Cardinal and Cleric: O'Connell and Mullen in Conflict

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An historian reviewing Merwick's *Boston Priests* in 1974 asserted that Archbishop John Williams' benign non-interference in shepherding his clergy shifted to Cardinal William O'Connell's "mastery of every situation."[1] Recent research nevertheless has begun to erode this long-held "mastery" thesis. Robert O'Leary's dissertation strikes a revisionist tone in describing an independent-minded Cambridge pastor and editor of the *Sacred Heart Review*, Father John O'Brien, with whom O'Connell frequently had to contend.[2] Likewise, there is a regional study that portrays a feisty Groton pastor, Father Edward Mitchell, who also often sparred with his bishop.[3] A symposium at Regis College has shed still further light. According to Robert E. Sullivan, while most priests were docile in donating funds to the chancery, O'Connell had to tolerate more than one reluctant pastor who, under the benefice system in vogue, controlled much of the parish income. As a result, "O'Connell failed to centralize archdiocesan finances."[4] This paper describes still another conflict, bitter and protracted, between the Boston prelate and one of his unyielding pastors, with its impact on an ethnic colony. O'Connell's adversary was Father John T. Mullen; innocent and unknowing French-Canadians became victims of the rivalry.[5]

Mullen, son of Irish immigrant parents, was born in the Roxbury section of Boston on June 12, 1866. Completing prestigious Boston Latin School in 1886, he spent several years at Boston College, pursued philosophy at St. Sulpice in Paris, and theology in the Jesuit seminary at Innsbruck. He was ordained at the cathedral of Brixen, Austria on March 19, 1893, and then obtained a doctorate in canon law at Rome by 1895. In the face of such impressive credentials, Archbishop Williams immediately assigned the new priest as an assistant at the Holy Cross Cathedral in Boston. Within five years, while at the mother church, he was named to the diocesan tribunal as Defender of the [Marriage] Bond. In another five years, Mullen advanced to the post of rector of the cathedral, where locally he was developing a reputation as a skilled homilist and administrator, and nationally was gaining exposure as secretary-treasurer of the "Priests' Total Abstinence League of America." When Bishop John Delany of the diocese of Manchester, New Hampshire died in June 1906, it was Mullen who received the invitation to preach the eulogy. His abstinence-related correspondence with seminary rectors, chancellors and bishops gave him a widespread audience. Mullen's labors even provoked some interest in England and Ireland.[6] Given his academic background and subsequent activities, Mullen was surely

destined, one would surmise, to scale the ladder of ecclesiastical success. When he advanced to the cathedral rectorship, a congratulatory note from an Ohio priest read: "I hope that this will only be a step to still higher honors . . . ."[7]

Meanwhile, the ailing Archbishop Williams died, and was replaced by the former bishop of Portland, Maine and now coadjutor–William Henry O'Connell. Though not the expected choice, much less the popular one, O'Connell succeeded to the see of Boston on August 30, 1907. This son of Irish immigrant parents of Lowell, promptly rearranged some key personnel, just as he had done earlier in Maine. On arrival in Portland, he had replaced all six priests of his episcopal council. Something similar happened in Boston. Soon the national Catholic directory for 1908 no longer showed Mullen as cathedral rector or Defender of the Bond. Instead he was listed as pastor of St. Michael Parish in Hudson, far from the center of diocesan activity. Mullen's star had suddenly fallen. His seemingly predictable rise to high rank was undercut. What had happened between Mullen and the new archbishop?

Considerable evidence shows that O'Connell, "the most fabulous of all,"[8] as John Tracy Ellis identifies him, earned a reputation as an autocratic, even vindictive potentate, feared by most of his clergy.[9] It is not difficult to understand why Mullen was "exiled" to the edge of the diocese for the rest of his life. To begin, there is the well-founded rumor that as a rigid abstinence advocate, Mullen refused to serve liquor to his own archbishop (perhaps O'Connell's accustomed dinner wine) at the cathedral table. This affront alone would have incurred O'Connell's wrath. More to the point, Mullen was earlier a reputed leader of a coterie of several anti-O'Connell zealots in the matter of candidates to succeed Williams. Now such advocates enjoyed little favor with the new bishop. Indeed a notoriously bitter, lifetime feud arose between O'Connell and Mullen.

Within a decade O'Connell's secretary would be informing an ally in Rome, Monsignor Santo Tampieri, about Mullen's "nefarious activities" and the "selfish motives of a disgruntled, disappointed, superambitious man." Still later, a letter to the Apostolic Delegate would reveal that in O'Connell's mind, Mullen was "either an unscrupulous troublemaker or insane," a man guilty of "ecclesiastical bolshevism."[10] O'Connell's aversion would reach fever pitch so that a mere reminder of Mullen would jar the cardinal, as illustrated by this anecdote. One summer at the seminary camp on Lake Winnipesaukee in the 1920s O'Connell was seated at table with a faculty member, Father John Lynch. In a disturbed tone, the superior pointed to one of the students, and queried: "John, whom does that seminarian resemble?" "Why er, arh, I'm not sure, Your Eminence," clumsily replied Lynch. "John Mullen!" barked the cardinal. "Get him out of here!" Lynch discreetly whisked the student away to a barbershop to alter his looks, and from that time scrupulously kept the Mullen-lookalike out of sight.[11] Eventually Canadian immigrants of Hudson would be trapped in the climax of this O'Connell-Mullen wrangling.

The French settlement in Hudson began taking shape in the 1850s. By the 1870s the immigrants were numerous enough to form a lodge of the St. Jean Baptiste Society.[12] Though the early pastors were of Irish descent, they were

trained in French seminaries of Canada. Thus they regularly heard confessions in French, and at least occasionally preached in French. One of these priests, Father Thomas Cusack, received orders on a Thursday to immediately leave the parish in order to take charge of a new pastorate the next Sunday morning. The abrupt change precluded the possibility of a farewell sermon, despite Cusack's twenty-two years of faithful service in Hudson from 1885 to 1907. It appears that once O'Connell decided to rid the cathedral of Mullen, an instant vacancy had to be created in a remote outpost, and that place was Hudson.

It was fall of 1907, only weeks after O'Connell's ascendancy, when Hudson greeted its new pastor. Apologetically, the welcoming assistant priest, Father James Doran, admitted in his public remarks that "some of his [Mullen's] friends had received the impression that when he was in Hudson he was out in the woods . . . in the country." These admirers were numerous. Mullen had left behind the legacy of a "memorable administration" and "great work," in the words of *The Pilot*, not yet under O'Connell's thumb. "I am perfectly astonished at the amount of work you are doing for the good cause of late," wrote Father A. S. Siebenfoercher, Mullen's co-worker in the abstinence drive. The stature of the newly-arrived Mullen is evident in the unusual recognition of three separate receptions, including one banquet at which one hundred former Mullen cathedral parishioners were present. They had formed a committee of forty people who raised $1,200–a huge sum at the turn of the century. Mullen "shocked" the audience by returning half the gift for use by the cathedral St. Vincent de Paul Society. The speakers' roster numbered a judge, lawyer, doctor, state senator, and the National Advocate of the Knights of Columbus. This outpouring of praise must have provided at least some solace for the guest of honor, adjusting to his painful, demotion and transfer.[13]

In the ensuing years O'Connell and Mullen, who had his own quirks, observed a frigid, mutual formality. When not openly quarrelling, they ignored and snubbed one another. For instance, in 1916 when O'Connell wanted to know the status of immigrants in Hudson, he interviewed not Mullen but Mullen's assistant, Father James Doran, ordering him to send a detailed report. In his letter, Doran took occasion to remark about conditions under Mullen who, by temperament, was hardly an affable superior under whom to live. "Since I informed Doctor Mullen that I should not stand his nonsense and that I was obliged to wear myself out and put up with his abuse, and that I was dealing directly with the Cardinal," confessed Doran, "conditions have been more favorable. At times his actions are freakish and childish. I feel the strain . . . ."[14]

Mullen could be excessively stern with lay people too. In a day when Catholic-Protestant marriages were greatly frowned upon, some pastors exceeded their authority, by reluctantly permitting such unions. One day in the early 1920s, when a French-Canadian groom appeared at the rectory with an Episcopalian bride, Mullen obnoxiously alienated the pair so that they disappointedly went off to the bride's church for their marriage. Shortly thereafter, Mullen concluded the Sunday High Mass, denouncing his parishioner by name. Then armed with hammer and chisel he solemnly walked down the main aisle in view of the stunned parishioners to the entry of the vestibule. There he proceeded to hack off the groom's name from the World War I veterans memorial plaque. To

this day there is a marred empty space in one column of the names in bronze.[15]

That O'Connell was not about to accommodate himself to such a person as Mullen was illustrated in the fall of 1918. O'Connell had sent out a circular to his clergy, asking for volunteers to serve as army chaplains. In response Mullen, though above the maximum age of forty-five, requested a leave of absence from his parish, so he could volunteer as a Knights of Columbus chaplain or as a Red Cross worker. While at the cathedral he had offered to serve in those capacities during the Spanish-American War. Needless to say, O'Connell denied this request. Further correspondence shows that the two adversaries seldom omitted an opportunity to annoy each other. O'Connell and Mullen would argue about fine points of canon law and about diocesan policies. When Mullen invited an outside priest to minister to immigrants, O'Connell insisted that the Hudson pastor obtain clearance for the guest, even though he was in good standing in his own diocese. On one occasion, unknown to Mullen, O'Connell assigned a Lithuanian priest to go to Hudson for Easter confessions, ordering Mullen to announce the outsider's arrival. In response to this unusual internal meddling, Mullen shot back: "If Your Eminence had but given me some inkling of this unusual departure from parochial order, I would have told you that I had already made arrangements" for a French mission.[16] Within a few years, more occasions arose to feed the cardinal-pastor animosity.

In the fall of 1920, O'Connell's priest-nephew, occupant of the chancellor's seat, abandoned his priesthood under infelicitous circumstances. Not surprisingly Mullen and his partisans relayed the news to Rome, resulting in a confrontation between Pope Benedict XV and the Boston prelate. O'Connell barely escaped deposition, but underwent a penance. He was required to go to the Holy Land, and make a pilgrimage on foot while wearing his full episcopal regalia—a humiliation he never forgot.[17] In another few years Mullen unintentionally gave O'Connell a fresh pretext for revenge.

The pastor somehow had not succeeded in taking a vacation since his arrival in Hudson in 1907. Very likely he sought leave more than once but in vain. Bear in mind that the bishop's consent was needed for a pastor to be absent from his parish on a Sunday. Evidently O'Connell regularly denied such permission. At the end of 1922 one finds the Chargé D'Affairs, Monsignor Aluigi Cossio, at the Apostolic Delegation in Washington, D.C. intervening for Mullen. Cossio pleaded with O'Connell that Mullen had gone fifteen years without a vacation, and now his physician, a famous Boston specialist (Dr. E. A. Crockett), was urging Mullen to vacation in the climate of Palermo, required by the patient's serious condition—"la gravita della malattia." Cossio this once asked a "favore personale," since never during his stay in this country had he asked anything from O'Connell. The latter coldly pencilled in "No Ans." [no answer]—a commonly-used brushoff instruction to his secretary.[18]

"As a cure for his deafness," Mullen made one final but vain attempt to secure permission from O'Connell for a trip to Sicily that winter of 1922-23. The ailing man then bypassed his enemy, and late that spring went off to Europe on the basis of authorization from his ally, Monsignor Cossio. As soon as O'Connell learned of the absent pastor, the Boston prelate dictated a short note to the new

Apostolic Delegate (Fusamoni-Biondi). Mullen had gone overseas "without permission from his superiors," murmured O'Connell. Did the Delegate know this? The answer was negative. Perhaps on his own initiative Cossio had abetted Mullen without the Delegate's knowledge. In any case, it was the start of a summer of further unrest.[19]

On July 11, 1923 Mullen wrote an anti-O'Connell letter to an army chaplain, Monsignor Alfred E. Burke of the Toronto archdiocese, wherein the Hudson pastor confided about his activities in Rome while on vacation. Unhappily Burke was one who "leaked secrets." "Certainly no one but a fool would trust him in a major scheme," according to one historian.[20] While the Burke-Mullen relationship is uncertain, Burke did Mullen no favor by forwarding Mullen's letter to O'Connell. The cardinal's resultant emotional upheaval is clear from his communication in September to the Apostolic Delegate. In this case, O'Connell ignored his trusted secretary by writing in his own hand, a step of utmost secrecy he seldom took. He fumed that "For years Mullen has spent time flooding this country and Rome with a vicious propaganda of defamatory letters," such as the one now in the prelate's possession. O'Connell asserted that Mullen's letter spoke of plottings with Cardinals Bougano and Gasparri toward O'Connell's "complete ruin and overthrow," and "final interment." The conclusions of this three-page missive give O'Connell's near paranoid assessment of Mullen. "Could a vile criminal reveal a more insane malice than this? And this has gone on for years." Included in the complaint was an encounter during the fall clergy retreat when the two adversaries met.

> I called him to my room and confronted him with his letter. Although for a moment stunned, he finally acknowledged its authenticity. I told him in a few words what I thought of him and requested him to leave my presence. Knowing that at last he was caught in his vile schemes, he dropped the mask of the sanctimonious innocent and revealed the monster of impotent rage. The presence of my secretary checked his attempt at brutal violence.[21]

Matters hardly improved over the next few years. At some time in 1925, Mullen secretly went to Rome at the request of the Pope. Though evidence for the precise purpose of the visit is not readily available, almost certainly further inquiries about O'Connell were the reason for the trip. Mullen returned to Hudson in a most cheerful mood.[22] O'Connell evidently soon learned of this confidential rendezvous. He complained to the Apostolic Delegate that Mullen had gone to Europe, "without permission of his superiors," and asked if the delegate knew of Mullen's whereabouts. The reply was curt. "I beg to say that this Apostolic Delegation has no information about the absence of Father Mullen," probably a polite dismissal to O'Connell's inquiry. It seems unlikely that Rome would bypass the delegate by directly sending for Mullen.[23]

The next year, O'Connell struck back at his nemesis by suddenly removing Mullen's two curates in October 1926, albeit sending two replacements. O'Connell repeated this disruptive maneuver eight months later, again unexpectedly making a transfer of an assistant. O'Connell's interference thus denied the French immigrants of a French-speaking curate. Now the livid Mullen, in

his accustomed candor, mailed a sharp note to O'Connell, challenging "this precipitous upheaval and disorder and abusus potestatis contrary to the spirit and letter of the Sacred Canons." In his two-page, single-spaced, typewritten complaint, Mullen scolded the cardinal for trampling on canonical process. "Illegal procedure," and "canonical gravamen," shouted Mullen. Because the issue was so critical the determined pastor told the cardinal point blank: "I am obliged under the circumstances to seek every protection afforded me by Holy Church and to carry my appeal and recursus to the competent Representatives of the Supreme Pontiff."[24]

The summer of 1927 furnished the proverbial uneasy calm before the storm. According to witnesses, the Hudson French pleaded with Mullen to obtain a French-speaking assistant, and furthermore now spoke in favor of a weekly Mass with a French sermon. Curiously, Mullen, who had a working knowledge of the requested tongue, evidently chose not to hear confessions or preach in that tongue. "He is as much at home [in French] as in his own language," boasted Boston's Catholic newspaper, when Mullen first came to Hudson in 1907.[25] Mullen did read the gospel and the announcements in French, though his rendition suffered from a lack of clarity. In any case, Mullen unwisely refused to consider the dual request of his parishioners. Understandably, this ethnic group then sent a delegation in September to appeal to the cardinal.

Unwittingly these petitioners gave O'Connell a golden moment in which to humble Mullen once again. The prelate stunned the French delegation by going beyond their desire, urging them to form their own parish. This favor shown to the French was clearly meant to spite Mullen. Largesse to the French was inconsonant with the cardinal's undistinguished record in dealing with ethnics. Though the three-volume history of the Boston archdiocese by Lord, Sexton, and Harrington records the many ethnic parishes that sprang up during O'Connell's time, there is little if any proof that he personally initiated or encouraged them.[26]

Little wonder that the Hudson delegation was startled by its bishop's seemingly generous offer. Whatever wishful thinking there might have been in private conversations, there appears no evidence of any serious French agitation for a separate parish. These immigrants had been relatively integrated into St. Michael territorial parish for many decades. Out of fifteen stained-glass windows in the upper church, to this day five bear French inscriptions, donated by French individuals or societies. The huge bronze plaque in the church vestibule lists parishioners who served in World War I. Out of 191 names, 46 (or 24 percent) are clearly French. Thus, when the Hudson visitors at the cardinal's residence objected that they might not be able to support their own parish, O'Connell insisted that they were indeed capable. Overwhelmed by this surprise, and under a surge of ethnic pride, the delegation departed, naively thinking it could successfully maintain a separate parish.

O'Connell quickly informed Mullen that the French wanted their own parish, and inquired, in a hollow formality, about "what you have to say in this matter." Of course, O'Connell was determined to go ahead with the new church. Mullen must have sensed this, and thus showed his contempt for the cardinal by

refusing to answer the inquiry and even a second registered letter. O'Connell then swiftly sought approval from Rome for permission to erect a parish for the French who, after all, "non riceve da lui [Mullen] necessaria cooperazione." The cardinal also bellowed to the Apostolic Delegate about Mullen's uncooperative attitude. When Rome failed to respond promptly, the impatient O'Connell wrote again, this time a two-page, single-spaced missive ringing with urgency, and with further acrimony against Mullen. Approval was granted. And finally, O'Connell dictated another in a series of acid exchanges between himself and his nemesis. After telling Mullen that a French pastor had been appointed, the cardinal fumed:

> For years I have shown towards you a patience which at last has reached its limit and I hereby warn you that unless, for your own good and the good of those committed to your spiritual care and also the good of the few whom your bad example may have influenced, I see clear evidence of a change of conduct and attitude on your part, you will be removed from Hudson.[27]

Unknown to the cardinal or anyone else, Mullen would indeed be removed from Hudson and within six months, though not by human design. He would be cut down through his unexpected death, a demise attributed indirectly to the cardinal by at least one parish spokesman through the local newspaper. "That he [Mullen] was overworked," everyone knew. "He was obliged to do with only one assistant, when the parish had long demanded a third priest," continued the lament. "He had many times endeavored to obtain a second assistant without success, little attention being paid to his appeals." "He had aged visibly the last two years . . . ."[28] Despite his failing health, Mullen had hoped for consent to attend the International Eucharistic Congress in Sydney, Australia. O'Connell's reply was predictable: "the condition of your parish does not permit any such lengthy absence and therefore the permission is refused."[29] Ten weeks later Mullen was dead. Mullen's obituary card, no doubt prepared by his closest allies, tersely depicted the priest as a fallen warrior, in the words of Paul to Timothy: "I have fought a good fight . . . ."

In any case, already on December 18, 1927, the French of Hudson, now members of the new Christ-Roi Parish, gathered for their first Mass in a rented Protestant Community House. What should have been a doubly cheerful time proved to be the opposite. The imminent season of joy was soon shattered. Mullen struck back obliquely at the Cardinal, and directly at those whom he viewed as his unfaithful ex-parishioners. The fiery Pastor sought to halt the exodus of French from his territorial parish by threatening to expel their children from St. Michael Grammar School. Then within a few days of Christmas, the solemnity notwithstanding, he literally blocked a dozen students from entry, after discovering that their parents had enrolled in the new ethnic congregation. Writing in French, the new pastor, F. X. Lariviere, groaned in a letter to the Cardinal that "The children will be obliged to go to public school after Christmas vacation if Your Eminence does not order Father Mullen to take them back." Whereupon O'Connell demanded that Mullen reinstate the students, and instructed the French pastor that he personally accompany the children. Mullen reluctantly relented at least temporarily, while engaging in further harrassment

of the youths, according to Lariviere. A child of eight was "punished" for attending Christ-Roi instead of St. Michael Church, and another youth of twelve was told to choose between the two parishes. Mullen asked the younger child's class how many had attended Sunday afternoon Benediction services. Little Violette had in fact fulfilled this duty, but at the French parish. On hearing this, the pastor sharply rebuked her: "That doesn't count!" As a result of this classroom embarrassment, the child's parents instantly transferred her to public school. More than one family took similar action. Curiously, it appears that the Cardinal then left Mullen alone to pursue his narrow policy. For, six months later, Lariviere petitioned O'Connell, this time in English, for permission to establish a school, backed by this explanation. "Many families . . . abstained themselves perforce from coming to our Church because their children were either menaced to be expelled from the parochial school or were actually sent away." The Cardinal gave instant approval, and the pastor quickly secured the Canadian Sisters of St. Anne as teachers.[30]

Under otherwise congenial circumstances, the French parish might have survived, despite the O'Connell-Mullen rivalry. But there were two major obstacles. Many of the French were at least partly assimilated into the local parish of St. Michael, while retaining their ethnic awareness. The appearance of a second parish in the geographically tiny town of Hudson split French loyalties. Some remained in St. Michael Parish by choice, and not merely to sustain their tie with St. Michael Grammar School. Significantly, a quarter century later, a prominent Catholic of French descent wrote to O'Connell's successor, Cardinal Richard Cushing, asserting that "There never was, nor is there a need today, for more than one Catholic parish and church in Hudson . . . ."[31] For financial solvency, Christ-Roi needed total adherence by the French. But here there arose a second, unforeseen obstacle.

The depression of 1929 struck in Hudson as it did in every manufacturing town. Many of the Canadian immigrants had been employed in the local Firestone Rubber Company plant. When the factory faltered, some of the French returned to their homeland. The low marriage and baptismal statistics reflect this exodus. In the depression decade of the 1930s, the Christ-Roi parish averaged barely over three marriages per year, and only some thirteen christenings annually. By April 1933 the second French pastor, Father Charles Moisan, sought the cardinal's consent to close the parochial school, usually the pride of every ethnic parish. Open only a few years, this institution had "very little hope of recovering its vigor," regretted the priest. Meanwhile, numerous suppliers of liturgical items and other vendors were clamoring to recover their money. Conditions worsened by 1936. As unpaid bills mounted, the cardinal was forced to excuse the parish from all diocesan drives, except the papal collection.

Eventually in April 1950, the troubled Christ-Roi congregation became the territorial parish of Christ King. Since then it has easily managed, from the support of the large number of parishioners canonically assigned by territory, greatly augmenting the French remnant in Hudson. It is a parish that might never have been, except for two inflexible men pitted against one another in a strange episode of archdiocesan history, a poignant reminder that Boston's Prince of the Church did not, after all, exercise "mastery of every situation."

NOTES

1. Donna Merwick, *Boston Priests, 1840-1910: A Study of Social and Intellectual Change* (Cambridge, 1973) reviewed by David J. O'Brien in *Christian Century*, Vol. 91, March 6, 1974: 264-5.

2. Robert A. O'Leary, "William Henry O'Connell: A social and Intellectual Biography," Ph.D. dissertation, Tufts University, 1980, pp. 114-5, 121-124.

3. William Wolkovich-Valkavičius, *Immigrants and Yankees in Nashoba Valley, Massachusetts: Interethnic and Interreligious Conflict and Accommodation Irish, French-Canadians, Poles, Lithuanians, and Italians* (W. Groton, Mass., 1981): pp. 184-192.

4. Robert E. Sullivan, "Men and Women of Religion in Boston: Historical Perspectives – 175th Anniversary of Archdiocese of Boston," Symposium at Regis College, April 24, 1984.

5. Notably revised here, this paper was originally presented as "Two French-Canadian Parishes – Shirley and Hudson, Massachusetts: A Study in Contrasts," spring meeting, American Catholic Historical Association, Villanova University, April 14, 1984.

6. Mullen, though somewhat junior to Delany, knew him at Boston College and at St. Sulpice, and served one of Delany's Masses in Paris. On one occasion at least, the two vacationed together; Archives, Diocese of Manchester, information courtesy of Wilfrid Paradis, diocesan historian. In addition, Delany was known as a total abstainer; Siebenfoercher to Mullen, Oct. [1904], Mullen Papers, Archives Archdiocese of Boston (henceforth – AABo).

7. A. S. Siebenfoercher to Mullen, Oct. 16, 1905, Mullen Papers, AABo. The sender was president of the Priests' Total Abstinence League. The Mullen Papers showing his involvement in the abstinence movement are a cache accidentally discovered in the attic of St. Michael Rectory in Hudson, scene of Mullen's later assignment. This find of November 1984, thanks to the pastor, Rev. Everett Vierra, consists mostly of letters to Mullen.

8. John Tracy Ellis, *Catholic Bishops: A Memoir* (Wilmington, Delaware, 1983), p. 67.

9. On sighting the approaching cardinal walking the seminary grounds, priests while on retreat would often scatter so as not to encounter their superior.

10. O'Connell to Tampieri, July 6, 1916, and O'Connell to Biondi, July 11, 1927, Mss. in AABo.

11. Related to this writer by Rev. John J. McCormick, onetime curate of Father Lynch from whom McCormick heard this episode.

12. "Early Canadians of Feltonville-Hudson," six-page typescript, 1919, Hudson Historical Society.

13. *The Hudson Enterprise*, Nov. 15, 29; Dec. 20, 1907; *The Pilot*, Nov. 2, Dec. 7, 21, 1907; Siebenfoercher to Mullen, June 10, 1905; Mullen Papers, AABo.

14. Doran to O'Connell, April 9, 1916; AABo.

15. Related to this writer by Harold J. Courtemanche, whose father was an eye-witness to the event.

16. Mullen to O'Connell, Oct. 31, 1918; April 2, 5, 1919; AABo.

17. O'Leary, "William Henry O'Connell," pp. 95-6; Ellis, *Catholic Bishops*, p. 73. The penance anecdote was related to this writer by a priest who asked not to be named. He had heard it from Msgr. Frederick Mulrey who knew the story from his superior in whom O'Connell supposedly had confided. In view of the Pope's vehement response to O'Connell, the story is entirely plausible.

18. Cossio to O'Connell, Dec. 20, 1922, AABo.

19. O'Connell to Apostolic Delegate, Sept. 11, 1923, AABo.

20. James P. Gaffney, *Francis Clement Kelley & The American Dream*, 2 vols. (Bensenville, Illinois, 1980), Vol. I: 132.

21. O'Connell to Apostolic Delegate, Sept. 11, 1923, AABo.

22. Interview with Sr. Catherine Coady, S.N.D., January 17, 1984 at Hudson. After high school graduation, the informant worked briefly at a local shoe factory alongside Esther Collins – organist at St. Michael Church, in whom Mullen confided the information of his unpublicized trip to Rome.

23. O'Connell to Apostolic Delegate, June 3, 1925; Delegate to O'Connell, June 6, 1925.

24. Mullen to O'Connell, June 15, 1927, AABo.

25. *The Pilot*, Nov. 2, 1907.

26. That very summer of 1927, O'Connell had created a de facto French parish in Bellingham, partly it seems to annoy Bishop William Hickey of the adjoining Providence diocese in Rhode Island, when Hickey was in the swirl of the notorious "Sentinelle" controversy. O'Connell's new parish became a haven for anti-Hickey forces in nearby Woonsocket, Rhode Island. O'Connell stayed aloof from his suffragan bishops. Neither Boston nor Providence archives contain a single piece of correspondence between Hickey and O'Connell. Ellis (*Catholic Bishops*, p. 74) suggests a reason for O'Connell's contempt for Hickey. On O'Connell and the French in Maine, see e.g. Michael J. Guignard, *La Foi – La Langue – La Culture: The Franco-Americans of Biddeford, Maine* (author's private publication, 1982), pp. 103-04.

27. O'Connell to Mullen, Oct. 5, 13, Dec. 6, 1927; O'Connell to De Lai, Sacred Consistorial Congregation, Oct. 15, 28, 1927; O'Connell to Delegate, Oct. 18, 1927, AABo.

28. *The Hudson Enterprise*, June 22, 1928. When O'Connell's limousine arrived in Hudson for Mullen's funeral, a woman standing on the sidewalk angrily waved her fist at the cardinal, shouting: "You so-and-so, you killed him!" according to an oral tradition. O'Connell forbade the accustomed priest's eulogy. Instead he ordered a homily on priestly disobedience aimed at the deceased. At the burial which O'Connell did not attend, a Mullen partisan—Msgr. Patrick J. Supple—delivered an impromptu excomium, prefaced with the remark: "I know of no law of God or man that forbids a friend from saying 'goodbye' to a friend," as indicated by abundant oral testimony.

29. Mullen to O'Connell, March 15, 1928; O'Connell to Mullen, March 17, 1928; AABo. Lariviere to O'Connell, Dec. 19, 28, 1927; Jan. 20, June 19, 1928; O'Connell to Lariviere, Dec. 27, 1927; AABo (I am grateful to Robert K. Rice for aid in translating the French letters); interview with Violette Bonaffe Gillies, Jan. 10, 1984 at Hudson, Mass. Lariviere's anxiety to obtain teaching nuns is recorded as his "pressing request" ("la demande instante") in the motherhouse records – Archives, Sisters of Sainte Anne, Lachine, Canada; information courtesy of Provincial, Sr. Constance Gosselin, S.S.A., Marlboro, Mass.

30. Herman J. Courtemanche to Cushing, April 24, 1950, AABo.

31. Moisan to O'Connell, April 21, 1933; also see Christ King parish file, passim, AABo.