pianist, a needle woman, and parent of resiliency and poetry—21
• As a dear friend, benevolent worker, and woman of charity—22
• As a teacher, catechist, educator23 and a risk-taker—24
• As one who desired to worship her God in Truth—25

When clouds and storms gathered round and swept across the road of her life, Elizabeth Seton walked with confident trust born of faith in her God. From childhood she read, reflected, and prayed with Sacred Scripture. She treasured her Bible and kept it near her. When sailing from New York on the Seton’s futile journey of hope to restore her husband’s health in 1803, Elizabeth quietly hugged her “hidden Treasure without looking behind or before—only upwards” toward God.26
Her favorite passage throughout life was Psalm 23: “The Lord is my shepherd; there is nothing I lack...you restore my strength. You guide me along the right path for the sake of your name...Even when I walk through a dark valley, I fear no harm for you are at my side.” Elizabeth Seton was

• A woman who feared for the health of loved ones in the midst of epidemics—27

• One living in the midst of preparation for war and uncertainty about the future—28

• A caregiver who closed so many dear eyes in death, including her daughters, sisters-in-law, Sisters of Charity, relatives, neighbors, and friends —29

• A person of frail health who became terminally ill and serenely anticipated Eternity with God in faith—30

At her deathbed when Father Dubois began the prayers for the dying, Mother Seton

Lifted up her faint voice to say, ‘I am thankful, Sisters, for your kindness to be present at this trial—be children of the church—be children of the church.’ She repeated with a heaving breast as if under a great sense of the consolation and grace of the Blessed Sacrament which she was receiving [Holy Communion]— and the word ‘O thankful!’ with eyes and expression that however faint seemed...to absolutely speak that sense and feeling of faith and consolation.31

**Foundress**

Whether feminine intuition or simply passing on the news to family and friends, Elizabeth wrote a prophetic description of her future: “it is expected I shall be the Mother of many daughters.”32 Her primary vocation as mother to five children expanded after her conversion and relocation to Emmitsburg. There she became Mother Seton and founded the Sisters of Charity of St. Joseph’s in 1809. From this “little mustard seed”33 which developed and grew into several branches including the Daughters of Charity in North America and several congregations of Sisters of Charity. The spiritual daughters of St. Elizabeth Ann Seton share the common root of the Emmitsburg foundation and the apostolic tradition of St. Louise de Marillac and St. Vincent de Paul which Mother Seton adapted for America. These related congregations now constitute the Sisters of Charity Federation whose members collaborate in effectively responding to the cries of persons who are marginalized and living in poverty.
Christ’s love impels the Sisters of Charity Federation to be in solidarity with impoverished persons at the fringes of society and to use their collective available resources to advocate for the creation of systemic change, locally and globally, for the common good of all.

The Seton legacy in North America includes an array of diverse human services in education, healthcare and social services. Mother Seton herself sent Sisters of Charity to Philadelphia to staff the first Catholic orphanage in the United States, to Mount St. Mary’s College and Seminary to staff the infirmary and manage domestic services for the students and seminarians, and to New York to begin the first Catholic orphanage in that city. Wherever orphans were served the sisters also began educational programs, training for job-skills, and schools to address local needs. It was with justifiable pride that Mother Seton recorded that her “poor little mustard seed spreads its branches well.”

Free Catholic education in the United States may be traced to the pioneer work of Elizabeth Seton and the Sisters of Charity who began St. Joseph’s Free School and Academy at Emmitsburg in 1810. Today St. Elizabeth Ann Seton is popularly considered a patron of Catholic schools in the United States although Bishop John Neumann may be credited with creating the first unified system of Catholic schools under a diocesan board in Philadelphia.

Elizabeth Seton crafted a mission which reflected “the joy” of her soul “at the prospect of being able to assist the Poor, visit the sick, comfort the sorrowful, clothe little innocents, and teach them to love God!” Her vision of mission and charity on behalf of others has become a lasting legacy of charity. Through words and deeds, she planted seeds of new life and nurtured growth. In educating her students, Mother Seton consistently and conscientiously sought to prepare her pupils for the world in which they were destined to live.
Elizabeth was a woman of relationships woven through the mutuality of sharing joys and concerns within the context of friendship. She befriended and mentored others into maturity and even for Eternity. ³⁹ As a person filled with hope in the midst of suffering, death, and transformation, Elizabeth Bayley Seton left an enduring legacy of charity. We remember her as saint, mother, foundress and so much more.

Indeed the little mustard seed which she planted and nurtured in St. Joseph’s Valley has blossomed and borne fruit through the persevering efforts of a diminutive woman who acted out of faith and conviction, believing that “hope travels on” throughout life. On this earth Elizabeth Bayley Seton demonstrated that her life choices were value-based and faith-driven. She firmly believed and taught that “every good work, good word we do, [and deed] is a grain of seed for eternal life.” ⁴⁰
EPILOGUE

Notes

1 7.103, To Rev. Simon Bruté, 1 August 1817, CW, 2:494.
2 6.30, Elizabeth Seton to Julia Scott, 26 March 1810, CW, 2:117.
4 10.4, Dear Remembrances,” CW, 3a:510.
5 10.4, CW, 3a:512.
6 Ibid.
7 Ibid., 511.
8 Ibid., 510.
9 1.2, Elizabeth Seton to William Magee Seton, CW, 1:2.
11 1.7, Elizabeth Seton to William Magee Seton, CW, 1:7.
12 1.30, Elizabeth Seton to Julia Scott, CW, 1:49; 4.55, Spiritual Journal to Cecilia Seton, CW, 1:471.
13 1.24, Elizabeth Seton to Julia Scott, CW, 1:40; 1.25, Seton to Scott, Ibid., 41.
14 1.30, Elizabeth Seton to Julia Scott, CW, 1:50.
16 1.78, Elizabeth Seton to Dr. Richard Bayley, CW, 1:114.
17 1.99, Elizabeth Seton to Julia Scott, CW, 1:140.
18 2.6, Journal to Rebecca Seton, 19 November 1803, CW, 1:249.
19 2.7, Journal to Rebecca Seton, 30 November 1803, CW, 1:261.
20 2.6, Journal to Rebecca Seton, 19 November 1803, CW, 1:275.
21 1.60, Elizabeth Seton to Eliza Sadler, CW, 1:90; 1.32, Elizabeth Seton to Julia Scott, CW, 1:52; 2.7, Journal to Rebecca Seton, Ibid., 269; 11.46, “When we by faith,” CW, 3b:61.
22 5.2, Elizabeth Seton to Catherine Dupleix, 20 June [1808], CW, 2:11; 1.149, Elizabeth Seton to Julia Scott, Ibid., 1:196.
23 1.33, Elizabeth Seton to Julia Scott, CW, 1:54; 6.67 Elizabeth Seton to George Weis, 15 January 1811, CW, 2:167; 6.22, Seton to Rose Stubbs, CW, 2:104.
24 5.4, Elizabeth Seton to Antonio Filicchi, CW, 2:19.
26 2.2, Elizabeth Seton to Eliza Sadler, 3 October 1803, CW, 1:244.
27 1.27, Elizabeth Seton to Julia Scott, CW, 1:45; 1.25, Seton to Scott, Ibid., 42.
28 1.23, Elizabeth Seton to Lady Isabella Cayley, CW, 1:39.
29 6.68, Elizabeth Ann Seton to Julia Scott, CW, 2:169; 9.20, Exercise in The
Presence of God, Ibid., 417.


32 5.10, Elizabeth Seton to Cecilia Seton, 6 October 1808, CW, 2:34.

33 7.103, Elizabeth Seton to Rev. Simon Bruté, 1 August 1817, CW, 2:494.

34 7.240, Elizabeth Seton to Antonio Filicchi, 18 April 1820, CW, 2:644.

35 5.21, Elizabeth Seton to Julia Scott, 23 March 1809, CW, 2:62.

36 Ibid.

37 10.2, Red Leather Notebook, Maxims, CW, 3a:488.

38 White, Charles I., Life of Mrs. Eliza A. Seton, Foundress and First Superior of the Sisters of Charity in the United States of America. (Baltimore, 1853), 362.

39 5.13, Elizabeth Ann Seton to Julia Scott, 6 December 1808, CW, 2:41-3.

40 1.7, Elizabeth Seton to William Magee Seton, CW, 1:7; 1.99, Elizabeth Seton to Julia Scott, CW, 1:140; 10.2, Maxims, CW, 3a:488.
APPENDIX A

BAYLEY-SETON GENEALOGY

The Bayley Line

William Bayley (1708?-1758?) of Hertfordshire, England, later of Fairfield, Connecticut, m. (1742/3) Susannah Le Conte (Le Compte) (b.1727?), daughter of William LeConte (LeCompte) and Marianne Mercier of New Rochelle, New York.

Children:
Richard Bayley, Sr. (1744-1801)

Children:
Mary Magdalen Bayley (1768-1856)
   m. (1790) Dr. Wright Post (1766-1828)
       Children:
       Catherine Charlton Post (1798-1828)
           m. (1824) James Van Cortlandt Morris (1796-1843)
       Richard Bayley Post
           m. Harriet Wadsworth Terry (b.1804)
       Eugene Post (1810-1884) m.
           [1] (1835) Pricella Ridgely Howard (1814-1837)
           [2] (1838) Margaret Elizabeth Howard (1816-1901)
       Lionel (Leo) Post (d.1819?)
       Edward Post (1791-1816)
       Mary Elizabeth Post
           m. (1832) Robert Harwood Hawthorne
       Emily Post (b.1802) m.
           [1] (1824) Frederick Gore King (d.1829)
           [2] (?) William Meredith Hawthorne

Elizabeth Ann Bayley (1774-1821)
   m. (1794) William Magee Seton (1768-1803)
       Children: (See pg. 423)

Catherine Bayley (1777-1778)

Children:
Charlotte Amelia (Emma) Bayley (1779-1805)
  m. (1799) William Craig (1775?-1826)
Richard Bayley, Jr., (1781-1815)
  m. (1812) Catherine White (1786-1878)
Andrew Barclay Bayley (1783-1811)
Guy Carleton Bayley (1786-1859)
  m. (1813) Grace Walton Roosevelt (1792-1828)
William Augustus Bayley (1788-1817)
Helen Bayley (1790-1849)
  m. (1814) Samuel Craig (1782-1830)
Mary Fitch Bayley (1796-1830)
  m. (1817) Sir Robert Henry Bunch (1789-1830)

William Le Conte Bayley (1745-1811)
  m. (1771) Sarah Pell, daughter of Phoebe and Joseph Pell.

Children:
William Le Conte Bayley, Jr. (b.1772)
Susannah Bayley (b.1774) m. (1795) Jeremiah Schureman II
Joseph Bayley (b.1777) m. Susan (?)
Richard Bayley (b.1779)
Ann (Nancy) Bayley (b.1782) m. Captain James Hague
John Bayley (b.1784)

The Charlton Line

Rev. Richard Charlton (1706?-1777) of Ireland, later of Staten Island, New York, m. Mary Bayeux, daughter of Thomas Bayeux and Madeleine Boudinot, French Huguenot settlers of New Rochelle, New York

Children:
Catherine Charlton (d.1777)
  m. (1767) Dr. Richard Bayley (1744-1801)

Children:
Mary Magdalen Bayley (1768-1856)
  m. (1790) Dr. Wright Post (1766-1828)
Elizabeth Ann Bayley (1774-1821)
  m. (1794) William Magee Seton (1768-1803)
Catherine Bayley (1777-1778)

Mary Magdalen Charlton m. Thomas Dongan (1717-1765)

Child:
  John Charlton Dongan (1763)

Dr. John Charlton (1736-1806) m. (1765) Mary de Peyster (1819?)

Child:
  Mary Magdalen Charlton
The Seton Line

William Seton, Sr., (1746-1798) of London, later of New York City, son of John and Elizabeth Seton (1718/19-1797), clan of Parbroath, Scotland, and of London

[1] Married (2 March 1767) Rebecca Curson (Curzon) (1746?-1775?), daughter of Richard Curson, Sr., (b.1726) and Elizabeth-Rebekah Beker of Baltimore, Maryland

  Children:
  William Magee Seton (1768-1803)
    m. (January 25, 1794) Elizabeth Ann Bayley (1774-1821)
  James Seton (b.1770)
    m. (1792) Mary Gillon Hoffman (d.1807)
  John Curson Seton (1771?-1815) m.
    [1] (1799) Mary Wise (d.1809)
  Henry Seton (b.1774)
  Anna Maria Seton (b.1775?)
    m. (1790) John Middleton Vining (1758-1802)

[2] Married (29 November 1776) Anna Maria Curson (Curzon) (d.1792), daughter of Richard Curson, Sr., (b.1726) and Elizabeth-Rebekah Beker of Baltimore, Maryland

  Children:
  Elizabeth Seton (1779-1807) m. (1797) James Maitland (d.1808)
  Rebecca Mary Seton (1780-1804)
  Mary Seton m. Josiah Ogden Hoffman
  Charlotte Seton (1786-1853)
    m. (1806) Gouverneur Ogden (1778-1851)
  Henrietta (Harriet) Madeleine Seton (1787-1809)
  Samuel Waddington Seton (1789-1869)
  Edward Augustus Seton (b.1790) m. Bazilide Belome Spence
  Cecilia Barbara Seton (1791-1810)
Elizabeth Ann Bayley and William Magee Seton

Elizabeth Ann Bayley (1774-1821) m. (25 January 1794) William Magee Seton (1768-1803)

Children:
Anna Maria (Annina) Seton (1795-1812)
William M. Seton II (1796-1868) m. (1832) Emily Prime (1804-1854)

Children:
William Seton III (1835-1905)
  m. (1884) Sarah Redwood Parrish (1844-1895)
  Child:
   William Seton V (1886-1886)
Henry Seton (1838-1904) m. (1870) Ann Foster

Children:
John Gray Foster Seton (1871-1897)
William Seton IV (b.1873)
George Seton (d. infancy)
Robert Seton (1839-1927), ordained priest (1865); archbishop (1905)
Elizabeth Seton (1840-1906)
Helen Seton (1844-1906) entered Sisters of Mercy of New York (1879),
  known as Mother Mary Catherine, R.S.M.
Emily Seton (1845-1868)
Isabella Seton (1842-1929)
  m. (1870) Thomas Edwin Jevons (1841-1919)

Children:
Marguerite Jevons (1871-1954)
Reginald Seton Jevons (1872-1907)
Thomas Seton Jevons (1874-1963)
Ferdinand Talbot Roscoe Jevons (1876-1967)
Infant Seton (d. infancy)
Richard Bayley Seton (1798-1823)
Catherine Charlton (Josephine) Seton (1800-1891) entered Sisters of
  Mercy of New York (1846), known as Mother Mary Catherine, R.S.M.
Rebecca Mary Seton (1802-1816)
APPENDIX B

First Communion of Elizabeth Bayley Seton

When Elizabeth Seton wrote to her soul-sister Rebecca Seton in mid-August 1802, raving that the previous “night was surely a foretaste of the next” life, she added the following postscript after her signature: Yesterday shall, while I have any birth days to keep, always be considered the Birth day of the Soul never mind the 28th [August].”¹

Robert Seton concludes from this that Elizabeth Seton made her first protestant communion August 15, 1802, at age 28.² Such a conclusion seems, to this writer [Melville], invalid in view of the following facts:

First, Elizabeth Ann Seton frequently applied such glowing descriptions to days when her soul was elevated with consolation. One example appears below:

This Blessed day—Sunday 23d May 1802— my Soul was first sensibly convinced of the blessing and practicability of an entire surrender of itself and all its faculties to God—It has been the Lord’s day indeed to me—tho’ many many temptations to forget my heavenly possession in his constant presence has pressed upon me— but blessed be my precious shepherd in this last hour of his day I am at rest within his fold sweetly refreshed with the waters of comfort which have flowed thro the Soul of his Ministering Servant, our Blessed Teacher and faithful Friend. Glory to my God for this unspeakable blessing— Glory to my God for the means of grace and the hopes of glory which He so mercifully bestows on His unworthy Servant—³

Another example is an undated note describing the day William Magee joined her in worship:

Mr. Hobart this morning—language cannot express the comfort the Peace the Hope—but Willy did not understand, that happy hour is yet to come...Peace to you⁴

Secondly, in an earlier letter Elizabeth sharply reprimanded Rebecca and said, “You should never violate a Strict rule not to leave home for any persuasion on Sacrament Sunday...I have often asked myself the question why should anyone be more earnest in prevailing with me for a trifle or
thing of no consequence in itself than I in maintaining a thing I know to be right and that touches the interest of my soul’s peace.”

Later writings of Mrs. Seton suggest that Mrs. Seton was accustomed, herself, to a strict observance of “Sacrament Sunday.”
The issues presented by William Magee Seton’s claim to British citizenship are not easily resolved. The first aspect of the dilemma is concerned with William Seton’s own citizenship. Clearly, before the American Revolution he was a British subject, born of English parents on board an English ship, the Edward, April 20, 1768. After the United States became independent, the subjects of the crown therein became generally citizens of the United States. Authorities disagree as to the date, some citing 1778, others preferring 1783. “At any rate, a person who continued to reside in the United States after both of these dates was a citizen of the United States.” The courts of both the United States and England seem to have accepted this view. Applying the principle in Downes v. Bidwell, the Supreme Court of the United States proclaimed in 1901, “The inhabitants residing upon the territory transferred have the right of election. They may remove from the territory...If they elect to remain their allegiance is due at once to the government to which the cession is made.” Although many Tories fled New York after 1783, the Setons and Bayleys remained, thus becoming American citizens. Elizabeth Bayley and William Magee Seton were such citizens at the time of their marriage. Although young Seton was not continually in the United States after 1783, he was a minor whose status was determined by his parents residing in New York. In 1786 he was employed by the Bank of New York, in 1794 he was married in New York where he continued his residence until 1803. It seems safe to assert that William Magee Seton was an American citizen for the twenty years, 1783–1803, preceding the voyage to Italy.

Could William Seton divest himself of American citizenship by the mere reception of a certificate from the British consul in 1803? As late as 1893 the courts held that “in the absence of any law of Congress as to the method of expatriation it could not be said to take place unless it was manifested by removal from this country and residence elsewhere.” Earlier, in 1830, Justice Joseph Story (1779-1845) pronounced in regard to expatriation, “The general doctrine is that no persons can by any act of their own, without the consent of the government, put off their allegiance and become aliens.” Seton went to Italy for his health. There was never any intent of permanent removal from the United States of America, nor is there
any evidence that he sought the consent of the United States government to become a British subject.

Even presuming a termination of William Magee Seton’s citizenship at the time of issuance of the certificate in 1803, there is still no enduring alteration in the status of Elizabeth Seton, his wife, necessarily implied. Although marriage to an alien was generally presumed to affect the citizenship of women before the passage of the Cable Act of 1922, the death of the alien spouse was held to alter the case. Prior to 1907 the cases were not in agreement. In *Shanks v. Dupont* (1830), the court ruled that a woman did not lose her national character by marrying an alien, either friend or enemy. In *Comitis v. Parkerson* (1893), the court held that after the death of an alien husband, a woman continuing to reside in the United States was not an alien. Previously, in New York, in *Beck v. Gillis*, it had been argued in 1850 that neither the marriage of a female with an alien, nor her residence in a foreign country would constitute her an alien. Finally in 1907 Congress enacted the law of 2 March which stipulated that “any American woman who shall marry a foreigner shall take the nationality of her husband, and that on the termination of the marital relation she may resume her American citizenship, if residing in the United States at that time by continuing to reside therein.” Considering the development of opinion in regard to post-marital status chronologically, it appears evident that the closer to 1803 these opinions were held, the stronger was their support of the theory that American citizenship was regained at the alien husband’s demise.

Mrs. Seton’s residence was New York City. The couple’s four younger children were there, as was her personal property, at the time of William Magee Seton’s death at Pisa. Immediately following her husband’s death, Mrs. Seton made plans to return to New York and only unavoidable circumstances delayed this return until June of 1804. Upon her return she never again left the United States. No law of Congress existing in 1803 invalidated her American citizenship, and in the absence of a court decision respecting her particular case, the opinions of a majority of analogous cases support the contention for reversion to American citizenship after her husband’s death. It may thus be concluded that after 1783 Mrs. Seton was probably never a British subject but if she were, this alien status lasted only briefly from 28 September 28 1803, to 27 December 1803, when Seton died.
APPENDIX D

ROLE OF ELIZABETH SETON IN CATHOLIC EDUCATION

CHRONOLOGY

1727 The Ursulines, under the leadership of Mother Marie Tranchepain, arrived in New Orleans from France “taught young women [The Ursuline Academy], cared for orphans, and made the first permanent establishment of women religious in the present-day United States.”17 This was an American foundation of an existing European congregation.

1790 The Carmelites established their monastery at Port Tobacco in Maryland. Although this was a foundation of an existing order in Europe, it was the first new foundation of religious women in the American Republic. After the deaths of key leaders of the founding generation and because of economic factors, the community closed the monastery at Port Tobacco and moved to Baltimore in 1831. To support themselves, they began “The Carmelite Sisters Academy for the Education of Young Ladies”.18

1789 German Catholics in Holy Trinity Parish in Philadelphia established a school to meet the needs of their children in an immigrant community.19

1799 The Visitation nuns taught the neighborhood’s poor children at Georgetown in 1799 and established The Georgetown Visitation Academy in 1816.20

1800 The first Roman Catholic Free School was established in New York City (Saint Peter’s Parish) and operated at two sites. By 1806 it had become the second largest denominational school in the city.21

1804 Rev. Gabriel Richard, a Sulpician priest working in the Northwest Territory, founded a seminary and a school for girls in 1804 (later Detroit). Richard also published the first English language American Catholic Textbook, the Child’s Spelling Book, in 1809.22

1808 In conjunction with the Sulpician priests in Baltimore, Elizabeth Bayley Seton established a small Catholic school for girls near St. Mary’s Seminary on Paca Street. It was here that Saint Elizabeth Ann envisioned free education for girls from families living in poverty and unable to afford tuition. The school closed in June of 1809 when the Setons moved to Frederick County, Maryland.
1809 Elizabeth Bayley Seton, known as Mother Seton, and her companions established the Sisters of Charity of Saint Joseph’s, 31 July 1809. This community of religious women is the first indigenous sisterhood established in the United States and later developed several branches. The Sisters and Daughters of Charity have been noted for excellence in education.

1810 Mother Seton and her Sisters of Charity of Saint Joseph’s began St. Joseph’s Free School (22 February) at Emmitsburg, Maryland in 1810. This was the first free Catholic school for girls staffed by religious women in the country.

1810 Mother Seton and her Sisters of Charity of Saint Joseph’s established Saint Joseph’s Academy (14 May) at Emmitsburg, Maryland in 1810. The school was governed, funded, and administered by the Sisters of Charity who admitted girls from the environs as well as boarders living at a great distance, even as far away as New York and Philadelphia. From the onset it was not a parish school.23 Mother Seton and her Sisters of Charity were pioneers in Catholic education but not founders of the parochial school system, although their work may have had a formative influence on some of the bishops who later decreed its establishment. The first two orphanages established by the Sisters of Charity at Philadelphia (1814) and New York City (1817) had educational programs attached which also served day students.

1852 John Neumann (1811-1860), 4th bishop of Philadelphia, was a strong advocate of parochial schools and he brought additional communities of religious women into the diocese. At the time of his death, the Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity’s Directory listed thirty-seven parochial schools in his diocese. Neumann participated in the deliberations of the First Plenary Council of Baltimore (1852) and served on the Committee for the Education of Catholic Youth.24

1852 The First Plenary Council of Baltimore urged the establishment of free parish schools and pledged to finance them with Church revenue. Bishop Neumann of Philadelphia served on the Committee for the Education of Catholic Youth during the Council.25 Building on the educational foundations in existence the bishops adopted an expanded vision of Catholic education and decreed the creation of the parochial school system in the United States.
APPENDIX E

RESOURCES FOR SETON STUDIES
Saint Elizabeth Ann Seton (1774-1821)
Mother—Foundress—Saint

Chronology

28 August 1774
Born in or near New York City as Elizabeth Ann Bayley.

25 January 1794
Married William Magee Seton (1768-1803).

3 May 1795
Gave birth to a daughter, Anna Maria Seton, who died 12 March 1812 and is buried in St. Joseph’s Cemetery, Emmitsburg.

25 November 1796
Gave birth to a son, William M. Seton, who died 13 January 1868 and is buried in Mount St. Mary’s Cemetery, Emmitsburg.

January 1798
Business failure and financial problems loomed on the horizon, culminating with the death on 9 June of her father-in-law, William Seton, senior, and the deterioration of her husband’s health from tuberculosis.

20 July 1798
Gave birth to a son, Richard Bayley Seton, who died 26 June 1823, and is buried on board the Oswego and is buried at sea off the coast of Liberia.

28 June 1800
Gave birth to a daughter, Catherine Charlton Seton, who died 3 April 1891 and is buried in Sisters of Mercy plot (Sec 4-2-D), Calvary Cemetery, Woodside, New York.

7 December 1800
Officials made inventory of family assets in conjunction with bankruptcy proceedings.

20 August 1802
Gave birth to a daughter, Rebecca Seton, who died 3 November 1816 and is buried in St. Joseph’s Cemetery, Emmitsburg.

2 October 1803
Departed New York with William Magee Seton and daughter Anna Maria to sail for Italy on the Shepherdess.
18 November 1803
Arrived at the port of Livorno and the Setons are immediately quarantined in the San Jacopo lazaretto because officials feared yellow fever (then spreading in New York).

19 December 1803
Released from quarantine and moved into a rented apartment in Pisa.

27 December 1803
William Magee Seton died in Pisa and was buried the next day in the English cemetery at Livorno.

8 April 1804

4 June 1804
The Setons and Antonio Filicchi arrive at the port of New York.

14 March 1805
Made profession of faith in the Roman Catholic Church at St. Peter’s, Barclay Street, New York.

25 March 1805
Received first Holy Communion as a Roman Catholic at St. Peter’s, Barclay Street, New York.

25 May 1806
Received the sacrament of Confirmation from Bishop John Carroll at St. Peter’s, Barclay Street, New York.

9 June 1808
Mrs. Seton and her daughters sailed from New York for Baltimore on the Grand Sachem.

15 June 1808
The Grand Sachem arrived in the port of Baltimore at Fell’s Point but the Setons did not disembark until the next morning.

16 June 1808
The Setons arrived at Saint Mary’s Seminary as the new Chapel of the Presentation was being dedicated. Soon Mrs. Seton began a school for girls on Paca Street in Baltimore, Maryland.

29 June 1808
Traveled to Washington in the company of Rev. Michael Hurley, O.S.A., and seminarian, Samuel Sutherland Cooper, in order to bring her sons, William and Richard, for enrollment at Saint Mary’s College, Baltimore.

7 December 1808
Cecilia Maria O’Conway arrived from Philadelphia and became the first candidate for the Sisters of Charity.
25 March 1809  
Mrs. Seton pronounced private vows of chastity and obedience for one year before Bishop Carroll who bestowed the title of Mother Seton.

9 June 1809  
Mother Seton and companion dressed alike in the black dress, cape, and cap as Sisters of Charity on the Feast of Corpus Christi.

21 June 1809  
Mother Seton and the first group left Baltimore for Emmitsburg.

22 June 1809  
The first group of travelers arrived at Mount St. Mary’s but had to take up temporary residence there on the Mountain because their stone farm house in the Valley was not yet repaired. John Dubois gave them hospitality in cabin called “Mr. Duhamel’s house.”

29 July 1809  
Elizabeth Seton welcomed the second group, Sister Rose White and her companions, to Saint Joseph’s Valley. The travelers included two boarders, Isabella O’Conway and Julia LeBreton, along with Sisters Cecilia O’Conway, Mary Ann Butler, Susan Clossy, and Kitty Mullan.

30 July 1809  
Mother Seton and companions attended Sunday mass at Saint Joseph’s Church in the village of Emmitsburg.

31 July 1809  
Founded the Sisters of Charity of Saint Joseph’s and began community in the Stone House at St. Joseph’s Valley life according to a provisional rule.

23 December 1809  
Death of Henrietta (Harriet) Seton, sister-in-law of Elizabeth, the first to die in Saint Joseph’s Valley and to be buried in the original graveyard, St. Joseph’s Cemetery.

22 February 1810  
The Sisters of Charity opened St. Joseph’s Free School, the first free Catholic school for girls staffed by religious women in the United States.

17 April 1810  
Death of Cecilia Seton, sister-in-law of Elizabeth.

18 May 1810  
Establishment of St. Joseph’s Academy, a tuition-based school for girls staffed by religious women in the United States.

22 August 1810  
17 January 1812

12 March 1812
Death of Annina, first vowed member of the Sisters of Charity of Saint Joseph’s, and eldest child of Elizabeth Seton.

19 July 1813
First vow group of eighteen sisters pronounced vows for the first time under the American version of the Daughters of Charity rule in the chapel of the White House.

29 September 1814
Led by Sister Rose Landry White, Elizabeth Seton sent Sister Susan Clossy and Sister Teresa Conroy to Philadelphia to staff St. Joseph’s Asylum, the community’s first mission beyond Emmitsburg and the first Catholic orphanage in the United States.

12 July 1815
Mother Seton established a mission of Sisters of Charity at Mount St. Mary’s in order to staff the infirmary, support liturgical ministries, and direct domestic services.

3 November 1816
Death of Rebecca, youngest child of Elizabeth Seton.

27 January 1817
The Maryland State Senate gave final approval for the legal incorporation of the Sisters of Charity of Saint Joseph’s in the state of Maryland.

28 August 1817
Mother Seton sent Sisters Rose White, Cecilia O’Conway, and Felicitas Brady who arrived in New York to begin the New York Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum.

4 January 1821
Mother Seton died in the White House, Emmitsburg.

22 August 1882
After celebrating mass at Elizabeth Seton’s tomb, James Cardinal Gibbons proposed the possibility of her canonization.

30 October 1907
Informative Cause of Process began which concluded in 1925 by forwarding Elizabeth Seton’s writings to Rome.

5 January 1935
Cure of Sister Gertrude Korzendorfer, D.C., (1872-1942) in New Orleans, from cancer of the pancreas.

15 January 1936
Decree by the Sacred Congregation of Rites that “no obstacle exists against taking further steps relative to the Cause.”
28 February 1940
Pope Pius XII signed the Decree of Introduction of the Cause for Beatification and Canonization of the Servant of God Elizabeth Ann Bayley, the Widow Seton.

28-29 October 1947
Establishment of the Conference of Mother Seton’s Daughters which developed into the collaborative association, Sisters of Charity Federation.

13 April 1952
Cure of Ann Theresa O’Neill (b. 1948) from leukemia in Baltimore.

18 December 1959
Blessed John XXIII proclaimed the Heroicity of Virtues of Elizabeth Bayley Seton and declared her Venerable Mother Seton.

9 October 1963
Cure of Carl Kalin (1902-1976) of New York from fulminating meningoencephalitis complicated by primary rubeola.

17 March 1963
The beatification of Blessed Elizabeth Ann Seton occurred during the pontificate of Blessed John XXIII.

18 April 1963
The relics of Blessed Elizabeth Ann Seton were enshrined over the main altar of Saint Joseph College, Emmitsburg.

4 January 1968
The relics of Blessed Elizabeth Ann Seton were transferred to the new chapel of St. Joseph’s Provincial House now designated as the Shrine of St. Elizabeth Ann Seton. The Seton reliquary was enshrined beneath the altar of St. Elizabeth Ann Seton in the chapel dedicated to her memory.

14 September 1975
Pope Paul VI canonized St. Elizabeth Ann Seton who became the first native-born of the United States to be declared a saint in the Roman Catholic Church.

13 February 1991
Designation of the Chapel of St. Elizabeth Ann Seton as a minor basilica. The public celebration for the bestowal of this honor on the Basilica of the National Shrine of Saint Elizabeth Ann Seton was August 4.

4 January
Feast day of Saint Elizabeth Ann Seton, who was a pioneer in free Catholic education and popularly considered a patron of Catholic schools in the United States. Officially St. Elizabeth Ann Seton is patron of United States Sea Services and also of the state of Maryland.
SISTERS OF CHARITY FEDERATION*  
MEMBERS 1947 TO PRESENT

“It is expected I shall be the Mother of many daughters.”b

Daughters of Charity, North American Provinces
Les Religieuses de Nôtre-Dame-du-Sacré-Coeur
Sisters of Charity of Cincinnati
Sisters of Charity of Leavenworth
Sisters of Charity of Nazareth
Sisters of Charity of Our Lady of Mercy
Sisters of Charity of the Immaculate Conception
Sisters of Charity of Seton Hill
Sisters of Charity of St. Elizabeth
Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul of Halifax
Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul of New York
Sisters of Saint Martha of Antigonish
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b 5.10, Elizabeth Seton to Cecilia Seton, 6 October 1808, CW, 2:34.
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Italy

Livorno (Leghorn)

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APPENDIX

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13. (9 Barb. 35).
15. (34 Stat, at L. 1228, Chap. 2534).
22. Ibid., 259.
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**Pisa**

- Home of Madame Tot on the Arno River where William Magee Seton died
- Site of Filippo Filicchi residence on opposite side of the Arno
- Chiesa della Spina (Crown of Thorns), constructed 1323 in Gothic style
- University of Pisa distinguished in botany, natural sciences, and medicine

**Livorno (Leghorn)**

- San Jacopo Church and adjacent site of former San Jacopo lazaretto
- Filicchi residence where the Setons stayed, via della Madonna
- Church of Sta. Caterina, via Forte S. Pietro
- Shrine of Our Lady of Montenero
- Anglican Church of St. George and English cemetery, via degli Elisi

**Firenze (Florence)**

- Church of SS. Annunziata (where Elizabeth attended mass)
- Church of Sta Maria de Novella (painting of the *Descent from the Cross*)
- Church of Sta Maria del Fiore (The Duomo or Cathedral), baptistery and bell tower
- Church of San Firenze on Piazza San Firenze
- Palazzo Medici Riccardi facing San Lorenzo, via Cavour
- Church of San Lorenzo and adjacent Capelle Medici
- The Opera House
- The Uffizi Art Gallery
- Natural History Museum, via Romana
- The Palazzo Pitti, Queen’s Country Palace, and Boboli Gardens
- Academy of Sculptors, Galleria dell’Accademia, Piano Terreno (Michelangelo’s *David*)
- Giardini dei Simplici (Botanical Garden of San Marco)

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