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"An Active and Energetic Bishop"
The Appointment of
Joseph Glass, C.M., as
Bishop of Salt Lake City

BY
STAFFORD POOLE, C.M.

Joseph S. Glass, bishop of Salt Lake City, Utah, from 1915 until 1926, was the last Vincentian to be appointed a bishop in the continental United States and the first since 1868. "How or why a relatively obscure pastor in Los Angeles was given that post is not clear." If asked how the appointment came about, older Vincentians usually answer "through the influence of the Dohenys." It is a natural response, given Glass’s close friendship with the oil baron and his wife. That very closeness, however, presents a difficulty. It is unlikely that Glass or his friends would deliberately seek a post that would remove him from the fleshpots of Chester Place (the Doheny residence in Los Angeles) and exile him to a remote diocese that was geographically the most extensive in the United States and that had a small Catholic population. Vincentians better acquainted with Glass’s life would answer the question by attributing the appointment to the influence of Bishop Thomas Conaty of Los Angeles, who greatly liked and re-

1Stafford Poole, C.M., "The Educational Apostolate: Colleges, Universities, and Secondary Schools," in The American Vincentians: A Popular History of the Congregation of the Mission in the United States 1815-1987, John E. Rybolt, ed., (Brooklyn: 1988), 313. The abbreviations used in these notes are: ASV Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Vatican City; ADSL Archives of the Diocese of Salt Lake City; AASF Archives of the Archdiocese of San Francisco; AALA Archival Center, Archdiocese of Los Angeles; GCUSA Archive of the Curia Generalizia della Missione, Rome, correspondence with the United States (microfilm). I wish to express my thanks for the help given to me by Monsignor Charles Burns of the ASV, Doctor Jeffrey Burns of the AASF, Bernice Maher Mooney of the ADSL, and Monsignor Francis Weber of the AALA.

2Edward L. Doheny (1856-1935) spent his early years as a muleteer and prospector in the west. In 1892 he sank the first oil well in Los Angeles, thus inaugurating an oil boom in that city and laying the basis for a large personal fortune. He is probably best remembered for his role in the Elk Hills scandal, in which he was acquitted of bribery. He and his wife Carrie Estelle (Betzold) Doheny (1875-1958) became major benefactors of the Vincentian Community in Southern California.
spected Glass. This answer also runs into a difficulty: Conaty was not the metropolitan. Like Salt Lake City, Los Angeles was a suffragan of San Francisco, and hence the archbishop of the latter city would have had the predominant voice in the appointment.

Available records show that Conaty did play a decisive role and that Glass's wealthy friends had no part in his elevation to the hierarchy. There were two determining factors: (1) the pressing need to find a young, vigorous, and competent coadjutor for a diocese that was in deplorable condition; (2) the death of the archbishop of San Francisco at a crucial point in this search.

Glass and Saint Vincent's College

Joseph Sarsfield Glass was born in Bushnell, Illinois, in the diocese of Peoria, on 13 March 1874, the son of James Glass and his second wife, Mary (Kelly) Glass. His father was an Orangeman from Donegal who converted to Catholicism at the time of his marriage. He was a wholesale liquor dealer, and the family was quite affluent. Because of his mother's ill health, they moved to Pasadena, California, in 1887, where she died when Joseph was thirteen years old. His father had him educated at Saint Vincent's College in Los Angeles. Though he later claimed to have been an orphan who had been raised by the Vincentian Community at the college, this was an exaggeration. He entered the Congregation of the Mission on 31 October 1891 and took his vows on 1 November 1893. He made his studies at Saint Mary's Seminary in Perryville, Missouri, the motherhouse of the Congregation of the Mission in the western province. After ordination to the priesthood on 15 August 1897 he went to Rome to study at the Pontifical College of Sanctus Thomas de Urbe, known as the Minerva and later as the Angelicum. He was there from 1897 until 1899 and received a graduate degree in theology, most likely a doctorate. On his return to the United States he was professor of moral theology and director of novices at Perryville from 1899 until 1901, when he was

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3 Thomas Conaty (1847-1915) was born at Killmalough, County Cavan, Ireland. After seminary studies in Montreal, he was ordained in 1872. He was rector of the Catholic University of America from 1896 until 1903. In 1905 he was named bishop of Monterey-Los Angeles (Joseph Bernard Code, Dictionary of the American Hierarchy [New York, Toronto: 1964], 46).
4 Ibid., 110.
6 The bull of appointment to the diocese of Salt Lake City, dated 1 June 1915, describes him as a doctor in theology, but this may have been honorific or by way of courtesy. The bull is in ADSL, 230.4 Gla.
appointed president of Saint Vincent's College in Los Angeles. He was twenty-seven years old and had been a priest for only four years.

Glass's tenure as president was controversial. During his stay in Los Angeles, from 1901 until 1915, there were three provincial superiors of the western province of the Vincentian Community: Thomas Smith, William Barnwell, and Thomas O'Neil Finney. Smith, who held office for twenty-six years (1879-1888 for the American province, 1888-1905 for the western province after the division of 1888), grew reclusive in his later years and was in ill health. He let the reins of government slip into the hands of subordinates, especially Father William Barnwell. Barnwell succeeded Smith as provincial, but only from October 1905 until his sudden death on 25 January 1906. Finney, who was provincial from 1906 until 1926, was reluctant to make strong decisions, allowed superiors a great deal of latitude, especially in financial matters, and gave the impression of being intimidated by strong personalities like Glass.

Most of the controversy that swirled around Glass arose from the closing of Saint Vincent's College. In 1910 the college faced challenges that required the province to decide about its future. Educational developments and the growth of southern California were outpacing the small college. To meet these challenges, it had to widen its appeal by expanding its curriculum to include courses in electronics, mechanics, and engineering. This in turn demanded physical expansion, including relocation to a proposed new campus in Baldwin Hills. Bishop Thomas Conaty of Los Angeles was eager to have the college upgraded to the status of a university. Having served as rector of the Catholic University of America in Washington, D.C., he dreamt of creating a similar institution on the west coast. In addition, the Jesuits wanted to locate in Los Angeles.

Glass began pressing Finney for withdrawal from the college in 1910. It was not his intention to close the college but to have the Vincentians move into their primary apostolate of the parish missions.

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8Thomas Finney to Antoine Fiat, 18 April 1910, GCUSA, series B, roll 3, no. 257. For a detailed account of Conaty's part in the closing, see Weber, "Whatever Happened to Saint Vincent's College?" throughout.
His hope was that the Jesuits would take over the college. He claimed that most of the Vincentians in the house disliked college work, considered themselves ill prepared for it, and did not regard it as a true Vincentian apostolate. Finney agreed and recommended to the superior general, Antoine Fiat, that the province tell Bishop Conaty that it had neither the means nor the desire to develop the college into a university and that the Jesuits should take over Catholic higher education in Los Angeles. This plan miscarried when a change of provincial administration in the Society's California province drastically altered the situation. The new administration wanted to begin anew rather than take over an existing institution.

Finney was apparently playing on Fiat's sympathy for the mission apostolate—the superior general had been hectoring the province for years about the concentration on higher education—but his purpose was not entirely apostolic. The province had three colleges: Saint Vincent's in Los Angeles, DePaul in Chicago, and the University of Dallas. All three were deeply in debt. Personnel was stretched so thin that seminary students had to be employed as teachers at DePaul and Dallas. In addition, Thomas Finney's brother, Patrick, was the founder and president of the University of Dallas, a fact that guaranteed a privileged status for that institution. Fiat, however, seems to have been suspicious of the maneuver and refused to give permission until Finney had received the opinion of his council. Finney did not do this. There is no record that the matter was ever presented to the consultors in a formal session, though there may have been informal consultation.

One consultor who had strong opinions on the subject was Francis Nugent. In a lengthy letter to the superior general he came out in favor of closing Saint Vincent's but only if the other two colleges were closed at the same time. To close just one for the reasons given by Glass and Finney, Nugent wrote, would disgrace the Vincentian Community. The principal reason they wanted to close the Los Angeles establishment was that the banks refused to lend the money necessary for expansion. Nugent concluded with a jab at Finney's financial irre-

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9Glass to Fiat, 17 May 1910, GCUSA, series B, roll 3, no. 260.
10Finney to Fiat, 18 April 1910, GCUSA, series B, roll 3, no. 257. Although this letter predates Glass's to Fiat cited in the previous note, the contents clearly show that Finney and Glass had communicated about the matter and agreed on the plan.
11Nugent to Fiat, 28 June 1910, GCUSA, series B, roll 4, no. 523.
sponsibility. "I am quite convinced that the Visitor [provincial] wants to close Los Angeles, so he can sell the property and squander the money."12

Late in 1910 Finney announced the closing of the college. The move was unexpected and brought bitter recriminations against Glass. Accusations of conduct that bordered on the criminal were made against him. Nugent wrote Fiat that "There is a strong conviction with some who ought to know, that the superior [Glass] of Los Angeles initiated this scheme to cover up the great waste of money & the very large debt which accumulated during his administration, & that he used the plea of the missions, & the accumulation of a mission fund from the sale of the property, merely to secure the approval of the Visitor [provincial] & the Superior General." Nugent agreed with this assessment and concluded "Many facts occurring in the past seven years would convince any reasonable man that the finances of that house were 'crooked.'"13

Even stronger words were used by three others Vincentians: William Ponet, an alumnum of the college and its treasurer at the time of the closing; Hugh O'Connor, who was a former treasurer; and John J. Martin. Their testimony, however, must be accepted with caution. Ponet was considered something of an eccentric, and O'Connor was notably irresponsible in finances and given to recklessness, as he later proved in Dallas. O'Connor accused Glass of destroying the financial records of the college, a claim that gains plausibility with the fact that none has survived.14 Ponet sent a forty page letter to the superior general, detailing Glass's financial transactions and virtually accusing him of embezzling college funds.15 All three men related a remarkable story that Glass had forged the name of one of the lay teachers at the college as cosigner for a personal loan that Glass took out, using college property as collateral.16

Most Vincentians did not know the whole story of the closing of the college. They were ignorant of Conaty's grand design, one that the Vincentian Community could not possibly have fulfilled. Yet the accusations that followed Glass both then and later indicated that at best he had an elastic conscience in matters of money. Most telling is the

12Ibid.
13Nugent to Fiat, 27 March 1911, GCUSA, series B, roll 4, no. 457.
14O'Connor to Fiat, undated, GCUSA, series B, roll 3, no. 270.
15Ponet to Fiat, 19 February 1911, GCUSA, series B, roll 3, no. 261.
16Ponet to Fiat, ibid. Martin to O'Connor, 19 May 1915, ibid. O'Connor to Fiat, undated, ibid., no. 270.
fact that not one of the men released from Saint Vincent’s College ever entered the parish mission apostolate. Within a few years the missions were all but dead as an apostolate of the Western Province.

After the closing of the college Glass remained as superior and pastor of Saint Vincent’s Church in Los Angeles. There he continued his close relationship with the Dohenys. Glass was instrumental in Mrs. Doheny’s conversion to Catholicism and her husband’s reconciliation with the Church in October 1918, three years after he became a bishop. He had also blessed their marriage. He habitually addressed them as “padre” and “madre,” even though Mrs. Doheny was younger than he, and signed his letters “José.” Under Glass the parish had an appalling high debt, part of it a holdover from the college. By 1919 it amounted to $200,000, with interest payments of $1640 a month. This debt caused bitter recriminations. Father Patrick McHale, C.M., on a special visitation of the Western Province, reported to the superior general, “just how one succeeded in accumulating a debt of this kind in this city is the secret of Msgr. Glass, at present the Bishop of Salt Lake.” Charles L. Souvay, C.M., professor of Scripture at Kenrick Seminary in Saint Louis, a provincial consultor and later the first American superior general of the Vincentian Community, had scant respect for Glass. He claimed that Glass had studied in Rome only because his father had paid for it. He also commented on the Los Angeles debt. “It would be interesting to know on whom the responsibility for this critical situation falls and I believe that an attentive study of what was done there would not contribute to putting a halo on the present bishop of Salt Lake City.”

The sudden and unexpected closing of the college and the lingering debt on Saint Vincent’s combined to make Glass a controversial figure in the Western Province. His reputation, however, was very high with Bishop Conaty, and by 1913 Glass was a diocesan consultor.

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17 Glass to John J. Cantwell, undated, from Plaza Hotel, New York; Cantwell to Glass, 4 November 1918, both in AALA, Glass Correspondence. The ceremonies of baptism, reconciliation, and nuptial mass took place at Saint Patrick’s cathedral in New York City.
18 Poole, “The Educational Apostolate,” 313. Because no financial records have survived, it is impossible to get an accurate idea of the transactions that led to the debt. The Los Angeles County Hall of Records is of little help with regard to Glass’s land purchases and sales, since the record keeping there is sporadic and confused.
19 McHale to François Verdier, 29 October 1918, GCUSA, series D, roll 2.
20 Souvay to Verdier, 6 January 1919, GCUSA, series D, roll 2.
A Missionary Diocese

The diocese of Salt Lake, which would be the scene of Glass's final labors, was true mission country. Almost entirely Mormon in religion, it had few Catholics and those were scattered through remote mining camps and railroad centers. In 1866 the first Catholic chapel was built in Salt Lake City. Two years later Archbishop Joseph Alemany of San Francisco assumed ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the territory. This was disputed by Bishop Joseph Machebeuf of Denver, and in 1870 the matter was decided in favor of San Francisco by the Holy See. In the following year Alemany took charge of the area, which included all of Utah and eastern Nevada. Permanent mission activity began in 1872 with the appointment of Patrick Walsh as pastor of Saint Mary Magdalene church in Salt Lake City.

In 1873 Walsh was replaced by the man whose name would be indelibly linked with the establishment of Catholicism in Utah: Lawrence P. Scanlan. He was born in County Tipperary, Ireland, in 1843 and attended Saint Patrick's College, Thurles, and All Hallows Missionary College in Dublin. Ordained in 1868 for the archdiocese of San Francisco, he worked in various assignments there for five years. He volunteered for the Utah missions in 1873. The discovery of silver had brought a large number of Catholic prospectors, many of them Irish, to Utah. Other Irish Catholics also worked on the railroads. They lived in scattered settlements that Scanlan traveled vast distances to visit. He was helped by a close friend, Denis Kiely (1848-1920), a fellow Irishman and graduate of All Hallows, who had been ordained for the archdiocese of San Francisco in 1873. In the following year he went to Utah. In later years he was pastor of the cathedral, vicar general, and editor of the diocesan newspaper.

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21Denis Kiely, "The Story of the Catholic Church in Utah," ms. in ADSL, 225.231 Kie.
22A differing version is given by Gaffey, who says that Machebeuf voluntarily relinquished the territory and Alemany reluctantly accepted it. See James Gaffey, Citizen of No Mean City: Archbishop Patrick Riordan of San Francisco (1841-1914) (A Consortium Book: 1976), 122.
23Alemany blessed this church on 26 November 1871 (Alemany: Book of Appointments, ADSL 140.35 Sto).
24Kevin Conden, C.M., The Missionary College of All Hallows, 1842-1891 (Dublin: All Hallows College, 1986), #859.
26Kiely was born in Slievegue, County Waterford, 21 February 1848 (Condon, All Hallows, #1141).
Most Reverend Lawrence Scanlan (1843-1915), first bishop of Salt Lake City. Courtesy of the Archive of the Diocese of Salt Lake City.
For three years (1884-1887) Archbishop Patrick Riordan of San Francisco, a friend of Scanlan's, had the territory under his charge. In 1887 it was raised to the level of a vicariate apostolic, and at Riordan's suggestion Scanlan was named vicar apostolic. The new vicariate had five priests (including Kiely), all of them from the archdiocese of San Francisco. Although all belonged to Riordan's archdiocese, he persuaded them to remain in Utah to help Scanlan. Salt Lake City itself had only two Catholic families. In 1891 Scanlan was appointed the first bishop of the diocese of Salt Lake. His obligations were many and weighty, and the work of the new diocese took a heavy toll on him and the priests who worked with him. Yet progress was made. A diocesan paper, The Intermountain Catholic, was founded, and an imposing cathedral, Saint Mary Magdalene, now called the Madeleine, was erected. In Salt Lake City the Sisters of Mercy operated the Judge Mercy Home and Hospital, founded in 1902 as a memorial to her husband by the widow of John Judge, an Irish-Catholic who had become wealthy in the silver mines.

In 1886 Scanlan founded All Hallows College for boys, the direction of which was entrusted to the Marist Fathers three years later. This institution proved to be troublesome for Scanlan, the Marists, and ultimately for Glass. From the beginning Scanlan wanted to limit the work of the Marists to the college and to ban them entirely from any ministry in the diocese itself. Specifically this meant that the laity other than students and employees of the college would be prohibited from attending any services in the college chapel. The Marist provincial, Father Leterrier, agreed with this but hoped that the ban would be less absolute in the future. He asked that in the interim his priests be given the usual faculties so that they could help the local diocesan clergy. Apparently these faculties were never granted. Other signs of strain became evident. About the year 1906 the college president, Father John Guinan, had to answer a list of complaints from an anonymous source that Scanlan sent him. These included athletic competi-

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27Riordan (1841-1914) was a native of Chatham, New Brunswick, Canada, who made his seminary studies in the United States, Rome, Louvain, and Paris. Ordained in 1865, he served in Chicago in teaching and parish work from 1868 until 1883. In that year he was named coadjutor with right of succession to the archdiocese of San Francisco and succeeded to the see in the following year (Code, Dictionary, 251-52).

28Riordan to Bonzano, 15 November 1912, AASF, A4, p. 100.

29Mooney, Salt of the Earth, 65. The hospital, which was also a home for miners, closed in 1916. The Sisters of Mercy had assumed direction in 1910.

30Ibid., 58, 474. Scanlan probably named it for his alma mater in Dublin.

31Leterrier to Scanlan, 12 March 1889, ADSL, Marist Fathers file.
tion with non-Catholic schools (Scanlan feared the contamination of the Catholic students) and dancing. Guinan agreed about the latter, but strenuously defended the former. He then went on to make some complaints of his own. "To be candid with you, Bishop, you have never yet made one feel that you are with me in the work I have in hand here, and this has been brought home to me more forcibly some time ago, when I was told on good authority, that you have forbidden your priests to speak in the pulpit of Catholic schools or of Catholic Education in any way." He asked the bishop to say an occasional good word about the school from the pulpit. "Lastly, Rt. Rev. Bishop, if you appreciate our work here, as I believe you do, why don't you come to see us? It is a singularly strange fact that in seventeen years you have never yet come to the College once of your own accord."32 Some lay people continued to attend mass at the chapel. At an unknown date, but probably in 1913 or 1915, Scanlan issued a categorical order forbidding the people to do so unless they first went to their parish church. The president, Father George Rapier, complied in a rather strong sermon in the college chapel.33 This did not resolve the difficulties, which lasted beyond Scanlan's death.

A Diocese in Disarray

Soon after his arrival in the United States as apostolic delegate, Archbishop John Bonzano began receiving complaints about the condition of the diocese of Salt Lake City.34 On 31 October 1912, he forwarded to Riordan some complaints, or gravamenes, that he had received about Scanlan and the condition of his diocese. There were seven specific charges: (1) that in the diocese of Salt Lake City Catholic interests were not properly cared for; (2) that parishes or mission stations were not established where they were needed; (3) that with few exceptions the "ministry and clergy are inferior in learning, zeal and holiness of life"; (4) Catholic education was neglected; (5) the diocesan authorities were doing nothing toward establishing paro-

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32Guinan to Scanlan, 7 May (no year given), ibid. If the dates in the various editions of the National Catholic Directory are correct, Guinan had been at the college since 1891 and was president from 1903 until 1911. The date 1906 is a guess based on Guinan's reference to "seventeen years."
33Rapier to Scanlan, 5 March 1913(?), ADSL, Marist Fathers file. The last number of the date is illegible because it has been typed over. It may be either 1913 or 1915.
34Bonzano to De Lai, 23 October 1913, ASV, Delegazione ap. negli Stati Uniti d'America, IV, Liste Episcopali 131/1, fol. 4r. Although he was Italian, the American form of his name was used in all correspondence.
chial schools and even thwarting the few religious bodies who de­
voted themselves to educational work; (6) the vicar general had a bad
reputation; (7) Bishop Scanlan was incompetent and widely regarded
as being controlled by the vicar general.35

Riordan was irked by these charges against an old friend for
whose appointment as bishop he had been responsible and wrote a
strong reply to the delegate.36 After giving an extended history of the
diocese, he praised Scanlan as zealous, living in poverty, and model­
ing himself on Saint Paul. “I do not know a Bishop in the entire United
States who is deserving of more praise than this apostolic [illegible] of
Utah.”37 Unfortunately Scanlan was suffering from rheumatism and
had to spend much of his time taking the waters in Arizona, “but he
is sufficiently strong to still direct the administration of his Diocese.”38
Riordan went on to rebut or deny all the allegations. With regard to
the accusations about education, Riordan pointed out that when the
Marists opened All Hallows College, it was with the clear understand­
ing that it was to be their sole work. They were not content with this
but wanted to become pastors. “This is the source of all the trouble in
Utah. I know for a certainty that whatever reports have been sent out
and spread abroad, came from that school. The Marist Fathers are
anxious, as I have learned from priests who have heard it from them­selves, to have an open church, hear confessions in the town and
preach in the churches.”39 The reference to “open church” may have
indicated a desire by the Marists to open their college chapel to the
public. According to Riordan Scanlan opposed this because it was a
violation of their contract and because there were too few Catholics to
support another church. Riordan added, “I have heard on the very
best authority in Utah, that the men sent by the Marist Fathers were
not equal to the work of teachers, and that the school lost whatever
prestige it had; about that, I can only say I heard it.”40

Riordan was equally strong in defending the vicar general. “I have
always looked on him as a model priest in every sense of the word.”41
At one time Kiely applied to return to San Francisco, but the people of

35Bonzano to Riordan, 31 October 1912, copy in AASF, Correspondence 1912, S-O. A summary
of the events that followed this inquiry can be found in Gaffey, Citizen, 377-80.
36Riordan to Bonzano, 15 November 1912, AASF, A4, p. 100. For Riordan’s admiration of
Scanlan, see Gaffey, Citizen, 377.
37Riordan to Bonzano, 15 November 1912, AASF, A4, p. 103.
38Ibid., p. 106.
39Ibid., p. 106.
40Ibid., p. 107.
Salt Lake City, both Catholic and non-Catholic, asked him to stay for the good of religion. Riordan had also helped to persuade him to stay.

The archbishop did admit the possibility that conditions might have deteriorated since his own previous experience with Salt Lake City. He pointed out that "the good bishop is not much of a judge of character, and is easily deceived in his estimate of people." Riordan suggested that Scanlan be encouraged to recruit priests in Ireland. The archbishop had heard that Scanlan was thinking about asking for an auxiliary, but "as he did in days gone by, unless somebody advised him, he is apt to make a great mistake in the selection of a person for that position also, but it is time enough to think of that when he asks for it." The time would come sooner than Riordan thought, and he would find himself compelled to revise some of his opinions. At some unknown point Riordan showed Bonzano's letter to Scanlan, an imprudence that the Delegate did not appreciate.

On 17 January 1913 Bonzano replied to Riordan that the Marists were not responsible for the accusation. "The first intimation that I received of the conditions of the diocese of Salt Lake City came from one of the highest members of the Catholic Hierarchy of America. After this I received other documents on the same subject from persons in no wise connected with the Marist Fathers." Riordan was very upset that "one of the highest members" had contacted the delegate rather than Scanlan or his metropolitan. Bonzano backed away somewhat from his exculpation of the Marists in a letter of 5 February. "I am not in a position to affirm whether the Marist Fathers first voiced the reports concerning the diocese of Salt Lake City or not. But even if it is true that they did start the reports this does not take away from the existence and the truth of them." He also suggested that Riordan persuade Scanlan "in a delicate manner" to accept a coadjutor.

In January 1913, Riordan wrote a confidential letter to Scanlan to ask for information about other charges that he had heard. One was that Kiely, as editor of the diocesan paper, had refused to give advertising space to the Marist college and had even refused to publish a
Reverend Denis Kiely (1848-1920).
Courtesy of the Archive of the Diocese of Salt Lake City.
reference to the college in an article about the Knights of Columbus. He also inquired about the allegation that the Marists wanted to operate a parish. "Someone has been very busy with the Apostolic Delegate in Washington about the affairs of Salt Lake City, and I should wish to be in a position to defend it and you." The archbishop was taken aback when Scanlan replied with a fourteen page letter in which, among other things, he implied that Riordan was behind the charges. The archbishop hastened to make it clear that the entire matter originated with the apostolic delegate.

In February 1913 Riordan wrote to Bonzano that the only solution to the problem would be the appointment of a coadjutor with right of succession, not an auxiliary. "It would be a difficult thing to get the consent of a respectable priest in the East, holding a position, to accept the position as an auxiliary. He would have no permanent standing in the diocese... There is no one in the diocese who could fill the position of either coadjutor or auxiliary." Riordan believed that he had done as much as he could. "I have come now to the conclusion that, for awhile [sic], it would be rather a useless thing for even me to interfere in any way. There is evidently war between the authorities of the college and the bishop, and the school there will never grow in such an atmosphere. I doubt very much if, in his present frame of mind, the Fathers will be able to keep their standing at all."

The sad state of Salt Lake City was confirmed for Riordan by a personal conversation that he had in early 1913 with Thomas Kearns. Kearns was a wealthy Catholic, born in Canada of Irish background, who like others had made his fortune in the mines. He was a United States senator for Utah from 1901 until 1905, and was the publisher of the Salt Lake Tribune. Kearns confirmed the reports in writing on 5 March. The vicar general, he wrote, was almost blind, and some believed that his mind was impaired. The conditions here are not the best, as there seems to be no head, and the community is fully aware that there are a few of the priests who are drinking to excess, have

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46 Riordan to Scanlan, 24 January 1913, AASF, A4, p. 322.
47 Ibid., p. 323.
48 Riordan to Bonzano, 10 February 1914, AASF, A4, pp. 373-74. According to Gaffey, the letter, dated 13 February 1913, is in AASF, but he gives no specific reference (Citizen, 494, n. 49). I have been unable to locate it. Gaffey summarizes the letter on page 379.
49 Riordan to Scanlan, 7 February 1913, AASF, A4, p. 365.
50 Riordan to Bonzano, 10 February 1914, ibid., p. 373.
51 Ibid., p. 374.
been sent to the hospitals in some cases in a condition that is not commendable.” He suggested that Riordan send a trustworthy priest to make a quiet investigation of the situation.

At some unknown point in 1913 Riordan went to Salt Lake City and had a personal conversation with Scanlan “and I came to the conclusion that the only way out of the trouble would be for the Holy See to appoint a coadjutor bishop with right of succession.” The difficulty, however, was that Scanlan wanted an auxiliary, not a coadjutor. On 13 October 1913 Scanlan wrote to Bonzano to request an auxiliary, giving as his reasons his advanced age, poor health, and the geographical vastness of his diocese. When Bonzano forwarded the request to Rome, he asked that Scanlan be given a coadjutor with right of succession rather than an auxiliary. The delegate believed that the former “could help him effectively in the administration of the diocese, in which, if he was never very able in the past, he is even less so now for the reasons given previously.” The secretary of the Congregation, Cardinal Gaetano de Lai, replied that the question of an auxiliary or coadjutor was secondary. More important was that he should be vicar general or have some defined role in the governing of the diocese. He asked Bonzano if Scanlan would accept such an arrangement. Scanlan was contacted in Hot Springs, Arizona, where he was taking the waters, and answered that he would accept an auxiliary who would also be vicar general and have an active share in diocesan administration.

In an audience of 9 January 1914 Pope Pius X approved the granting of an auxiliary who would also be vicar general. With this the vexing question of Salt Lake City seemed to have been resolved. Scanlan had been persuaded to accede to steps that would inevitably remove him from active administration of the diocese. The only unfinished business was that of naming the effective administrator. On 27

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53 Kearns to Riordan, 5 March 1913, AASF, 193, Mr-Ap.
54 Riordan to Edward Dunne of Peoria, 28 July 1914, AASF, A5, p. 578.
55 Scanlan to Bonzano, 13 October 1913, ASV, Delegazione ap. negli Stati Uniti d’America, IV, Liste Episcopali, 131/1 fol. 3r; Bonzano to Scanlan, 29 October 1913, ibid., fol.5r.
57 De Lai to Bonzano, 12 November 1913, ASV, Delegazione ap. negli Stati Uniti d’America, IV, Liste Episcopali, 131/1, fol. 6r-v.
58 Scanlan to Bonzano, 13 December 1913, ibid., fol. 9r; Bonzano to De Lai, 18 December 1913, ibid., fol. 11r.
59 De Lai to Bonzano, 12 January 1914, ibid., fol. 14r.
January 1914 Bonzano invited Scanlan to submit a *terna*, or list of three names, of candidates for the position. 60 It was four months before Scanlan sent the terna to Rome, a delay he attributed to the failure of Archbishop James Quigley of Chicago to answer an inquiry about one of the candidates.61 With that the process was again plunged into turmoil. The three names submitted by the bishop were so outlandish as to cast doubts on Scanlan’s good judgment or mental competence.

**Bishop Scanlan’s Terna**

On 30 May 1914 Scanlan sent a Latin letter to Cardinal de Lai that named his three candidates for auxiliary together with *notulae* or biographical notices. The names were those of Reverend George T. McCarthy, Reverend William Ryan, and Reverend Michael Sheehan.62

**Reverend George T. McCarthy.**

McCarthy was described by Scanlan as *primus et longe dignissimus* (first and by far the most worthy). He was pastor in the small town of Harvey, Illinois, in the archdiocese of Chicago. A native of Grand Haven, Michigan, where he had been born in 1870, he had attended Saint Ignatius College in Chicago (present day Loyola University), where, according to Scanlan, he had graduated *multa cum laude* (with much praise). Scanlan also said that he had done his theological studies at Saint Xavier’s College in Cincinnati “with great success,” though this appears to have been an error for Mount Saint Mary’s of the West Seminary. After ordination he was assigned to Holy Name Cathedral in Chicago, “which duty he carried out to everyone’s satisfaction.”63 In 1905 he was named chaplain and principal of Saint Mary’s Training School for Boys in Desplaines, a school directed by the Christian Brothers, where the archbishop had congratulated him

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60Bonzano to Scanlan, 27 January 1914, ibid, fol. 16r.
61Scanlan sent an intermediate letter to Rome on 24 April 1914 in which he explained the delay. He said the letter was sent to Quigley on 6 March. The terna itself was submitted on 30 May.
62Even before Scanlan’s terna was submitted rumors had spread about impending changes in the Salt Lake Diocese. The *Salt Lake City Tribune* of 18 April 1914 ran a report that “information reached this city tonight that at the request of Bishop Lawrence Scanlan of the diocese of Salt Lake a coadjutor or auxiliary bishop would be appointed to assist him.” The article said that the list was headed by a Father Yorke of San Francisco and was followed by Father Hugh McMenamin of Denver. The report, of course, was wildly inaccurate. Scanlan told the paper “I deny absolutely that I have asked for a coadjutor bishop,” a statement that was technically true, if somewhat misleading.
63According to Archbishop Quigley McCarthy was ordained in 1900 (Quigley to Bonzano, 17 July 1914, ASV, Delegazione ap. negli Stati Uniti d’America, IV, Liste Episcopali, fol. 52).
Reverend George T. McCarthy
Courtesy of the Archives of the Archdiocese of Chicago.
on his success. After three years he was transferred to Ascension Parish in Harvey.\textsuperscript{64} Scanlan described McCarthy as knowing French, German, Italian, and Polish well enough to hear confessions in those languages. "He is physically tall, strong, energetic, healthy in mind and body, frugal, patient, prudent and well versed in the administration of temporalities. . . . He enjoys a reputation for honesty and irreproachable morals. . . . He is precise in carrying out the duties of the priesthood and is most careful of the rubrics."\textsuperscript{65}

In his covering letter Scanlan pressed McCarthy's cause even more. He said that he had delayed in sending in the names because he wanted to consult with McCarthy's archbishop, James Quigley, beforehand. According to Scanlan Quigley delayed answering two of Scanlan's letters "because His Grace was debating with himself as he wished to dispose of some of his priests and have him [sic] appointed instead of the priest of my choice." He also feared Riordan's opposition because the archbishop "is not friendly to me, as you perhaps already know. This unfriendliness was caused because of my opposition to his arbitrary apportionment of the last payment of the Pius [sic] Fund." Scanlan concluded "Father McCarthy and myself know each other very well and I have no doubt but we will live in peace and work together in harmony for the best interests of the Diocese. I hope therefore you will strongly recommend him and use our great influence to have him appointed, for I assure your Excellency there will be no mistake in his appointment."\textsuperscript{66} There was, however, one important piece of information that Scanlan neglected to mention: McCarthy was his nephew.

Bonzano consulted Archbishops Quigley and Riordan. While awaiting their responses, he had a personal interview with Father Joseph Sollier, the provincial of the Marists, who visited his priests in Salt Lake City annually and knew the clergy there. Sollier told the delegate that he knew nothing about McCarthy except that he had heard rumors about his possible appointment to Salt Lake City and that he was Scanlan's nephew.\textsuperscript{67}

\textsuperscript{64}In addition to the data given by Scanlan, further information can be found in McCarthy's obituary in the Chicago archdiocesan newspaper, \textit{The New World}, 28 August 1942. It says that he went to Harvey in 1907.
\textsuperscript{65}Scanlan to De Lai, 30 May 1914, ASV, Delegazione ap. negli Stati Uniti d'America, IV, Liste Episcopali, 131/1, fol. 18r.
\textsuperscript{66}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{67}Bonzano to De Lai, 24 October 1914, ibid., fol. 59v.
On 19 May 1914 Quigley had given an ambiguous response to Scanlan's earlier request for a recommendation for McCarthy. "I have finally concluded to leave the decision of the matter to yourself and the others whose business it is [sic] to finally determine it. You know the Rev. Father in question better than I do, and the fact that he is in charge of a parish seems sufficient guarantee of his good standing in the Diocese."68 On 9 July Bonzano asked Quigley for a recommendation.69 In his reply Quigley was far from ambiguous. He began by giving brief biographical data on McCarthy. Regarding his term as chaplain and superintendent of Saint Mary's Training School, he "in a very short time proved a very costly failure, and in every way unfit for the position. He muddled the finances of the institution; quarreled so scandalously with the Christian Brothers who were then in charge, and with the sisters of Mercy who succeeded them, and made himself so generally a nuisance in the whole country side, that the lay trustees demanded his removal, threatening to resign in a body in case he were retained as superintendent."70 He did not say mass regularly and after the departure of the Christian Brothers, he gave up the instruction of the boys entirely, so that they went months without the opportunity for confession and communion. He was then transferred to the parish in Harvey. "By right, Father McCarthy should be in the position of an assistant [sic] but owing to the unhappy incidents of his removal from St. Mary's Training School, to save his reputation and standing, I was obliged to give him this small parish, vacant at the time."71 After his transfer to Harvey, little was seen or heard of him, to such an extent that he seemed to be the least known priest in the archdiocese. As pastor he built a new church and school with money borrowed at a high rate of interest on which, at the time of the archbishop's letter, he had paid none of the principal. "With such a record his appointment to Salt Lake city [sic] would create a great sensation, and provoke much criticism; especially as all would see at once that his blood-relationship to Bishop Scanlan was the prime reason for his selection. He is devoid of solid education, executive ability, zeal and piety. . . . In my opinion his appointment would be a serious mistake, and I must very strongly advise against it."72

68 Quigley to Scanlan, 19 May 1914, ibid., fol. 22r.
69 Bonzano to Quigley, 9 July 1914, ibid., fol. 25r.
70 Quigley to Bonzano, 17 July 1914, ibid., fol. 52v.
71 Ibid, fol. 52r.
72 Quigley to Bonzano, ibid., fols. 52v-53r.
At Bonzano’s suggestion Archbishop Riordan initiated his own inquiry about McCarthy. He wrote a confidential letter to Edward Dunne, bishop of Peoria, on 28 July 1914, indicating that he did not entirely trust Quigley’s opinion. “The good archbishop of Chicago will probably write that he knows nothing about him, but that he is a fairly good man.” Dunne replied that “the Archbishop and myself discussed him over six months ago, and regarded his candidacy as a joke. You may rest assured that a quietus will be placed on his episcopal aspirations just as soon as information is asked of the Chicago authorities.” McCarthy, he wrote, had been removed from Saint Mary’s Training School for incompetence and that his talents were mediocre. “As business man and administrator he was an absolute failure. . . . Being of a poetic temperament, he had a peculiar system of book-keeping all his own. In fact he kept vouchers, receipts, etc. of the institution in a barrel.”

Riordan also wrote to his brother, Daniel Riordan, a diocesan priest in Chicago, whose response was quite negative. “I know him very well, he was in charge of St. Mary’s Training school for a considerable time, and was a great failure there. The wonder was among those who knew him that he was ever appointed there, not that he failed. Previous to that he was Assistant at the Cathedral. He has some literary ability, and those who know him say that he is very poetic. Those who know him say there is something wanting in him, on account of which no one who knows him would select him for a position carrying with it great responsibilities.” Riordan informed the delegate that “I have learned since that he is from every point of view a most ordinary and mediocre man. His only talent is a little bit of poetic talent, but a Bishop should be something more than a man who can write a few mediocre verses.” Riordan seconded Dunne’s assertion that the nomination of McCarthy was a joke.

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73 Riordan to Dunne, 28 July 1914, AASF, A5, p. 578. Dunne’s reply is in ASV, Delegazione ap. negli Stati Uniti d’America, IV, Liste Episcopali, 131/1.
74 Dunne to Riordan, 3 August 1914, ASV, Delegazione ap. negli Stati Uniti d’America, IV, Liste Episcopali, 131/1, fol. 38r.
75 Ibid.
76 Quoted in Riordan to Bonzano, 3 August 1914, AASF, A5, p. 593.
77 Riordan to Bonzano, 5 August 1914, ibid., p. 598.
Reverend William K. Ryan

The case of William K. Ryan (1871-1915), described by Scanlan as secundus seu dignior (second or more worthy) was worse than a joke. He had studied at the seminary of Thurles and after ordination had left Ireland to work in an English diocese. Because of personal moral lapses he was deprived of his priestly faculties. He returned to Ireland where he stayed for a year without any employment, since his ordinary, the archbishop of Cashel, refused to give him a post. After spending some time as a penitent at Mount Melleray, a Trappist monastery in Ireland, he had come to Salt Lake City.

Sollier told the delegate that "he had a reputation unworthy of a priest, much less of a bishop." Riordan’s secretary and chancellor, John J. Cantwell, who had been at Thurles with Ryan, wrote that he was "a man of very mediocre ability, weak in character and not remarkable for piety." His reputation among the priests who knew him was poor. "While he was on the English mission he engaged in a gross criminal liaison [sic] with a woman and was addicted to the excessive use of strong drink. He was suspended a divinis and was obliged to return to Ireland. . . . Fr. Ryan remained in Ireland for some twelve or fourteen months and by excessive drinking and lewd practices with boys gave much scandal."

Riordan vehemently protested Ryan’s nomination in a series of letters to Bonzano. The rumor of Ryan’s appointment had circulated among the priest alumni of Thurles in San Francisco and caused amazement. "When in the Seminary at Thurles rumor says that he at one time introduced into one of the rooms of the Seminary two women." Riordan went on to repeat the comments made by Cantwell on Ryan’s subsequent career. "I met him there [Salt Lake City] and I can assure you that he has no ability for the position of auxiliary bishop." Two days after that letter, on 27 July 1914, Riordan elaborated on the charges, using information gathered from among the thirty-five Irish priests in the archdiocese of San Francisco. "Nearly all of them have the same story to tell about him, so that my information comes from those not only in the same Seminary with him, but who

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78Bonzano to De Lai, 24 October 1914, ASV, Delegazione ap. negli Stati Uniti d’America, IV, Liste Episcopali, 131/1, fol. 60r.
79Cantwell to Bonzano, 27 July 1914, ibid., fol. 33r.
80Ibid.
81Riordan to Bonzano, 25 July 1914, ibid., fol. 26r-v.
82Ibid., fol.27v.
were in the very same class and ordained with him."\(^{83}\) At Thurles he had been accused of improper relations with both boys and girls and introducing girls into the seminary. While in England he was again accused of improper relations with both boys and girls. His faculties as a priest were withdrawn, and he returned to Thurles, where he remained without any work. Ryan then entered the monastery of Mount Melleray, not as a monk, but as a penitent and from there went to the diocese of Salt Lake City. A cousin of Bishop Scanlan was a monk at Mount Melleray and often steered penitent or reformed priests toward Utah. As Archbishop Riordan noted, "the reformation did not last long and nearly all such men gave great scandal in Utah."\(^{84}\)

Riordan was outraged not only at the prospect of Ryan as bishop but at the fact that he had been proposed at all. It convinced him that his old friend in Salt Lake City was indeed incompetent. "It seems almost incredible that the Bishop of Salt Lake City would propose such a man as a candidate for Auxiliary Bishop. He must surely have known all about him before he received him into his diocese. . . . It seems to me that a Bishop's respect for the Holy See would prevent him from proposing such a candidate. I cannot explain it, except that the mind of the Bishop of Salt Lake is going. . . . But this has been one of the troubles of the good man of Salt Lake City, which he carried to an extreme, that he pays no attention whatsoever to a man's past conduct, but only looks at him just as he is now, hic et nunc."\(^{85}\) In Riordan's view Ryan as "unlearned, uneloquent, and his piety is that of the ordinary priest. I do know absolutely, however, that he does not enjoy a good name among those who know him best. It would be a dreadful disappointment if such a man were appointed, and the last state of Salt Lake diocese would be worse than the present."\(^{86}\) In August Riordan again wrote to Bonzano in order to block the appointment. "There can be no doubt at all that he is totally and entirely unfit for the position, and his appointment would be a dreadful thing for the future, because his whole history would be made known. . . . Why his name should have been put forward as a suitable candidate is a great mystery to me. It is an insult to the Holy See to propose the name of such a man for the responsible place of Bishop. And the worst is that

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\(^{83}\) Riordan to Bonzano, 27 July 1914, ibid., fol. 46r. With this letter Riordan also sent a handwritten note with the same date and with much the same information (ibid., fols. 35r-v).

\(^{84}\) Riordan to Bonzano, 27 July, 1914, ibid., fol. 35v.

\(^{85}\) Ibid., fol. 47r.

\(^{86}\) Ibid., fol. 47r-v; AASF, A5, pp. 572-73.
for many years, whenever the bishop has been away he has had the full responsibility of the management of the entire diocese, . . . and I am shocked that such a man as Ryan should take his place and practically govern the diocese in spirituals and in temporals."87

Additional information was supplied to Bonzano by Father Patrick M. Cushnahan, pastor in Ogden, Utah, and an old friend of Scanlan’s. He refused to specify any charges against Ryan but recommended that the delegate contact the retired archbishop of Cashel who had ordained Ryan for the necessary information. "When you receive this information you can see for yourself the low ebb to which religion has come to [sic] in this diocese when such a thing as his being elevated to the Episcopacy could for even a moment be seriously considered. It is an insult to Your Excellency, a disgrace to the Church and a sin against the Holy Ghost that such a thing should be attempted."88

Reverend Michael F. Sheehan

The third candidate, Michael F. Sheehan (1871-1950), described by Scanlan as tertius seu dignus (third or worthy), was pastor in Ely, Nevada. A native of Ireland, he attended Mount Melleray Seminary from 1891 until 1893. Like Scanlan he was an alumnus of All Hallows in Dublin, which he attended from 1893 until his ordination in 1900.89 Ely to which he was assigned in 1908, was a genuine wild west town where he witnessed at least one murder. The judgments made by the persons consulted were not favorable and, in the light of later developments, may have been unfair. Bonzano wrote that Sollier had told him "that he was pastor of an insignificant place in the country and almost unknown among the clergy of Salt Lake, already small enough in number."90 Again, Riordan instituted his own inquiry. When Father Thomas Canning, a Marist on the faculty of All Hallows College, stopped by to see him in July 1914, the archbishop took advantage of the occasion to question him about Sheehan. Canning replied that "if
Courtesy of the Archive of the Diocese of Salt Lake City.
he had any ability he did not show it; a man who could get along very well in a small parish, but beyond that, no ability." Riordan was even more emphatic in August when he wrote Bonzano that Sheehan was "good enough for a mining camp where the responsibilities are few, and where a good, zealous man is all that is looked for, but entirely unfitted for the position of Salt Lake, or any other place." Two weeks later he wrote that "he is a good simple man who spends his leisure time in looking after electric wires and chickens, but has no intellectual weight of any kind whatsoever. When in Salt Lake his friend is the Rev. Ryan of the cathedral, about whom I have written enough." Riordan asked Bishop Thomas Grace of Sacramento about Sheehan. Grace said that he did not know him personally, but "by reputation, which is that he is a very mediocre man, of no ability, and would never do to be promoted to the position of bishop." Riordan also received information on Sheehan from Cushnahan. After a disclaimer that he had stayed out of the matter until Riordan's request, he wrote "this last move seems to be the climax of a chapter of absurdities and were I near you would tell you by whom and why this thing was hatched up." As for Sheehan "to my mind he has not one qualification that goes to make up a Bishop. He has no knowledge of men or affairs, having spent almost all his priestly life in the sage brush of Nev. He has not had a chance to mingle with Priests, etc., and the only time he has been away from Nev. was during a short trip made directly to Ireland and return." He ended his letter with a heartfelt plea, "For the love of God, for the love of the Church, for the sake of the long suffering and long disedified Catholics of Salt Lake, don't make a mistake." Sheehan was quickly eliminated.

While this was going on, Bishop Conaty of Los Angeles was journeying to Rome. Riordan suggested that he see the apostolic delegate about the Salt Lake situation. He himself was reluctant to do more than he had. "As this matter is in the hands of the Delegate I hesitate to interfere, and interference would do no good. If I receive

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91 Riordan to Bonzano, 28 July 1914, AASF, A5, pp. 584-85.
92 Riordan to Bonzano, 5 August 1914, ibid., p. 599.
93 Thomas Grace (1841-1921) was a native of Wexford, Ireland. After studying at All Hallows Seminary in Dublin, he was ordained in 1876. He did parochial work in Sacramento from 1876 until 1896, when he was appointed bishop of Sacramento (Code, Dictionary, 114).
94 Riordan to Bonzano, 3 August 1914, AASF, A5, p. 594.
95 Cushnahan to Riordan, 1 August 1914, ASV, Delegazione ap. negli Stati Uniti d’America, IV, Liste Episcopali, 131/1, fol. 43r.
96 Ibid.
97 Ibid., fol. 44r.
positive orders to hold a meeting of the Bishops of the province, sending our names for a Coadjutor, that would be a way out of it, but that meeting should be held only after you get back. It might be prudent to speak to Cardinal De Lai, in Rome, about it, explaining the circumstances, and he might have a letter sent to the Delegate to look into it."\(^98\)

Riordan later sent the delegate a report on the status of the diocese of Salt Lake City, based in large part on information sent by Cushnahan.\(^99\) Bishop Scanlan, Riordan wrote, was so sick that he could scarcely get out of bed and had not celebrated mass since Easter. Two of the priests who lived in the house with him were heavy drinkers. Kiely, the vicar general, had become totally incapacitated. "At the present times he lies in the hospital at death's door, and is almost an imbecile. His deplorable condition has been brought on largely by drink."\(^100\) Because of the incapacity of the two principal diocesan administrators, all business was being carried on by a woman who had been Scanlan's confidant and factotum. Though she had now been sober a year, she had previously given great scandal by her drinking.\(^101\) Because of the lack of authority, many priests in the diocese were also giving scandal. Some were in sanatoria, recovering from alcoholism. One priest, who was known to have been married and had a family and who was readmitted to the diocese after his wife's death, had been away for the entire summer, running up debts that he charged to the diocese. Riordan also pointed out that all diocesan property was in Scanlan's name and "should his mind become impaired serious legal complications would arise."\(^102\)

Riordan was upset that as metropolitan he had not been informed of the situation in Salt Lake City. The Cushnahan report "portrays a condition of things of which I was entirely ignorant. Father Kiely of Salt Lake should have told me long ago about these matters, but he has the faculty of suppressing information, or giving only a portion of

\(^98\)Riordan to Conaty, 8 June 1914, AASF, A5, p. 455.

\(^99\)The original of this report has not yet been found, only Riordan's summary in a letter to Bonzano, 21 October 1914, ASV, Delegazione ap. negli Stati Uniti d'America, IV, Liste Episcopali, 131/1, fols. 69r-72v. It appears to have reached Riordan in late July or early August 1914.

\(^100\)Riordan to Bonzano, 21 October 1914, ASV, Delegazione ap. negli Stati Uniti d'America, IV, Liste Episcopali, 131/1, fols. 69r-70v; Ponenze, 7.

\(^101\)The person was not named. It may possibly have been Nora Gleason, the diocesan musical director for twenty-three years and a close friend of Scanlan. She died in Salt Lake City in 1918, at the age of forty-five, "still disheartened by the death of her bishop (Mooney, Salt of the Earth, 131).

\(^102\)Riordan to Bonzano, 21 October 1914, ASV, Delegazione ap. negli Stati Uniti d'America, IV, Liste Episcopali, 131/1, fol. 70v; Ponenze, 7.
Bonzano acknowledged receipt of the report on 30 October 1914 and wrote to Rome that the report justified the steps that he had taken two years previously when Riordan was still defending Scanlan against the accusations. Riordan urged the appointment of a coadjutor as quickly as possible. The delegate agreed and asked the Consistory Congregation to request a new terna and at the same time to give the diocese an interim apostolic administrator. He suggested that it be either Edward Hanna, the auxiliary bishop of San Francisco, or Cantwell. So urgent was the situation that Bonzano asked that the Congregation respond by cable. He did not think that Archbishop Riordan could handle the situation directly because of his precarious health and because of the great distance from Salt Lake City.

On August 10 Cushnahan sent his own report to Bonzano. “Time and again I have been asked by Clergy and laity to write you but have kept from doing so up to the present and it is only the fear of a dreadful calamity happening that makes me do so now.” He repeated his plea for “a man of God and a man for the people—a man who is not only a good Churchman but a man who is able to lead the people—a man of heart as well as head.”

A New Terna

On 24 October 1914 Bonzano sent the Consistory Congregation a thorough report on the situation and the information he had received. His conclusion was that none of the candidates was worthy of the office. He also forwarded Riordan’s opinion that the entire terna should be scrapped, that it would be impossible to find an auxiliary bishop among the clergy of the diocese and hence that the only alternative was a coadjutor. Three days later he forwarded an Italian translation of Riordan’s summary of the Cushnahan report.

Cardinal de Lai rejected Scanlan’s terna and on 23 November 1914, through the agency of the delegate, invited Riordan, Grace, and

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103Riordan to Cushnahan, 14 August 1914, AASF, A5, p. 618.
104Bonzano to Riordan, 30 October 1914, ASV, Delegazione ap. negli Stati Uniti d’America, IV, Liste Episcopali, 131/1, fol. 73r.
105Bonzano to De Lai, 27 October 1914, ibid., fol. 68r.
106Cushnahan to Bonzano, 10 August 1914, ibid., fol. 54r-v.
107Cushnahan to Bonzano, 10 August 1914, ibid., fol. 3v. This letter exists only in a fragment.
108Bonzano to De Lai, ibid., fols. 59r-65v.
109Bonzano to De Lai, 27 October 1914, ibid., fols. 66r-68v.
Conaty (but not Scanlan) to submit a new one.\textsuperscript{110} The question of whether the appointee would be an auxiliary or coadjutor was reserved to the Holy See. In the meantime, following Riordan's suggestion, the Cardinal Secretary said that Bonzano, with Riordan's agreement and having heard (sentito) Scanlan, could send a priest to Salt Lake City as vicar general and could grant him his powers in the name of the Holy See. As soon as Bonzano received this answer, he wrote to Riordan, Grace, and Conaty (but not Scanlan) to ask for a new terna.\textsuperscript{111} The archbishop, however, died (27 December 1914) before the letter reached him. This vastly complicated the situation. It was now necessary to negotiate a successor to Riordan as well as to Scanlan. There was confusion as to whether Grace or Scanlan was the senior suffragan and so should have charge of the procedure.

Grace and Conaty, in San Francisco for Riordan's funeral, met with Hanna, to discuss the Salt Lake situation. They quickly agreed that the only solution was a coadjutor who, if necessary, could be given special powers by the Holy See.\textsuperscript{112} On 11 January 1915 Conaty wrote to Bonzano to give him the recommendations of the three bishops.

It occurred to us that it might be a good thing to select a Marist Father. This order has been in Salt Lake many years, has a College there, but has had no share in preaching or Diocesan work. The Fathers are there, and the auxiliary would have a home if he should be selected from the Order. They are familiar with the Diocese and its difficulties. There is large territory but few parishes and priests. An English speaking or American born Marist would be fitted for the work and while there might be opposition, it would soon pass away and all that is worth anything would welcome him. We suggested the idea then [illegible] Marist Father Soullier [sic], the Provincial whom I knew at the University would give for information on this matter.\textsuperscript{113}

\textsuperscript{110}De Lai to Bonzano, 23 November 1914, ibid., fol. 74r.
\textsuperscript{111}Bonzano to Grace, Riordan, and Conaty, 22 December 1914, ibid., fols. 76r, 77r, 78r.
\textsuperscript{112}Because of Scanlan's poor health and lack of judgment, Hanna (administrator sede vacante), Conaty, and Grace bypassed the bishop of Salt Lake City. See Conaty to Hanna, 18 January 1915, AASF, 1915 Ja-16-31. Hanna was the leading candidate to succeed Riordan.
\textsuperscript{113}Conaty to Bonzano, 11 January 1915, ASV, Delegazione ap. negli Stati Uniti d'America, IV, Liste Episcopali, 131/2, fol. 102r-v.
Reverend Patrick Cushnahan (1858-1928).
Courtesy of the Archive of the Diocese of Salt Lake City.
He went on to add that Glass, "most capable and representative, is a second one we thought of." The third was James Coyle, a pastor in Taunton, in the diocese of Fall River, Massachusetts, "an excellent, pious, energetic man." How or why he was nominated is not clear, though there is the possibility that Conaty may have known him at the Catholic University. The nomination of a Marist was surprising in view of the hostility between that order and the diocesan clergy.

On 21 January 1915 Grace wrote to Bonzano but his account was somewhat different from Conaty’s. The first candidate was Sollier, the Marist, the second was Glass, and the third was Coyle. "All those are highly recommended by Rt. Rev. Bishop Conaty of Los Angeles, for piety and learning. I do not know more worthy names." On 30 March 1915 Bonzano sent his recommendations to Rome. After briefly summarizing the course of events, he listed Glass, Coyle, and a Marist in that order. “They suggested that I turn to the Marists. Among these fathers the only person indicated to me was a certain Rev. Leo Dubois, rector of their college in Washington.” Dubois had twice served on the faculty of All Hallows College in Salt Lake City. The delegate considered him unsuitable for three reasons: he was French, he had no diocesan experience, and as a Marist he would meet hostility from the diocesan clergy of Salt Lake City and would be tempted to reprisals. There is evidence, however, that Bonzano did institute inquiries about a Marist. He sent out inquiries about Father J. Grimald, the superior of the Marists in Brookland, Washington, D.C. As it turned out, this was an error on his part—he had intended to inquire about Sollier. Bonzano also decided not to pursue the candidacy of Coyle, who, though otherwise qualified, was sixty-two years old. “Salt Lake needs an active and energetic bishop” (“Salt Lake ha bisogno di un vescovo attivo ed energico”). So he decided to institute inquiries only about Glass. It is clear that Glass was Conaty’s candidate and that the others were not presented as serious contenders or considered to be so.

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114 Ibid., fol. 103r.
115 Grace to Bonzano, 21 January 1915, ASV, Delegazione ap. negli Stati Uniti d’America, IV, Liste Episcopali, 131/1, fol. 79r.
116 Bonzano to De Lai, 30 March 1915, ASV, Delegazione ap. negli Stati Uniti d’America, IV, Liste Episcopali, 131/2, fol. 107r.
117 Sollier wrote a recommendation for Dubois, 16 February 1915, ASV, Delegazione ap. negli Stati Uniti d’America, IV, Liste Episcopali, 131/1, f. 92r, and T. J. Shahan, the rector of the Catholic University of America, wrote one for Grimald, 17 February 1915, ibid., fol. 83r.
118 Bonzano to De Lai, 30 March 1915, ASV, Delegazione ap. negli Stati Uniti d’America, IV, Liste Episcopali, 131/2, fol. 107r.
The delegate solicited reports on Glass from six persons: Bishop Conaty; Monsignor Patrick Harnett, vicar general of the diocese of Monterey-Los Angeles; Reverend John M. McCarthy, rector of Saint John the Baptist Church and vicar forane in Fresno, California; Reverend Patrick J. Fisher, pastor of the church of the Holy Cross in Santa Cruz, California, and vicar forane; Reverend Norbert Hue, O.S.B., of Saint Benedict’s monastery in Los Angeles (present day Montebello); and Very Reverend Thomas O'Neill Finney, C.M., provincial of the western province of the Vincentian Fathers. The delegate did not explain the rationale of these choices, though clearly all six had known Glass for many years and in diverse circumstances. It is not clear why Hanna and Grace were not included, but it may have been because they had little or no direct knowledge of Glass. The most significant exclusion was that of Bishop Scanlan.

Similarly there is no evidence of consultation with the Vincentian Superior General and his council, who made only one mention of the appointment after it was a fait accompli. Since the later years of the pontificate of Pius IX (1846-1878), the papacy had made it a practice not to consult the superior general about the appointment of Vincentians as bishops. This had resulted from the excessive claims of Jean-Baptiste Étienne, superior general from 1843 until 1874, to a decisive, even exclusive role in such appointments.\(^\text{119}\)

The responses followed the printed questionnaire sent out by the delegate, dealing with such matters as how long the respondent had known the candidate, family background, education, language skills, reputation, orthodoxy, devotion to the Holy See, administrative ability, and experience. All those consulted by Bonzano agreed on a number of factors that made Glass a suitable candidate. There were also some interesting differences and comments.

All agreed that Glass’s family background was exemplary and that his parents had enjoyed a good reputation. With regard to education, Conaty wrote that his intelligence was excellent and that he had pursued a postgraduate course in theology at the “Vincentian house” in Rome.\(^\text{120}\) Hue said that he had degrees in both theology and philosophy. Harnett, Fisher, and McCarthy all considered him intelli-
gent enough to be a bishop. There was general agreement that Glass was devoted to the Holy See, and Hue went so far as to say that he was certainly not a Modernist.121

The respondents differed on Glass’s linguistic abilities. Conaty said that he knew French, Spanish, and a little Italian. Fisher said that he knew French and Italian. Harnett, however, wrote that he knew no language but English. McCarthy did not know if he spoke any language other than English. Finney said that he spoke French, but not fluently, and thought that he knew a little Spanish.122

Conaty said that Glass had taught with great success at Saint Vincent’s College, but Finney said that when he taught moral theology at Perryville for two years “his success as a professor was not extraordinary.”123 Harnett said that he did not know how successful he had been. Regarding his administrative ability, both McCarthy and Hue said that he had been successful as president of Saint Vincent’s College. Finney, who should have known better, agreed. “In my judgment he has administrative ability in temporal affairs.”124 The provincial, it appears, did not know at that time of the extent of the indebtedness of Saint Vincent’s parish.

All the respondents regarded Glass as a man of good character and a good religious, but some had reservations about his laxity as superior. Hue said that “he is a man of ordinary character. As superior he was perhaps too liberal in regard to the enforcement of the Rule.”125 Finney was the most negative in this regard. “Whilst he seems to possess a certain personal piety and is, I am sure, a very good priest; he has been noted for his failure to maintain the observance of the common exercises of piety in use in our Community. When admonished of this he always acknowledged his fault and promised to fulfill his duty. I must say candidly, that had it not been for his many other excellent qualities, he would have been removed from the office of Superior for his neglect to maintain the regular observance of the rule.”126 Harnett commented “If I were to find any fault with him, it would be his anxiety (apparent) to attend evening social functions.

121Hue to Bonzano, 22 February 1915, ASV, Delegazione ap. negli Stati Uniti d’America, IV, Liste Episcopali, 131/1, fol. 92r.
122Finney to Bonzano, 20 February 1915, ibid., fol. 87r.
123Ibid.
124Ibid., fol. 89r.
125Hue to Bonzano, 22 February 1915, ibid., fol. 92v.
126Finney to Bonzano, 20 February 1915, ibid., fol. 88r.
Others may not look upon this as a fault, but it is to my mind a weakness on the part of a clergyman."127

Harnett considered Glass to be both humble and meek. Hue, however, was of the opinion that he lacked humility "but I believe that it is rather owing to his manners and external appearance. He is perhaps too conscious of his abilities."128 Finney wrote that he was not remarkable for his meekness.

Bonzano also received a belated recommendation from Richard Gleeson, S.J., the president of Los Angeles College—the present day Loyola/Marymount University, the successor to Saint Vincent's College. The recommendation was a rather pro forma approval.129

Armed with these recommendations Bonzano wrote to Rome that "the persons asked seem unanimous in judging the Rev. Glass suitable for the high office for which he has been proposed. And indeed it would seem that he has all the qualities necessary, even if as a religious he leaves a little bit to be desired in meekness and energy for regular observance, as even his own provincial noted."130 In case Glass should not meet the approval of the Consistorial Congregation, the delegate recommended that Cantwell, whose name was not on the terna, be appointed. Confessing that he was not entirely sure which of the two should be preferred, he said that Glass had the advantage of being an American. Though Cantwell had the disadvantage of being Irish by birth and feeling, he had also had long diocesan experience. "The Sacred Congregation in its enlightened wisdom will judge which of the two candidates should be preferred."131

The enlightened wisdom chose Glass.132 The situation, however, was still fraught with complications. On 18 April Sollier wrote to Bonzano that Scanlan was gravely ill, "though not in immediate danger."133 Cushnahan suggested that Sollier write to Bonzano to block the appointment of Kiely as administrator sede vacante in case of Scanlan's death. Cushnahan did not want to write personally, lest he

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127Hartnett to Bonzano, 17 February 1915, ibid., fol. 96r.
128Hue to Bonzano, 22 February 1915, ibid., fol. 92v.
130Bonzano to De Lai, 30 March 1915, ibid., 112r.
131Ibid., fol. 113r.
132The provision of Glass's appointment, dated 1 June, 1915, are in the Acta Apostolicae Sedis, 7 (1915): 290.
133Sollier to Bonzano, 18 April, ASV, Delegazione ap. negli Stati Uniti d'America, IV, Liste Episcopali, 131/2, fol. 118r.
be suspected of seeking the position for himself. Sollier added "The latest doing of Bishop Scanlan was to formally withdraw from the Fathers of the College the faculty of hearing the confessions of our day-scholars, that is ninety percent of the whole number. We are thus almost reduced to the lay state."\(^{134}\)

Scanlan died on 10 May and Kiely became the administrator *sede vacante*. On the following day Bonzano wrote to De Lai about his death "but I hoped that he would have lived at least until the Holy See had given him a coadjutor."\(^{135}\) Kiely, who apparently knew nothing of the process then underway, had written to Bonzano to ask for instructions about drawing up a terna, since Salt Lake had neither diocesan consuls-tors nor irremovable pastors. The delegate confirmed him as admin-istrator but instructed him to take no steps with regard to a terna. Bonzano also asked that if the new bishop had not been chosen, the process should be hastened, since Kiely, who was half blind, was not the man to administer the diocese.

On 17 May 1915 Bishop Grace wrote to Conaty that in spite of all the troubles in Salt Lake City, there were many good Catholics there who were proud of their religion. "There is therefore a great field for the right man. . . . He will have trouble in getting rid of some undesirables and changing the status of the Episcopal residence. Father Kiely the administrator is a good intelligent man but I think that Fr. Cushnahan of Ogden is the best man to be V[icar]-G[eneral]." Grace gave clear indication that the appointment would be Conaty's doing. "These things I state in detail because I know that your representation to the Apostolic Delegate will determine the appointment. No name sent in by Bishop Scanlan is worthy of consideration at all."\(^{136}\) On 22 May Cardinal Pietro Gasparri, the Secretary of State, sent a coded letter to Bonzano, saying that at the next consistory Hanna would be named archbishop of San Francisco and Glass bishop of Salt Lake. On 24 May he sent a letter to Glass, via Conaty, informing him that the appointment would be made at the next consistory and asking if he would accept.\(^{137}\) On the very next day, however, Conaty wrote to Bonzano to express some reservations that he and Grace about the procedure they had followed. "We felt that the suggestions made in

\(^{134}\)Ibid., fol. 118v

\(^{135}\)Bonzano to De Lai, 11 May 1915, ibid., fol. 127r.

\(^{136}\)Grace to Conaty, 17 May 1915, AALA, 3109.

\(^{137}\)Bonzano to Glass, 24 May 1915, ASV, Delegazione ap. negli Stati Uniti d'America, IV, Liste Episcopali, 132/2, fol. 131r; Bonzano to Conaty, 24 May 1915, ibid., fol. 132r, and AALA, 3084.
answer to your letter concerning an Auxiliary at Salt Lake might not comply with the canonical procedure [sic] demanded in case of a vacancy in the Bishopric."\textsuperscript{138} Apparently this did not present a problem. On 31 May Conaty telegraphed Bonzano that Glass had accepted the appointment.

The consistory was never held. On 7 June Bonzano wrote to Glass that Cardinal de Lai had cabled him that wartime conditions in Europe had made the consistory impossible and hence Bonzano was making a personal, formal announcement to Glass in its place. Once the bishop-elect received the bulls of appointment, he was free to go ahead with his consecration and installation.

The bull of appointment was dated 1 June 1915 and named Glass bishop in his own right, not coadjutor nor auxiliary/vicar general.\textsuperscript{139} Scanlan's death, three weeks before, was explicitly mentioned. Glass made a preliminary visit to Salt Lake City on 24 July 1915 and there met local laity and clergy, including Fathers Kiely and Cushnahan. He was consecrated by Archbishop Hanna in Los Angeles on 24 August. There was obvious urgency in the closeness of the two dates. By that time Scanlan had died. Quigley of Chicago died on 10 July, and Conaty the following September. There was a rapid and rather complete change of guard among all those who had been involved in naming a new bishop for Salt Lake City. Glass was installed on 1 September 1915 by Archbishop Hanna.\textsuperscript{140}

George T. McCarthy remained at Ascension parish in Harvey, Illinois, until 1918, when he entered the United States Army as a chaplain.\textsuperscript{141} Wounded during the war (though he did not receive his Purple Heart until 1935), he remained in the army until 1921, at which time he founded Saint Margaret Mary parish in Chicago. He remained as pastor there until his death on 24 August 1942.

From 1907 until 1915 William Ryan was in charge of the Catholic cemetery in Salt Lake City. In 1915 he supervised the construction of a new Saint Patrick's church in the city. During Holy Week of that year, because of the indisposition of Bishop Scanlan, he went to Chey-
enne, Wyoming, to get holy oils. He died suddenly, apparently of a heart attack, at the cathedral rectory in Cheyenne early in the morning of 1 April.\textsuperscript{142} He was forty-five years of age. His obituary in The Intermountain Catholic declared that “Father Ryan was of an open, affable disposition and to those who knew him well was a lovable character. He fearlessly did his duty as he saw it, but to those in trouble and want was as tender as a woman. It is said with absolute truth, no man in Salt Lake was more loved and appreciated than was brusk [sic] Father Ryan of the Cathedral by those who really knew him well.”\textsuperscript{143} The same obituary tactfully telescoped Ryan’s life prior to his arrival in Salt Lake City by saying that he had worked in the archdiocese of Westminster in London for ten years.

Sheehan, the so-called mediocrity, served in Ely from 1908 until 1916.\textsuperscript{144} From there he went on to Saint Patrick’s parish in Salt Lake City, where he ministered to an ethnic mix of Italians, Mexicans, Syrians, and Armenians until 1927. He was named a Monsignor in 1924 and was pastor of Sacred Heart church in Salt Lake City in 1929. In 1937 he was named vicar general and in the following year was raised to the rank of prothonotary apostolic.\textsuperscript{145} In 1937 Bishop James Kearny and the clergy of Salt Lake gave a Thanksgiving Day dinner in his honor.\textsuperscript{146} At an unknown date the diocesan chancellor wrote, “We look upon Monsignor Sheehan as one of our ablest and saintly priests who has done much for the diocese during his years in Salt Lake.”\textsuperscript{147} Comments such as these certainly cast doubt on the evaluations made of him at the time of Glass’s appointment. He died on 8 June 1950.\textsuperscript{148}

Kiely resigned as vicar general in 1916 and retired to his brother’s home in Lawrence, California, where he died in 1920.\textsuperscript{149}

Patrick Cushnahan, the author of the negative report on the diocese, was named vicar general of the diocese on 1 April 1916. In the following year he was appointed a domestic prelate, at that time the

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\textsuperscript{142}Obituary, The Intermountain Catholic, 5 April 1915; Mooney, Salt of the Earth, 112, 466.
\textsuperscript{143}Obituary, The Intermountain Catholic, 5 April 1915.
\textsuperscript{144}Obituary, perhaps from Salt Lake Tribune, 18 May 1950, ADSL, Sheehan File.
\textsuperscript{145}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{146}Program in ADSL, Sheehan file.
\textsuperscript{148}Mooney, Salt of the Earth, 138, 148, 466.
\textsuperscript{149}Ibid., 131. The brother was Richard Kiely, who after ordination served in Australia. Having fallen from favor with his bishop, he joined his brother in Salt Lake City and apparently went to California after that. See Condon, All Halloows, #1033.
lower order of monsignor. Although Riordan had repeatedly stressed that Cushnahan was in poor health, the latter was appointed vicar general in 1917 and outlived Glass, becoming diocesan administrator in 1926. He died in Salt Lake City on 2 February 1928.150

The Bishop of Salt Lake City

Glass's lifestyle as bishop was in marked contrast with that of his predecessor.151 He was criticized both for this and for his unrestrained artistic taste.152 He moved out of the cathedral rectory and in September 1917 purchased a residence in Salt Lake City, for which he paid $25,000 from his personal inheritance. The Dohenys had the main floor renovated and hired a San Francisco firm to furnish the interior. The Dohenys also purchased two Pierce Arrow automobiles, one of which Glass gave to the nuns at Holy Cross Hospital. His attempts to learn to drive were only partially successful, and he was forced to content himself with a chauffeur. On the occasion of his silver sacerdotal jubilee in 1923, the Dohenys gave him a stipend of $25,000 to be paid at the rate of $750 a month, some of which he shared with his priests. Glass continued his contacts with other socially prominent persons in Los Angeles, including G. Allen Hancock, the Dockweilers, and Sepulvedas.153 In 1918, another friend, Mary Pickford, sent a print of her latest movie, Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm, to Salt Lake City to help with a Knights of Columbus war fund benefit. Glass was also friendly with the Cudahy family of meat packing fame in Chicago, who presented him with an elaborate pectoral cross at the time of his episcopal ordination. An avid golfer, Glass played at the Pittsburgh country club with the noted architect John Theodore Comes, and in such places as Bay Shore, New York, and Lake Tahoe, California. Glass's closest relationship, however, was still with the Dohenys. In 1918 Mrs. Doheny wrote, "The room we told you about in Los Angeles, which was yours, is always ready for you. Just come use it whenever you wish."154 In October 1919 they both wired that they would miss him "on the yacht this Sunday."155

151Material in this paragraph is taken from Mooney, Salt of the Earth, 132-34.
152Bernice Maher Mooney, The Story of the Cathedral of the Madeleine (Salt Lake City: 1981), 89.
153Hancock, a prominent Los Angeles oil man, was an honorary pallbearer at Glass's funeral.
154Quoted in Mooney, Salt of the Earth, 133.
155Ibid.
Glass had developed an interest in art during his studies in Rome. In 1913 the Dohenys sent Glass and Comes on a trip through Spain to study church architecture in preparation for the building of a new Saint Vincent’s church in Los Angeles.\textsuperscript{156} He undertook a major restoration of the cathedral in Salt Lake City, with Comes as the architect. Artisans in murals, stone carving, and stained glass were hired. The renovated cathedral was reopened in 1917. The Dohenys gave money for a collection of statuary and some forty paintings, which Glass purchased during an extended visit to Italy in 1924-1925. During that visit he also went to Switzerland to buy gold embroidered vestments for the cathedral. On the occasion of that visit the Dohenys sent a large cash donation to Pope Pius XI through Glass.\textsuperscript{157} It was Glass who changed the name of the cathedral from Saint Mary Magdalen to the Madeleine.\textsuperscript{158}

It is difficult to say how well Glass handled the problems that faced him in his new office. In 1919 there were eight priests incardinated in the diocese and twelve externs. At the time of his death in 1926 there were twenty-eight priests, twenty-three of whom were incardinated.\textsuperscript{159} In 1919 he was named to the Administrative Committee of the National Catholic War Council, the predecessor of the National Catholic Welfare Conference and today’s National Council of Catholic Bishops.\textsuperscript{160} The records show that Glass traveled extensively throughout his diocese, confirming, blessing churches, and keeping in contact with his clergy. He also traveled outside his diocese and was often absent. He also had some forward looking ideas about congregational singing at the liturgy and had envisioned a community of nuns, after the manner of the original Daughters of Charity, who would wear street dress and serve the poor.\textsuperscript{161}

One problem that was left over from the previous administration was that of the Marists at All Hallows College. Discouraged by the conflicts of previous years they were ready to give up the college. A little over a month after Glass’s installation, the Marist provincial, Father Sollier, wrote to the new bishop, “At all times, for various

\textsuperscript{156}Mooney, \textit{The Story of the Cathedral of the Madeleine}, 29. Apparently Glass’s appointment as bishop set back the plans for the new church and it was not completed until 1925.
\textsuperscript{157}Mooney, \textit{Salt of the Earth}, 134-36.
\textsuperscript{158}The cathedral has recently been renovated and is now probably closer to what it was in Glass’s time. The refurbished interior is strikingly beautiful.
\textsuperscript{159}Ibid., 136-37.
\textsuperscript{160}Ibid., 139.
\textsuperscript{161}Mooney, \textit{The Story of the Cathedral of the Madeleine}, 96.
reasons and, among them, the lack of moral support from the Bishop of the Diocese, the work of conducting the College has been difficult." The college was suffering competition from institutions in the neighboring states from which All Hallows had formerly drawn its students. There was, however, hope for a diocesan day high school. It would require a secure financial base in the form of a parish to be administered by the Marists. Sollier asked for a quick response, a veiled ultimatum that Glass did not appreciate. Apparently nothing was done immediately, perhaps because of a change in Marist provincial administration. There is no documentary evidence of any further developments until 1918, by which time Father Henri de la Chapelle had become provincial. On 8 June 1918 he and Glass had a meeting in which a preliminary oral agreement was reached. The bishop would give the Marists Our Lady of Lourdes Parish and would buy up the mortgage on the building. It was Glass's intention to convert the building into a parish school operated by the Holy Name Sisters. Since the mortgage was held by a Dutch bank, its value fluctuated with the variations of the exchange rate. In May 1918 La Chapelle telegraphed Glass that the Dutch guilder had gone up, so that the mortgage was valued at $98,700. He did not think that this would change "the basis of the contract." In July Glass asked the provincial of the Holy Name Sisters and her assistants to examine the building. They found it entirely unsuitable for a school and sisters residence and so declined to go further. Glass agreed with them and wired La Chapelle that he would not proceed to the signing of the papers. He offered to compensate the Marists for any loss that this change of plans might cause them. The Marist provincial responded angrily by telegram that Glass had previously examined the buildings and judged them suitable. "You agreed a settlement assuring me that your acceptance was final I cannot accept breaking of our oral contract ... I am sure another religious order will be more reasonable." Glass wired back "I made no oral contract with you, will not consider another community." La Chapelle answered by letter. He described the meeting of 8 June and said that Glass had agreed to buy the land,
that they had arranged the details, and that Glass had said that his decision was final. It was an oral agreement, without the formalities of law. The provincial still considered the building suitable for a parish school. He announced that he was removing all Marists from Salt Lake City and would seek a buyer for the property. As for the offered indemnity, "I cannot accept such an indemnity, as to do so would show a lack of dignity on our part, and would seem to condone what I insist on considering as the breaking of our oral contract."167

Despite the acrimony of these exchanges, Glass was inclined to be conciliatory and he still wanted the Marists in his diocese. While in Sacramento, California, in August 1918, he had a meeting with the Marist Father Thomas Larkin, a former president of the college. Larkin was also inclined to be conciliatory, and the two worked out a tentative plan. Glass then wrote to La Chapelle, proposing that the Marists accept Our Lady of Lourdes parish and open a day high school. He promised his own help for the school.

167La Chapelle to Glass, 31 July 1918, ibid.
I told Father Larkin that I was sorry to hear that some of the Fathers felt that I did not care whether or not the Fathers left Salt Lake City. Such a thought has no foundation in fact for I have always wished to have the Fathers remain. I must confess, however, that the demands and threats of Fr. Sollier six weeks after my arrival in Salt Lake City did come to me as a shock. You know that he said that I must give a city parish or the Fathers would be withdrawn. This coming after his report declaration to the Ecclesiastical authorities that my predecessor, Bishop Scanlan, was “absolutely unfit” for the office of Bishop would naturally make one a bit reserved.168

The olive branch was spurned. A week later La Chapelle wrote that he had to consult his major superiors, who had already decided to close the college, about the offer. He said that while waiting for a buyer for the property, the Marists had kept a small day school going. Then Glass offered to buy the property for a parochial school, and a contract was drawn up. “Now, dear Bishop, you have judged fit to undo the whole thing. . . . Your offer of a Parish conditional to the establishment and continuance of a High School is a new proposition altogether, and as such I have to put it before our major Superiors.” He had also ordered the remaining Marists out of Salt Lake City.169 Glass’s response was abrupt and angry. “In view of your letter of the 17th ult. in which you again unfairly and unjustly accuse me of breaking a contract which I had never made, I beg to notify you that I do withdraw any and every offer made you in my letter of August 10th. At an early date I expect to convey to your Superior General knowledge of the facts that made All Hallows College so complete a failure—so sad an exhibition of an attempt at Catholic educational work.”170

Despite this Glass had still not given up the idea of having a parochial school on the property, and he still wanted the Marists to do missionary work in his diocese. In May 1919 Joseph J. Thoral, an adviser to the Marist provincial, proposed that the diocese take over the taxes and part of the mortgage, now valued at $84,000. The Marists

168 Glass to La Chapelle, from Sacramento, 10 August 1918, ibid.
169 La Chapelle to Glass, 17 August 1918, ibid.
170 Glass to La Chapelle, 3 September 1918, ADSL, uncatalogued. It is not known if any such report was ever sent.
would assume the other mortgages to a total of $11,000. They would also keep some of the property for a mission house, as Glass had asked. The Marists were also willing to lend the bishop $28,000 at 5 per cent interest in order to make it easier for him to borrow money. Thoral indicated that in one interview with Glass he had admitted that the Marists had made mistakes in Salt Lake City. Thoral to Glass, 26 May 1919, ADSL, Marist Fathers File. There is no documentary evidence of the outcome of these negotiations. In 1924 Father Richard H. Smith, S.M., wrote to Glass that the superior general had decided against having the Marists return to Salt Lake City. "Personally I regret we left Salt Lake. It was done against my advice... However, I am powerless in the matter." Smith to Glass, 22 August 1924, ibid.

Glass was unsuccessful in starting his own high school because sufficient funds were never realized. Similarly a fund drive for Kearns-Saint Ann's Orphanage, Holy Cross Hospital, and parochial schools also failed. In 1920 the Daughters of Charity opened a grammar school in the former Judge Mercy Home and Hospital. A high school, taught by the Holy Cross Sisters, was gradually added from 1922 until 1925.

During a visit to Los Angeles in January 1926 the cancer that had afflicted Glass for a year became terminal, and he died on the 26th, at the age of fifty-one. William P. Jeffries, the president of the Union Pacific Railroad, sent his private railway car to take the bishop's body back to Salt Lake City for the requiem mass and return it to Los Angeles for burial in the Vincentian plot in Calvary cemetery. Mooney, Salt of the Earth, 145. Each day that the casket lay in state in Saint Vincent's church in Los Angeles, the Dohenys provided a blanket of fresh orchids to cover it. Mooney, The Story of the Cathedral of the Madeleine, 102.

Conclusions

As bishop of Salt Lake City, Glass clearly did not live up to expectations as far as his administrative abilities were concerned. "Unfortunately, his financial acumen was not on a par with his other gifts, and details of administration often bored him." Dwyer, "L. A. Remembers Bishop of Utah."
at the time of his death. The diocese also had other debts, though their extent and nature are not clear. In contrast he did show the vigor that was hoped for by all parties to his appointment. Despite his frequent and sometimes extended absences, he traveled a great deal in his diocese and was a notable public figure. With the exception of finances he left the diocese in better condition than he found it.

The documentation makes it clear that Joseph S. Glass, C.M., was chosen bishop of Salt Lake City because of an urgent need to find an active and energetic bishop to deal with a diocese in disorder. As the last Vincentian to be named a bishop in the continental United States, he ended a line that began with Joseph Rosati and extended through John Mary Odin, Leo de Neckere, John Timon, Thaddeus Amat, Michael Domenec, John J. Lynch, and Stephen Vincent Ryan. That Glass measured up to the standards set by his predecessors is open to question, but he was the best available candidate in pressing circumstances.

The glory of God is made manifest when the virtues of our sisters are spoken of. He gave them these virtues to sanctify them and he also wishes that we should profit by them by following their example.

(Saint Vincent de Paul, conference to the Daughters of Charity, 1 December 1649)