The Life and Afterlives of Patrick Francis Healy, S.J.

by

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation centers on the life of Patrick Francis Healy, the son of an enslaved woman and an Irish slaveholder. Born in 1834, Healy became a Jesuit priest in 1864 and the president of Georgetown University in 1874, seven decades before Georgetown admitted its first African American student. In the twentieth century, historical investigations of race and American Catholicism cast Healy and his family in a new light. Today, the Healys are upheld in some circles as African American Catholic icons. Patrick Healy is now remembered as the first African American Jesuit and Catholic university president, as well as the first African American to receive a doctorate. This dissertation pursues both the life of Patrick Healy as well as what I call his "afterlives," or the ways in which he has been remembered since the 1950s, when Albert S. Foley, S.J. discovered that the Healys' mother was enslaved and refashioned them from white Irish Americans to white-passing African Americans. How and why did Patrick Francis Healy understand and comport himself as a white, upper-class Catholic? How and why have others sought to construct him as African American in the years since his ancestry was made widely known? How has Georgetown incorporated Healy's legacy, in the context of its and other universities' coming-to-terms with their dealings with slavery more broadly? I pursue these questions through archival sources (primarily Healy's diaries and letters) at Georgetown University and College of the Holy Cross, as well as secondary literature on passing, subjectivity, and hagiography.

DEDICATION

For Paul and Janet Griffin, my grandparents.

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INTRODUCTION

In 2015 and 2016, Georgetown University became enmeshed in conversations about race taking place at college campuses across the United States. At Georgetown, conversation centered on the institution's history with slavery. Namely, in 1838, Thomas Mulledy, then president of Georgetown and provincial of the Maryland Province Jesuits, oversaw the sale of 272 enslaved people held by the province to farmers in Louisiana.[1] In the aftermath of the sale, which was highly controversial among Jesuits both in the province and elsewhere, Mulledy had to resign as provincial at the request of the Superior General and travel to Rome to plead his case regarding the decision.[2]

Discussion in 2015 and 2016 included broader issues around Georgetown's relationship to slavery, including buildings named after slaveholding faculty, and what actions might be taken to acknowledge and make amends for this history. A number of initiatives grew out of this discussion; a working group made archival resources on slavery in the Maryland Province available online and researched the fates of those sold in 1838, the school held an apology ceremony attended by community members and descendants of those sold, and buildings named after Mulledy and other former faculty associated with the sale were renamed.[3] Additionally, the school opted to grant

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[1] Thomas Murphy, *Jesuit Slaveholding in Maryland, 1717-1838* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 164.
[2] Ibid.
[3] "The Georgetown Slavery Archive," *The Georgetown Slavery Archive*, accessed June 5, 2017, http://slaveryarchive.georgetown.edu/; Matthew Quallen, "Beyond the 272 Sold in 1838, Plotting the National Diaspora of Jesuit-Owned Slaves," *The Hoya* (Washington, DC), April 30, 2016, http://features.thehoya.com/beyond-the-272-sold-in-1838-plotting-the-national-diaspora-of-jesuit-owned-slaves; Julie Zauzmer, "Grappling with its history of slavery, Georgetown gathers descendants for a day of repentance," *The Washington Post* (Washington, DC), April 18, 2016, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/acts-of-faith/wp/2017/04/18/georgetown-university-hosts-service-of-repentance-dedicates-building-to-slaves-it-sold-in-1938-to-secure-schools-future/?utm_term=.36d1d006d764; Katherine Shaver, "Georgetown University to rename two buildings that reflect school's ties to slavery," *The Washington Post* (Washington DC), November 15, 2015,

descendants of the enslaved people sold in 1838 preferential admission.[4] More recently, students voted to add a student fee to go toward reparations for descendants of the enslaved.[5]

One particularly important figure, however, was missing from many of these discussions. Patrick Francis Healy, S.J., president of the school from 1874 to 1882, was legally enslaved prior to the passage of the 13th amendment in 1865. He was born to Michael Healy, an Irish planter, and Eliza Clark, an enslaved woman, inheriting his mother's legal status. However, a world of difference separated Healy from those sold in 1838. As children, Healy and several of his siblings were sent north first to New York and then to Massachusetts, where they attended school and entered various professions. Patrick, along with his brothers James and Sherwood, became a Catholic priest, while other siblings became nuns, joined the Coast Guard, or entered business. Throughout their lives, the siblings mostly seemed to avoid the restrictions and derision placed on other children of enslaved women, in large part due to the fact that their parentage was kept secret and most of the children (based on available photographic evidence and the behavior of their contemporaries) were light-skinned and were regarded as white.

The subject of their ancestry gained public attention in Albert S. Foley, S.J.'s 1954 book *Bishop Healy: Beloved Outcaste*, which chronicled James Healy's career as Bishop of Portland, Maine and positioned him (and by association, his siblings) as

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https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/georgetown-university-to-rename-two-buildings-that-reflect-schools-ties-to-slavery/2015/11/15/e36edd32-8bb7-11e5-acff-673ae92ddd2b_story.html?utm_term=.c63183b551a4.

[4] Noel King, "Georgetown University To Offer Slave Descendants Preferential Admissions," *National Public Radio* (Washington, DC), April 27, 2017, http://www.npr.org/2017/04/28/526085106/georgetown-university-to-offer-slave-descendants-preferential-admissions.

[5] Molly Olmstead, "Georgetown Students Vote to Add Fee for Slavery Reparations to Tuition," *Slate*, April 12, 2019, https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2019/04/georgetown-students-reparations-fund-vote.html

African American Catholic pioneers.[6] Foley portrayed James as unabashedly black and proud of it, largely using oral histories from descendants of those he had ministered to. This was part of a broader career on Foley's part in which he saw himself as devoted to causes of racial justice. He helped to broker the integration of Mobile, Alabama's businesses and produced reports on KKK activity as a professor of sociology at Spring Hill College. Foley believed that African Americans were mistreated within the Catholic Church. He thought that he could counteract this, in part, through drawing attention to the history of African American Catholics to prove that they had made positive contributions in the past and thus could do so again in the future.

Foley's hard work in examining records concerning enslaved people brought the Healys into public consciousness. In an article titled "Adventures in Black Catholic History: Research and Writing," Foley wrote of confirming the fact that Eliza had been an enslaved woman, and that "this turned out to be the most important discovery in the whole Healy study. Without it the study could not have been published. Only in these records were the written verification of the word-of-mouth tradition about the mixed ancestry of Bishop Healy and his brothers and sisters."[7]

Since Foley's work, Patrick Healy (and the Healy siblings more broadly) have been remembered in a variety of ways. Healy is a Black hero, a white-aspiring racial traitor, someone who overcame a racial disadvantage, an example of Catholic progressivism, an example of Catholic intolerance, a tragic tale of racial passing. Each of these visions of Healy, while compelling, flattens him and makes him less complex. My

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[6] Albert S. Foley, *Bishop Healy: Beloved Outcaste* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Young, 1954).
[7] Albert S. Foley, S.J., "Adventures in Black Catholic History: Research and Writing," *U.S. Catholic Historian* vol. 5 no. 1 (1986), 108.

dissertation examines both the life of Healy as well as the contours of various portrayals of Healy in the decades since his death. In doing so, I build on prior scholarship on the Healy family and emphasize Patrick Healy in particular, emphasizing elements like his spiritual reflections that have not previously been examined. Additionally, I argue that Healy helps us to better understand the intersections of empire, passing, sainthood, and sexuality in the American context.

Much in the way he has haunted the edges of whiteness, Patrick Healy has haunted the edges of many fields of scholarship. Because of this, he is a particularly useful point of study for multiple fields and subfields. Healy is useful for interrogating what we mean when we talk about passing. What is passing? How does someone pass? How, if at all, is passing connected to or affected by religion, in this case Catholicism? How have conceptions of Healy as passing, as Black, as white, or as mixed-race played out in the decades since his death, and what do they tell us about how we think about these categories?

Healy and the ways he has been portrayed are a valuable instance for thinking about Catholicism and race; as a liminal figure and as someone who was considered black by the racial standards of his time but passed for white, he provides new insights into the relationship between religion and race in American history. Many studies of religion and race have focused on African American Protestantism, or in the case of more recent work like Judith Weisenfeld's *New World A-Coming: Black Religion and Racial Identity During the Great Migration*, on new religious movements. There is also a forthcoming reader on race and new religious movements, edited by Emily Suzanne

Clark and Brad Stoddard.[8] Relatively little work examines the relationship(s) between Catholicism and race in the American context. Patrick Healy allows us to expand this field and ask what forms of racialization were available or foreclosed to him based on his religious affiliation, his life in the church, and his being a priest among other factors. I see my contribution here as being a clearer examination of the relationship between Catholicism in particular and race and racialization.

Albert Foley, S.J.'s work on Healy and his siblings (particularly his older brother, James) inherently forms the base of any scholarly work on him. Though Foley's conclusions are sometimes dubious (he relied heavily on oral histories, though without the care and nuance given to these histories by most modern academic historians; Foley seemingly rarely took them with a grain of salt or thought seriously about changes to memory caused by time and distance), he was the first to definitively prove that the Healys' mother, Eliza Clark, had been enslaved. This simple fact has formed the basis of practically every work on the Healys, scholarly or popular, since the 1950s.

Other work has influenced how I think about Healy and his life and afterlives. I am deeply indebted to the work of James O'Toole, in particular *Passing for White: Race, Religion, and the Healy Family, 1820-1920.*[9] O'Toole provides an invaluable overview of the life and times of the Healy family, building on the work of Foley to present something more solidly grounded in scholarship and verifiable fact than Foley's work. Additionally, O'Toole provides a useful analysis of the role of race in the Healys' lives. He argues that although, by the racial standards of their time, the Healys would have been

[8] Emily Suzanne Clark and Brad Stoddard, eds. *Race and New Religious Movements in the USA: A Reader* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019).
[9] James M. O'Toole, *Passing for White: Race, Religion, and the Healy Family, 1820-1920* (Amherst, Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003).

considered black due to the "one drop rule" and its attendant racial concepts, the Healys saw themselves as white and solidified their whiteness in part through affiliation with Catholicism. While I find O'Toole's analysis useful for thinking about the Healys' racial positioning, I aim to go beyond it, questioning what it means to think of Patrick Healy as "passing" and expanding on what we know about Patrick Healy's life in particular (as opposed to focusing on the family as a whole). Additionally, I am looking at how Healy has been portrayed in the time since his death and tying him to discussions about slavery and race at Georgetown University and College of the Holy Cross.

I am influenced by work that examines the life and times of a particular figure in American Catholicism and digs into how they exist in collective memory. One such work is *Mohawk Saint: Catherine Tekakwitha and the Jesuits* by Allan Greer.[10] Greer examines the lives of both Catherine Tekakwitha, the Mohawk woman who would become the first Native American saint, as well as the life of Claude Chauchetiere, the priest who first wrote a biography of Tekakwitha to promote her cause as a holy woman worthy of admiration and emulation. Greer examines their lives and circumstances and then transitions into a history of the cult that sprung up around Tekakwitha, culminating in her becoming a saint. I take this as a model for my own work, looking at the life and context of Healy before exploring how he has been represented in the time since his death.

[10] Allan Greer, *Mohawk Saint: Catherine Tekakwitha and the Jesuits* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

A book that does similar work is Emma Anderson's *The Death and Afterlife of the North American Martyrs*.[11] In this book, Anderson explores both the lives and circumstances of these French Catholics, killed by indigenous people, as well as how they have been remembered and reconfigured in the time since their deaths. I am particularly influenced by her use of the term "afterlife" to talk about these remembrances and reconfigurations. As she writes, "this word refers not to these figures' attainment of some otherworldly paradise but rather to their continual remembering and reinvention in the popular, protean collective imagination from their time to our own."[12] In a similar vein, I aim to examine both Healy's life and circumstances as well as the ways in which he has been remembered and reconfigured in the century since his death. How has he been remembered and reinvented over time?

Catherine O'Donnell's *Elizabeth Seton: American Saint* provides a useful model for thinking about the life of a vowed religious Catholic.[13] O'Donnell acknowledges the many forces at work in Seton's life, while also acknowledging that her religious convictions must be taken seriously as a factor in her decision-making, particularly her choice to found the Sisters of Charity. I similarly seek to contextualize the broader forces that had an impact on Healy's life and choice to enter religious life in particular, while also seeking to recognize the ways in which his religious beliefs impacted his choices.

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[11] Emma Anderson, *The Death and Afterlife of the North American Martyrs* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2013).
[12] Ibid., 6.
[13] Catherine O'Donnell, *Elizabeth Seton: American Saint* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2018).

I would be remiss to not mention Cyprian Davis's *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*.[14] Davis includes the Healys as one of countless examples of people of African descent moving within and changing the Catholic Church in America. In many ways, the book lays out the path for a hundred different projects on Black Catholics in America, and I hope I am picking up one of the threads Davis put forward for further examination.

I draw inspiration from work that seeks to engage and examine the ways in which religion and race have been connected in American history. One example is the work of Matthew Cressler, whose study of twentieth century black Catholicism in Chicago lays out a new agenda for studying African American Catholics and race and Catholicism more broadly. In *Authentically Black and Truly Catholic: The Rise of Black Catholicism in the Great Migration*, Cressler argues that "what it has meant to be both Black and Catholic" in the United States has changed over time, and flattening all of this diversity in terms like "Black Catholic" can be problematic. He writes that "we must be wary of flattening the complexity and diversity of Black Catholic lives in our attempt to restore them to the histories from which they have been so systematically erased."[15] I argue that the study of Patrick Healy's life offers new variations on the term "Black Catholic" and expands our understanding of what the term can refer to. His life illustrates the elasticity of terms like "Black Catholic" as well as how their meaning is historically and culturally contingent.

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[14] Cyprian Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States* (New York: Crossroad Publishing Company, 1995).
[15] Matthew J. Cressler, *Authentically Black and Truly Catholic: The Rise of Black Catholicism in the Great Migration* (New York: New York University Press, 2017), 9.

No recent work has challenged my thinking on religion and race in quite the same way as Judith Weisenfeld's *New World A-Coming: Black Religion and Racial Identity During the Great Migration.*[16] Though both Weisenfeld and Cressler examine the Great Migration, which largely occurred after Healy's death, their thought on the relationships between religion and race are compelling and have influenced my own thought on the topic. Weisenfeld in particular asks the question of why someone would want to change their relationship to religion and race, examining groups like the Nation of Islam, Moorish Science Temple, Ethiopian Hebrews, and Father Divine's Peace Mission. Weisenfeld's work has been helpful to me in thinking about Healy's racial positioning as not just being a simple matter of passing for white, but as a more complex reconfiguring of his relationship to race and religion.

On first glance, Saidiya Hartman's *Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments: Intimate Histories of Social Upheaval* may seem to have little to do with Patrick Healy.[17] Hartman chronicles the ways in which African American women in New York and Philadelphia during the turn of the twentieth century explored different permutations of intimate life. However, Hartman works to bring to life the stories of people for whom few archival records exists; this tracks with her previous work on slavery, which has often led her to read the silences and absences of the archive. Though Healy is significantly better documented than many of Hartman's subjects, there are still many aspects of his life (and especially the life of his mother) that are less fully documented than they could be. *Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments* has been helpful to me in thinking through what

[16] Judith Weisenfeld, *New World A-Coming: Black Religion and Racial Identity During the Great Migration* (New York: New York University Press, 2017).
[17] Saidiya Hartman, *Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments: Intimate Histories of Social Upheaval* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2019).

we can and can't know about historical actors and the ways in which they lived their lives, as well as how we can read silences and absences in the archive.

CHAPTER 1

PLACES

In this chapter, I describe the locations in which Patrick Healy lived his life. Patrick Healy moved frequently throughout his life, so this chapter will take us many places.[18] I also aim to examine networks of communication and people that joined these places and made it possible for Healy to move between them.

Georgia

Healy was born in Georgia in 1834 and lived there for at least the first seven years of his life.Though the Spanish had established permanent settlements in Florida, they also explored the area that would become known as Georgia.[19] By the mid-sixteenth century, English settlers established settlements in the territory, formally establishing a colony there in 1732.[20] Though slavery was initially banned in the colony's charter, it was legalized in 1751 and quickly became a large part of the colony's economy.[21] Slavery had not been banned out of any moral opposition to the practice but because of the belief that owning slaves would make English farmers lazy.[22] After it was legalized, slavery quickly became intrinsic to every aspect of life in Georgia. Enslaved people were still smuggled in from abroad after the international slave trade was banned, up into the 1850s.[23]

For a plantation owner like Michael Healy in the 1820s and 1830s, slavery created prosperity. In nearby Macon, a center of commerce, many enslaved people worked in

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[18] I limit myself to places where Healy spent at least a year.
[19] Christopher C. Meyers and David Williams, *Georgia: A Brief History* (Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 2012), 6.
[20] Ibid., 16.
[21] Ibid., 16-17.
[22] Donald L. Grant, *The Way it Was in the South: The Black Experience in Georgia* (New York: Birch Lane Press, 1993), 5.
[23] Ibid., 29.

river-related trades, especially in helping to transport cotton on the Ocmulgee River. The production of cotton was the primary employment of most of the enslaved people in the region.[24] Cotton production was once difficult in Georgia due to the specific variety that grew there being difficult to pick and separate compared to other varieties. However, slavery and the invention of the cotton gin had created circumstances in which cotton was a profitable crop in the region.[25]

For the people Michael Healy owned, it is unclear what their day to day life was like, beyond unremitted and endless toil. Citing the slavery narratives collected in Georgia during the New Deal, Donald L. Grant notes that some reported their masters as "good" or "fair," but also reported cruel treatment from their masters and running away or attempting to run away from them.[26] As he put it, "there are many accounts of good and bad treatment. One thing is certain, however: inhumanity was inherent in the system. Too many Georgia bondsmen testified to the brutality of slavery for there to be any question concerning it."[27]

Additionally, although religion was a major part of the lives of many enslaved people and sometimes tolerated or even encouraged by enslavers, there is no evidence in either direction regarding how or whether Healy permitted the people he enslaved to engage with religion. As Albert Raboteau demonstrated in *Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South*, religion among the enslaved could take many forms, from formal church services led by ministers to the singing of spirituals while working,

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[24] Meyers and Williams, *Georgia*, 76-77.
[25] Grant, *The Way It Was in the South,* 34. For more on the cotton gin and its existence prior to Eli Whitney's 1794 invention, see Angela Lakwete, *Inventing the Cotton Gin: Machine and Myth in Antebellum America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003).
[26] Grant, *The Way It Was in the South*, 30.
[27] Ibid., 30.

and a large variety of practices in between. Spiritual practice also spanned Christianity, African religions, and Islam.[28] Though we know some things about the way Michael Healy himself engaged with religion, we have no evidence regarding how enslaved people on Healy's plantation engaged religion.

Georgia at the time of Patrick Healy's birth was a state that enacted violence against Native Americans for their land.[29] In 1838, Cherokees were driven from their land en masse in what became known as the Trail of Tears. During this period, the state of Georgia's free African American community was small and imperiled. Most were people who had previously been enslaved or were descended from those who had been previously enslaved. Free African Americans faced many of the same legal problems as enslaved ones, including being denied jury trials and being subject to stringent laws regarding employment.[30] At various points, free African Americans were even denied entry into Georgia.[31] Specific cities could also enact laws that curtailed the freedoms of free African Americans. In Savannah, for example, they had to wear a special badge when in public and pay additional taxes.[32]

Catholic history in Georgia begins with Spanish colonization. In 1540, Hernando de Soto passed through what is now Georgia accompanied by Catholic missionaries. Over the next century, Jesuits and Franciscans would evangelize the indigenous residents of the territory.[33]Catholics were initially excluded from the settlement by the colonial

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[28] Albert Raboteau, *Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).
[29] Kenneth Coleman, ed. *A History of Georgia* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1991), 129.
[30] Grant, *The Way It Was in the South*, 67.
[31] Ibid., 68.
[32] Ibid., 70.
[33] David Arias, *Spanish Cross in Georgia* (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1994), xviii.

charter. Migrants from Maryland established a settlement at Locust Grove and a parish in 1794 or 1795.[34] In 1801, a Catholic church was founded in Savannah, the first in the state.[35] Other than this, the state was broadly Protestant, with a small Jewish population as well. There was also the presence of indigenous religions, as well as African religions and Islam.

Catholic institutions were sparse in Georgia at the time of Patrick Healy's birth, and he, James, and Sherwood were not baptized until they were enrolled at College of the Holy Cross in 1844.[36] It remains unclear whether Michael Healy himself was baptized as a Catholic; though his Irishness would suggest this, it is by no means certain. O'Toole notes that, in a hundred-plus volume library, Healy seems to have owned a copy of the Quran but not of the Bible, although he also owned a few volumes of Catholic apologetics.[37] Savannah remained the center of Catholic life in Georgia, housing the state's only Catholic church at the time and attracting Irish migrants there to build the railroad.[38] Even by 1850, there were fewer than five thousand Catholics in the state of Georgia.[39]

Law around slavery evolved and changed over time. At the time of Healy's birth in Georgia, and from the beginning of the state's slave codes in 1755, the status of the child followed the status of the mother. This meant that enslaved women's children were

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[34] Thomas Spalding, "The Maryland Catholic Diaspora," *U.S. Catholic Historian* vol. 8 no. 3 (Summer 1989), 168.
[35] E. Merton Coulter, *Georgia: A Short History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1947), 188.
[36] O'Toole, *Passing for White*, 31.
[37] O'Toole, *Passing for White*, 13.
[38] J.J. O'Connell, *Catholicity in the Carolinas and Georgia: Leaves of its History* (Montreal: D&J Sadlier & Co.), 595.
[39] Ibid., 501.

necessarily also enslaved; regardless of who their father was, children were still consigned to bondage. Thus, the Healy children were legally enslaved, like their mother. Among other things, it was illegal to teach them to read or write.[40] Even employing an enslaved person at a printing press was illegal.[41]

Additionally, it would have been very difficult for Michael Healy to free Eliza and his children, whether or not he wanted to. After Nat Turner's revolt, a law was passed in Georgia that made it nearly impossible to manumit slaves without an act of the state legislature. Even people who had purchased loved ones out of slavery with the express intent of freeing them found it difficult to accomplish, and if they succeeded the process often took years.[42] It is impossible to know whether Healy wanted to free Eliza; his relationship with her will be discussed further in Chapter Two. It does seem likely that he would have sought to free his children, given that he sent them to a non-slave state for education. Thus, the Healy children would legally remain slaves, although relatively safe from being returned to the south, until slavery was formally abolished in the United States. Prior to 1850, they were relatively safe; after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act in 1850 and the Dred Scott decision of 1857, that safety would have been less certain. It is unclear whether the Healy children were sent north primarily for their safety or for other reasons; no archival record remains to shed light on Michael Healy's reasoning.

Massachusetts

Patrick Healy lived in Worcester, Massachusetts from 1834 to 1852, with some interruptions. Worcester is a bustling industrial city in the center of Massachusetts.

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[40] Ibid., 239.
[41] Grant, *The Way It Was in the South*, 62.
[42] Meyers and Williams, *Georgia*, 88-89.

Catholicism began to have a presence there in the nineteenth century. In the 1830s, railroad work brought scores of Irish workmen to the city, and in 1832 the city's first Catholic church, Christ Church, was established.[43] This Irish population increased as time went by, especially with the impact of the Great Famine; during that time, the Irish population of Worcester went from 600 to 3,200 in the span of five years.[44]

How exactly the Healy siblings ended up at College of the Holy Cross is not entirely clear; no archival evidence of this decision remains. O'Toole, following the lead of Foley, posits a meeting between John Bernard Fitzpatrick, a Catholic priest and auxiliary bishop of Boston, on a "steamer running between Washington and New York" that resulted in the boys being enrolled at College of the Holy Cross.[45] O'Toole admits that there is no hard evidence for this meeting, but that both Healy and Fitzpatrick were traveling this route at this time, with Fitzpatrick returning from a visit to Georgetown and Healy going north attending to business. Michael Healy potentially could have also been checking on the three oldest Healy boys, who it is believed were attending a Quaker school in Flushing at the time.[46]

College of the Holy Cross was still a new and unsteady venture when the Healy brothers arrived there in 1844, having been founded the prior year by Benedict Joseph Fenwick, S.J. as a boarding school for boys. The Healy brothers were part of the college's early days, with James being the valedictorian of the first class to graduate.

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[43] Kenneth J. Moynihan, *A History of Worcester, 1674-1848* (Charleston, South Carolina: The History Press, 2007), 137.
[44] Ibid., 149.
[45] O'Toole, *Passing for White*, 25.
[46] Foley presents no hard evidence for this claim, and O'Toole admits that there seems to be no evidence for it either. Having contacted the Friends Historical Library at Swarthmore College, it seems likely that if this school even existed it was not an official Quaker institution but rather would have been run by an individual Quaker outside the auspices of the Society of Friends.

Though the college initially had just six students, within a few years it had over 100. The Jesuit *ratio studorum* formed the basis of the studies the Healys would have undertaken. This system, formulated by early Jesuits, sought to create a harmony between secular and religious forms of knowledge and study. Students began with Latin and English grammar and geography, moving on to Latin and Greek literature alongside history, mathematics, and composition. The final years of the program were devoted to poetry, rhetoric, and philosophy. It was also a competitive program; students vied with each other to be top of their class in any particular subject. Formulated at a time when most education was not systematic (the late 16th century), the *ratio studorum* was highly organized and systematized, intended to give students a well-rounded education.

Daily life at the college in the 1840s was certainly not comfortable and was occasionally grueling. Students rose at 5 am and attended mass and completed two hours of studies before breakfast. Lunch and dinner were followed by more study, with praying the rosary scheduled for 8 pm and bed for 9 pm.[47] Students also wore a uniform, with separate uniforms for summer and winter with adjustments for the differing climates. The custom of reading at the table was kept at the college, with selections like a biography of Ignatius of Loyola and a history of Maryland keeping order while students ate.[48] Students at the time noted that the college was often cold and drafty, making it difficult to keep warm.

Jesuit formation was also a crucial element of studies at College of the Holy Cross. In addition to their regular studies, which followed the Jesuit *ratio studorum*, other

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[47] Anthony J. Kuzniewski, *Thy Honored Name: A History of the College of the Holy Cross, 1843-1994* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1999), 63.
[48] Ibid., 64.

elements of Ignatian spirituality were incorporated into the daily life of students. A yearly retreat, held in November, lasted three and a half days and took students through the Ignatian spiritual exercises. In 1844, the Healy brothers (alongside the children of Orestes Brownson, the notable writer and intellectual) were baptized into the Catholic Church following this retreat.[49] Brownson, one of the most prominent Catholic converts of the nineteenth century, had himself been baptized a month earlier than his sons. Brownson sent his sons to Holy Cross during a period when he was actively preparing for and contemplating his conversion to Catholicism.[50]

George Fenwick, S.J., whom the Healy brothers were quite close to, joined the College of the Holy Cross in 1845. He held the position of prefect of studies and taught classics, philosophy, and algebra. Fenwick was noted for his close and encouraging relationships with many of the students, and was widely loved by them.[51] For the Healys in particular, Fenwick seemed to have filled a paternal void; they referred to him as "dad," with Michael Healy always referred to as the less intimate "father." Other students seem to have taken on this role with him as well; at least one other student, a JM Glovier, referred to Fenwick as "dad."[52]

Worcester was notable during this time period for abolitionist and anti-slavery activity. Anti-slavery sentiment in Worcester goes back to the eighteenth century. In

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[49] Kuzniewski, *Thy Honored Name*, 61-62.
[50] Patrick W. Carey, *Orestes A. Brownson: American Religious Weathervane* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2004), 142.
[51] Kuzniewski, *Thy Honored Name*, 53.
[52] JM Glovier to George Fenwick, August 9, year unknown, Correspondence [219 A] (misc. to G. Fenwick)., 01/01/1851-12/31/1851, Correspondence [202-228], 1638 - 1959, Archives of the Maryland Province of the Society of Jesus, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.

1775, the Worcester county convention resolved against slavery.[53] The practice was outlawed throughout the state in 1783. Anti-slavery sentiment grew throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and by the time Patrick and his brothers arrived in Worcester, the city was a hub of abolitionist activity. In 1839, William Lloyd Garrison spoke to a crowd of about a thousand at a Methodist church in Worcester.[54] Throughout the 1830s, the city was visited by anti-slavery lecturing luminaries like the Grimke sisters, Lucretia Mott, and Samuel May. By 1838, regional and local anti-slavery societies had been formed in Worcester proper and within Worcester County more broadly.[55] This included a branch of the American Colonization Society.[56] The colonization society, from a modern vantage point, seems less anti-slavery than anti-black, as the goal of the society was to repatriate African Americans to Africa, even those who had been born in the United States. Some African Americans in Massachusetts, though, participated in other emigration efforts that encouraged free African Americans to move to Sierra Leone and Haiti.[57]

Free African Americans also had a notable presence within the city. In 1800, the census placed eighty-three free people of color in Worcester. Many were freed slaves from the region and their descendants. This population grew over the years, and shortly before the Civil War, the city housed roughly 200 free African Americans.[58] This

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[53] Chernoh M. Sesay Jr., "The Revolutionary Black Roots of Slavery's Abolition in Massachusetts," *The New England Quarterly* 87 no. 1 (March 2014), 116.
[54] McCarthy and Doughton, *From Bondage to Belonging*, xlii.
[55] McCarthy and Doughton, *From Bondage to Belonging*, xliii.
[56] Moynihan, *A History of Worcester*, 146.
[57] Christopher Cameron, *To Plead Our Own Cause: African Americans in Massachusetts and the Making of the Antislavery Movement* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 2014), 3.
[58] B. Eugene McCarthy and Thomas L. Doughton, eds., *From Bondage to Belonging: the Worcester Slave Narratives* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), xxxvi, xii.

population grew significantly after the Civil War, when many migrants from the south journeyed to Worcester. However, this presence and the presence of anti-slavery activity in Worcester did not mean that African Americans were necessarily treated equally. A letter in 1838 published in the *Massachusetts Spy* by an African American resident of Worcester reported that African American visitors to the city were not allowed to ride in the same train cars as white citizens. The writer also wrote of other insults based on color.[59] The ability to live in a community and the abolition of slavery did not necessarily create equal social treatment for those African Americans who lived in Massachusetts.

Prior to his time at Georgetown, Healy did return briefly to College of the Holy Cross to teach humanities, French, and algebra and supervise students in various contexts.[60] Patrick Healy was also briefly placed at St. Joseph's University, located in Philadelphia, for the 1852-1853 school year. We know this based on a roster of faculty from that year.[61] It seems to have been another short-term placement like the one at College of the Holy Cross.

Louvain, Belgium

Patrick Healy studied in Louvain, Belgium from 1858 to 1866. Located near Brussels, the city of Louvain is the eighth largest in Belgium, positioned near its center. Louvain is known today for the Catholic University of Louvain, which is the longest-running continuously operating Catholic institution of higher education in the world, as well as for housing the headquarters of Anheuser-Busch and the site of one of the largest hospitals in Europe. Throughout history, dating back to the twelfth century, the city has

[59] McCarthy and Doughton, *From Bondage to Belonging*, xl.
[60] Kuzniewski, *Thy Honored Name*, 93.
[61] Christopher Dixon, archivist at St. Joseph's University, email correspondence with author, May 1, 2017.

also been known for its cloth manufacturing and as an agricultural center.[62] Belgium is, famously, divided between French and Dutch-speaking ethnic groups; Louvain lies within an area where French is and was the predominant language. During his time there, Healy often spoke and wrote in French, a skill he seems to have kept throughout his life as he occasionally wrote letters and other materials in French.

Healy studied at the Catholic University of Louvain. Founded in 1425 by Pope Martin V, the university was intended to be a center of Catholic education to rival any other.[63] The university operated continuously as a unified entity until 1970, at which point it was broken into two universities, one French-speaking and one Dutch-speaking.[64] Healy's time at the university was under the supervision of Monsignor Pierre F.X. De Ram, who was rector between 1834 and 1865.[65] De Ram was known for his emphasis on science in the university's curriculum, much as Healy would become known during his time at Georgetown.[66] Healy studied at the American College of the Immaculate Conception at the Catholic University of Louvain. The college was founded in 1857 for the training of American priests, with the hope that it would provide a quality of education not available to them in their home country.[67]

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[62] Emile Cammaerts, *A History of Belgium: From the Roman Invasion to the Present Day* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1921), 74.
[63] Leonid I. Strakhovsky, "The Louvain Concept of a University," *The Catholic Historical Review* vol. 25 no. 2 (July 1939), 179-183.
[64] "Catholic University of Leuven" *Encyclopaedia Britannica* https://www.britannica.com/topic/Catholic-University-of-Leuven
[65] Valentin Denis, *Universite Catholique de Louvain: 1425-1958* (Louvain, Belgium: Universite Catholique de Louvain, 1958), 25.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Kevin A. Codd, "The American College of Louvain," *The Catholic Historical Review* 93 no. 1 (January 2007), 47-83.

Why did Patrick Healy go to Belgium? The University of Louvain provided him with a quality of education unavailable in the United States, but it is also possible that the context of an impending civil war in the United States made the idea of sending him abroad more appealing to his Jesuit superior.[68] However, most of his siblings remained in the United States during this period.[69]

We should also consider the status of Belgium itself during this time period; Healy was not inside a hermetically sealed bubble on the university's campus, but would have left it occasionally and interacted with Belgian society more broadly. In 1830, Belgium became an independent nation. Initially, this damaged the Belgian economy as it was now cut off from the Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies. However, the country went through rapid industrialization and Brussels was the first city on the European continent to have gas streetlights.[70] This industrialization created a new bourgeois class that intermarried with aristocrats. In the early days of independent nationhood, mining and other manual labor were characterized by poor working conditions and the participation of children.[71] "In addition to being generally mean, the lives of the workers and their offspring were also quite short," writes one historian.[72]

Catholicism, which has long been a part of daily life in Belgium, had seemingly been dealt a blow by the formation of the Belgian state, which separated church and state

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[68] O'Toole contends that this move was entirely about Healy's intellectual gifts, which were better served in Europe; see *Passing for White* pg. 81.
[69] Ibid., 83.
[70] Bernard A. Cook, *Belgium: A History* (New York: Peter Lang, 2002), 64.
[71] Ibid., 68.
[72] Ibid., 73.

and was disapproved of by the Pope.[73] This was a double-edged sword; despite some drawbacks, the Church was now freed from state supervision and this allowed the church to develop a wide variety of educational institutions at every level.[74] The country gradually separated over the next decades into polarized groups of Catholics and liberals (secularists), with Catholics largely composed of rural and small-town residents and liberals largely occupying the cities. Although many liberals were Catholic themselves in a personal sense and could be quite devout, they were anti-clerical and opposed to the church having a large role in day-to-day life and society.[75]

Liberals and Catholics were not merely ideological categories, but determined which bakeries you patronized, what processions you attended, and what colors you wore to signify your allegiance.[76] By the time Healy arrived in Louvain in the 1860s, secularizing movements from a liberal government had dramatically challenged the way the church had operated in the region for centuries.[77] After Healy left Belgium, Catholic schools would once again be challenged by the wide establishment of public schools where religious instruction was prohibited.[78]

Healy was in Belgium during the American Civil War. As O'Toole notes in *Passing for White*, while James Healy wrote a bit about his thoughts on the Civil War (like many of Boston's Catholics, he wanted to preserve the Union but cared little for

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[73] Tine Van Osselaer, *The Pious Sex: Catholic Constructions of Masculinity and Femininity in Belgium, c. 1800-1940* (Leuven, Belgium: Leuven University Press, 2013), 21.
[74] E. Lamberts, *History of the Low Countries* eds. J.C.H. Blom, E. Lamberts, trans. James C. Kennedy (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006), 321.
[75]Cook, *Belgium*, 63.
[76] Ibid., 142.
[77] Ibid., 22.
[78] Humes, *Belgium*, 149.

abolition), Patrick's particular thoughts are lost to time and circumstance.[79] There is one exception to this, a letter which Patrick wrote to George Fenwick reflecting on the similarities between Belgium's liberals and American Know-Nothings. In the letter, he does mention the Civil War but does not elaborate on what he thinks about it. This letter is discussed further in Chapter Two.

It is also uncertain what records that could have been helpful in writing this history were lost when the University of Louvain's library was destroyed by the Germans during the First World War.[80] This might include institutional records related to Healy's educational experience as well as records that shed light on everyday life in Louvain during that time period. Healy also traveled throughout Europe during his time at Louvain, often accompanied by James. However, we have journal entries from his travels to England, Spain, Portugal and France that give us some insight into what he thought about the world around him as he traveled with his brother. I will return to these diaries in chapter two.

Georgetown, Washington D.C.

Patrick Healy lived and worked in Georgetown from 1866 to 1882. Healy found himself in Georgetown in the immediate aftermath of the Civil War. He was assigned to teach at Georgetown University in 1866, and in 1874 became its president. This will be explored in further depth in Chapter Two. In this section, I focus on Washington, D.C. and specifically on the neighborhood of Georgetown, as this is where Healy lived and

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[79] O'Toole, *Passing for White*, 86.

[80] Bruno Waterfield, "The city that turned the Germans into 'Huns' marks 100 years since it was set ablaze," *The Telegraph*, August 25, 2014, https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/belgium/11053962/The-city-that-turned-Germans-into-Huns-marks-100-years-since-it-was-set-ablaze.html

spent much of his day-to-day life. Georgetown was formally recognized as a town in 1751, and was incorporated into Washington, D.C. in 1871.[81] Today, Georgetown stands as a fashionable district that attracts visitors for its upscale retail establishments as well as historical sites and institutions like Georgetown University.

What was it like to live in Georgetown or Washington D.C. during the time that Healy lived and worked there? A wide variety of buildings would have confronted someone strolling Georgetown's streets during this era, from cottages to Gothic Revival residences. One would have also encountered a variety of Christian religious edifices, both Protestant and Catholic.[82] Like many American cities during the 1860s, Washington D.C. suffered from sanitation issues; for example, human and animal waste in the streets, and flies and mosquitoes spreading disease widely.[83]

During this period, Georgetown (and Washington D.C. more broadly) was also home to a relatively sizable African American community. In 1810, there were roughly 1,600 African Americans (both free and enslaved) in a town with a total population of about 5,000.[84] These residents did not enjoy a fully free existence; in 1832 the town adopted a Black Code identical to Washington D.C.'s, stoked by white fears after Nat Turner's revolt in 1831.[85] The code comprised a wide variety of restrictions, from prohibiting free people of color from holding dances to forbidding them from marrying or

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[81] Hugh T. Taggart, "Old Georgetown," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society, Washington, D.C.*, vol. 11 (1908), 120-224.
[82] Mary A. Mitchell, "An Intimate Journey through Georgetown in April 1863," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society, Washington, D.C.*, vol. 60/62 (1960-1962), 84-102.
[83] Michael A. Cooke, "Physical Environment and Sanitation in the District of Columbia 1860-1868," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society, Washington, D.C.,* vol. 52 (1989), 289-303.
[84] Kathleen M. Lesko, ed. *Black Georgetown Remembered: A History of its Black Community from the Founding of "The Town of George" in 1751 to the Present Day* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1991), 6.
[85] Ibid., 12.

otherwise interacting intimately with white people. Even in the mid-nineteenth century, African Americans had a night curfew, among other restrictions.[86] However, some prominent black families established themselves in an eastern part of the town known as Herring Hill, creating a small enclave of business owners.[87]

By the 1880s, more than 50% of Georgetown's residents were African American.[88] African Americans had flocked to Washington, D.C. in the decades after the Civil War for educational and job opportunities. It is impossible to know what, if any, contact Healy would have had with this community, but it is worth evaluating the community and its general history to understand the context within which Healy found himself. As the Civil War broke out, nearly a fifth of Washington D.C.'s total population was African American, both free and enslaved.[89] After the Civil War, Washington D.C. remained largely segregated, despite the large numbers of African American migrants who arrived there after the war.[90] A survey in the 1872 *Georgetown Business Directory* included a ranking of what professions were most common among African Americans in the city. Laborers held the majority, followed by cooks, drivers, porters, waiters, and barbers, among others.[91] Housing during this period for most African Americans was not ideal, with fewer having a connection to the city's sewer line compared to their white

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[86] Ibid., 15.
[87] Ibid., 16.
[88] David L. Lewis, *District of Columbia: A Bicentennial History* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1976), 167.
[89] Lois E. Horton, "The Days of Jubilee: Black Migration during the Civil War and Reconstruction," in *Urban Odyssey: A Multicultural History of Washington, D.C.* ed. Francine Curro Cary (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996), 66.
[90] John R. Logan, "Racial segregation in postbellum cities: the case of Washington, D.C." *Demographic Research* vol. 36 (January-June 2017), 1759-1784.
[91] Lesko, *Black Georgetown Remembered*, 36.

neighbors.[92] The majority were Protestant; those who worshipped in Catholic churches predominantly did so at Holy Trinity Catholic Church, where they were forced to sit up by the choir loft, away from white parishioners. They did not begin to construct what would become Epiphany Catholic Church, Georgetown's first black Catholic church, until 1924, with help from the Josephites.[93]

From the outset of the Civil War, Georgetown students had been involved, with students withdrawing to go join the two armies as soon as the conflict broke out.[94] Alumni fought on both sides of the war, but nearly 90% of those enlisted were with the Confederacy.[95] The school and its faculty remained formally neutral, fearing that political activity could lead to a revival of anti-Catholic sentiment.[96] During the war, Catholic enrollment dropped while Protestants and Jews became more prominent.[97] At one point, parts of the school were requisitioned to be used as Union battle hospitals.[98] After the war, incredibly, a few alumni were even implicated in the assassination of Abraham Lincoln.[99]

Religious activity on campus in general intensified post-Civil War, and many of Georgetown's Catholic students were involved in the Sodality of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary.[100] Curran, in his three-part history of Georgetown, argues that this was in part a reaction to the end of the Civil War and an

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[92] Ibid., 41.
[93] Ibid., 152.
[94] Robert Emmett Curran, *A History of Georgetown University: From Academy to University, 1789-1889, vol. 1* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2010), 236.
[95] Ibid., 238.
[96] Ibid., 242.
[97] Ibid., 247.
[98] Ibid., 253.
[99] Ibid., 262-263.
[100] Ibid., 281.

attempt to unify students who may have been on opposing sides of the conflict. Unlike many Protestant groups, Catholics had not splintered into factions during the Civil War. Organized sports, in particular baseball, also became a significant presence on campus during this period.[101] It is worth noting that the school still did not admit black students during this period. Additionally, slavery had ceased to be practiced in the nation's capital a scant four years before Healy arrived at Georgetown University.[102]

Providence, Rhode Island

Healy lived in Providence, Rhode Island from 1891 to 1894, following several years in which he bounced between staying with James in Portland, Maine and traveling extensively around and outside the country. Founded by Roger Williams as a colony hospitable to religious dissenters, Providence grew into the third largest city in New England. Near the turn of the century, when Healy was in Rhode Island, Providence was a cosmopolitan city with theaters and a professional baseball team. Rhode Island seems to have been a place appointed for Healy to relax in his old age, something that would not add stress and aggravate his illnesses too much. The parish he was assigned to, St. Joseph's Church, was the third built in the city and at the time Healy was there was a Jesuit parish, though it no longer is today.

The history of Catholicism in Rhode Island goes back to before the nation's founding. There were small numbers of Catholics during the pre-Revolutionary War period. Ironically, given the circumstances of the colony's founding, Roman Catholics (along with Jews) were singled out as barred from voting and holding office within the

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[101] Ibid., 287.

[102] Kathleen M. Lesko, ed., *Black Georgetown Remembered: A HIstory of its Black Community from the Founding of the "Town of George" to the Present Day* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1991), 15.

colony in 1719.[103] This measure was, however, short lived. In 1789, the state was placed under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Baltimore, later falling under the Diocese of Hartford until Rhode Island was given its own diocese. During this period the number of Catholics in the state was quite small. The number of Catholics in the state grew during the 1820s-1840s due to Irish laborers entering the state. In the 1890s, the number of Catholics was increased by an influx of Italian immigrants. Cape Verdeans would have also formed a portion of the city's Catholic population.[104]

New York City

Toward the end of his life, until he returned to Georgetown for his final few years, Healy was primarily based in New York City from 1894 to 1905. Healy was stationed at St. Lawrence O'Toole, which within a few years was renamed St. Ignatius Loyola. His parishioners would have been the middle- and working-class European immigrants that packed into the neighborhood of Yorkville during that era.

New York City's population grew significantly in the 1840s, primarily through immigration.[105] Over the next 30 years, the city's population quadrupled.[106] During this period, the vast majority of immigrants to the United States entered through New York City, regardless of whether or not they stayed there.[107] This was a period of tremendous migration from Europe, particularly from Ireland, which constituted the largest single

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[103] Patrick T. Conley and Matthew J. Smith, *Catholicism in Rhode Island: the Formative Era* (Providence, Rhode Island: Diocese of Providence, 1976), 7.
[104] Evelyn Savidge Sterne, *Ballots and Bibles: Ethnic Politics and the Catholic Church in Providence* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004).
[105] George J. Lankevich, *New York City: A Short History* (New York: New York University Press, 2002), 69.
[106] Ibid., 70.
[107] Ibid., 71.

group of immigrants during this era.[108] In the 1880s, some 40% of New Yorkers were of Irish extraction. By 1910, over 40% of New York City's population was foreign-born.[109] Immigration from the south also brought in African Americans fleeing economic and social repression.[110] Italians also began to form a significant contingent of immigrants, causing confusion among the largely Irish-American hierarchy of the Catholic Church, as they rarely attended church and participated in home-based devotions.[111]

This era was also one in which skyscrapers were on the rise; in 1880, Trinity Church dominated the skyline, but by 1890 26-story and higher skyscrapers competed for visibility.[112] The city's famed tenements were also in decline, as the 1890 publication of *How the Other Half Lives: Studies in the New York Tenements* generated social awareness and governmental crackdown on tenements.[113] The New York Stock Exchange, booming in the wake of the wide expansion of railroads throughout the country, became a bustling part of the city's Wall Street.[114] Coney Island became a busy part of New York City, providing new and old forms of entertainment to a growing city.[115] In 1898, the boroughs of Manhattan, Brooklyn, Queens, Staten Island, and the Bronx were formally joined together to create what we now know as New York City.[116]

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[108] Ibid., 71.
[109] Ibid., 147.
[110] Edwin G. Burrows and Mike Wallace, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 1112.
[111] Ibid., 1125.
[112] Francois Weil trans. Jody Gladding, *A History of New York* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 173.
[113] Ibid., 179.
[114] Burrows and Wallace, *Gotham*, 1041.
[115] Ibid., 1132.
[116] Ibid., 1219.

Toward the end of Healy's time in the city, the subway was born, transforming how people traveled.[117]

New York City bustled with socialist and workers' parties during this period as well, forming along both economic and national origin lines.[118] This included the formation of Irish Catholic labor movements.[119] These movements led to conflict among the city's (largely Irish) Catholic hierarchy; Father Edward McGlynn, a popular priest and labor reformer, was censured for his work galvanizing the city's working class.[120] Protestant reformers, responding to poor social conditions, vied with Catholics for the souls of the city's impoverished.[121]

Healy was assigned to the parish of St. Ignatius Loyola, located in Manhattan's Upper East Side near Central Park. The parish had begun its life as St. Lawrence O'Toole in 1851. In 1898, it was renamed St. Ignatius Loyola after the founder of the Jesuits.[122] Healy's journals from this period give little insight into the life of the parish beyond his sermons, hearing of confessions, and baptisms. Healy spent roughly a year in Philadelphia following his decade-long tenure at St. Ignatius Loyola, as a sort of spiritual director at St. Joseph's High School, today known as St. Joseph's Preparatory Academy.

Back to Georgetown

In 1907, Healy returned to Georgetown, this time to the infirmary, where he would remain until his death in 1910. Georgetown University during this time period was

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[117] Lankevich, *New York City*, 145.
[118] Burrows and Wallace, *Gotham*, 1089.
[119] Ibid., 1095.
[120] Ibid., 1107.
[121] Ibid., 1156.
[122] "Church History," *St. Ignatius Loyola Parish*, https://www.stignatiusloyola.org/index.php/about_us/church_history_tour

embedded in conflict between students and administrators, as the current rector, Fr. Buel, was viewed by many students as being too authoritarian. He set strict schedules for everything from study to eating to sleeping, and students bristled at the perceived lack of freedom.[123] On some occasions, students revolted; in 1908, when Buel refused to grant a holiday for St. Patrick's Day, students left campus "en masse."[124] As during Healy's time, the student body was no longer predominantly southern and in fact had become largely northern, and nearly ten percent of the student body came from Central America as well as Puerto Rico and Cuba.[125]

[123] Robert Emmett Curran, *A History of Georgetown University: The Quest for Excellence, 1889-1964, vol. 2* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2010), 47.
[124] Ibid.
[125] Ibid., 49.

CHAPTER 2

A LIFE

Before focusing on Patrick Healy in particular, I present a short biographical sketch of the Healy family. In thinking about Patrick Healy and his life and afterlives, it is impossible to fully understand him without understanding his family. The story of the Healy family takes us from Ireland to Georgia, from Georgia to New England, and back to Europe and into Washington, D.C., among numerous other places. The Healy family is often discussed as a unit, in particular as a sibling unit; the compiled accomplishments of all the siblings are put forward as an impressive array that make the family stand out from other descendants of enslaved women, especially in the antebellum era. However, I am interested in the Healys because of the ways they interacted with each other, and how they passed as a unit. Narratives of passing often focus on an individual leaving their natal family, which makes the Healy family unique for passing all together.

Michael Healy, Patrick's father, was born in Athlone, County Roscommon in Ireland in 1796 and came to the United States in 1818. Little record exists about his life in Ireland prior to this. By 1830, Healy was a relatively successful planter. Over a few decades, Healy acquired 49 enslaved people; only 17 other farmers in Jones County owned more enslaved people than he did.[126] He was among the forty wealthiest landowners in the county as far as acreage and total land value.[127]

Michael Healy's primary relationship was with Eliza Clark, an enslaved woman he purchased in 1829 when she was 16 and he was 33. Clark, whose name is occasionally

[126] O'Toole, *Passing for White*, 12.
[127] Ibid.

rendered as Mary Eliza Smith or Eliza Smith, has uncertain origins; O'Toole lists a few possible origins for her, but none are verifiable.[128] It is unclear whether she was purchased from a local plantation, from the Caribbean, or somewhere else. At least one image of Clark's likeness (probably a daguerreotype) is believed to have existed, based on its mention in James Healy's diary from his time at College of the Holy Cross, but its current whereabouts are unknown.

Healy and Clark have often been referred to by popular and scholarly sources alike as having a common-law marriage, with the supposition that, had they been able legally to do so, they would have sought to be married in the eyes of the state. There is only one recorded instance in which Healy speaks directly about Clark, calling her "my trusty woman Eliza" in his will. I will discuss their relationship in more depth later in this chapter.

Patrick Healy's siblings were people he remained very close to throughout his life, which makes them an interesting exception to the trope that passing means that one must separate from one's natal family. Additionally, the Healy siblings are often talked about as something of a unit. The sum of their collected accomplishments is often presented as impressive for a family of their background. Again, though, I am more interested in their interactions with each other, which become important later in the dissertation, as well as their having passed as a family.

James Healy, the first child, was born in 1830, and went north when Patrick did. He graduated as the valedictorian as College of the Holy Cross's first graduating class. James studied in Montreal and France, was ordained in 1854, and became an assistant

[128] O'Toole, *Passing for White*, 14.

pastor and then a pastor in Boston. In 1875, he became bishop of Portland, Maine. He served as bishop for 25 years before his death in 1900. He was a patron of Native American Catholics, serving on a committee for black and Native American missions in the church. However, overall he avoided association with African American Catholics; he was at one point invited to the Colored Catholic Congress but declined the invitation.[129] It is possible that he was invited in his capacity as a member of the Black and Indian Missions committee or as a black priest, or both. He also was known for his opposition to organized labor. He is considered the first known Catholic priest and bishop of African descent in the United States. Foley's *Bishop Healy: Beloved Outcaste* was the first long-form work to propel the Healys into their new status as African American Catholic pioneers. James is arguably the most studied of the Healy siblings in part because of his status as a bishop.

Born in 1836, Sherwood was the fourth-oldest child of the Healys, and went north when James and Patrick did to attend College of the Holy Cross. He studied in Paris and became well known for his expertise in canon law and Gregorian chant. He worked at both a seminary in New York and the cathedral in Boston. Sherwood died young at age 39, having succumbed to illness. It seems that Sherwood did not pass as easily as his siblings. This prevented him from holding some more prominent offices within the church, such as a position at the American College in Rome.[130] A letter from the bishop

[129] O'Toole, *Passing for White*, 140.
[130] O'Toole, *Passing for White,* 75-77.

of Boston concerning this position described him as having "African blood and it shews distinctly in his exterior."[131]

The Healy sisters also pursued religious life. Eliza Healy, born in 1846, was educated in Quebec and joined the Congregation of Notre Dame in 1874. Eliza taught in Quebec and Ontario before becoming the superior of a convent in Quebec, then moving to Vermont to become a superior at a convent there. Before dying in 1919, she spent a year as superior of a convent on Staten Island. She is regarded as the first known woman of African descent to head a predominantly white women's order. Josephine Amanda Healy, born in 1849, joined the Religious Hospitallers of St. Joseph in Quebec before dying at 34 in 1883. Martha Healy, born in 1840, briefly joined the Congregation of Notre Dame before leaving to marry and have children in Massachusetts. She died in 1920. We cannot know how Josephine and Eliza's experiences were different from those of their brothers; they left little in terms of an archival record.[132]

Michael, born in 1839, was one of the few Healy siblings to strike out into the secular world. He became an officer with the precursor to the United States Coast Guard (then the United States Cutter Revenue Service), patrolling the coast of Alaska for decades and earning the nickname "Hell Roaring Mike." Healy married and had a son, Frederick, who established himself in Northern California. Michael died of a heart attack in 1904. The Coast Guard's largest ship, the USCGC *Healy*, is named after him.

Two more Healy siblings remain: Hugh and Eugene. Hugh, born in 1832 and second-oldest of the siblings, died young at the age of 21, having fallen into the harbor in

[131] O'Toole, *Passing for White*, 76.
[132] O'Toole, *Passing for White*, 172-174.

New York and acquired an illness from which he never recovered. Prior to this, he was a father figure for the family, managing finances and taking a journey to Georgia to obtain the siblings left there after the death of their parents. Eugene, who lived from 1848 to 1914, is a cypher. Eugene held a series of low-level jobs in Boston, and he is probably the least examined of the Healy siblings in scholarship. He seems to have fallen out of touch with the family in the 1890s and not reestablished contact.[133] In many ways, joining institutions (religious or secular) was the family tradition; perhaps not doing so was part of what alienated Eugene from the family.

From here, I focus on Patrick Healy. Though the primary sources leave gaps, they still give us a serviceable impression of Healy's life and what his experiences were. Though much of what we acquire from our sources are surface details, it is nonetheless my intention to create a more three-dimensional portrait of Healy. This is not a space in which I analyze Healy's life through any particular lens. For example, I do not analyze Healy's life in terms of race and racial categories unless this surfaces in the sources. I am also interested in Healy's sense of his audience in his letters and diaries; he helped to arrange that James Healy's diaries would be housed at College of the Holy Cross, and it is possible that he saw this as the final resting place for his materials as well.

Patrick Healy was born on February 27, 1834. No records shed light what his life was like before his arrival at College of the Holy Cross in 1844. Sources that attempt to reconstruct Healy's childhood portray it as a happy time, albeit marred by outside forces. What would it have been like to be the child of an enslaved woman and a slaveholding man? Though we cannot know the particulars of Healy's situation, existing scholarship

[133] Ibid., 219-220.

sheds light on the complex relationships of enslaved women, slaveholding men, and the children they had together. It was by no means unusual for slaveholding men to have children with the women they enslaved. Though somewhat less common, even Michael Healy and Clark's situation, in which Healy did not take a white wife, was not altogether unknown.[134] O'Toole cites one such example from Michael Healy's time period in Georgia, that of Nathan Sayre, who had a public long-term relationship with a free black woman.[135]

The question of how to think about the relationship between Michael Healy and Eliza Clark is thorny, to say the least. As Joshua D. Rothman puts it in *Notorious in the Neighborhood: Sex and Families Across the Color Line in Virginia,* "such relationships ranged from acknowledged affairs that lasted for a lifetime, produced many children, and were familial in every sense but a legally recognized one to brutal acts of rape and sexual assault where slave owners showed the inhumanity for which slavery was notorious among its opponents."[136] Similarly, Brenda E. Stevenson argues that while some encounters between slaveholding men and enslaved women were "acts of sexual submission characterized by violence and degradation," "not all sexual relations between slave women and white men were physically coerced."[137] How, then, should we think about Michael Healy and Eliza Clark?

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[134] Wilma A. Dunaway, *The African-American Family in Slavery and Emancipation* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 121-122.
[135] O'Toole, *Passing for White*, 19.
[136] Joshua D. Rothman, *Notorious in the Neighborhood: Sex and Families Across the Color Line in Virginia, 1787-1861* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 15.
[137] Brenda E. Stevenson, *Life in Black and White: Family and Community in the Slave South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 240.

The scholarship of Annette Gordon-Reed on the relationship between Thomas Jefferson and Sally Hemings is a useful starting point on this question. Gordon-Reed makes it clear that "getting at the nature of the relationships between masters and their slave families is a delicate business."[138] While Gordon-Reed admits that rape was a fact of life for many enslaved women, she argues that not all encounters between white men and enslaved women can be reduced to this, and that believing that enslaved women were entirely incapable of consent

> suggests that the individual personalities, life stories, and dignity of enslaved women are meaningless… The rule also imposes a version of eternal childhood on them, no matter what their circumstances in life. Ironically, that choice, though made for different reasons, eerily echoes slave owners' construction of all enslaved people as "children" who lacked the ability and power to make rational decisions and who needed to be kept in slavery to protect them from the vagaries and harsh realities of living as free people in a hostile world.[139]

She goes on to express that while some may think cases of consensual interactions between enslaved women and white men may be "too few in number to care about," "there is both time and reason enough to explore every single part of black life under slavery, because each item contributes to our understanding of exactly how that institution and white supremacy shaped the American consciousness."[140]

Gordon-Reed argues that "one admittedly imperfect way" to try to understand the nature of a relationship is to examine how slaveholders treated the children of these unions, and that we can understand these actions as points on a spectrum.[141] By this standard, we can perhaps see Michael Healy as gravitating toward one end of this

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[138] Annette Gordon-Reed, *The Hemingses of Monticello: An American Family* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company: 2008), 106.
[139] Ibid., 316.
[140] Ibid., 324-325
[141] Ibid., 108.

spectrum. Though not unheard of, sending his children to a non-slave state to obtain educations seems to place him in something of a minority, compared to "the vast majority of white men who had children with enslaved women."[142]

Given all of this, what are we to make of the relationship between Michael Healy and Eliza Clark? As discussed earlier, James Healy seems to have believed that they were married in spirit if not legally. Though we cannot know whether this was in fact true, Michael Healy's actions toward his children do place him in a relatively unusual position that Gordon-Reed argues would point us toward the possibility of a consensual relationship. We must keep both this possibility as well as that of a non consensual relationship in mind when discussing Eliza Clark and her children.

Returning to Patrick Healy and his childhood, Foley contends that Healy and his brothers attended a Quaker school in Flushing, New York, with Patrick arriving to accompany Hugh and James in 1841 at the age of 7.[143] Patrick Healy does not appear in census records from this time period, and other records are absent as well. Regardless of how Healy felt about his parents later in life (he seems to have felt rather distant from them in many respects), being separated from them at such a young age cannot have been easy, and he probably took refuge in his siblings, beginning a close relationship with them (and in particular James) that would continue throughout his life.

In 1844, Healy arrived at College of the Holy Cross alongside Hugh, James, and Sherwood. At the time, Holy Cross was less a "college" in the current sense of an undergraduate educational institution and more of a boarding school for boys. Why did

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[142] Ibid., 108.

[143] There is no evidence for this; O'Toole seems to find it credible regardless (pg 24) due to Michael Healy's business connections in the city.

the Healys end up at Holy Cross? O'Toole speculates that Michael Healy may have met one of the Boston church higher-ups on one of his periodic trips to New York City and spoken with him to craft the plan of sending the boys to Holy Cross. We may never fully know Michael Healy's thought process for sending his children to Holy Cross rather than keeping them with the Quakers in New York or bringing them back home to Georgia. It seems clear from him sending them north despite their legal enslaved status that Healy envisioned a free future for his children. In any location they were placed, it seems likely that at least a few adults would have had to be informed about the children's unusual legal situation. George Fenwick, S.J., an instructor at the school, would take on that position for the Healys; as became clear from later communications with Patrick and James, he was entirely aware of the boys' situation.

Some information about Healy's time at Holy Cross can be gleaned from the diaries and records of other students. As mentioned in chapter one, life at the college was highly regimented, even for the smaller children. Being left alone without parental supervision and suddenly being under the supervision of priests instead cannot have been easy. We do get some sense of his early time there through various records; we know, for example, that Patrick, alongside his brothers, was baptized Catholic on November 18th, 1844.[144] As previously discussed, the boys were baptized along the sons of famed orator Orestes Brownson.

Patrick also gets a few mentions in James Healy's journal from this period. For example, on July 12, 1849 we are told that "Pat was first in Rhetoric again but got a great

[144] O'Toole, *Passing for White*, 31.

note from Father Sacchi for impudence."[145] Later in the month, we are told that they went with some friends into Worcester to see the Ethiopian Serenaders, a blackface performance troupe.[146] O'Toole notes that James' diary entry treats this episode like he would any other form of entertainment; "absent was any sense that they were part of the racial group being mocked on stage.[147] Even at a young age, the brothers seem to have dissociated themselves from any sense of black identity. It is important to remember that they would not have interacted with African Americans during this time in their lives, further facilitating this lack of identification.

It is also during this period that the brothers met George Fenwick, S.J., who would be a close confidant of Patrick in particular for the remainder of Fenwick's life. The brothers went so far as to call him "dad" in letters, where their own father was only ever "father." They were not the only ones to do so; at least one other student from Holy Cross called Fenwick "dad" in letters. It is unclear exactly how this relationship developed or why it developed with Fenwick in particular. It seems based on letters that Patrick in particular developed a close relationship with Fenwick, although the other brothers also wrote to him fondly, and when Hugh Healy died young, Fenwick recorded feeling devastated. We do not have writing from Healy on what he thought of Fenwick's later death; by the time Healy kept regular diaries, Fenwick was gone.

Fenwick himself had been the first faculty member to arrive at Holy Cross, at the age of 32. His family had owned enslaved people, and in 1811 when his father died

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[145] July 12, 1849, Page 109, Typescript of diary, Box 1, Folder 2, Bishop James A. Healy Papers, College of the Holy Cross Archives & Special Collections, Worcester, Massachusetts.
[146] July 25, 1849, page 119, Typescript of diary, Box 1, Folder 2, Bishop James A. Healy Papers, College of the Holy Cross Archives & Special Collections, Worcester, Massachusetts.
[147] O'Toole, *Passing for White*, 36.

George inherited half of his enslaved persons and property in Maryland. There is evidence that Fenwick both sold and freed various enslaved people. Given Fenwick's participation in the institution of slavery, it is interesting that he chose to participate in the Healy siblings' legal fiction of themselves as free whites. At no point does he reflect on this decision that we know of in writing; however, we can gain some insight from letters to and from him regarding enslaved people captured in the Georgetown Slavery Archive project. An 1830 memo to himself records the sale of Harriet, an enslaved woman, to a Mr. John G. Johnston for $210.[148] In an 1832 letter he received news that an enslaved woman named Sarah Brook formerly owned by his father was requesting freedom papers.[149] His response is not recorded.

On July 6, 1850, Hugh Healy wrote to George Fenwick informing him of Patrick's intent to join the Jesuits, adding that "Sherwood + Pat are both now well-informed of their situations in life."[150] Patrick would have been 16 at this point, and seemingly already certain of the path he wanted to pursue in life. In a letter later that summer to Fr. Brocard at Georgetown, Fr. Early at College of the Holy Cross recommended Healy for admission to the Jesuits, writing that "Your Reverence is aware of the family difficulties in the way, and he will explain them more fully to you. If you

[148] Maryland Province Archives, "The Sale of Harriet by George Fenwick, SJ, August 1830," Georgetown Slavery Archive, accessed November 13, 2019, https://slaveryarchive.georgetown.edu/items/show/220.
[149] Maryland Province Archives, ""She was once a slave": Sarah Brook, a slave of the Fenwick Family, requests her freedom papers, May 29th, 1832," Georgetown Slavery Archive, accessed November 13, 2019, https://slaveryarchive.georgetown.edu/items/show/123.
[150] Hugh Healy to George Fenwick, July 6, 1850, Correspondence [218 R1-16]., 07/05/1850-09/30/1850, Box 71, Folder 13, Archives of the Maryland Province of the Society of Jesus, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.

think these are no impediment, I consider him as a young man in every way worthy."[151] In the case of Sherwood and Patrick being "well-informed of their situations in life," it is entirely possible that this referred to the family's financial situation, which after Michael Healy's death was quite comfortable, or some other aspect of familial life for the Healys. Both letters could also be seen as instances of the Healys' racial background being acknowledged on paper, albeit very obliquely and in a way that someone reading the letters without context would not necessarily recognize.

Joining the Jesuits was not an obvious decision for Healy, as much as we may want it to be one in retrospect. Though two of his brothers became priests, which may have influenced him, neither became a Jesuit despite the influence of Holy Cross and "dad" George Fenwick. Healy never clearly articulates his reasoning for becoming a Jesuit and appears not to have kept a diary at the time. What is clear is that his identity as a Jesuit meant a lot to him. We can see this in later journals and in his spiritual reflections, where he is effusive about his development as a Jesuit both spiritually and in terms of his occupation from day to day.

In 1850, both Michael Healy and Eliza Clark died within months of each other. Eliza went first, in May, with Michael following in August. The estate would be sold, and the enslaved people associated with it would initially be rented out to other local farmers and then eventually sold in 1854.[152] This would create conditions by which "the Healy children would be secure for the remainder of their lives."[153] Curiously, one woman and

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[151] Early to Brocard, September 9, 1850, Correspondence [218 N1-14]., 09/01/1850-11/22/1850, Box 71, Folder 10, Archives of the Maryland Province of the Society of Jesus, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.
[152] O'Toole, *Passing for White*, 46-47.
[153] Ibid., 49.

child were also sold to James Healy; it is not clear whether he purchased them to free them or what became of them.[154] For Patrick, this meant that he never had to worry about the care of his younger siblings or how they would be provided for. Patrick would later go on to donate his portion of the inheritance to College of the Holy Cross to repair a building damaged in a fire; as someone who had taken a vow of poverty, it was not considered appropriate for him to hold onto the money.

At this point, Healy went to the Jesuit novitiate in Maryland, and then in the 1852-1853 school year, Patrick Healy was placed at St. Joseph's College in Philadelphia.[155] This is confirmed by a course catalog from that year listing him as faculty. However, little else is known about this period of Healy's life, as he did not yet keep a regular diary at this juncture. Life as a young instructor working in this capacity for the first time was likely exhilarating yet exhausting; we know from later diaries and letters that Healy found teaching satisfying by and large, but was annoyed by some aspects, including uncooperative or disruptive students. We can imagine him in the classroom or surrounded by piles of grading yet to be done. In 1853, at the age of 19, Healy returned to College of the Holy Cross, this time as an instructor rather than a student. He taught a wide range of subjects, from English to algebra, and what he taught changed over the course of his time there.[156] He was a young instructor who was not far removed in age from his students.

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[154] Ibid., 48. O'Toole speculates based on descriptions of the woman and child's complexions that they could have been relatives of Eliza Clark.
[155] Christopher O. Dixon, archival research librarian, Saint Joseph's University, email to author, May 1, 2017.
[156] O'Toole, *Passing for White*, 79.

Early in the school year, Hugh Healy died after a boating accident that plunged him into the water in New York City, after which he became ill and never recovered. Patrick Healy wrote to Fenwick to inform him of this, writing of Hugh's burial at the cathedral cemetery that "I much regret to say that painful incidents are connected with this part of my narration, which however I will omit at present."[157] As with many other oblique references in Healy's correspondence, it is not necessarily clear to what he refers. However, it can be speculated that there may have been issues regarding the Healys' racial background that resulted in conflict over where or whether Hugh could be buried at the cathedral. As in other instances, it is possible that Healy did not commit these issues to paper out of a fear that they could be read by someone else and used against him, trusting instead that Fenwick would know what he meant. Fenwick responded to this letter with sorrow, writing that he felt "so intensely his loss" that he had trouble carrying on.[158] This seems to indicate a close relationship not just with Patrick but with all the Healy brothers. His attachment to the brothers seems somewhat unusual, but it is not known what his attachments were to other former students from Holy Cross or how other priests engaged with the boys.

In a November letter to George Fenwick that same year, Healy admitted that he was not altogether happy at Holy Cross. He wrote:

> Father, I will be candid with you. Placed in a college as I am, are boys who were well acquainted with by sight or hearsay, with me + my brothers, remarks are sometimes made (then if not in my hearing) which wound my very heart. You

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[157] Patrick Healy to George Fenwick, October 2, 1853, Correspondence to G. Fenwick [221 A]., 01/01/1853-12/31/1853, Box 74, Folder 1, Archives of the Maryland Province of the Society of Jesus, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.

[158] George Fenwick to Patrick Healy, September 28, 1853, Correspondence, A-L., 01/01/1853-12/31/1884, Correspondence & Manuscripts Series, Healy, Patrick F. S.J. Papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.

> know to what I refer. The anxiety of mind caused by these is very intense. I have with me here a young brother Michael. He is obliged to go through the same ordeal. You may judge of my situation at periods--"at periods" I say, for thanks to God have felt this affliction but once twice my return wither. I trust that all this will wear away; tho I feel, that whilst we live here, with those, who have known us but too well; we shall always be subject to some such degrading misfortune. Providence seems to have decided this. I will say no more of this now; at a future interview (if we should meet again) I will explain, if necessary, why I say so.[159]

What are these "remarks… which wound my very heart"? One assumption to make here is that they refer to the family's racial background; these were remarks intended to disparage the Healys and hurt Patrick's feelings. He also seemed concerned about the impact of these rumors on young Michael, there as a student. "You know to what I refer" is doing a lot of heavy lifting here; Healy knows that Fenwick knows what he is talking about, but does not wish to commit it to paper where someone else could find out about the family's background. The letter is somewhat fatalistic; Healy speculates that he will "always be subject to some such degrading misfortune."

He concludes by telling Fenwick that he will not write further on this matter but that it may be revisited in a future face-to-face conversation. Again, this likely seemed safer to Healy than committing evidence of the family's racial background to paper. Perhaps James or Sherwood's more phenotypically black appearances (based on photographs of them as compared to Patrick) had inspired rumors among the student body. In any case, something was floating around that Patrick found too scandalous or unpleasant to commit to paper, even in a letter to his beloved "Dad." Healy seems to be seeking some sort of solace from Fenwick, as he was likely one of very few people who

[159] Patrick Healy to George Fenwick, November 23, 1853, Correspondence to G. Fenwick [221 A]., 01/01/1853-12/31/1853, Box 74, Folder 1, Archives of the Maryland Province of the Society of Jesus, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.

knew the family's racial secret and was still sympathetic to the Healys. More than social embarrassment was at stake for Healy. If his ancestry were widely known, his position at Holy Cross could be at stake, not to mention his ability to find any other kind of work. Moreover, he could be returned to the south, where he might be reenslaved.

More correspondence continues between Healy and Fenwick in 1854. Healy's letters largely reflect on the day-to-day of teaching at College of the Holy Cross, humorously complaining of various aspects of his vocation. "Poor Cicero!" he wrote:

> Holy Cross seems to have banished him, to have turned him out, to roam in loose sheets about the fields. Surely, we are living in the age of progress, and reason is at last regaining her rightful sway! His silent thunder sleeps undisturbed, his muddy reasonings are never stirred up, as the Board of Health has condemned it as injurious to the system. None of our teachers waste their precious time in endeavoring to make their pupils perceive beauties which exist only in the ideal. He is now behind the age--he is gathered to his forefathers. R.I.P.[160]

In the same letter, he described James as "growing fleshy" and laments that he (Patrick) was seemingly unable to grow a beard, which made him look very young compared to the other priests.[161] Healy was at this point a relatively experienced teacher with a few years under his belt. He signed off "pray for me, dear father, for I am a sinner, your affect. son in X, P.F. Healy SJ."[162] It may be tempting to read into this signoff; however, the affectation of proclaiming one's self a sinner was common in Catholic correspondence from this period.

Moreover, what was it like to be a Jesuit during this period? The majority of Healy's fellow Jesuits in America at this point would have been immigrants, and the

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[160] Patrick Healy to George Fenwick, December 11, 1854, Correspondence to G. Fenwick [222 A]., 01/01/1854-12/31/1854, Box 74, Folder 15, Archives of the Maryland Province of the Society of Jesus, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.
[161] Ibid.
[162] Ibid.

general tenor of the society was, if not anti-American, non-American by and large. While the remainder of American society would have been focused on the impending Civil War and the conflicts leading up to it, Jesuits were more likely to be focused on the European revolutions of the 1840s.[163]

Healy once more disappears from the record until 1858, when he goes to Belgium to pursue a PhD at the University of Louvain. We must keep in mind the context of the founding of the new American college at the university, explicitly formed for the training of American priests, perceived to give them a level of Catholic education unavailable to them in their home country. Unfortunately, we do not have diaries or correspondence from most of this period of Healy's life. We know based on Maryland Province catalogs that he was not the only Jesuit from the Maryland Province sent to Louvain in this period; for example, the 1860 Maryland Province catalog lists three other scholastics there with him.[164] What was Louvain like for him? As mentioned in chapter one, the university's library and archives were destroyed during World War I. It is not clear what records may have been there that could have helped to shed light on this period of Healy's life.

Our next written contact with Patrick takes place in 1863, when he traveled through Spain with James. This seems to have been a vacation for Patrick who was soon to be ordained. On August 30th, Patrick wrote that "Today I received a carpet bag from James and am now accoutred--I start tomorrow--bade good bye to some of the chums +

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[163] John T. McGreevy, *American Jesuits and the World: How an Embattled Religious Order Made Modern Catholicism Global* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 13.

[164] *Catalogus Provinciae Marylandiae Societus Jesu Ineunte Anno MDCCCLX*, 23, *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu*, accessed June 16, 2019, http://www.sjweb.info/arsi/documents/MARYLANDIAE_1860-lowquality.pdf

went to bed with a head splitting."[165] The reference to a headache seems to be one of the first in a long line of complaints from Healy about his health, recorded in his journals. Alternately, he is obliquely referencing a hangover. From there, the journal is awash in travelogue, some parts of it more interesting than others, with Healy largely mentioning where he has gone or where he is going to. Healy mentions reading *Miles Wallingford* by James Fenimore Cooper during a train trip to Calais while his companions played cards.[166] Later in the trip, he reads *Nicholas Nickleby* by Charles Dickens.[167] We do get snippets of his impressions of Spain; he complains in Granada, for example, of a tobacco factory with "5,000 women chatting."[168] Elsewhere, he writes that "Little children are kicking up the devil in the cabin + nobody calls them to order."[169]

At this point, Healy had nothing to say about the Civil War then raging in the United States. It seems likely that he would have held the same opinions as that of many other Jesuits. McGreevy argues that Jesuits in the United States were more likely to side with the Confederacy than the Union, but that in either case they were unlikely to be abolitionists.[170] Given Patrick's lack of interest in the Civil War, inasmuch as he declined

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[165] August 30, 1863, Diary, August 30-November 29, 1863, trip to Spain; 1864-1866, studies and travels, Box 1, Folder 1, Record Group 8.1, Rev. Patrick F. Healy, S.J. Papers, College of the Holy Cross Archives and Special Collections, Worcester, MA.
[166] September 5, 1863, Diary, August 30-November 29, 1863, trip to Spain; 1864-1866, studies and travels, Box 1, Folder 1, Record Group 8.1, Rev. Patrick F. Healy, S.J. Papers, College of the Holy Cross Archives and Special Collections, Worcester, MA.
[167] September 11, 1863, Diary, August 30-November 29, 1863, trip to Spain; 1864-1866, studies and travels, Box 1, Folder 1, Record Group 8.1, Rev. Patrick F. Healy, S.J. Papers, College of the Holy Cross Archives and Special Collections, Worcester, MA.
[168] September 23, 1863, Diary, August 30-November 29, 1863, trip to Spain; 1864-1866, studies and travels, Box 1, Folder 1, Record Group 8.1, Rev. Patrick F. Healy, S.J. Papers, College of the Holy Cross Archives and Special Collections, Worcester, MA.
[169] September 27, 1863, Diary, August 30-November 29, 1863, trip to Spain; 1864-1866, studies and travels, Box 1, Folder 1, Record Group 8.1, Rev. Patrick F. Healy, S.J. Papers, College of the Holy Cross Archives and Special Collections, Worcester, MA.
[170] McGreevy, *American Jesuits and the World*, 89, 119.

to write about it while it was happening, it seems likely that he similarly lacked abolitionist principles. Alternately, based on past instances in which he explicitly declined to put his thoughts to paper, he sensed that it was a controversial topic and did not want to give anyone who might read his letters or diaries ammunition against him. We can, however, compare him to James Healy, who did write about the Civil War. James, like many northern Catholics, saw abolitionism as connected to anti-Catholic sentiment.[171] He lacked sympathy for radical Republicans and worried openly about the "super-elevation of the negro."[172]

We should also understand Healy and his family's reactions (or lack thereof) in the context of reactions to the Civil War among Northern Irish Americans. Some Irish Americans volunteered for the Union forces for a variety of reasons, including hoping to parlay military experience gained in the war into Irish nationalist efforts back home or seeking better wages.[173] However, resentment over the draft and other grievances resulted in 1863's New York City draft riots, in which Irish Americans were key participants.[174] Much of this was fueled also by larger-scale issues between Irish Americans and African Americans. As David Roediger notes in *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class*, while some Irish American anti-Black sentiment was focused on perceived competition over jobs, this had to be understood alongside the ways in which participation in anti-Black racism helped to solidify Irish identification with

[171] O'Toole, *Passing for White*, 85.
[172] Ibid., 90.
[173] Susannah J. Ural, "'Ye Sons of Green Erin Assemble': Northern Irish American Catholics and the Union War Effort, 1861-1865," in *Civil War Citizens: Race, Ethnicity, and Identity in America's Bloodiest Conflict*, ed. Susannah J. Ural (New York: New York University Press, 2010), 101.
[174] Ibid., 122.

whiteness.[175] In this context, given Healy and his siblings' Irish American identity, their apathy toward the war is less jarring than it initially appears.

Healy's attention was focused elsewhere, and understandably so. In 1864, the major event in Patrick Healy's life was his ordination to the Catholic priesthood. Accordingly, it and the events surrounding it are the subject of most of his writing we have available for this period. In February of that year, reflecting on his recent travels, Patrick opined that "A Jesuit is not cut out for the hurry + bustle of traveling; at least a young one not yet which based in virtue."[176] It is possible that he felt he was not yet trained enough in struggling against temptation. He also reflected on the role of family in his life, writing that

> I have gained an insight into the strength of family ties, the delicacy of feeling which they engender when properly cultivated, and the highness of mind which they inspire into the soul of a well loved young man. This leads one to another reflection, namely the ruin of young men anxious from the neglect of the family circle + the sad necessity of our age--the boarding school. Let us have patience--all will come up--The present is not the moment for such things; let us slip in gently as a man does into a cold bath.[177]

This is something of an odd passage. It seems to be partially a reflection on his gratitude for his close relationship with James and his other siblings, which he maintained throughout his life, but hints at a disappointment with his parents, especially regarding the sentence on "young men anxious from the neglect of the family circle +... the boarding school." Was Patrick experiencing some dissatisfaction with his familial situation and rather detached upbringing? Was he one of these anxious young men? What

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[175] David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (New York: Verso, 1991), 147-149.
[176] February 12, 1864, Diary, August 30-November 29, 1863, trip to Spain; 1864-1866, studies and travels, Box 1, Folder 1, Record Group 8.1, Rev. Patrick F. Healy, S.J. Papers, College of the Holy Cross Archives and Special Collections, Worcester, MA.
[177] Ibid.

does his postscript about slipping into a cold bath mean? One usually would imagine slipping into a warm bath; a cold bath seems like it would be difficult to "slip into" so much as one might brace oneself for impact.

We turn now to Patrick's ordination. Much of what we know about how he felt about this occasion comes from his correspondence with George Fenwick. Writing from Louvain on September 5th, 1864, Healy informs Fenwick that "Your unworthy son, now Father Patrick Healy, prays God to bless you and to preserve you unto us for many years to come. The great day has passed away; the sacrifice has been offered. I have had the satisfaction of saying mass for you and our dear province."[178] He wrote further that "The sense of my obligation shall ever be living and fresh in my memory for I shall daily renew it before the altar of the Living God. I do not as yet realize the great change which God has wrought within me."[179] He refers to this time as "days of grace and benediction."[180] In a letter later the same month, he thanks Fenwick for his good advice on his ascension to the priesthood and gives some advice on housing and other factors of daily life for another candidate for priesthood who is coming to Louvain.[181]

An undated letter from Healy to Fenwick in 1864, likely written before his ordination due to there being no mention of it in said letter, is also of interest, as it is the only time known in which Healy commits thoughts on the United States Civil War to paper. He wrote, in part:

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[178] Patrick Healy to George Fenwick, September 5, 1864, Correspondence [227 N]., 01/26/1864-12/19/1864, Archives of the Maryland Province of the Society of Jesus, Box 77, Folder 10, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.
[179] Ibid.
[180] Ibid.
[181] Patrick Healy to George Fenwick, September 28, 1864, Correspondence [227 N]., 01/26/1864-12/19/1864, Archives of the Maryland Province of the Society of Jesus, Box 77, Folder 10, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.

> I pass over the question of war and war's alarms, you have more than enough of this stock in hand. There are several questions of which I would gladly write but I do not deem it prudent to commit my thoughts to paper. The questions do not regard myself, but the province. They have been uppermost in my mind for a long time, when we meet, you shall know all.[182]

What are these questions that would have been imprudent to commit to paper? Although Healy says they are not about himself, could they have concerned his status within the Jesuits, or the attitude of the Jesuits toward the Civil War and its attendant racial issues, given his attention to "the province"? Ihis style of writing, in which Healy proclaims that he cannot commit something to paper, will reappear in his journals as well. In the same letter, Healy talks briefly of church/state conflict in Belgium, and writes of the country's liberals that "Our Know-nothings will one day hold the same language--and think they are doing a patriotic act by banishing us."[183] As discussed in chapter one, Belgium's liberals were opposed to the country's Catholics, a division that determined not just one's political opinions during this era but where one shopped or whether or how one attended church. Healy may have seen parallels in this to anti-Catholic politics and rhetoric in the United States.

The Society of Jesus' 1866 catalog assigns Healy to Campania, a region of Southern Italy, listing him as spending time there, although it is not clear in what capacity.[184] Returning to the United States in 1866, Healy arrived at Georgetown as a teacher of philosophy. In 1868, he became a dean of the college and prefect of studies,

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[182] Patrick Healy to George Fenwick, undated, Correspondence [227 N]., 01/26/1864-12/19/1864, Archives of the Maryland Province of the Society of Jesus, Box 77, Folder 10, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.

[183] Ibid.

[184] *Catalogus Provinciae Marylandiae Societus Jesu Ineunte Anno MDCCCLXVI*, 21, *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu*, accessed June 16, 2019,http://www.sjweb.info/arsi/documents/MARYLANDIAE_1866-lowquality.pdf

meaning he was in charge of coordinating the educational mission of the college. We do not have diaries from this period, unfortunately, so it is hard to know what Healy thought of this new challenge. Surely after his tenure at Holy Cross and after obtaining his PhD, teaching seemed less intimidating than it had at first. The Society's catalog for the years in which he was a teacher are helpful in understanding what his duties were; among other things he was the director of the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the popularity of which had expanded in the post-Civil War era at Georgetown.[185]

It seems like Reconstruction, which would have been on the minds of nearly everyone else in the country, was of little interest to Healy, or at least we have no record of his thoughts on the matter. It is possible he had expansive and fraught thoughts on the topic, but it is also possible that he thought little to nothing of it. However, it is also worth noting that there are many other places where Healy draws attention to his silences, almost all having to do with race in some form. Perhaps that is the case here as well.

The next year, 1872, we have a letter from Healy to Richard Clarke, the founder of the United States Catholic Historical Society, on the topic of Mexican history. Specifically, Healy pondered in the letter whether the Mexica or Aztec empire could have been descendants of the Phoenicians.[186] Presumably he wrote to Clarke on this topic due to Clarke's expertise in pre-Columbian America, although his research focused on Newfoundland and Greenland. This letter gives us a hint into Healy's wide-ranging

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[185] *Catalogus Provinciae Marylandiae Societus Jesu Ineunte Anno MDCCCLXIX*, 13, *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu*, accessed June 16, 2019, http://www.sjweb.info/arsi/documents/MARYLANDIAE_1869-lowquality.pdf

[186] Patrick Healy to Richard Clarke, May 9, 1872, Clarke, Richard H. Papers, Box 1, Folder 6, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.

intellectual curiosities; though he did not seem to teach on this topic, it nonetheless intrigued him and he sought out further information on it.

In 1873, Patrick Healy became president of Georgetown. This was a not entirely unexpected ascension from his position as dean, which he held for four years prior to becoming president. Healy's term would, in retrospect, become known for a number of changes to the structure and curriculum of the university, reorganizing the law and medical schools and improving the quality of teaching among the undergraduates.[187] A note: though rector and president would later become separate offices at Georgetown, they were then one and the same.

An 1874 letter from one of Healy's sisters sheds some light on his familial relationships during this period. Though it is signed simply by "Sr. Healy," it seems likely due to it being from the Hotel Dieu of St. Joseph and the references to Eliza Healy that it was by Josephine Amanda Healy, one of the Healy siblings who died relatively young.[188] It is interesting that Josephine signed it "Sr. Healy" and not with the name she would have taken at the convent. It could not be written by Martha Healy, as she left the order she joined more than a decade earlier.

She begins by writing that Eliza will soon be joining her at the Hotel Dieu: "I suppose that now you are perfectly satisfied since Eliza is going to enter Religious life, I expect to see her by Thursday next, I have looked forward with such pleasure to the time when she would come."[189] From there, she lays out the day to day of her life, listing her

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[187] Ibid., 162-163.

[188] Josephine Healy to Patrick Healy, April 15, 1874, Correspondence, A-L., 01/01/1853-12/31/1884, Correspondence & Manuscripts Series, Healy, Patrick F., S.J. Papers, Box 2, Folder 2, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.

[189] Ibid.

routine of prayer and service to the poor. One can imagine Josephine writing to her brother by candlelight, taking care to list out the particulars of her day. She closes the letter by writing: "Good bye and once more many thanks for your two kind letters, which I hope will not be the last but that you will favor me again with the like. Hoping that you remember me often in your fervent prayers."[190] We do not have any of these letters from Patrick to Josephine, unfortunately.

Healy's signature achievement at Georgetown would be Healy Hall, a large building that still dominates the Georgetown University campus to this day. He laid the cornerstone in 1877, and the building was completed in 1879. In 1878, Healy undertook a trip meant to fundraise for Georgetown, namely to bankroll the building. He admits that "to leave all, teachers, boys, friends, building, debts and all" was difficult, but he intended to do so regardless.[191] The trip began with a ship voyage through Panama to San Francisco. Being on a ship made Healy "squeamish," but he kept careful note of his changing surroundings throughout the trip.[192]

In Panama, notably, he wrote that "the negroes are intelligent and mostly able to read or write."[193] Is this a form of Healy separating himself from 'the negroes," by writing about them as if most Americans would not have considered him to be one of them? Missing is any sense that he might identify with this particular group of people;

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[190] Ibid.

[191] November 30, 1878, Diary, November 30, 1878-January 7, 1879, trip to San Francisco across Panama, Box 1, Folder 2, Record group 8.1, Patrick F. Healy, S.J. Papers, College of the Holy Cross Archives & Special Collections, Worcester, Massachusetts.

[192] December 2, 1878, Diary, November 30, 1878-January 7, 1879, trip to San Francisco across Panama, Box 1, Folder 2, Record group 8.1, Patrick F. Healy, S.J. Papers, College of the Holy Cross Archives & Special Collections, Worcester, Massachusetts.

[193] December 9, 1878, Diary, November 30, 1878-January 7, 1879, trip to San Francisco across Panama, Box 1, Folder 2, Record group 8.1, Patrick F. Healy, S.J. Papers, College of the Holy Cross Archives & Special Collections, Worcester, Massachusetts.

just as when he and his siblings saw the Ethiopian Serenaders, any identification with blackness is absent. He also kept up conversations with numerous people on board the ship. In one instance, he spoke with "Luna, a gentleman whose brother is an SJ now & scholastic in Europe. He says the clergy are not allowed to wear the clerical dress in public."[194] In another, he spoke with "an Irishman who says he detects my Irish accent."[195] As O'Toole notes, the idea of Healy having an Irish accent is somewhat laughable; he was rarely around his Irish father after a fairly young age, and nobody but this particular Irishman made comment of it in his later life.[196] However, the fact that he seems to have taken pride in someone else affirming his Irish-American identity is interesting. Who does Healy imagine as his reader here? Who is he recording this Irish-Americanness for?

In 1878, we have a letter from an acquaintance as well as a diary from a fundraising trip across the country. The letter is a curious object; it is signed by a Susie who addresses Healy as "my darling uncle."[197] There is no Susan or Susie listed in Healy's accounting of his family tree later in life, assuming that "uncle" is being used here quite loosely to refer to an older male family member rather than in its strictest sense, and neither of Healy's siblings who had children had a child named Susan or Susie. Perhaps Susie was the child of a close friend or former parishioner who had grown attached to Healy.

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[194] December 16, 1878, Diary, November 30, 1878-January 7, 1879, trip to San Francisco across Panama, Box 1, Folder 2, Record group 8.1, Patrick F. Healy, S.J. Papers, College of the Holy Cross Archives & Special Collections, Worcester, Massachusetts.
[195] Ibid.
[196] O'Toole, *Passing for White*, 166-167.
[197] Unknown to Patrick Healy, December 8, 1878, Correspondence, A-L., 01/01/1853-12/31/1884, Correspondence & Manuscripts Series, Healy, Patrick F., S.J. Papers, Box 2, Folder 2, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.

Susie seems to be aware of Healy's travels: "My not hearing from you causes me to feel very anxious. I earnestly hope you are feeling better than when I last saw you. I am sure your trip will be very beneficial to your health if you will only rest and not think of home at all."[198] Susie must have been close to Healy if she was aware of his travels and worried for his health. What did it mean that he should "rest and not think of home at all"? Perhaps she sensed that the situation at Georgetown was causing him some stress and thought avoiding it for a period of time would do him some good.

Healy largely seems to have enjoyed his voyage to San Francisco and the opportunity to see new sights and people. In December, he remarked that some Mexicans on board "sing & pray well," mentioning a conversation with a few of them.[199] Seemingly, however, his health began to interfere with his enjoyment of the journey. He wrote on December 24th that he wanted to write an obituary for Fr. Joseph O'Hagan, his traveling companion from Georgetown who had taken ill and died on board, but "my head upsets the labor."[200] On December 26th, "Yesterday I tried but was unable to say my office. This morning I got through it with comparative ease."[201] This was presumably due to health issues.

On the 27th, he arrived in San Francisco, stayed there for a few months, and then began the journey back toward Georgetown, stopping frequently along the way to ask

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[198] Ibid.

[199] December 20, 1878, Diary, November 30, 1878-January 7, 1879, trip to San Francisco across Panama, Box 1, Folder 2, Record group 8.1, Patrick F. Healy, S.J. Papers, College of the Holy Cross Archives & Special Collections, Worcester, Massachusetts.

[200] December 24, 1878, Diary, November 30, 1878-January 7, 1879, trip to San Francisco across Panama, Box 1, Folder 2, Record group 8.1, Patrick F. Healy, S.J. Papers, College of the Holy Cross Archives & Special Collections, Worcester, Massachusetts.

[201] December 26, 1878, Diary, November 30, 1878-January 7, 1879, trip to San Francisco across Panama, Box 1, Folder 2, Record group 8.1, Patrick F. Healy, S.J. Papers, College of the Holy Cross Archives & Special Collections, Worcester, Massachusetts.

alumni of the school and lay Catholics for donations.[202] Healy did not seem embarrassed to be asking for cash, and would often see multiple people in a single day, often encompassing dozens within a single town or city. Most of the people he tapped were alumni, but other potential benefactors were met with as well, such as wealthy Catholic laity who had donated to Georgetown in the past.

1879 continued the voyage. It is worth noting that Healy was much more outward-thinking in his travel journals than when he was at home and was much more likely to reflect on other people, whereas at home he tended to focus only on himself. He wrote on a train from San Francisco of "A silent man with a Mexican wife. He did not seem happy--no attention to his wife."[203] Healy arrived in Utah on July 24th, a day celebrated in the state as Pioneer Day, commemorating the day Mormon pioneers entered the Salt Lake Valley in 1847. Healy was intrigued by many aspects of Utah, but not impressed. For example, he wrote of the city's Mormon temple that "it is massive but not elegant."[204] He also noted that to the east of the temple was "Brigham Young's harem."[205] The institution of polygamy troubled Healy, as did the church's control of the state. He saw the Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Association, a chain of department stores owned by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, as one symptom of this:

> Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution, a big concern that practically owns the less fortunate. A gentile has but little chance against the children of light. Here comes George, my Mormon waiter. An Englishman--I find many English, some

[202] December 27, 1878, Diary, November 30, 1878-January 7, 1879, trip to San Francisco across Panama, Box 1, Folder 2, Record group 8.1, Patrick F. Healy, S.J. Papers, College of the Holy Cross Archives & Special Collections, Worcester, Massachusetts.
[203] July 22, 1879, Diary (1879 - 1880)., 01/01/1879-12/29/1880, Box 1, Folder 1, Diaries Series, Healy, Patrick F., S.J. Papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.
[204] July 24, 1879, Diary (1879 - 1880)., 01/01/1879-12/29/1880, Box 1, Folder 1, Diaries Series, Healy, Patrick F., S.J. Papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.
[205] Ibid.

> Scotch, Welsh, Danes & Swedes. There are some fine-looking women, probably offspring of early settlers. I hear that the children do not favor the institution. On my whim I chatter with some of the guests and particularly with a Jewish clothier, who hates here.[206]

Healy's note of the "Jewish clothier" is interesting; he underlined "Jewish" to draw attention to it, perhaps seeing this designation as somewhat exotic.

Continuing on his journey, Healy was seldom impressed by what he saw. He wrote of a church in Wyoming that "The cathedral is a poor structure, barely kept, no order whatever."[207] In Denver, he was a little happier, writing about saying mass at St. Mary's Academy, an institution founded by the Sisters of Loretto.[208] He was also impressed by the area's natural beauty and rock formations.[209]

Throughout all of his observations, Healy also lets the reader know who he has sought out to discuss donations, and what interesting characters he met while traveling on the train or by foot. We also get a sense of Healy's health problems and how they interfered with his day-to-day life. He wrote on August 2nd, 1879 that he asked for a doctor and that "D. Conkins came again w/ 4 pills for today & some castor oil for tomorrow. During today I had about six passages."[210] His condition did not improve, as he wrote a few days later that he was "Much worse. Spent the day in bed. Vomiting + purging… I stuck to ice & rice water. The flies here are… abominable."[211] Throughout

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[206] Ibid.
[207] July 27, 1879, Diary (1879 - 1880)., 01/01/1879-12/29/1880, Box 1, Folder 1, Diaries Series, Healy, Patrick F., S.J. Papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.
[208] July 28, 1879, Diary (1879 - 1880)., 01/01/1879-12/29/1880, Box 1, Folder 1, Diaries Series, Healy, Patrick F., S.J. Papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.
[209] Ibid.
[210] August 2, 1879, Diary (1879 - 1880)., 01/01/1879-12/29/1880, Box 1, Folder 1, Diaries Series, Healy, Patrick F., S.J. Papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.
[211] August 5, 1879, Diary (1879 - 1880)., 01/01/1879-12/29/1880, Box 1, Folder 1, Diaries Series, Healy, Patrick F., S.J. Papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.

this trip he also received significant amounts of correspondence from John Mulally, a fellow Jesuit at Georgetown. Mulally kept Healy apprised of events happening at the school and gave him leads on donors and others who Healy might want to meet with.

Healy continued through Kansas City and Chicago, meeting potential donors all along the way and keeping a close record of who he saw and what he did:

> Mrs. M's coachmen came by 930. I went to see the Bridge. Then to 202 Second St where I met Ford Reigne & promised to call on his wife. Afterward to 214 Christmas, where I met another… Afterwards to 6th and Olive where I met Mr Farrish & left my card for Posey. I also left one for Tom Rudd & Normita. I couldn't find Mr. Gibbons. I saw John Dicken & sent my regrets to the family thru him. Mr Wulgh's at St Paul's. To Mrs Wm Lee's--she was as bright as ever--Mrs. Dr. Johnson. The Dr. Annie & Willie were out.[212]

He continued through Milwaukee and other parts of the midwest and into New York and Maine. He struggled with another intense bout of illness during this leg of the trip but pressed on, arriving home in November of 1879. In the spring of 1880 he went back out on the road, visiting Philadelphia and a few other towns in Pennsylvania in search of more donors.

In 1882, Healy resigned as rector of Georgetown due to his poor health, which had continued to decline and would be a problem for the remaining three decades of his life. His resignation was also not entirely out of character for Georgetown rectors of the period, who commonly stayed in office for no more than half a decade or so, though there was no firm rule on the subject. The following year, Healy took a sabbatical of sorts and visited Alaska with Michael Healy, who was by then a captain in the United States Revenue Cutter Service, the predecessor to the Coast Guard. The journey took place from May 17 to October 15 of 1883. As he had on other occasions in which he traveled, Healy

[212] August 13, 1879, Diary (1879 - 1880)., 01/01/1879-12/29/1880, Box 1, Folder 1, Diaries Series, Healy, Patrick F., S.J. Papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.

made note of the people and sights he saw. Of particular interest on this trip, though, are his impressions of Native Alaskans, of which he had a lot to say. One of his first observations was that

> the natives bear cold amazingly well. They sit in water, on the damp ground, even go barefooted through the snow without seeming suffering. The doctor in residence says that he really does not know of any particular ailment to which they are subject. Syphilis is undermining them & sometimes phthisis results from it. Otherwise no consumption, nor laryngitis…[213]

How does Healy separate himself here from the indigenous people? They are seen as not just culturally but physically different from him in their ability to weather the cold.

Illness stalked Healy even on his trip that was supposed to be a reprieve from it. He wrote in July that

> I had to remain in bed all day. The doctor gave me some quinine & bromide but they failed to relieve… At 130 I took two tablespoon fulls of castor oil and after these hours began to feel better. It operated mildly and I gradually sank to sleep. A ship is a poor place for an invalid. My project for saying mass went under.[214]

A ship was doubtless a poor place for Healy to be ill, given his previous documented instances of seasickness.

He got well enough to go on shore a few times during this period. In one instance, he had an opportunity to observe a group performing a dance and then socializing afterward:

> A woman had her baby slung on her back inside the parka & not in the hood. Her back had slipped & baby got too low. To right things, the woman stood forward & head down & catch the papoose as it slid forward. I had occasion to observe that

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[213] June 13, 1883, Diary, May 17-October 15, 1883, trip to Alaska with Michael Healy, Record Group 8.1, Box 1, Folder 4, Patrick F. Healy, S.J. Papers, College of the Holy Cross Archives & Special Collections, Worcester, Massachusetts.

[214] July 24, 1883, Diary, May 17-October 15, 1883, trip to Alaska with Michael Healy, Record Group 8.1, Box 1, Folder 4, Patrick F. Healy, S.J. Papers, College of the Holy Cross Archives & Special Collections, Worcester, Massachusetts.

> the breeches worn by both sexes first cover the groin & hips. The mountain called 'ears' receives its name from two prominent crags a little north of the crest that at a distance look like rabbits' ears. As one gets used to these people's faces, habit softens their uncomeliness and gradually the repulsive are considered comely and so a plain face becomes pretty. When a lady in her charm shall appear, she will a goddess seem. Beauty is relative as the standard various among nations.[215]

He observes the clothing and mannerisms of an indigenous woman and finds them curious. Moreover, he describes the Native Alaskans as "repulsive" in appearance but admits that "beauty is relative." The back of the journal for this trip is informative as well. Healy kept a list of Inuit words like "parka" and "kayak" with definitions in English, presumably as a glossary for a future reader or for his own education.[216]

An 1885 passport declared Healy to be 5'10" and described his physical appearance: "forehead high, eyes gray, nose large, mouth medium, chin round, hair gray, complexion light, face oval."[217] This tracks with most available photographs of Healy. In younger life, before going gray, his hair appears to have been black or dark brown, although it is difficult to tell in a black and white photograph. This document gives us some insight into how Healy was seen by his contemporaries; Healy seems to have firmly been seen as white, with his "light" complexion.

Healy's 1886-1887 diary contains something very unusual in the back: genealogical notes. It is unclear why this was the time when he finally put pen to paper on this particular topic. He wrote:

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[215] August 3, 1883, Diary, May 17-October 15, 1883, trip to Alaska with Michael Healy, Record Group 8.1, Box 1, Folder 4, Patrick F. Healy, S.J. Papers, College of the Holy Cross Archives & Special Collections, Worcester, Massachusetts.

[216] Diary, May 17-October 15, 1883, trip to Alaska with Michael Healy, Record Group 8.1, Box 1, Folder 4, Patrick F. Healy, S.J. Papers, College of the Holy Cross Archives & Special Collections, Worcester, Massachusetts.

[217] Passport, Documents & Awards, 1841-1892., 01/01/1841-12/31/1892, Box 2, Folder 4, Correspondence & Manuscripts Series, Healy, Patrick F. S.J. Papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.

> Michel (sic) Healy and Honoria Morris, his wife, lived in Ballinamore, near Athlone, county Roscommon, Ireland. They had five daughters, and two sons, Patrick [unclear word], a bachelor, and Michel (sic) Morris, who came to America in 1819. The daughters, Margaret, Sarah, Ann, and Mary, and one other whose name I do not remember, who only lived six months after she came from school. Ann and Sarah married two brothers named Rafferty. One was a mason, the other an architect. Margaret married an architect named O'Farrell, when last heard from were living in the county Leitrim. One son of theirs came to America. Sarah being unfortunate went back home to [unclear word] with six children. She, her husband, and three children died there. The surviving three came to America in 1834. Ann and her husband died in New York (not totally sure on that). Also two of the surviving children of Sarah, the remaining one died in San Francisco. Mary Healy married Andrew Hallan, he came to America in 1819, his wife and family in 1822. They are both dead. Left his sons and four daughters. Maria, and his brother Malachi, are the only ones left of the family.[218]

This constitutes the most detailed information we have available regarding the Healy family tree. Healy also went on to sketch out an actual family tree with this information, along with a list of family members and their children currently living in the United States. He includes in this family tree both his parents, and this is the only time in print that he mentions the name or existence of his mother: Eliza Clark.[219]

What are we to make of this? Why did Healy list out his family in this manner? Was it for his own memory or for an imagined audience? As we will see later, Patrick suggested that James Healy's diaries be donated to College of the Holy Cross, presumably so others could have access to them for research and other purposes. Perhaps he envisioned a similar fate for his own diaries and wanted to leave a record of his family tree. It is interesting that he directly mentions Eliza Clark, but does not put an "m." for marriage between her name and Michael Healy's in his list as he does with the other

[218] Diary, January 1, 1886-December 2, 1887, trip to Europe and genealogical notes and recipes, Box 1, Folder 7, College of the Holy Cross Archives & Special Collections, Worcester, Massachusetts.
[219] Ibid.

mentioned couples, instead connecting them with a dash.[220] However, he does not mention any of Clark's family.

In 1888, a few letters shed some light on Healy's life post-Georgetown. Both are to James Havens Richards, S.J., who was rector of Georgetown at the time. All three were written from Portland, Maine, where James was bishop and where Healy seems to have been recuperating at the time. The first seems to be a list of potential donors from Healy's time in office, with rankings of how likely they are to give and where they can be found.[221] The second, dated December 4th, seems to be responding to an invitation to Georgetown's centennial celebration. Healy protests that he is in poor health and that the journey to Georgetown and the celebration itself would be too much strain on him.[222] In a letter later that same month, Healy wishes the community at Georgetown a merry Christmas and happy new year, joking that he likes a certain brand of liquor but James does not, writing that "some people are hard to educate."[223]

1891 begins a slightly more eventful portion of Healy's life. He was appointed to St. Joseph's Church in Providence, Rhode Island, in that year. In 1892 he was appointed to attend the 24th General Congregation, the regular meeting of all Jesuits, held that year in Loyola, Spain. Healy kept a record of his travels to and from the congregation, as well as the events within it, with little comment on his personal thoughts or feelings on the

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[220] Ibid.

[221] Patrick F. Healy to J. Havens Richards, November 12, 1888, Outgoing Correspondence., 01/01/1871-12/31/1903, Box 2, Folder 1, Correspondence & Manuscripts Series, Healy, Patrick. F., S.J. Papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.

[222] Patrick F. Healy to J. Havens Richards, December 4, 1888, Outgoing Correspondence., 01/01/1871-12/31/1903, Box 2, Folder 1, Correspondence & Manuscripts Series, Healy, Patrick. F., S.J. Papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.

[223] Patrick F. Healy to J. Havens Richard, December 22, 1888, Outgoing Correspondence., 01/01/1871-12/31/1903, Box 2, Folder 1, Correspondence & Manuscripts Series, Healy, Patrick. F., S.J. Papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.

events that transpired. Among other topics, those assembled discussed the writing of a history of the Society of Jesus, funding for missions, provinces, and colleges, and taking greater care with not involving "Ours" in "temporal or political matters."[224] Upon returning home, he wrote that "it is pleasant to sleep in one's own bed."[225]

Outside of his General Congregation adventure, Healy's life in Providence was what would become fairly typical for him in his later years. He largely absorbed his time in writing and reading letters, visiting parishioners and friends, and studying. "I write so many letters that I do not pretend to keep the record of them," he wrote in 1893.[226] He read widely, from *Don Quixote* to "books on women" during this period.[227] Despite his busy parish life and poor health, Healy kept up his intellectual pursuits.

In 1894, Healy was appointed to St. Lawrence O'Toole in New York City, which would become known as St. Ignatius Loyola in 1898. He would spend roughly a decade there. Healy occupied much of his time in the same ways that he had occupied it in Rhode Island, with letter-writing, visits, and study. Saying mass and taking confessions took up a good portion of the average day, and he often made note of just how many confessions he heard, writing on February 15, 1897 that he had heard 118 confessions that day.[228] A fairly typical journal entry from this period is an example from January 30,

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[224] *For Matters of Greater Moment: The First Thirty Jesuit General Congregations, a Brief History and a Translation of the Decrees* trans. John W. Padberg S.J., Martin D. O'Keefe S.J., John L. McCarthy S.J. (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1994), 479-490.
[225] January 1, 1893, Diaries, (1892 - 1896)., 01/01/1892-12/31/1896, Box 1, Folder 2, Diaries Series, Healy, Patrick F. S.J. Papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.
[226] August 15, 1893, Diaries, (1892 - 1896)., 01/01/1892-12/31/1896, Box 1, Folder 2, Diaries Series, Healy, Patrick F. S.J. Papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.
[227] May 28, 1893, Diaries, (1892 - 1896)., 01/01/1892-12/31/1896, Box 1, Folder 2, Diaries Series, Healy, Patrick F. S.J. Papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.
[228] February 15, 1897, Diaries, (1897 - 1899)., 01/01/1897-12/31/1899, Box 1, Folder 3, Diaries Series, Healy, Patrick F. S.J. Papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.

1898. He writes that "I said mass at 10 am and I spoke of Our Lord's rebuke to them who feared while He was with them. Too sharp, I fear."[229] Again, it is unclear who Healy imagines as his audience; is this for his own recordkeeping or for a future reader? He also mentioned that he baptized four children that day, wrote and received letters, and visited a Mrs. Major.[230] During his time in New York City, he also made occasional jaunts to other parts of the city such as Brooklyn and Coney Island.

Healy remained committed to studying and frequently mentioned what he was reading at any given time. For example, in February of 1897, he wrote that he "read over Ireland's 'The Church and the Age.' He is eloquent but does not have many arrows in his quiver."[231] This might position Healy as someone opposed to Americanism, the philosophy that the Catholic Church should accommodate the modern age in certain ways, though we do not have other commentaries from him on the topic. Unfortunately, we also do not have a record of his reactions to Ireland's work on racial equality. On other occasions, Healy read Biblical commentaries and books on the history of Jerusalem.

Healy remained connected to Georgetown during this period; in 1895, we have a letter from Healy to Father John J. Ryan, S.J., who seemingly was asking for advice on what textbooks to use. "If you had submitted to me a personal question, I would most willingly gratify you, whom I have known so long," Healy wrote to Ryan. "But as there is question of a book which I have never seen, of its adaptation to a class I have never taught, of its value compared with other books which also I have never read. I do not see

[229] January 30, 1898, Diaries, (1897 - 1899)., 01/01/1897-12/31/1899, Box 1, Folder 3, Diaries Series, Healy, Patrick F. S.J. Papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.
[230] Ibid.
[231] February 2, 1897, Diaries, (1897 - 1899)., 01/01/1897-12/31/1899, Box 1, Folder 3, Diaries Series, Healy, Patrick F. S.J. Papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.

any way."[232] The somewhat sharp tone of this letter is unexpected from Healy, who by and large in letters was gracious and even overly conciliatory.

In August of 1900, Patrick Healy's life was changed by the death of James Healy. Though he is always referred to in Patrick's diaries as "Bishop Healy," never "James" or "my brother" or similar less formal modes of address, their relationship seems to have been close and it seems likely that Patrick was deeply affected by James' death. This is shown by his diary entry for the day of James' death, one of the only instances in which James is referred to as Patrick's "brother," which reads in part:

> Today at 1 pm my good brother died in Portland after a short illness… at noon he called Fr. Dr. O'Brien and asked for the last sacraments--when he had received them, with a pleased look he closed his eyes & never reopened them. Fr. Dr. O broke the sad news to me. Everybody is so kind. God rest them.[233]

The passage is touching in its simplicity and in Healy's remark on the kindness of others. Additionally, it is worth noting that James seems to have died a "good" Catholic death, preceded by last rites.

This is more detail than we would normally receive about somebody's death from Patrick, who tended to be terse and understated in his journals, no matter the subject. It is worth thinking about the different modes of grieving available to Healy during this period. As a priest, he was able to say mass for James, and channel his grief into works of the church. As a brother, though, he may have felt somewhat alone in the world and doubtless felt James' loss tremendously. Healy was so deeply affected by his grief that he was medically advised to not attend James's funeral. He wrote that "as I was very much

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[232] Patrick F. Healy to John J. Ryan, February 8, 1895, Outgoing Correspondence., 01/01/1871-12/31/1903, Box 2, Folder 1, Correspondence & Manuscripts Series, Healy, Patrick F. S.J. Papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.

[233] August 5, 1900, Diaries, (1900 - 1904)., 01/01/1900-12/31/1904, Diaries series, Box 1, folder 4, Healy, Patrick F., S.J. papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Georgetown University.

shaken Dr. McD told me not to go to the funeral" and then a day later that "it is agreed that I must not go tomorrow."[234]

James's death would continue to affect Healy through the rest of the year. "So many things to arrange," he wrote a few days after the funeral. "What to do with books &c. I hardly know which way to turn."[235] A month later, he received a letter from his sister Eliza that troubled him: "she seems to be worried when she should be strong. I cannot satisfy her questions and will not, wants to know all details."[236] Presumably by this he meant the details of James's death. It seems somewhat odd that he demands that Eliza be strong when he has been grieving so heavily. In December, he read James's diaries from when he was a student College of the Holy Cross and wrote that "I realize from it how much I have forgotten and what kindly feelings he had for the boys--the S.J.s do not shine forth with gentleness, cleverness, or generosity."[237]

A flurry of correspondence to Patrick accompanied the death of James Healy, much of it speaking to a close relationship between the two brothers. A letter from Eliza Carrigan, Healy's first cousin once removed on his father's side, affirmed that "I know what a loss it must be to you, you have both been so devoted to each other."[238] Another relative, Clara Scott, wrote "how sweet it was that God spared him to celebrate his

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[234] August 7, August 8, 1900, Diaries, (1900 - 1904)., 01/01/1900-12/31/1904, Diaries series, Box 1, folder 4, Healy, Patrick F., S.J. papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Georgetown University.
[235] August 13, 1900, Diaries, (1900 - 1904)., 01/01/1900-12/31/1904, Diaries series, Box 1, folder 4, Healy, Patrick F., S.J. papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Georgetown University.
[236] September 21, 1900, Diaries, (1900 - 1904)., 01/01/1900-12/31/1904, Diaries series, Box 1, folder 4, Healy, Patrick F., S.J. papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Georgetown University.
[237] December 10, 1900, Diaries, (1900 - 1904)., 01/01/1900-12/31/1904, Diaries series, Box 1, folder 4, Healy, Patrick F., S.J. papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Georgetown University.
[238] Eliza Carrigan to Patrick Healy, August 9, 1900, Letters of condolence on the death of Bishop James Healy, 1900, Box 2, Folder 5, Record Group 8.1, Patrick F. Healy, S.J. Papers, College of the Holy Cross Archives & Special Collections, Worcester, Massachusetts.

Jubilee, his work completed, his crown was awaiting him! How happy those who are ever ready for a sudden call."[239] A Joseph O'Kane, a clerk from city hall in Boston, wrote movingly of his friendships with both James and Sherwood:

> Although I never had the pleasure of making your acquaintance, I know you will pardon me for offering you my sincere and heartfelt sympathy on account of the death of the dear bishop, your venerable brother, whom I had known and loved as a father and friend for upwards of forty years. It was to him that I made my first confession in the old Cathedral in Franklin street, Boston, and I served him as an altar boy there and in the pro-cathedral which succeeded it for many years… I hope that a day will come when I shall have the happiness of meeting him and dear Father Sherwood, who was also the friend of my wife and myself, in heaven, where there will be no more partings.[240]

Mary Healy, Michael Healy's wife, wrote a very interesting letter to Patrick some months after James' death. "I received a copy of the Bishop's will," she wrote. "I am surprised he did not leave us what he owes us, I expected that and nothing more… I am sorry for you that he died for I know you must miss him greatly."[241] It is interesting that she tempers this with an admission that James was very dear to Patrick. She went on to say that

> I must tell you right here I never forgave the Bishop for the manner he treated and talked of Fred. I was shocked not only as a Bishop but as an uncle to treat his nephew that way and I am sorry he died leaving that impression behind him however it will be all the same a hundred years hence.[242]

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[239] Clara Scott to Patrick Healy, August 7, 1900, Letters of condolence on the death of Bishop James Healy, 1900, Box 2, Folder 5, Record Group 8.1, Patrick F. Healy, S.J. Papers, College of the Holy Cross Archives & Special Collections, Worcester, Massachusetts.

[240] Joseph O'Kane to Patrick Healy, August 9, 1900, Letters of condolence on the death of Bishop James Healy, 1900, Box 2, Folder 7, Record Group 8.1, Patrick F. Healy, S.J. Papers, College of the Holy Cross Archives & Special Collections, Worcester, Massachusetts.

[241] Mary Healy to Patrick Healy, November 30, 1900, Letters of condolence on the death of Bishop James Healy, 1900, Box 2, Folder 5, Record Group 8.1, Patrick F. Healy, S.J. Papers, College of the Holy Cross Archives & Special Collections, Worcester, Massachusetts.

[242] Ibid.

What Mary refers to here is unclear. What did James do to or say about Mary and Michael's son Fred? It is possible it had to do with the events of 1896, four years prior, in which Fred awoke from a week of drunken revelry in San Francisco to find himself married to a woman he did not know.[243] Perhaps James had expressed strong disapproval of this incident. It seems likely that Mary and Patrick had a close relationship if it was possible for her to bring up family discord and James' wrongdoings so soon after his death, which she acknowledged must have been devastating for Patrick.

In 1902, Healy wrote to Joseph F. Hanselman, S.J., then president of College of the Holy Cross. He rejected an invitation to meet with the newly formed alumni association of the college, writing that "I have long since abstained from attending meetings of other associations, even dinners," presumably due to poor health.[244] However, he offered something else to Hanselman: James Healy's diaries. He mentioned in the letter that he had already supplied an 1848-1849 school diary, and hoped to secure more of James's papers for the college's archives.[245] This gives us a window into what Patrick potentially saw as the final destination of his own diaries.

In 1903, Healy continued his quiet life in New York. He read about John Paul Jones and Alexander Hamilton, and focused on writing his sermons.[246] On his birthday,

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[243] O'Toole, *Passing for White*, 218.

[244] Patrick Healy to Joseph F. Hanselman, May 14, 1902, Letter to Rev. Joseph F. Hanselman, S.J., May 14, 1902, Record Group 8.1, Box 2, Folder 3, Rev. Patrick F. Healy, S.J. Papers, College of the Holy Cross Archives & Special Collections, Worcester, Massachusetts.

[245] Ibid.

[246] January 23, 1903 and February 16, 1903, Diaries, (1900 - 1904)., 01/01/1900-12/31/1904, Diaries series, Box 1, folder 4, Healy, Patrick F., S.J. papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Georgetown University.

he mentioned that it brought on "contrary thoughts."[247] It is not entirely clear what Healy meant by this or what the thoughts were about. Otherwise, he was occupied by quotidian strife, writing that "Fr Bric and I not at one about window closing."[248] He noted the death of Pope Leo XIII as well.[249] He began to complain more frequently of various aches and pains and illnesses, along with a sense that he was increasingly forgetful.

In 1904, Michael Healy Jr. died of a heart attack. Patrick wrote that he had received "news that my brother Capt. M.A. Healy died on this day in S. Francisco, of heart failure. I telegraphed sympathy."[250] This death does not seem to have affected Healy to the same extent as James' death, after which he was too shaken to attend the funeral and wrote about James numerous times in the following weeks and months in his diaries. Michael's death gets only the one mention.

Later that year, he wrote, seemingly apropos of nothing, that "There are many thoughts concerning this and dividing my mind: much that I would like to recall concerning feelings and past thoughts and regrets and so of other things that may not here be confided."[251] To what "this" refers is unclear; we may never know what exactly was troubling Healy here. It is tempting to speculate that this regards his family history, but Healy lived a long and interesting life in which his family was surely not the only thing that could have concerned him.

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[247] February 27, 1903, Diaries, (1900 - 1904)., 01/01/1900-12/31/1904, Diaries series, Box 1, folder 4, Healy, Patrick F., S.J. papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Georgetown University.
[248] April 5, 1903, Diaries, (1900 - 1904)., 01/01/1900-12/31/1904, Diaries series, Box 1, folder 4, Healy, Patrick F., S.J. papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Georgetown University.
[249] July 20, 1903, Diaries, (1900 - 1904)., 01/01/1900-12/31/1904, Diaries series, Box 1, folder 4, Healy, Patrick F., S.J. papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Georgetown University.
[250] August 31, 1904, Diaries, (1900 - 1904)., 01/01/1900-12/31/1904, Diaries series, Box 1, folder 4, Healy, Patrick F., S.J. papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Georgetown University.
[251] December 1, 1904, Diaries, (1900 - 1904)., 01/01/1900-12/31/1904, Diaries series, Box 1, folder 4, Healy, Patrick F., S.J. papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Georgetown University.

In 1905, Healy's diaries were preoccupied with his nephew, Fred, Michael Healy Jr.'s son. Fred visited him on February 12, went to Colorado Springs, and then returned to Patrick on February 27th. On this second occasion, Patrick wrote that "we parted good friends + sympathetic. God help him."[252] He received a letter from Fred on March 15th that "requires much more thought than I can give so soon--much to think over, with all haste repudiated for the future."[253] Healy does not let us know what exactly required so much thought. He wrote back to Fred a week later, writing that "he is altogether too precious + now comes the penance. Will he realize he is altogether too precious? Probably the least said the better."[254] It is unclear what exactly Fred had done or said that "the least said the better," and Healy does not explain further what he meant. Does Healy mean "precious" as in Fred's life was valuable, or "precious" as in he was being affected or pretentious? As mentioned previously, Fred was no stranger to scandal or controversy, having married a woman he did not know after a week of carousing in San Francisco as a young man. He would have, at the time of Patrick pondering his life and letters, recently returned from being stationed in the Philippines during the Spanish-American War, after which he stayed there for a few years.[255]

In 1906, Healy's diary entries began to grow sparse, his handwriting shaky, and his complaints of the feeling that his mind was slipping and his physical health failing increased. In 1906, he was sent to St. Joseph's College once again, where he served as a

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[252] February 27, 1905, Diaries, (1905 - 1906)., 01/01/1905-12/31/1906, Diaries series, Box 1, folder 5, Healy, Patrick F., S.J. papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Georgetown University.
[253] March 15, 1905, Diaries, (1905 - 1906)., 01/01/1905-12/31/1906, Diaries series, Box 1, folder 5, Healy, Patrick F., S.J. papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Georgetown University.
[254] March 23, 1905, Diaries, (1905 - 1906)., 01/01/1905-12/31/1906, Diaries series, Box 1, folder 5, Healy, Patrick F., S.J. papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Georgetown University.
[255] O'Toole, *Passing for White*, 218.

spiritual director. Little is known about his time there; a scant year later, however, he was relocated to Georgetown, where he seems to have spent the remainder of his life in the infirmary. On January 10, 1910, Healy died. A funeral followed for him two days later.

Healy rests to this day in the center of Georgetown's campus in a small Jesuit cemetery holding a few dozen other men connected to the university. It is a strange location; university buildings surround the cemetery on every side, and students bustle around it on their way to and from classes or social activities. Despite his close ties to his natal family throughout his life, Healy is not buried with them; in fact, to the best of my knowledge, none of the Healy siblings are buried together. He is instead buried with a group of other celibate men in the new family he joined, that of the Society of Jesus. This image is an instructive one with which to end our exploration of Healy's life; as much as he remained close to his natal family, he also very much belonged to a new one composed of other men who had taken the same vows as him.

CHAPTER 3

BODY AND SOUL

Healy's documentation of himself took two distinct forms: reflections based on the spiritual exercises of Ignatius of Loyola, and diaries. Obviously, the primary concern of his spiritual reflections were his thoughts on religion and spiritual concerns. However, a significant aspect of Healy's diaries was his chronicling of his body and mind, in particular his physical ailments, as well as his mental decline in later years. This aspect of his diaries highlights a peculiar sense of the self and its maladies that I think is worth paying attention to in our attempts to understand who Healy was as a person and how he thought about his life. Between the spiritual reflections and the diaries, we get a self-portrait of Healy's body, mind, and soul. This self-portrait gives unique insight not just into Healy but who he thought he was. Healy's spiritual reflections end before his era of serious diary-keeping and thus the era in which he explored his illness. However, the two inform each other thematically; themes from his spiritual reflections later pop up in his diaries.

What does it matter that we have these retreat notes from Healy? What do they tell us about him and about his religious life? They are a unique insight into his religious worldview and spiritual mindset. For a historian, they are an invaluable resource. It is a privilege to have a record of how Healy understood his religiosity and how he understood himself written in his own hand. This is a window like no other into his subjectivity. It is a record of how he *understood* his religiosity, not just of what his religiosity was. This is also a glimpse not into Healy the great man and institution-builder, but a more intimate Healy, one who worried that he was a bit of a gossip and fretted over his ailments.

The exercises are also an opportunity for thinking about both what made Healy ordinary as well as what made him extraordinary. Healy was obviously extraordinary in many of his life circumstances, but he was also in many important ways ordinary for a Jesuit; he served for decades in small parishes, toiling in obscurity, alongside his years in the spotlight at Georgetown University. Healy was ordinary among Jesuits in the fact that he undertook the exercises. At the same time, his individual insights and thoughts on the process made him unique.

Healy is unusual in that at no point does he sacralize his pain and illness. Rather, he simply notes their existence, often without complaint. Sacralization of pain in Catholicism has a long and storied history. Robert Orsi's *Thank You St. Jude: Women's Devotion to the Patron Saint of Hopeless Causes* deals extensively with the ways in which 20th century Catholic women understood pain and illness in religious terms.[256] Though Orsi's focus is a different century from the one Healy primarily lived in, Orsi identifies key components of American Catholic approaches to pain and suffering that stretch back into the nineteenth century. Namely, suffering was something that was to be borne with grace, even treasured, as a pathway to God's love. Orsi writes that "pain was alienable: coined from the bodies of the… sick, it could be taken away and applied to the welfare of the healthy in a redistributive economy of distress."[257] Illness went beyond the body of the ill person; it was an opportunity for the cultivation of holiness in those around them as well. Despite this ever-present framework of suffering and illness, Healy seems to be hesitant about connecting his illness to his religiosity. This sets him apart from other

[256] Robert Orsi, *Thank You St. Jude: Women's Devotion to the Patron Saint of Hopeless Causes* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996).
[257] Orsi, *Thank You St. Jude*, 157.

notable Catholics of his era, like Therese of Lisieux, who saw their suffering as redemptive in some way, whether personally or communally.

When we are thinking about Healy and his body, it is worthwhile to think about his relationship to race and racialization as concerns his body. Race seems to have been something projected upon Healy and not something that he himself put stock in, insofar as his whiteness figured for him not as a form of racialization, as we might think of it today, but as an absence of race itself. Illness, on the other hand, seems to have been an internal experience for Healy; it came from within his body, not from without.

What did Healy hope to accomplish by recording his illnesses? Why record even relatively embarrassing (think: gastrointestinal) bouts of illness for a future audience or for his own perusal? It is possible that recording his pain made it real for him. We do not know whether or how Healy complained of his ailments to others; it is possible that his was a solitary form of suffering. Writing down his illnesses and leaving a record of them could have been his way of processing his ailments in a socially acceptable way that did not involve burdening others with the knowledge of his suffering. Additionally, it is possible that Healy wanted to leave a full record of his life for a future reader, which necessarily included his wellbeing. As discussed in chapter two, Healy oversaw the transfer of James Healy's papers to College of the Holy Cross after his death. It seems likely that he thought of this as the destination for his papers as well, and imagined this information as necessary to get a complete picture of him and his life.

It is interesting to note that even though Healy seems to have dealt with various health problems throughout his life, it is not until relatively late in his life (the late 1870s, when he was in his mid-40s) that he starts to chronicle them in depth. Why is this? Part of

it is simply that this is the timeframe in which he began to keep a more regular diary, and it is also possible that age had exacerbated problems that previously were more manageable on a daily basis. His mental decline, on the other hand, seems to have been more firmly linked to age, as there is a clear line between him never mentioning such symptoms and the symptoms suddenly appearing in his diaries.

In order to understand the spiritual exercises in the life and writing of Patrick Healy, we must understand their origins and context. In 1521, a Spanish soldier named Inigo Lopez de Loyola became gravely injured. A cannonball severely wounded both his legs during a battle in Pamplona. Loyola had led a rollicking life of womanizing and drinking up until that point.[258] While recovering, devoid of other possible entertainments, he read about the lives of the Catholic saints and began an inner transformation that would shape the rest of his life. This was not a quick change, but one drawn out over time, in which he felt he came to better understand himself and his relationship to God. Upon recovering from his injuries, he went to a Benedictine monastery in Montserrat where he ritually gave up his soldier's sword and dagger in favor of the staff associated with pilgrims and beggar's clothing.[259] Journeying to Manresa, Inigo meditated on the life of Jesus and began to formulate what would become known as the Ignatian spiritual exercises. The exercises are a process by which one discerns the will of God in their life.

The Ignatian spiritual exercises are a key component of the life of a Jesuit. They are a series of exercises laid out by Ignatius of Loyola that a Jesuit is taken through by another Jesuit, acting as a spiritual director. The exercises are designed to help the

[258] John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993), 24.
[259] Ibid.

practitioner align their will with the will of God and strengthen their relationship to Jesus. The exercises are part of the daily life of Jesuits, who use them daily to contemplate their life and actions. Jesuits also undertake the exercises on retreat many times during their life within the Society of Jesus. In addition to a yearly smaller retreat, every few years Jesuits take a longer retreat where they fully devote their daily lives to the exercises.

The exercises are composed of four stages, each one designed to take about a week. They are embodied in a text originally written by Ignatius of Loyola, usually translated into the language of the person undertaking the exercises. While the text provides a base to work from, the spiritual director is encouraged to be flexible in doing what is most helpful for the practitioner. In the beginning of the exercises, the reader is informed that

> For just as taking a walk, journeying on foot, and running are bodily exercises, so we call Spiritual Exercises every way of preparing and disposing the soul to rid itself of all inordinate attachments, and, after their removal, of seeking and finding the will of God in the disposition of our life for the salvation of our soul.[260]

In their very nature, the exercises are highly flexible, both in terms of how much detail the instructor puts into the instructions as well as how long each phase lasts. Though each stage is designed to last a week, the instructions specify that each phase may be made shorter or longer depending on the participant's needs and inclinations.[261]

The exercises begin with the participant making an accounting of their sins, combing through their day to look for places in which they fell short, and making an

[260] Louis J. Puhl, S.J., translator, *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius: Based on Studies in the Language of the Autograph* (Chicago: Loyola Press, 1951), 1.
[261] Ibid., 2.

examination of their conscience.[262] They then contemplate the sins of fallen angels and Adam and Eve, among others.[263] From there, the person undertaking the exercises imagines their way through the life of Jesus, from birth to death and the resurrection. From these exercises, the person is meant to understand the will of God for their life, whether it be a pious marriage, entering the priesthood, or innumerable other possibilities.

Though the exercises have today permeated beyond the Catholic church and into broader Christian use in many cases, they retain a certain Jesuit character. By this I mean that their fundamental purposes and structure are made to induce a certain Jesuit subjectivity that prizes reconciling your own will and ambitions with the idea of what God has ordained for you. They are designed to induce a certain form of deeper self-knowledge that is dependent on religious conviction and seeking the will of God above one's own ambitions.

McGreevy, in his landmark work *American Jesuits and the World: How an Embattled Religious Order Made Modern Catholicism Global*, observes that "exactly how nineteenth-century Jesuits understood the *Exercises*--in daily meditations, annual retreats of eight days, and a thirty-day retreat at some point in their training--is difficult to recapture."[264] This is true for Healy; while we have his reflections within the confines of the exercises themselves, we do not know how he thought of the exercises more broadly beyond brief instances in which he reflects on them as an institution. McGreevy argues that the exercises seem to have been focused primarily on Jesus's suffering during this

[262] Ibid., 15.
[263] Ibid., 26-27.
[264] John T. McGreevy, *American Jesuits and the World: How an Embattled Religious Order Made Catholicism Global* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 14.

period.[265] We do not quite see this in Healy's notes in particular; if anything, Jesus barely appears in his notes compared to God the Father and Mary, who take on the primary roles within his meditations.

Healy's spiritual reflections are, unlike his diaries, not in notebooks but on loose scraps of paper folded together. In the archive, they are together in a folder, his characteristically spiky handwriting crowded onto each page. I chose what elements to examine in this chapter based on what seemed to be recurring themes for Healy throughout his reflections, as well as what seemed most unusual or noteworthy.[266]

In 1858, when Healy was 24, he wrote his first set of retreat notes. It is not clear whether Patrick was in Louvain or elsewhere at the time that he completed the exercises in that year. He opens with a reflection on the soul and its relationship to the body:

> On the care of our body in preference to our soul, consider with what solicitude we guard against any thing (sic) which may injure it or affect our health, and how promptly we put away from us what we know will produce a prejudicial effect. We habitually abstain from them. The same tenderness for the soul would make us alive to dangerous occasions, would cause us to flee from those which we know to be such, and to put away from us all contact with them. How different is our conduct when we linger almost or entirely in their embrace, when no vigilance is employed in guarding our senses or our interior against contamination.[267]

The soul is seen here as something that should be protected as carefully as one protects the body from injury and contaminants. In this rendering, dangerous occasions for the soul also seem to be dangerous occasions for the body; temptation must be fled from not just in the spiritual sense but with one's body.

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[265] Ibid., 14.

[266] There are some segments I did not quote either because Healy was repeating himself or in some cases, frankly, because the section was indecipherable. Healy's handwriting is very difficult to read and even with years of practice I still encounter selections that I cannot read correctly.

[267] 1858 meditation notes, Poems, School Exercises., 01/15/1849-12/31/1873, Correspondence & Manuscript Series, Healy, Patrick F., S.J. Papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.

Healy continues, curiously, with musings on the uses of "creatures":

> On our use of creatures… Imagine a ladder like that in Jacob's dream, in which all creatures are the steps by which to ascend to God, who is placed at the head. Consider, first, the use for which creatures were designed; secondly, the use we ourselves have made of them. How we have rested in them more than in the creator! Through them we were to have found Him, instead of which we sought only ourselves, and instead of which we sought only ourselves and creatures for their own sake.[268]

Healy is using "creature" here not in the sense of an animal rights manifesto but in terms of thinking about humans as created by a creator. He is likely responding to a section of the exercises that reflects on the use of "creatures," meaning earthly things, and one's need to seek God through them.

The following day, Healy reflected on the role of God in his life, writing that "On the end for which we were created, consider that we were made for God, and that nothing less than God can satisfy us. No creature can fill that place in our souls which God designed, Himself, to occupy."[269] God is seen as ultimately merciful, but Healy reflects that he will one day have to stand accountable for his sins. However, he need not be resigned to wallowing in his sins forever: "There is still time! Let it be so used that compunction and penance may obliterate or veil the deeds of the past."[270]

Healy goes on to reflect on friendship. He opines that God has ordained friendship for good purposes. "God designed him for some permissible solace, bearing always in mind Christian moderation, and a supreme attachment in the first place to Himself."[271] This is a theme that will repeat in other, later records by Healy of his undertaking the

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[268] Ibid.
[269] Ibid.
[270] Ibid.
[271] Ibid.

exercises; though attachment to other people can be good, one must be careful to keep it in check. Why was this instruction so central to Healy's spiritual reflections? It is unclear whether this was a generic instruction given to young American Jesuits during this period, a period in which a prohibition on particular friendships would have been in place, or whether Healy himself was seen (by himself or his director) as particularly in need of this advice. Either way, the message is clear: friendship must be carefully watched to make sure it does not take up more than its due space in one's life.

Not surprisingly, given Healy's poor health throughout various periods of his life, health and what one should think or feel about it is a repeating topic throughout these meditations. He wrote, in part: "Health. If sickness be equally the gift of God, why seek and prize the former so assiduously and dread the latter. If this be more useful to you than the other, God in His goodness will make it the instrument of your benefit. Make an act of detachment, and of submission."[272] Healy goes on to reflect that health is given to a person so that he may carry out the will of God and not for any other purpose. This is one of very few times that Healy seems to connect reflection on his health to religiosity in some way, shape, or form. When he writes about his illnesses in his diaries later in his life, he does not sacralize them or attach them to religion in any way. The retreat is an opportunity to rethink the body in spiritual terms. Did Healy's racial background constitute something that he saw in this light? Was he drawn to religious life in part because of the opportunity to remake the body in light of the soul?

Sections on "life" and "honors" repeat this general theme:

[272] Ibid.

> Life. So long as your life can be useful to you for God's sake, He will continue to grant it, but since death would be the effect of an equal goodness on his part (supposing that you correspond with God by a state of grace), why be solicitous for one beyond the other? Be indifferent now in order that you may be resigned hereafter.[273]

Does Healy truly believe this, or is he trying to convince himself? In the same way that Healy is meant to not pursue health over illness, because God has given the condition in both cases, he should not be afraid to die if it is ordained to happen. Similarly, he should not seek honors:

> Honors. Since God does nothing without reason, He doubtless intends that these should be an exercise to your humility. Wo (sic) to you if vanity shall have established it, seat securely within you, for then these gifts will prove only a person, they do to so want a multitude, whose business it is to pursue them, which is not that of a religious man. Disgraces and affronts will test the sincerity of your efforts or of your professions of humility. Honors will equally try the strength of this virtue. Be indifferent therefore to both, and be prepared for either.[274]

Healy's status as a "religious man" precludes him from chasing honors, and commands him to be "indifferent." He returns again to the theme of heavenly life versus earthly life or the life of the "creature." Though one runs the risk of being distracted by the pursuit of honors in earthly life, one also runs the risk of disgrace and dishonor. It is better to avoid both altogether through allegiance to God. This is addressed in the exercises, with the instruction to choose poverty, insults, and being thought worthless over their opposites to be closer to Christ.[275] There may also be an invisible racial thread here as well; was being identified as black, as in his letter to Fenwick complaining about his racialization through other people's knowledge of his brothers, one of these "disgraces and affronts"?

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[273] Ibid.
[274] Ibid.
[275] Puhl, *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius*, 69.

Healy's next set of retreat notes is from 1860. Again, as with the 1858 notes, it is not clear what is generic instruction and what was specifically tailored to Healy or what was from his own thoughts. "Mater spes nostra!" or "Mother, our hope" is scrawled at the top of his notes for this year.[276] "God is my father," he begins, going on to reflect on the duty to treat God as kindly as one would treat an earthly father.[277] Not to be forgotten, though, Mary comes back into the picture: "We think of… dear Mother as seldom as possible & even reject the little time which the rule conservates to [her] service. This is a crying injustice--a glaring hypocrisy--a danger which increases & strengthens with time."[278] Marian piety is intensely present in this particular set of reflections, though it is not found in the others. It is unclear whether this is Patrick's doing or whether this was something introduced by the priest leading him through the exercises. Given its absence in other reflections, the latter seems likely. How was this a part of Healy's process of self-construction? Perhaps he was re-remembering a childhood in which he was safely in the arms of the church rather than on a plantation in Georgia, and his mother was simply his mother and not his father's slave. By re-remembering, I mean looking back on his life not as it was, but as he wished it might have been.

A few days later, he wrote: "Above all cultivate assiduously a tender devotion toward our dear Mother. Recall the days of your boyhood when you prayed to her with such fervor & beg her to help you to recover that little devotion… She is our Mother & God is our father. Their only desire is to see us happy & fervent. Be courageous, nothing

[276] 1860 meditation notes, Poems, School Exercises., 01/15/1849-12/31/1873, Correspondence & Manuscript Series, Healy, Patrick F., S.J. Papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.
[277] Ibid.
[278] Ibid.

is desperate when God entrusts himself on your behalf!"[279] Again, it is unclear whether this is a generic instruction, or whether Healy is really recalling a boyhood devotion to Mary. Given that he was not baptized as a Catholic until age 10, this seems somewhat unlikely, but it is possible his father had regardless taught his children Catholic devotional practices. We could also see this as Healy reflecting on his earthly mother and father in addition to his heavenly ones. After all, at this point his parents were dead; could he have been seeing them in parallel to his heavenly parents? Perhaps is he re-remembering them in a better light than that of slaveholder and enslaved woman.

Healy returns once again to the topic of friendship. "Above all you must avoid all chats… avoid at all costs going to another's room… Should others come to your room for difficulties try to settle the matter as quick as possible."[280] It feels almost as if Healy is rushing through this section of his notes. It is perhaps worth noting that Healy is talking here to himself in the second person. Once again, friendship is not forbidden, but must be curtailed to avoid disastrous ends. This is a curious repeating element of Healy's spiritual reflections. What was so dangerous about going to another Jesuit's room or having him enter yours? What was Healy afraid of happening on such an occasion that it must be settled "as quick as possible"? It is unclear whether this is something Healy was personally concerned about or struggled with, or whether this was a more generic prohibition put out by the priest leading the exercises. Many religious orders of this period, including the Jesuits, had prohibitions on "particular friendships," which were seen as undermining the unity of the order by focusing one's attention on a specific

[279] Ibid.
[280] Ibid.

person and not treating everyone equally. One must also take into account the idea that these prohibitions were meant as a bulwark against same-sex sexual interactions.

Gossip is to be avoided: "Hence do your best & positively oblige yourself not to speak of them within [i.e. other Jesuits] to the fathers & above all not to your companions. You may speak of them, if it should seem advisable, but do so… after praying to your good Mother."[281] Gossip is seen as a fault that must be confronted. It is worth considering that gossip is, in many ways, the primary sin of living in a community like Healy did, as it can cause rancor and disruption to group cohesion.

Some of Healy's reflections concern the doing of the exercises themselves:

> To avoid all hassles & fretting during my spiritual exercises--"let the dead bury their dead." Let studies, recreation, &c bide their time. Do all in time & with care… Speak, pray & study in peace & calm & you will then reap the abundant meats which obedience expects. Also--and troubling your mind about what may happen--what you would so in this or that reconsider whether you could give up this or that--then you should do this or that, leave all that aside, especially when the things are but trifling & involve no principle of moment. It is a trick of the old devil--go on fearlessly but calmly--make each meditation even as well & exactly as you can.[282]

Did Healy specifically need these instructions to calm his worried mind, or were they more generic instructions the priest would have given to any young Jesuit? His cares here seem to be constructed as one of these worldly or dead things that must be left behind. The dead and the living are no longer equivalent, as they were in other formulations of his thoughts on the exercises.

Healy concluded by reflecting on happiness:

> Satisfied. Man is created for happiness… in religion there is no choice, we must repent & seek anew the lost treasure of the Kingdom of God or forsake religion to

[281] Ibid.
[282] Ibid.

> satisfy our cravings with the pleasures of the world--how many, oh how many come to this pass… how they [turn their] backs upon the good God who stands awaiting them with outstretched arms & plunges into the lovable waters of Babylon river to [unclear word] again.[283]

This is something of an odd section, with multiple moving parts that don't necessarily make sense. Though the waters seem to be a clear reference to Psalm 137, much else is not clear. Why is God plunging people in the waters of Babylon? Turning to the less esoteric parts of this section, we read that happiness comes from religious duty, not from absorbing one's self in the pleasures of the world. Is Healy saying he has struggled with this as well? Has he turned his back upon God? We will see this theme continue in Healy's next set of retreat notes.

Healy wrote a short third set of retreat notes, dated to 1868, led by a Father Ruston. "There is an irresistible logic in St. Ignatius's reasoning," Healy wrote at the beginning, "& when once you enter in it, it will surely convince you of its trust, although of weak will may not be ready to accept all, in other words, to commit itself entirely & with filial confidence to the direction of God the Father."[284] Healy reflects on feeling a sense of distance from God that he hopes the retreat will help to mitigate: "I have felt as if my dear Lord were far away from me & even in his presence, even at mass & cd. not find him… Oh thank God for this retreat how much I needed it!"[285] Why did Healy feel so far away from God, to the extent that he didn't even feel his presence while saying mass? What kind of impact would this have had on his daily life as a priest? Alternately, is this question of feeling far from God not terribly unusual, given that Healy seems to

[283] Ibid.
[284] 1868 retreat notes, Poems, School Exercises., 01/15/1849-12/31/1873, Correspondence & Manuscripts Series, Box 1, Folder 6, Healy, Patrick F., S.J. Papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.
[285] Ibid.

have not panicked about it but instead waited for his usual retreat? The purpose of the retreat seems to be in part to bridge this sense of separation.

Healy also reflected on his new profession as a teacher and as a fully professed Jesuit. "Now that the time of my profession has come in reality, I begin to feel that it is a serious matter," he wrote, adding that "I feel like a young man just arrived at maturity who embarks in life upon his own responsibility. The… restraints of youth are no longer jealously maintained by a watchful mother & father."[286] Healy compares himself to a young person entering adulthood who is no longer watched over by parents, but must make his own decisions for himself. This must have been a psychologically challenging state for Healy, and may have been part of his distance from God that he referred to earlier in the notes. This may also be another instance of Healy recasting his earthly parents as spiritual ones and reinscribing his relationship as a son and thinking of his parents in a different way. What did this all mean in a culture of slavery? Could Healy lay aside his past not just to reconstruct his parentage but to reconstruct himself as well?

The last set of retreat notes we have from Healy date to 1871, which Healy records as taking place at Boston College. "This is now the fifth day of my retreat. I have several times felt inclined to write but have forborne, because I thought there was nothing marked enough within my feelings or resolution, to warrant a record of it," he wrote to introduce his notes.[287] He then turned to contemplating his flaws: "In making a retreat one sees clearly the defects to which he is subject and sees pretty distinctly the remedy to be applied. This holds as well of single defects as of habits. Why is it then that retreats so

[286] Ibid.

[287] 1871 retreat notes, Poems, School Exercises., 01/15/1849-12/31/1873, Correspondence & Manuscripts Series, Box 1, Folder 6, Healy, Patrick F., S.J. Papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.

rarely produce the lasting effects we wd (sic) want for them? I think it depends partly on human frailty which approves the better course yet has not courage to follow it."[288] He went on to list his faults as follows:

> To my own care I know that I am mean & ingenuous--timeserving & faultfinding--that i speak much & ill of others and deem others praise my injury. I speak hastily, inconsistently & am ever so flattered when I happen to be right--I am fond of recounting what I said in a given circumstance--to my ends be it understood & when the real writing that urged me could not be palatable to suggest others more likely to be so & pass them off as the original. I am fond of talking of any little infirmity of mine, of magnifying it & leaving others to infer the martyrdom that I in particular am undergoing, something that no other mortal should undergo so cheerfully. This is sometimes carried to a laughable extent. A belly ache, a laxity, an indigestion, a head-ache--my stars, what harms, what torture, & how well I bear it.[289]

Similarly to previous retreat notes, Healy sees himself as gossipy and prone to unnecessary chatter. He also seems to drop the formal tone he normally uses throughout his reflections, opting for something more casual here. This is one of the more intimate portions of his retreat notes.

One might see his "what torture" reference as toward the reputation of Jesuits in the past for bearing actual torture and jokingly comparing his stomach aches to this. As McGreevy notes, Jesuits were prone to "venerating their predecessors"; perhaps this is an instance of Healy doing this, albeit with tongue in cheek.[290] The focus on suffering is also interesting in terms of nineteenth-Century Catholic culture more broadly, in which McGreevy argues "belief in suffering as necessary and productive penetrated every corner of devotional life."[291] Moreover, he argues, "the burden of this Catholic suffering

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[288] Ibid.
[289] Ibid.
[290] McGreevy, *American Jesuits and the World*, 31.
[291] Ibid., 115.

fell disproportionately on women."[292] Healy seems to have taken up this burden enthusiastically, albeit in something of a humorous tone, despite his maleness.

As mentioned previously, Healy rarely connected his illnesses to religion or spirituality in any way. This is a rare instance of him seeing his behavior around illness (namely, complaining of it vocally) as a sinful affectation that must be reined in. It is possible that this explains how he writes about his illness in some of his later journals; he merely noted the presence of the illness without complaining about it at length or sacralizing it in any way. We can also potentially see this bearing of suffering in (relative) silence as a form of Jesuit masculinity; as Jesuits were known in the centuries before Healy for bearing torture cheerfully, perhaps Healy was attempting to bear his illnesses with stoicism. There is also the matter of Catholic approaches to illness; McGreevy argues that "illness supplied yet another opportunity for Catholics to see themselves as a united body," as illness required action from the community.[293] However, this does not seem to have been the case for Healy's illnesses; if anything, his suffering seems to have been largely solitary. He seems aside from these reflections to have resisted thinking about his bodily problems in religious terms, setting him contrary to the broader cultural context of Catholicism that he would have encountered in his life as a Jesuit. Perhaps this is part of a broader aversion to seeing his body as culturally or spiritually meaningful.

Healy also reflects on which of his defects are spiritual in nature and which are more "natural" in origin, writing that "There are, however, some of my defects, which

[292] Ibid., 116.
[293] Ibid., 121.

cannot be overcome without a diligent & constant use of natural means. Levity of thought & tongue must be overcome by habits… & corrections."[294] What did it mean for Healy to separate out his defects into "natural" and (presumably) spiritual categories? It seems in part to have been about what potential solutions to each category of problem were. He also lists among these defects his arrogance as well as his indignation that "the world can get along with so many blockheads in it."[295]

Healy concludes with some thoughts on "manliness": "I must say a word on manliness of thought & what I mean by it… Paul says that when he became a man he gave up all boyishness… now, that is what I have not done & what I must do."[296] This is intriguing, as it is the only time that Healy directly addresses "manliness" or masculinity in any of his writing, spiritual reflections or otherwise. Manliness is contrasted here with "boyishness," perhaps for him a kind of silliness or levity, and portrayed as giving said boyishness up wholeheartedly. Intriguingly, this is a biblical and not societal standard of masculinity; Healy does not appeal to the mores of his surroundings, but instead to the writings of the apostle Paul. Unfortunately, he does not expand on what he means by this maxim. "Manliness of thought" in this case seems to be curiously ungendered; perhaps by "man" Healy means something more like "human," and the standard is less about gender than maturity, regardless of one's sex. Moreover, Healy sees this process within himself as incomplete; it is something he has not done but must do. There's a hint of sadness about him giving up this boyishness.

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[294] Ibid.
[295] Ibid.
[296] Ibid.

There are several themes that emerge repeatedly in Healy's spiritual reflections: the heavenly versus the bodily, gossip and sociality, negotiating his life and the circumstances of his birth. It seems that these were operating themes throughout Healy's life insofar as his spiritual life was concerned. The exercises help us to understand the "private" Healy, in that these are notes he wrote to himself. We can hold this Healy alongside the "other" Healys we see both during and after his lifetime. In many ways, these exercises allow us to see Healy as an ordinary man and ordinary Jesuit. Rather than an institution-builder and man concerned with the fate of a large university, Healy is someone concerned with whether he is too much of a gossip and about the state of his bodily ailments. This is a glimpse into the more everyday parts of Healy's life, just as much as his journals are. His notes are an invaluable glimpse into how he saw his spirituality and himself more broadly.

We turn now to Healy's diary entries concerning his health, which began to appear during the period in which he began keeping a journal in earnest. In 1879, while Healy was journeying to ask for money for Georgetown, we first gain a sense of how his health problems had begun to impact his daily life. He wrote on August 2, 1879 that, having stomach problems, he asked for a doctor. "D. Conkins came again w/ 4 pills for today & some castor oil for tomorrow. During today I had about six passages."[297] His condition did not improve, as he wrote a few days later that he was "Much worse. Spent the day in bed. Vomiting + purging… I stuck to ice & rice water. The flies here are…

[297] August 2, 1879, Diary (1879 - 1880)., 01/01/1879-12/29/1880, Box 1, Folder 1, Diaries Series, Healy, Patrick F., S.J. Papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.

abominable."[298] What kind of scene does this set? We can imagine Healy, confined to eating only the blandest of foods (ice and rice water), miserable on board a rollicking ship which surely did not help with his stomach problems. The scene this sets is also somewhat lonely; his suffering is solitary. However, the impression that he was writing for a future audience may have made this struggle more bearable.

Jenny Franchot's *Roads to Rome: the Antebellum Protestant Encounter with Catholicism* chronicles American historian Francis Parkman and how his lifelong illnesses (like Healy's, not definitively diagnosed) intersected with his interest in the history of the Jesuits.[299] Franchot argues that the illness and the interest were connected in some way. Franchot notes that Jesuits were regarded by Parkman and other Protestant chroniclers as paradoxically both unacceptably feminine and strangely masculine, with their masculinity exemplified in their manly bearing of severe pain. This is, potentially, another way to read Healy's lack of extensive comment on his ailments. Is he harkening back to a broader Jesuit tradition of bearing pain, although in this case it is not torture from others but the torture of existing in an ailing body?

Healy resigned from Georgetown in 1882. It is not entirely clear why he resigned aside from the progression of his health problems. However, it seems likely that his resignation was not based solely on a single incident of poor health, but a broader pattern of a decline in Healy's overall wellbeing. Healy's problems resurface in his next set of diaries from his trip to Alaska accompanying Michael Healy. This trip was undertaken shortly after his resignation from Georgetown and seems to have served as both a

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[298] August 5, 1879, Diary (1879 - 1880)., 01/01/1879-12/29/1880, Box 1, Folder 1, Diaries Series, Healy, Patrick F., S.J. Papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.
[299] Jenny Franchot, *Roads to Rome: the Antebellum Protestant Encounter with Catholicism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

vacation and an opportunity for Healy to convalesce away from the pressures of ordinary Jesuit life. In addition to chronicling his ailments as they occur throughout the diary for this trip, he provides a "medical history" in the back of the diary, which appears to be a list of his various illnesses over the course of the trip. Who was he organizing this for? It seems likely to have been for his own benefit or for relaying the information to a doctor. These ailments include bronchitis, headaches, trouble sleeping, "squeamishness of stomach," and other maladies.[300] He also talked about what remedies were attempted for this. Namely, bromide makes a frequent appearance as something that Healy took to ease his pains. Potassium bromide, in common use during the nineteenth century as a sedative but no longer used in our time, was incredibly easy to overdose on due to its comparatively long half-life in the human body. Overdoses could lead to psychiatric effects, digestive problems, and even seizures. It is possible that Healy caused as many problems as he solved through his use of bromide.

His diary for the remainder of the year after the trip is likewise focused on his physical health or lack thereof. It opens with the aphorism "Nulles dies sine linea," meaning "no day without a line," an aphorism commonly attributed to Pliny the Elder.[301] Healy would follow this idea for much of his life, writing a diary entry every day of every year that we have a diary from him, often including whatever health issues were plaguing him. On October 18 of 1883, Healy visited a doctor who instructed him on what to do to regain his health:

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[300] Diary, May 17-October 15, 1883, trip to Alaska with Michael Healy, Record Group 8.1, Box 1, Folder 4, Patrick F. Healy, S.J. Papers, College of the Holy Cross Archives & Special Collections, Worcester, Massachusetts.

[301] Diary, October 16, 1883-August 1, 1884, Record Group 8.1, Box 1, Folder 5, Patrick F. Healy, S.J. Papers, College of the Holy Cross Archives & Special Collections, Worcester, Massachusetts.

> Long interview with Dr. Duprey. Says capillary vessels, sluggish nerves, lost their grip, lymph around the capillaries of plastic nature; circulation sluggish. Epileptic attacks may recur if this condition be not remedied. Stomach troubles proceed from the brain… active cautery & regrowth necessary--delay and strengthen the ailment… No work, no care, good drink, fresh air, plenty of rest.[302]

Healy seems to have promptly ignored this advice, going about a normal day of visits and work on October 19.[303] Why didn't Healy take Dr. Duprey's advice? Perhaps he did not see the threat to his health as serious, or not think his daily routine strenuous enough to warrant curtailing. It is also possible that, as in other places in his diaries not concerned with health, Healy was withholding something here.

The reference in the entry to "epileptic attacks" is curious; it is possible that Foley was looking to this reference when he retroactively diagnosed Healy as epileptic in *Dream of an Outcaste*. However, this is one of very few times that Healy mentions such attacks, and in context it seems the doctor may be threatening that they will happen if Healy does not rest, not that they have happened repeatedly, despite Healy's use of the word "recur." It is also possible that one such incident did occur and due to being occupied by recovery Healy did not write about it, hence the use of "recur" by the doctor. We have no record from Healy of any such attacks, and given how closely (and without a hint of embarrassment) he recorded his other ailments, it seems very unlikely that he would have suffered multiple seizures without making note of them in some capacity.

The doctor also prescribed a novel treatment for the time period: electrotherapy. Healy wrote in detail of the procedure that was conducted on him:

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[302] October 18, 1883, Diary, October 16, 1883-August 1, 1884, Record Group 8.1, Box 1, Folder 5, Patrick F. Healy, S.J. Papers, College of the Holy Cross Archives & Special Collections, Worcester, Massachusetts.

[303] October 19, 1883, Diary, October 16, 1883-August 1, 1884, Record Group 8.1, Box 1, Folder 5, Patrick F. Healy, S.J. Papers, College of the Holy Cross Archives & Special Collections, Worcester, Massachusetts.

> Got up at 9. Dr. D. burned me & explained the theory of his instrument & application. Platinum heated… so when the instrument approaches the skin the moisture in the epiderm exudes & forms a spheroidal protection, so that the point of the platinum does not burn the skin but the water. The fact is that the skin at first is white after the application. As the blood rushes in to supply the place of the water expelled, the nerves are set working, the skin becomes ruddy. At night there is some expendation of water & after a day or so the epidermis sloughs off when one has had a mustard plaster.[304]

It seems likely that this procedure was meant to treat Healy's headaches. It does not seem to have worked, as he complained of headaches soon after and throughout the rest of his life. Originating in 1740s England, electrotherapy was used for a wide spectrum of ailments all over the body, becoming more common in the United States in the 1800s.

Healy's pursuit of this therapy tells us something about his approach to his ailments. Rather than continue to suffer from debilitating headaches, he sought out what at the time would have been an experimental treatment to alleviate his pain. Perhaps Healy's stoic suffering was not so stoic after all, despite his pretense in his writing of bearing it all silently. His diaries frequently contained a litany of potential remedies for various conditions in the back. It is not clear which of these Healy actually tried, if any, and what effect they had. If they were effective, it can't have been for long, as the same ailments recurred throughout Healy's life.

Healy was also impacted by what he chronicled as a mental decline beginning in the 1890s, when he was in his late fifties and early sixties. "My mind will not work," he reflected one day, writing on another that he "tried to fix my sermon but did not succeed. Perhaps the way may come later. I consulted several books but my defective memory

[304] November 28, 1883, Diary, October 16, 1883-August 1, 1884, Record Group 8.1, Box 1, Folder 5, Patrick F. Healy, S.J. Papers, College of the Holy Cross Archives & Special Collections, Worcester, Massachusetts.

refused to tell me where to look."[305] This seemingly spilled into his sermons; he wrote on May 29, 1892 that during mass "I addressed the children… The thoughts were poor, but I found it hard to instruct the tots before me. How I succeeded with the pram people, I know not."[306]

However, he still chronicled his sense of mental decline, in which he often felt his mind was failing him. "Stupid morning--couldn't get anything into my head," he wrote in 1896.[307] "It was not easy to eke out my poor driveling ideas," he wrote on another occasion the same year.[308] What did Healy hope to accomplish by chronicling his experience of mental decline? It seems he may have been doing the same thing he did with his physical ailments--recording them either for a future audience or as a full accounting of what he experienced as important to his day-to-day life. In many ways, he was constructing himself; he doesn't, in contrast to his organization of his symptoms into a "medical history" earlier in life, seem to be writing these things down for medical examination. Instead, perhaps he is trying to feel less alone by writing for his imagined audience here.

On Christmas Day in 1897, Healy complained of being "too tired to do anything," and the back of his journal contained several folk remedies for assorted illnesses,

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[305] March 6, 1893; February 18, 1893, Diaries, (1892 - 1896)., 01/01/1892-12/31/1896, Box 1, Folder 2, Diaries Series, Healy, Patrick F. S.J. Papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.
[306] May 29, 1892, Diaries, (1892 - 1896)., 01/01/1892-12/31/1896, Box 1, Folder 2, Diaries Series, Healy, Patrick F. S.J. Papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.
[307] May 12, 1896, Diaries, (1892 - 1896)., 01/01/1892-12/31/1896, Box 1, Folder 2, Diaries Series, Healy, Patrick F. S.J. Papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.
[308] March 25, 1896, Diaries, (1892 - 1896)., 01/01/1892-12/31/1896, Box 1, Folder 2, Diaries Series, Healy, Patrick F. S.J. Papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.

including headaches.[309] For the remainder of the 1890s, Healy did not complain much of ill health, the only evidence of ongoing medical issues being the aforementioned folk remedies in the back of his 1897 diaries, as well as a similar listing and a pharmacy address in his 1899 diary.[310]

In 1900, Healy's health seems to decline once more. On April 15th, he "got very sick before tea and had trouble in righting myself."[311] This is the first in a number of instances, including a later one in which he seems to have procured a cane, that suggest Healy was beginning to have some issues with balance. The next month, he noted that "I cannot remember whom I saw, to whom I wrote. All is blank."[312]

In July of that year, Healy recorded using digitalis.[313] Commonly called foxglove, it has been used as a treatment for heart conditions; it seems likely that this may have been what Healy took it for, although it is not clear what exactly his condition was as he does not indicate this for the reader. Foxglove was also easy to overdose on and could produce, among other things, disastrous gastrointestinal effects, something Healy was already prone to. Two days later, he recorded "stools more blood than fecal" and two days after that that he "had a long talk with Dr. Grady--she will test my urine."[314] It is interesting that Healy was apparently seeing a female doctor, as they were by no means

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[309] December 25, 1897, Diaries, (1897 - 1899)., 01/01/1897-12/31/1899, Box 1, Folder 3, Diaries Series, Healy, Patrick F. S.J. Papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.
[310] 1899, Diaries, (1897 - 1899)., 01/01/1897-12/31/1899, Box 1, Folder 3, Diaries Series, Healy, Patrick F. S.J. Papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.
[311] April 15, 1900, Diaries, (1900 - 1904)., 01/01/1900-12/31/1904, Box 1, Folder 4, Diaries Series, Healy, Patrick F. S.J. Papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.
[312] May 30, 1900, Diaries, (1900 - 1904)., 01/01/1900-12/31/1904, Box 1, Folder 4, Diaries Series, Healy, Patrick F. S.J. Papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.
[313] July 5, 1900, Diaries, (1900 - 1904)., 01/01/1900-12/31/1904, Box 1, Folder 4, Diaries Series, Healy, Patrick F. S.J. Papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.
[314] July 7, 1900 and July 9, 1900, Diaries, (1900 - 1904)., 01/01/1900-12/31/1904, Box 1, Folder 4, Diaries Series, Healy, Patrick F. S.J. Papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.

common in this era. Additionally, it is interesting that Healy seems to have seized here on something very specific to ask a doctor about; surely this was easier than complaining of general malaise. Later in the year he experienced "nothing but weariness" and recorded several instances of having trouble sleeping.[315]

We do not have diaries from Healy for 1901 and 1902; presumably his health continued its decline apace. It is unclear whether diaries existed from these years and were lost or whether they ever existed to begin with. 1903 begins with "a bad throat" on its very first day.[316] Later in the month, Healy had "an ugly fall," but does not record what came of it.[317] By midyear, he wrote that his "eyes gave out" and that on at least one occasion he was unable to write due to exhaustion.[318] In July, his "feet pained me keenly."[319] The next month, a Dr. McFarlan advised him to take "manufactured Carlsbad salts for a week or so."[320] These salts, which come from mineral baths in the Czech Republic, were reputed to have positive digestive effects, so it seems this was something that was still troubling Healy. In September, Healy was "purging day and night" and "suffering almost constantly," so it seems unlikely that the mineral salts had done him

[315] September 29, 1900, October 23, 1900, and December 3, 1900, Diaries, (1900 - 1904)., 01/01/1900-12/31/1904, Box 1, Folder 4, Diaries Series, Healy, Patrick F. S.J. Papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.
[316] January 1, 1903, Diaries, (1900 - 1904)., 01/01/1900-12/31/1904, Box 1, Folder 4, Diaries Series, Healy, Patrick F. S.J. Papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.
[317] January 21, 1903, Diaries, (1900 - 1904)., 01/01/1900-12/31/1904, Box 1, Folder 4, Diaries Series, Healy, Patrick F. S.J. Papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.
[318] June 23, 1903 and July 18, 1903, Diaries, (1900 - 1904)., 01/01/1900-12/31/1904, Box 1, Folder 4, Diaries Series, Healy, Patrick F. S.J. Papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.
[319] July 20, 1903, Diaries, (1900 - 1904)., 01/01/1900-12/31/1904, Box 1, Folder 4, Diaries Series, Healy, Patrick F. S.J. Papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.
[320] August 16, 1903, Diaries, (1900 - 1904)., 01/01/1900-12/31/1904, Box 1, Folder 4, Diaries Series, Healy, Patrick F. S.J. Papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.

much good.[321] In November he complained of "kidneys and bladder in a very excited state" and "a rude day of urination."[322] "Urinary complaints" continued into 1904, kicking off the year.[323]

February of 1904 has a recurring theme of Healy's cane, which he paid 75 cents to have fixed.[324] This is evidence that Healy required a cane to get around by this point in his life, perhaps related to his bad fall in the prior year. In May, he recorded taking "a teaspoonful of aromatic cascara sagrada, which disturbed me during the day."[325] Cascara sagrada is commonly used as a laxative. Healy's health was failing him on multiple fronts.

Later in the month he records "no electric bath today."[326] The electric bath could refer to two separate devices. One is an early attempt at a tanning bed. The other, and more likely option given Healy's predilection for electrotherapy in other forms, is a process by which an electric charge is built up in the patient's body through connection to an electrode or having one held close to the patient's body. This treatment was largely the province not of mainstream medicine but of people recognized even in the nineteenth and early twentieth century as quacks. This seems to illustrate that Healy was willing to go

[321] September 19, 1903, Diaries, (1900 - 1904)., 01/01/1900-12/31/1904, Box 1, Folder 4, Diaries Series, Healy, Patrick F. S.J. Papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.
[322] November 30, 1903, Diaries, (1900 - 1904)., 01/01/1900-12/31/1904, Box 1, Folder 4, Diaries Series, Healy, Patrick F. S.J. Papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.
[323] January 2, 1904, Diaries, (1900 - 1904)., 01/01/1900-12/31/1904, Box 1, Folder 4, Diaries Series, Healy, Patrick F. S.J. Papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.
[324] February 18, 1904, Diaries, (1900 - 1904)., 01/01/1900-12/31/1904, Box 1, Folder 4, Diaries Series, Healy, Patrick F. S.J. Papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.
[325] May 6, 1904, Diaries, (1900 - 1904)., 01/01/1900-12/31/1904, Box 1, Folder 4, Diaries Series, Healy, Patrick F. S.J. Papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.
[326] May 24, 1904, Diaries, (1900 - 1904)., 01/01/1900-12/31/1904, Box 1, Folder 4, Diaries Series, Healy, Patrick F. S.J. Papers, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.

beyond the bounds of conventional medicine to seek relief for his maladies. Again, perhaps his suffering was not so stoic as his diaries would have had us believe.

In 1905 and 1906, Healy's vow of "no day without a line" begins to slip. Blank pages begin to appear in his journals. They start with just a few at a time and quickly grow into a span of weeks and then months. What do we make of this increasing span of silence? Can we read it in the same way we would read Healy's words on the page when he complained of various ailments? It is likely that either poor physical health or an increasing feeling of mental decline were responsible for these increasingly blank pages.

Our longest silence for Healy is from 1906 to his death in 1910. We know that he spent a year or so of this time at St. Joseph's College, a prep school for boys in Philadelphia, and the rest back at Georgetown, where according to Jesuit catalogues from this time period he was largely confined to the infirmary. We know very little about his time in either of these places. What does it mean for Healy to disappear from the pages that seem to have meant so much for him to write? One can imagine the years stretching out in front of him with no audience for his thoughts, hopes, and illnesses.

CHAPTER 4

AFTERLIVES

Patrick Healy's story goes to the heart of debates about whether racial or ethnic identity is something that is chosen, something that is bestowed upon a person by society, or something defined scientifically, with all sides marshalling arguments for Healy as an example of how this works. Additionally, Healy's story is a debate about what it means to understand a historical figure in a way that he may not have understood himself, and what it means to claim a figure as part of a specific social category or identity. In some cases, Healy being claimed as black or mixed-race is put forward as a simple fact with no meaning for the current day, while in other cases his status as white, black, or mixed-race is held to have import for current discussions of racial identity.

Healy has become the face of an interesting problem for stakeholders in his story: Catholics of all races, people tied to Georgetown University or College of the Holy Cross, and anyone interested in African American history. It's almost impossible to nail Healy down as simply white or black. Many people have begun to argue for something in the middle, whether seeing him as mixed-race or arguing for both seeing him as black in his historical context and white in how he thought of and presented himself. This all takes place in a context in which debates about racial and ethnic identity have expanded in multiple directions, both in terms of identitarian arguments as well as through new scientific avenues like DNA testing. In *Native American DNA: Tribal Belonging and the False Promise of Genetic Science*, Kim TallBear argues that DNA testing has become the

new frontier of debates over racial and ethnic belonging.[327] Though TallBear focuses on Native American tribal politics and debates over who "counts" as Native American, her research sheds light on broader disputes over who "counts" as any particular racial or ethnic group, as "proof" of who counts for any particular group becomes more granular, down to the level of DNA.

We can perhaps think of the "one drop rule" as a sort of racial DNA science before its time. Both appeal to scientific truth while being incredibly fraught and embedded in other, competing understandings of race and peoplehood. Consider the example of Elizabeth Warren, senator from Massachusetts. Warren has claimed Native American (specifically Cherokee) ancestry for decades, even claiming Native American as her race on her Texas State Bar application card, despite not being a citizen of the Cherokee Nation or any other Native American nation.[328] After challenges (albeit from rather different perspectives) from President Trump and Native American activists about this, Warren took a DNA test that established that she did have Native American ancestry, specifically, at least one ancestor six to ten generations back. The Cherokee Nation issued a statement rebuking Warren for presenting the test as evidence of Native American ancestry, reinforcing their sense of Cherokee identity as one based in connection with the community and meeting the standards of tribal citizenship rather than genetic ethnic affiliation.[329]

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[327] Kim TallBear, *Native American DNA: Tribal Belonging and the False Promise of Genetic Science* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013).
[328] Chris Cilliza, "Elizabeth Warren's Native American problem just got even worse," February 6, 2019, *CNN*, https://www.cnn.com/2019/02/06/politics/elizabeth-warren-native-american/index.html
[329] Astead W. Herndon, "Elizabeth Warren Stands by DNA Test. But Around Her, Worries Abound." December 6, 2018, *The New York Times*, https://www.nytimes.com/2018/12/06/us/politics/elizabeth-warren-dna-test-2020.html

Like the one drop rule, DNA testing has become an appeal to scientific knowledge that threatens to overrule the self-understanding of both individuals and communities based in other forms of connection and identity. Healy spans these understandings. In some contexts, he is a product of the one-drop rule who must be understood as African American; in others, he is understood as white based on his social belonging and status. In still other contexts, both of these understandings are refused in favor of more nuanced attempts to get at Healy's background and experience.

Eliza Clark

I begin this chapter with Eliza Clark, the mother of Patrick Healy and his siblings, because it seems that all discussion of them eventually comes back to her. In many ways, Eliza Clark is the linchpin of why the Healys are of interest to many people in the first place. Without her, they are not mixed-race, and thus not considered exceptional in their accomplishments for their time period. As Foley put it, discussing his discovery of Eliza Clark's presence in local death records, "this turned out to be the most important discovery in the whole Healy study. Without it the study could not have been published. Only in these records were the written verification of the word-of-mouth tradition about the mixed ancestry of Bishop Healy and his brothers and sisters."[330] These records, the combination of Michael Healy's will and death records that described Clark as an enslaved mixed-race woman, proved that she had indeed been an enslaved woman and thus, presumably, black.

Moreover, Foley's discovery proved that, regardless of how they or others may have seen their relationship, Michael Healy legally owned Eliza Clark. This goes to a

[330] Albert S. Foley, "Adventures in Black Catholic History: Research and Writing," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 5 no. 1, 1986, 108.

deeper issue, that of the history of sexual relationships (consensual or not, with debate over whether consent was even meaningful in this context) between enslaved women and the men who owned them. The one-drop rule was created in the context of the rape of enslaved women by white men and the benefit to those men of categorizing their offspring as legally enslaved as well. Entrenching the relationship between the status of being enslaved and blackness, the one-drop rule ensured that the sexual exploitation of enslaved women could continue with impunity.[331]

Eliza Clark is perhaps the most remarked upon figure in research on the Healy family in general and Patrick Healy in particular. Although very little is known about her, she has taken on an almost mythic significance in discussions of the Healy family. She becomes a cypher onto which people can project almost anything. Twentieth and twenty-first century discussion of Healy has, in many ways, boiled down to a discussion of his mother. It is her status as a slave (and thus, presumably, as black) that, in many people's eyes, makes Healy himself African American and it was her status that was concealed for much of his lifetime. Moreover, it created a point of discomfort; his father legally owned his mother.

Most sources examined here portray a marital relationship between Healy and Clark. The evidence for this version of their relationship comes from the accounts of the Healy siblings and from Michael Healy's will. Healy's will refers to Clark as "my trusty

[331] For more on the one-drop rule and its history, see G. Reginald Daniel, *More than Black? Multiracial Identity and the New Racial Order* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2002); F. James Davis, *Who Is Black? One Nation's Definition* (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991); Rachel F. Moran, *Interracial Intimacy: The Regulation of Race and Romance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

woman Eliza, mother of my… children."[332] This is the only known time that Michael Healy's words on her are recorded in his own hand. The other primary evidence for this is a letter from James Healy to George Fenwick, S.J. In it, James Healy addresses the problem of his exeat, or permission for him to be transferred to another diocese, and acceptance to a seminary:

> In an exeat it is necessary to mention the marriage of the parents: my father assured me that he & mother were really married: and you assured me of the same thing. Their marriage however was certainly contrary to the laws of the state, and you know that some theologians contend that such a marriage is null, although this opinion is not the most general.[333]

It is unclear what Healy means when he says that "you" (George Fenwick) assured him of the same thing. Perhaps Fenwick, having heard of Healy and Clark's dilemma, had agreed that they were married in spirit if not legally.

The idea that Smith was freed by Michael Healy or that she was freed at some point in their relationship is a recurrent one in popular depictions of Healy. It is, however, false; Michael Healy owned Eliza Clark from the age of 16 until her dying day. Matthew Quallen's *Hoya* article "Healy's Inner Turmoil, Our Current Conflict," describes her as being "purchased out of captivity," a phrase that implies that after Healy's purchase Clark was free.[334] Similarly, a web page hosted by the Georgetown University Library refers to her as a "former slave."[335] A 1971 article in *Georgetown Today* wrote that "an opponent

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[332] O'Toole, *Passing for White*, 16.
[333] James Healy to George Fenwick, April 10, 1851, Box 72, folder 5, Maryland Province Archives, Society of Jesus, Georgetown University Manuscripts.
[334] Quallens, "Healy's Inner Turmoil, Our Current Conflict."
[335] "Patrick F. Healy, S.J. (1834-1910), President of Georgetown University from 1874 to 1882," *Digital Georgetown*, accessed September 2, 2017, https://repository.library.georgetown.edu/handle/10822/552740

of slavery, Healy had bought [Clark's] freedom in order to marry her."[336] There is much we do not know about Clark's life; however, we do know that, legally, she was enslaved by Michael Healy from the time she was sixteen and was at no point freed.[337] It is worth noting that due to Georgia's strict laws about manumission, it would have been very difficult for Healy to free Clark even if he had wanted to, which adds a dimension of uncertainty to their story. Does this fact contribute to beliefs that Healy wanted Clark to be free or that their relationship was mutual and marital in nature?

Another recurring trope about Eliza Clark is about the lightness of her skin or the idea that she was "basically" or "essentially" white. Again, little is known about Clark's life; this includes who her parents were or what she looked like.[338] The supposition regarding her skin color seems largely to be founded on the relatively light skin of the Healy children. A daguerreotype of her likely existed in 1849, based on James Healy's diary entry mentioning it, but it is unknown where this image is today or if it survived.[339] No descriptions of her appearance from her time period exist.

One article that nevertheless attempts to describe Clark's appearance was published in 1989 in the *Irish Echo*. Though primarily about Patrick Healy, the article describes Clark as "a Georgia-born mulatto slave around whom many legends have surfaced" who had "a possible central American origin as well as… extraordinary

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[336] Martin Yant, "Father Healy: A Negro and a Dream," September 1971, *Georgetown Today*, Box 3, Folder 3, Rev. Patrick F. Healy, S.J. Papers, Archives and Special Collections, College of the Holy Cross.
[337] O'Toole, *Passing for White*, 17.
[338] O'Toole notes that Foley speculates about a few different origins for Clark, none of which are definitively proven. See *Passing for White* 231-232, footnote 19.
Barbara Miles is currently at work on research on Eliza Clark and has likely identified her siblings, but any publications on this are at this time forthcoming.
[339] Ibid., 39.

intelligence."[340] Moreover, the article claims to provide "a descendant's letter [that] describes [Clark's] beauty":

> "Mrs. Healy was the natural daughter of a French-Spanish father and a slave woman whose family had been brought from Mali… The only picture we had showed her to be very handsome, with high cheekbones, black curly hair, and very fine features… she looked Moorish or Hamitic. Besides Oxonian English, she could also speak the Arabic languages of Northwest Africa, also French and Spanish. Mrs. Healy.... wrote and talked about every subject under the sun as if she had a Ph.D."[341]

The descendant is unidentified, as is the source of the letter. This description emphasizes her good looks and intelligence as important elements of who she was, downplaying her enslaved status in favor of more positive identifiers. Where, however, does this description come from, and what does it say that someone found it compelling enough to include? Why is Eliza Clark given such a list of extraordinary attributes? What is it about this description that creates a Healy family that people find appealing or tolerable? This story creates a singular figure; this Eliza is without peer or family, for that matter.

These descriptions emphasizing her whiteness or lightness still assign the Healy children as African American. Thus, while in these accounts, Clark is, as in the tales of her being freed, lifted from the status of black slave, she is not considered fully white and thus neither are her children, per American conventions of hypodescent. Moreover, even in stories where she is freed, her status as a slave nonetheless marks her racially; if they had an enslaved mother, and were thus legally slaves themselves, the Healy children must, the logic of the one-drop rule goes, in some essential way also be black.

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[340] Natalie Ganley, "Patrick Healy--Georgetown's Second Founder," July 1, 1989, *Irish Echo*, Box 3, Folder 3, Rev. Patrick F. Healy, S.J. Papers, Archives and Special Collections, College of the Holy Cross.
[341] Ibid.

One particularly unusual instance of discussion of Eliza Clark comes from the Georgetown librarian Phillips Temple's files on Patrick Healy. A typewritten page dated December 30th, 1949 relays a tale from a Thomas J. Love, S.J., from a Marist named Father Collins. Collins claimed to have been good friends with James Healy, and told Love that

> his father had been an officer on a merchant ship and left the ship and remained in San Domingo, West Indies. There he married a native woman; whether she had negro blood, or how much, Father Collins did not know. She was not a negress of the southern United States. The couple then moved to Georgia. One time, in a sermon in Boston, Bishop Healy made the remark that he had been "nursed by his negro mammy." He meant that she was a nurse maid, or servant, in the Southern sense of the word, which would be easily misunderstood by a Northerner. This is the roigin (sic) of the tradition that the mother of the Healys was a Southern negress.[342]

Beneath this story, written in pencil, is a note from Temple that "Fr. Collins was senile for some time before his death. Anything he said was at least of dubious dependability."[343] Additionally, Temple crossed out "negress" where it appeared in the typewritten narrative and wrote "negro" next to it, likely a concession to the changing conventions in usage of his time.[344] Though the story is clearly false (if nothing else, Michael Healy Sr.'s supposed time as a sailor is easily disproved, as is the supposed origin of Eliza Clark in the West Indies), the fact that it has been preserved means that somebody, even if it wasn't Temple, found it compelling.

A 1974 article in the *National Jesuit News* imagined Michael Healy as "French-Spanish" and Eliza Clark as "a slave woman whose family was brought to the United

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[342] Librarian's Correspondence (Temple): Patrick Healy, Subject Files, Riggs Library, Georgetown University Archives, Georgetown University Library.
[343] Ibid.
[344] Ibid.

States from Mali (formerly the French Soudan)."[345] The article notes that under Georgia law their children were legally slaves as well. Curiously, though, it posits that "Michael Healy left Georgia and the restrictive laws he knew would hinder the development of his children and their chance of success."[346] While there is some speculation that Healy intended to leave Georgia shortly before his and Clark's deaths, the statement is inaccurate.[347] It is possible that someone confused the Healy children going north with the parents going north as well. It is unclear whether, had Healy and Clark gone north, they would have lived in a familial situation with the children or whether the children would have continued as boarders at College of the Holy Cross and the various other locations where they were schooled.

Other sources imagined other origins for Healy and Clark's relationship. In 1951, Thomas J. O'Donnell, S.J., wrote an article on Patrick Healy in the Jesuit journal *The Woodstock Letters* that provided a speculative meeting for the two. In O'Donnell's imagining, Michael Healy was an immigrant railroad laborer invited to dinner with a wealthy planter. For context, though Healy was not a railroad laborer, the average Irish man living in Georgia during that time period would have been. O'Donnell describes Healy as having

> noticed the quiet and well-bred attractiveness of the young slave who served at the table. From the first, he had been impressed by her genteel manner, for she was the planter's natural daughter and had been brought up in the mansion. But before very long Michael Healy realized, perhaps to his dismay, that he was in love. The early records are obscure as to quite what happened when he asked for her hand in marriage. The planter was not only willing but anxious and pleased, and it seems that he sent them to Boston, for they could not be married in

345 "Patrick F. Healy 1834-1910," September 1974, *National Jesuit News*, Box 3, Folder 3, Rev. Patrick F. Healy, S.J. Papers, Archives and Special Collections, College of the Holy Cross.
346 Ibid.
347 O'Toole, *Passing for White*, 44.

> Georgia. Nonetheless, they could live together there, and so Michael Healy with his young wife, Eliza, soon returned to Macon to open a little country store and there, along the banks of the Ocmulgee, to raise his famous family.[348]

This is, of course, entirely fictional, but it produces some of the aforementioned common tropes about Clark. Clark is presented as a slave, but as mixed-race, being the daughter of a slaveholder, hence conforming to the idea that Clark was, if not white, at least mixed-race. Additionally, Michael Healy is presented as having met Clark not in the context of purchasing her as a slave, but in a social environment, legally marrying her in Boston and living openly as a married couple.

These depictions of Eliza Clark do not emerge in a vacuum. They are part of a national fantasy: that of the enslaved woman not exploited, but in love with the man who owned her, tragically prevented from marriage by the law and social mores. Thomas Jefferson and Sally Hemings might be seen as the archetype of this fantasy in the United States. In particular for a white audience, this fantasy occludes the horror and brutality of the sexual exploitation of enslaved women. It is preferable to cast this exploitation as romance.

Emma Healy

Curiously, a few sources invent an extra sister for the Healys. In 1973, a Washington, DC paper made reference in an article about Healy to "a sister, Emma, [who] founded a Catholic order dedicated to teaching black children."[349] Similarly, an article in *Georgetown Today* stated that "one sister, Emma, founded the Sisters of the

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[348] Thomas J. O'Donnell, "For Bread and Wine," *The Woodstock Letters* vol. LXXX no. 2, May, 1951, 99-100.

[349] "A Century Later," May 20, 1973, *The Sunday Star and the Washington Daily News*, Box 3, Folder 2, Rev. Patrick F. Healy, S.J. Papers, Archives and Special Collections, College of the Holy Cross.

Holy Family, an order dedicated to teaching black children."[350] While two Healy sisters became nuns, neither was named Emma and neither founded an order by this description (or any order at all, for that matter). The source for these seems to be a *Hoya* article from 1970 on Healy Hall and Healy himself. A subsection, titled "Soul Sister," claims that

> Emma Healy, a soul sister cut of the same cloth as Harriet Tubman and Sojourner Truth, was to enter the Sisters of Loretto in Kentucky when she was informed that she would have to live in the barn with the other black nuns, so as not to be offensive to her white "sisters." After having told the Mother Superior "where to get off", she convinced the six black members of the Sisters of Loretto to leave the order and with them she founded the Sisters of the Holy Family, an order of black nuns whose vocation is exclusively to teach black children. She established her community in the heart of the South, in New Orleans, daring the white authorities to close her school.[351]

This figure seems to be a conflation of Henriette Delille, foundress of the Sisters of the Holy Family, with one of the actual Healy sisters. The way in which she is figured here seems calculated to appeal to a certain image of black activism, with the reference to telling an authority figure "where to get off" and references to Sojourner Truth and Harriet Tubman. The origin of Emma Healy as a figure is, however, completely unclear.[352] The reference to the Sisters of Loretto is likewise odd, as no Healy sister was involved with them. However, an auxiliary group affiliated with the order did exist in 1824 as a short-lived attempt to start an order for black women.[353]

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[350] Martin Yant, "Father Healy: A Negro and a Dream," September 1971, *Georgetown Today*, Box 3, Folder 3, Rev. Patrick F. Healy, S.J. Papers, Archives and Special Collections, College of the Holy Cross.
[351] Bob Bruso, "Healy, a Building Worthy of the Man," October 29, 1970, *The Hoya*, Box 2, Folder 5, Old Archives: Buildings, Georgetown University Archives.
[352] I have spoken with Fr. Robert Bruso, the author of the article, in an effort to find out the origin of this figure; he did not recall where he found the information but speculated it could have come from a book at Riggs Library at Georgetown University, where he would have researched the article. Fr. Robert Bruso, email message to the author, September 7, 2017.
[353] Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*, 98.

What is gained in inventing a figure like Emma Healy? Again, it seems to be an attempt to present a more palatable version of the Healys to the modern reader. The real Healy sisters were quieter, less radical presences in many histories of the family, with two becoming nuns and a third marrying and having a fairly mundane life as a Boston housewife. This invented sister seems more trailblazing in the style of her brothers, and the story of her telling the superior "where to get off" seems specifically tailored to a sensibility that demands a certain form of agency (namely, one that openly opposes injustice) from historical figures in order to find them noteworthy. Additionally, Emma is given a racial consciousness that the Healy brothers did not possess; rather than passing as white, she is identified as black and fights for her own rights as such. This is remaking the Healys in an image that someone found more relatable and appealing than the more complex truth. Moreover, this story seems to have at some point been plucked from thin air, or created from an amalgamation of various historical figures. What does it mean for this story to have been invented? I argue that it demonstrates that the Healys' seeming lack of black racial consciousness is troubling to some interlocutors.

Perspectives on Healy

Healy has been reconfigured in so many different formations; he is black, white, both, and neither, depending on his interlocutor. I aim here to go through depictions of Healy chronologically and analyze them, both in terms of race and as a person more broadly. What new versions of Healy do we encounter here? What concepts of race and racialization do they rely upon? Who are these new Healys, and how connected are they to what we actually do know about him? I attempt to categorize these depictions of Healy accordingly.

The *Woodstock Letters* was a Jesuit journal that ran from 1872 to 1969 that was written by Jesuits for Jesuits. It is one of the earliest places in which Healy has been examined (and in which he also contributed articles himself). The first mention of Healy comes in the journal's first issue; he is credited as "Rev. Father Healy, S.J., of Georgetown College, D.C." in a series of letters from India by another unnamed Jesuit that he has placed "at our disposal."[354] Healy is also credited in 1879 as the author of an obituary of Father Joseph B. O'Hagan, who "died of apoplexy at sea" when he and Healy were on their way to San Francisco.[355] He next appears in 1894 in a letter to the editor titled "Captain Healy and the Transfer of Archbishop Segher's Remains."[356] In it, Healy appears to defend the conduct of his brother Michael, who had evidently refused a request to transport said remains due to conditions on board his ship as well as governmental red tape. Healy is mentioned again in 1904 in a profile of Jesuit colleges as president of Georgetown University, credited with having "greatly improved its scholastic standing, increased its fame, and erected the splendid new building."[357]

Healy's obituary appears in the *Woodstock Letters* in 1910, the year of his death. He is hailed as "a venerable and holy Jesuit" who "was so productive of results that the ever-sweeping winds of time will not carry off on their speeding wings the memory of his career."[358] The obituary chronicles his career at Georgetown and elsewhere. We are

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[354] "Extracts of Letters from Abroad," *The Woodstock Letters* 1 (1872) 141-143.
[355] Patrick F. Healy, "OBITUARY," *The Woodstock Letters* 8 (1879) 173-183.
[356] Patrick F. Healy, "Captain Healy and the Transfer of Archbishop Segher's Remains," *The Woodstock Letters* 23 no. 1 (1894) 114-115.
[357] John J. Ryan, S.J., "Our Scholasticate--an Account of its Growth and History to the Opening of Woodstock, 1805-1869," *The Woodstock Letters* 33 (1904), 151.
[358] "OBITUARY: Father Patrick F. Healy," *The Woodstock Letters* 39 (1910), 387.

assured that his funeral "was in every way characteristic of Jesuit simplicity."[359] This source creates a portrait of Healy as the exemplary Jesuit, with no mention of race.

Healy disappears from the pages of the *Woodstock Letters* until 1951. In that year, Thomas J. O'Donnell, S.J. wrote a highly imaginative sketch of Healy's life titled "For Bread and Wine," discussed earlier in this chapter.[360] This is, as near as I can tell, the first attempt to tell the Healys' racial story in a published form. O'Donnell begins by describing Healy's funeral, then moves on to an imagined meeting between Michael Healy, described erroneously as a railroad worker, and Eliza Clark, positioned as the daughter of a planter who Healy dined with and who caught his eye. They are described (incorrectly) as having married in Boston and then returned to Georgia.[361] From there, we are given a litany of the births of the various Healy children, including Patrick and an account of the children's early schooling at a supposed Quaker school in Long Island.[362]

What was happening in 1951 that made telling the Healys' story acceptable or even important? It is possible that the number of people who had been informed through this and other informal channels of the Healys' racial background had reached a critical mass that made publishing the story relatively uncontroversial. It could also be that this was a form of perception management or damage control regarding the nature of the relationship between Michael Healy and Eliza Clark. We have evidence that as early as the late 1940s, the Georgetown University library was replying to people who wrote in with information on the Healys' racial background; we have the form letter that was sent

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[359] Ibid., 389.
[360] Thomas J. O'Donnell, S.J. "For Bread and Wine," *The Woodstock Letters* 80 (1951), 99-142.
[361] Ibid., 99-100.
[362] Ibid., 100.

out as well as Foley's corrections for the information in the letter, some of which he regarded as inaccurate.

In O'Donnell's retelling, the Healy brothers' days at Holy Cross are described as warm and happy, but marred by the deaths of their parents and of their brother Hugh.[363] O'Donnell describes the difficulties of obtaining an exeat for both James and Patrick, and posits a discordant relationship between Sherwood and Michael Jr. based on some correspondence.[364] He also profiles the letter in which Patrick describes being ridiculed at College of the Holy Cross by those who know his brothers and presumably have made guesses at his heritage.[365] His time at Louvain is covered as are his years at Georgetown.[366] O'Donnell then leaps abruptly to Healy's funeral, with which he began the piece, leaving aside the many years between Healy's resignation from Georgetown and his death.[367] This is a Georgetown-focused portrayal of Healy, seeing this as a prestigious position that he achieved despite his racial background.

In longform published works, Healy first emerges as a racialized figure in *Bishop Healy: Beloved Outcaste: The Story of a Great Priest Whose Life has Become a Legend* and *God's Men of Color: The Colored Catholic Priests of the United States 1854-1954*, both by Albert S. Foley, S.J.[368] The impact of Foley on popular depictions of the Healys in general and Patrick Healy in particular cannot be overstated. Foley, born in New Orleans in 1912, joined the Jesuits at 17 and dedicated the rest of his life to issues of

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[363] Ibid. 105.
[364] Ibid., 110.
[365] Ibid., 116.
[366] Ibid., 125-130.
[367] Ibid., 142.
[368] Albert S. Foley, *Bishop Healy: Beloved Outcaste: The Story of a Great Priest Whose Life has Become a Legend* (New York: Strauss and Young, 1954); Albert S. Foley, *God's Men of Color: The Colored Catholic Priests of the United States 1854-1954* (New York: Strauss and Young, 1955).

racial justice. He did this as a professor of sociology at Spring Hill College, where he surveyed attitudes on race and tracked the KKK. Foley also worked with Catholic organizations geared toward interracial cooperation and helped to broker the integration of Mobile, Alabama's businesses.

Foley displayed a clear commitment throughout his life in racial equality and in the value of interracial cooperation and dialogue. One way in which this manifested was his research interest in the Healys. Foley was the most prominent populizer of the Healys in the twentieth century, and the first to position them as African American historical figures who proved that African Americans could be valuable members of the Catholic Church and had made significant past contributions to the church's legacy in the United States. Despite the fact that he was a Jesuit, some of Foley's papers reside with the Josephites, an order founded to missionize newly freed African Americans after the Civil War, which functions as a proof that his primary focus was on African American Catholics throughout his career.[369]

In *God's Men of Color*, Patrick Healy gets his own chapter, titled "Georgetown's Second Founder." Foley begins the chapter by contrasting the aristocratic origins of John Carroll, the university's founder, with those of Healy, described as "the son of a pioneer Irish planter of a mulatto slave."[370] Healy is described as "the most handsome of the Healy brothers" and "brooding."[371] The majority of the chapter is devoted to his career at Georgetown with little reference to race compared to the chapters devoted to James or Sherwood Healy. It is possible that Foley judged Sherwood and James as more affected

[369] The Josephite archives function as a catch-all location for African American Catholic history, regardless of whether the subject had a direct connection to the Josephites or not.
[370] Foley, *God's Men of Color*, 23.
[371] Ibid., 24, 25.

by the family's background, given existing photographs of them revealing Patrick's noticeably lighter skin. Patrick Healy is seen in this source as less impacted by his racial background than his siblings were.

Somewhat curiously, Foley arrives at the conclusion in *Dream of an Outcaste* that the primary obstacle in Healy's life was what he diagnoses retroactively as epilepsy. Much of the book is not especially concerned with Healy's racial identity; rather, Foley concludes, "epilepsy, rather than race, was the really shattering factor that disrupted his career… and substantially modified his subsequent life."[372] While Healy certainly suffered from numerous ailments that he documented in his journals and were noted throughout his life, they do not seem to clearly align with epilepsy, as noted by O'Toole.[373] It is possible that this turn to epilepsy is an attempt on Foley's part to reinterpret the era of Healy's career when he resigned as president of Georgetown due to general illness. As mentioned previously, there are times in Healy's diary where he does mention epilepsy; however, it is never in the context of declaring that he had it. Foley creates in this instance an image of Healy not as a hero to black Catholics, but perhaps to Catholics with disabilities instead.

Another, perhaps more revealing instance of Foley's views on Healy comes from a letter written to Philips Temple in 1954 correcting the library's standard reply on Healy. In addition to correcting some more mundane errors, Foley asserted that

> His mother can safely be described as a "mulatto" which is a general term, but Father Healy cannot certainly be described as a "quadroon" in any technical sense. "Quadroon" means ¼ Negro. This is not at all certain from the documents. The mother was a "light-skinned, fair-haired" mulatto, and Bishop Healy once

[372] Foley, *Dream of an Outcaste*, 294.
[373] O'Toole, *Passing for White,* 253 n. 31.

> spoke of her as an "octoroon"--meaning one-eighth Negro, if he were using it in any strict sense.[374]

It is unclear to which "documents" Foley refers here, as well as to which statement from James Healy he is working from. He also refers to O'Donnell's account in the *Woodstock Letters* as "highly imaginative" and cautions against referring to Michael Healy in any discussions of race and the Healy family, as his descendants were wary of being linked to their newly-racialized-as-black ancestors.[375] This is a very technical account of Healy's racial background, with its focus on fractions and use of now-outdated terms like "quadroon."

Healy's racial position during his lifetime is discussed in other Catholic sources from this period as well. O'Donnell, in the 1951 *Woodstock Letters* article, writes that "more than once it has been objected that Patrick Healy could never have been of Negro parentage, and still be appointed President of the South's great Jesuit university."[376] He acknowledges that DC families who entertained Patrick Healy "did not know that he was a Negro… but what they did most certainly know was that Patrick Healy of Georgia was a perfect Southern gentleman."[377] O'Donnell thus does not posit Healy as an example of progressivism, but rather acknowledges that those who so admired him did so at least in part because they were unaware of his mother's status. In this account, Healy is positioned as having risen above his natural station, but is not seen necessarily as being purposefully deceptive in having done so.

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[374] Albert Foley to Philips Temple, April 5, 1954, Librarian's Correspondence (Temple): Patrick Healy, Subject Files, Riggs Library, Georgetown University Archives, Georgetown University Library.
[375] Ibid.
[376] O'Donnell, "For Bread and Wine," 131
[377] Ibid.

Around the same time, a Dominican sister named Mary Ellen O'Hanlon produced a pamphlet that also brought the Healys into racialized Catholic history. O'Hanlon was a biologist who, like Foley, was committed to causes of racial justice and saw the Healys as proof of the capability of African Americans to contribute to the Catholic church and to society more broadly.[378] In one of two pamphlets she produced on race, *The Heresy of Race*, O'Hanlon used her background in biology to argue that race, as it was commonly conceived of by her contemporaries, did not, strictly speaking, exist in the way they thought it did.

She goes on to discuss the history of people of African descent in the Catholic church from its earliest days to her present. This of course brings her to the Healys, described under the heading "Negro American Priests."[379] O'Hanlon pays special attention to Patrick Healy, recalling that during a visit to Georgetown University, the archivist "made many complimentary remarks about Father Healy… he said that it was Father Healy who *made* Georgetown University."[380] Though she classifies them as "negro," she explains their success as follows:

> The city of Boston was and is largely Catholic, and truly Catholic, so that the matter of race is not paralleled with religion or given any undue or discriminating consideration. Therefore a Catholic priest--whether Negro, white, or yellow--is revered for his proper dignity without any reference to his skin color. Moreover the father of this Healy family was a native of Ireland and, consequently, had not been influenced by racial distinction.

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[378] The only extant biographical sketch of O'Hanlon is in *Women Building Chicago 1790-1990: A Biographical Dictionary* ed. Rima Lumin Schultz and Adele Hast (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001).
[379] Mary Ellen O'Hanlon, *The Heresy of Race* (River Forest, Illinois: Rosary College, 1950), 19, http://dom.constellation.libras.org/handle/10969/1074.
[380] Ibid., 19.

Leaving aside the somewhat bizarre assertion that Boston was devoid of racism in the nineteenth century due to its prominent Catholicism and that being Irish precludes one from participating in American systems of racialization, O'Hanlon's argument about how Catholics should think of race is clear. Race should be subsumed to religion and people judged according to their role in the Catholic church. In this telling, Healy is an exemplar of O'Hanlon's principles regarding race and Catholicism. One might think of her as being somewhat in Foley's camp; the past has something to say for the present, and the Healys are the key to racial reconciliation.

A 1973 article in the *Washington Afro-American* exemplifies one form of remembering Healy as black, linking historical recognition of Healy as black with a present commitment to racial justice. In "God's Man of Color," a memorial service for the 100th anniversary of Healy's presidency is described, alongside the invocation of Healy as "a black man… the first black person to serve as president of a major, predominately (sic) white university in the United States."[381] The article goes on to state that

> Georgetown is still striving to realize the goals of justice, liberty and equal opportunity for all, coupled with educational excellence and religious leadership. The memorial to Father Healy is a big step toward the fulfillment of these goals. We hope it serves as a renewed dedication to the ideals as exemplified particularly in Father Healy.[382]

The article uses Healy as an example of "justice, liberty, and equal opportunity" at work in Georgetown in the past in a way that it should be emulated in the future. In this account, Healy is seen as an example of progressivism, with the buried assumption that

[381] "God's Man of Color," May 12, 1973, *Washington Afro-American*, 4, Box 3, Folder 2, Rev. Patrick F. Healy, S.J. Papers, Archives and Special Collections, College of the Holy Cross.
[382] Ibid.

Georgetown was aware of his racial background and granted him his position regardless due to a spirit of progress.

A letter to the editor printed in 1988 in the *New York Times* exemplifies one response to the Healys. Beatrice H. Comas writes of James Healy that

> No doubt Bishop Healy was an "outcast" in that he served the church in Portland when racism was rampant among priests and parishioners, but whenever he had a chance to speak out for blacks he avoided the issue. He discouraged black Catholic organizations in their efforts to establish a national organization and, when asked to address the Congress of Colored Catholics in 1889, 1890 and 1892, he refused. He did not accept the challenge then or thereafter. There are those who believe that had he done so, he would have ranked among the greatest bishops of America. The conclusion seems to be that he wanted his racial ancestry forgotten.[383]

Contextually, it is worth noting that it is unclear whether James was asked to address the CCC because his ancestry was known or because of his involvement with the Black and Indian Mission in his capacity as a bishop. Though Comas's critique focuses on James, it would doubtless extend to Patrick as well, who similarly refused any identification with the black community during his lifetime. This letter presents a definition of blackness that requires the subject to identify with and assent to it. Patrick Healy in this portrayal is a racial traitor.

Some writers examine the Healys' physical appearances, based on existing photographs of them. This returns us to the question of passing, and its sociality; the judgment is made by the viewer, looking backward in time, as to how or whether the Healys could or should be considered white. "The Healys have been criticized for not lending their names to black causes, but how 'black' were they?" asked Sandra Miesel,

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[383] Beatrice H. Comas, "Bishop Healy Didn't Promote Black Pride," June 21, 1988, *The New York Times*, Box 3, Folder 2, Rev. Patrick F. Healy, S.J. Papers, Archives and Special Collections, College of the Holy Cross.

writing further that "Short, slightly built James looked like a petite version of Hollywood's Mario Van Peebles. Sherwood was darker, Patrick taller and fairer."[384] Miesel concludes that some of the siblings were more visibly black than others, but does not explore what this might mean in terms of identity or for how we should interpret the lives of the Healys. Few photographs of the Healys exist and even fewer are in public circulation. Judging how or whether the Healys passed as white based on their photographs is something that resurfaces in several sources, including O'Toole. He writes of Patrick Healy that "his passports inevitably described him as 'light' or 'fair' in appearance, and those perceptions, confirmed by surviving photographs, were common enough to let him get by."[385] This is a sort of passing as getting by, as not being called out.

The next major source after Foley to approach Healy is not until the 1990s, in Cyprian Davis's landmark *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*.[386] Davis chronicles the lives of James, Patrick, and Sherwood, identifying them as sons of an enslaved woman and thus legally slaves themselves, referring to Eliza Clark as "light-skinned."[387] He identifies a letter from Bishop Fitzpatrick referring to Sherwood as having "african (sic) blood" which "shews distinctly in his exterior." Davis regards this as evidence that Sherwood (and James, whom Fitzpatrick also knew well) were regarded as black by the Catholic hierarchy who knew them.[388] He does not explore exactly how

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[384] Sandra Miesel, "A Trio of Black Irishmen," Feb 23, 1992, *Los Angeles Weekly*, Box 3, Folder 2, Rev. Patrick F. Healy, S.J. Papers, Archives and Special Collections, College of the Holy Cross.
[385] O'Toole, *Passing for White*, 78.
[386] Cyprian Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States* (New York: Crossroad Publishing Company, 1991).
[387] Ibid., 146.
[388] Ibid., 149.

the hierarchy would have navigated this and justified ordaining and promoting the brothers. As regards Patrick Healy in particular, Davis concludes that he concealed his background and that he and his brothers refused to engage with broader racial questions of the era or to act in solidarity with other African Americans. Davis appraises this as a shortcoming, writing that "one may not judge the intentions and the unexpressed sentiments of another or apply the sensitivities and the awareness of a later historical period to an earlier time, yet one may still wonder how these good and upright men judged themselves in the silence of their own hearts."[389]

James O'Toole's *Passing for White: Race, Religion, and the Healy Family, 1820-1920* is the primary scholarly work of the past few decades that has addressed Patrick Healy (and the Healy family more broadly).[390] O'Toole acknowledges that the Healys, based on the racial conventions of their day, would have been seen as black by those who knew of their origins, due to the status of their mother. Moreover, he argues that converting to Catholicism allowed them to sidestep the black/white binary and gave them a separate identity as Catholics, and in particular, for many of the Healys, as Catholic religious. In particular he attributes their decision to join religious orders, thus "publicly renouncing active sexuality" as something that made them less threatening and gave them the ability to operate in white spaces.[391] Celibacy was something that facilitated passing. He explores the emotional dimensions of the Healys' passing as follows:

> A century and more later, their choice of whiteness over blackness seems, at some deep emotional level, wrong. Passing remains for us both a controversial word and a suspect idea, though for different reasons than in their day. Then, it implied

[389] Ibid., 152.
[390] O'Toole, *Passing for White*.
[391] Ibid., 226.

> deception… today, it suggests a lack of pride, a willingness to feel shame about oneself when no shame is warranted. It seems wrong, too, that we should claim blackness for them when they did not… faced with their dilemmas and their times, can we say that we would have done things differently, that we would have been bolder? Faced with the powerful forces of oppression that were all around them, would we too not have taken advantage of whatever escape fortune provided?[392]

O'Toole doesn't take the Healys to task nearly to the degree that Davis does, and if anything seems to encourage empathy for their situation and choices.

In his book on Jesuits in America from 2007, Raymond Schroth, S.J. writes of Healy and his family as people who "looked white but were legally black slaves."[393] He primarily positions Healy as someone who sought to make Georgetown a great university, foiled by his poor health. Schroth argued that "American Jesuits have a mixed history on the issue of racial integration, but there was no policy excluding black persons from membership." Presumably, by Schroth's reckoning, this made it easier for Healy to become a Jesuit than perhaps it would have been for him to join a more explicitly restricted order.[394] However, if there were no restrictions, it is unclear why Healy's parentage was kept relatively under wraps, although it seems to have been common knowledge among a certain sector of the Maryland Province hierarchy. It is also unclear who the first "openly" black Jesuit was after Healy.

Patrick Healy's legacy has continued into the digital era on blogs and Catholic historical websites. A Catholic blogger on *Patheos*, in a post on the Healy family, clearly constructs the Healys as passing:

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[392] Ibid., 227.
[393] Schroth, *The American Jesuits*, 84.
[394] Ibid., 84.

> In a country where the smallest amount of African ancestry defines one as Black, the Healys had to spend their lives "passing for white" (as their biographer James O'Toole writes). One can only imagine the toll it exacted...Patrick burned himself out before age fifty. Perhaps the saddest part is that they not only accommodated themselves to American racism; they internalized it. In time, they stopped thinking of themselves as anything but white, and so did their peers.[395]

The blog entry clearly sees Healy's self-conception as white as "sad," and a pathology of the racism of the nineteenth century. It is a construction in which passing for white is inherently, to some degree, racist. Additionally, it is a construction in which passing is somehow grueling; it is portrayed as the reason that Patrick "burned out."

Other sources do not problematize Healy's blackness. An article in the "Black Saints" series at the *National Catholic Reporter* clearly positions him as black just from the title, and asks "Did you know that the very first African American priests in the United States were three brothers born of a slave mother and fathered by a Georgia plantation owner?"[396] The only other commentary on Patrick's race is to note that, "ironically," Georgetown did not admit students of color during his tenure at the university.[397] The article does not explore how the Healys navigated white-only spaces like Georgetown if, as the article asserts, they were clearly and unproblematically identified as African American.

As in Catholic sources, sources primarily focused on race or African American history have also carried Healy into the digital world. The website *Black Past* includes a short biography of Healy and refers to him as having "openly acknowledged being of part

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[395] Pat McNamara, "'I No Longer Call You Slaves': The Healy Brothers, 1830-1910," February 2, 2011, *McNamara's Blog*, http://www.patheos.com/blogs/mcnamarasblog/2011/02/%E2%80%9Ci-no-longer-call-you-slaves%E2%80%9D-the-healy-brothers-1830-1910.html

[396] "Black Saints: James, Alexander, and Patrick Healy," November 16, 2013, *National Catholic Reporter,* https://www.ncronline.org/blogs/ncr-today/black-saints-james-alexander-and-patrick-healy

[397] Ibid.

African or black ancestry."[398] Though this is not true (at least by most definitions of open acknowledgment), it plays into the idea of Healy as a black Catholic pioneer. Other sources provide more attention to ideas of passing; blogger Susan at *Black Then* positions him as a "trickster" figure, writing that "as the son of his enslaver, Patrick Healy and his family knew the intricacies of whiteness and how to maneuver successfully… Like a trickster-figure, he mastered different languages, religions, and invited souls to be saved on behalf of a Christian god."[399] The portrayal of Healy as a "trickster figure" seems to position him within a non-Christian paradigm associated with non-whiteness, despite his status as a Catholic priest.

The *African American Registry* refers to him as a "black minister," an unusual rhetorical move that seems to position Healy in the lineage of African American preachers. Given that "minister" is a term coded to Protestant religion, framing him as such seems to elide Healy's Catholicism to a certain degree. The National Park Service, on the other hand, delicately positions him as having passed as white but asserts that if one uses "the racial classification of his day" he qualifies as a number of African American "firsts."[400] Relying on the "of his day" does complicated work here; it acknowledges that those with knowledge of his parents would have considered Healy black, but doesn't explore his lived reality as a white Irish-American.

In all of these depictions, Healy's race is seen as his defining characteristic. Whether he is seen as black, white, passing for white, mixed-race, or some combination

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[398] Allison Espiritu, "Healy, Patrick (1834-1910)," accessed September 30, 2017, *Black Past*, http://www.blackpast.org/aah/healy-patrick-1834-1910

[399] Susan, "Dr. Patrick Francis Healy: An Early American Trickster," June 27, 2017, *Black Then*, https://blackthen.com/dr-patrick-francis-healy-an-early-american-trickster/

[400] "Patrick Francis Healy," accessed September 30, 2017, *National Park Service*, https://www.nps.gov/people/patrick-francis-healy.htm

of these, his race defines him and makes his accomplishments exceptional. In some of these framings, Healy is a tale of a Catholic church secretly diverse before its time; in others, he is a case of African American achievement, a tragic case of racial passing, or a story of triumph over adversity.

Georgetown University and College of the Holy Cross

One of the foremost places in which Healy's story has been shaped is at the school he once headed. Over the last several decades, Georgetown University has shaped and reshaped Healy's image to suit various needs. In some cases, he has been used to create an image of a school progressive before its time; in others, he has been a flashpoint of reflection on the idea that Georgetown was actually in step with the racial views of his time, and that nobody in Healy's time considered him black, enabling him to take the presidency that would have otherwise eluded him. In either case (and those that fall somewhere between), it is important to note the ways that information provided about Healy by Georgetown University shaped the impression that various individuals and organizations associated with the university wanted to cultivate. Additionally, his legacy has been shaped at College of the Holy Cross, where Healy and his brothers were students, and where a building bears their surname.

Healy's legacy still lives on at Georgetown today, as well as at College of the Holy Cross. Students and others at these schools continue to invoke his legacy to ask questions about race, otherness, and difference, spanning topics from the construction of race and ethnicity to discussions about LGBT people at Georgetown. Additionally, official materials from Georgetown shed light on how the university has sought to construct Healy's legacy in the years since his death.

Additionally, I seek to contextualize memorialization of Healy and his family within broader stories of campuses seeking to grapple with problematic or difficult histories. Specifically, at the time of writing, many universities are grappling with controversies over Confederate monuments, memorials to historical figures with unsavory pasts, and other difficult issues being battled out by students, faculty and staff, and community members alike. I ask what these struggles, which at their core are about the memorialization of slavery and slaveholders at universities, have to tell us about the memorialization of Patrick Healy at Georgetown University and College of the Holy Cross. In particular, I am interested in the debate over whether a building named after the Healy Family at College of the Holy Cross should be renamed.

Official material from Georgetown sheds light on how the university itself has sought to construct Patrick Healy's image. This construction has changed over time and become more publicly accessible through the advent of the internet and Georgetown's web presence. However, dating as far back as the 1940s, Georgetown has sought to curate what information is publicly accessible about Healy's background and how he might be racialized. This material conveys exactly how Georgetown sought to contextualize Healy within its institution.

One particularly instructive and early example of this is a series of correspondence in 1949 between a Georgetown librarian, Phillips Temple, and J. Hunter Guthrie, S.J., then president of the school. Writing to Guthrie on May 9, 1949, Temple wrote: "We have need for a standard reply in response to questions that come in concerning the racial background of Father Patrick J. (sic) Healy, S.J., the twenty-second President of Georgetown University. There has been no set policy heretofore, but the

Library has generally given the information when asked."[401] He goes on to complain that other libraries are providing information with some factual inaccuracies and asks for approval of an attached scripted response. The attached reply refers to Healy as the son of "an Irish father and a mulatto mother, [who] was thus a quadroon."[402] It goes on to give a brief biographical sketch of Healy and his siblings and refers the reader to resources like John T. Gillard, S.S.J.'s *Colored Catholics in the United States*.[403]

Interestingly, this scripted reply does not tell the reader what to think about this information; that is, Temple does not ask the reader to reflect this knowledge onto their opinion of Georgetown University or the Catholic church's racial politics or to imagine the contrasts of Healy's life, though the imagined reader surely would do this implicitly. Guthrie approved the message, only correcting Healy's middle initial to an F and adding some potential sources of information for readers.[404] The piece is responding to a clear need; evidently, people were writing Georgetown for information on Healy, including his racial background.

Another place in which Healy's legacy has been shaped is in the pages of *The Hoya*. As Georgetown's student newspaper, *The Hoya* has been a site of a wide range of iterations of Healy and differing opinions of the relationship between his status at Georgetown and the meaning of that for disparate racial and other groups today. As a forum for student opinion, *The Hoya* serves as a space in which students of Georgetown University can explore Healy's legacy and take it in new directions.

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[401] Librarian's Correspondence (Temple): Patrick Healy, Subject Files, Riggs Library, Georgetown University Archives, Georgetown University Library.
[402] Ibid.
[403] John T. Gillard, *Colored Catholics in the United States* (Baltimore: Josephite Press, 1941).
[404] Librarian's Correspondence (Temple): Patrick Healy, Subject Files, Riggs Library, Georgetown University Archives, Georgetown University Library.

In some articles, Healy is listed as one of a series of people of color associated with the university's past. One example is an editorial on building-naming practices at Georgetown University that notes Healy as "the first university president of mixed-race ancestry."[405] Another article, on a black man who became an unofficial mascot for the university's football team, briefly notes Healy as "the first black president of the university" in the context of asking at what point Georgetown underwent a "racial transformation."[406] An article chronicling a visit from FBI director James Comey quotes him saying that he gave the address in a hall named after a man "born into slavery and the first black man in America to earn a Ph.D., to join the Jesuit order and to become the president of a predominately (sic) white university."[407] Others focus more on Healy's other characteristics; Matthew Carnes, S.J. writes of Healy as someone who "positioned the university to serve the national mission of reconciliation after the Civil War."[408] Elsewhere, he is remembered primarily as the man responsible for Healy Hall, with no mention of his racial identity.[409] This listing methodology categorizes Healy racially unproblematically as black or as a person of color without further inquiring into the complications of his identity during his lifetime or current disputes over how it makes sense to think of him.

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[405] Editorial board, "Walsh, Healy… McCourt?" September 27, 2013, *The Hoya*, http://www.thehoya.com/walsh-healy-mccourt/

[406] Matthew Quallen, "The Life of Pebbles," September 25, 2015, *The Hoya,* http://www.thehoya.com/the-life-of-pebbles/

[407] Molly Simio, "In Rare Move, FBI Head Addresses Race Relations," February 13, 2015, *The Hoya*, http://www.thehoya.com/rare-move-fbi-head-addresses-race-relations/

[408] Matthew Carnes, "CARNES: Humility and Humor from Generations Past, February 7, 2013, *The Hoya*, http://www.thehoya.com/carnes-humility-and-humor-from-generations-past/

[409] Andrew Dwulet, "A Campaign Unfinished," September 18, 2009, *The Hoya*, http://www.thehoya.com/a-campaign-unfinished/

Other articles debate whether or how to remember Healy's racial identity. D. Pierce Nixon's "Stay True to Healy Legacy" and a piece responding to him exemplify these battles. Nixon writes that

> Modern fascination with Healy borders on celebrating him as a civil rights leader, which he was not. In fact, we are wrong to call Healy a black president at all. He wouldn't have. Healy's story is so popular because, whether he meant to or not, he serves as an example to us of what a person can achieve regardless of color. We see in him an ideal of equality and acceptance that we would like to see in our own time. It's a great story, but it's one that we made up. Healy the Jesuit did not become Healy the Great Black Jesuit until long after his death. Disappointing, I know. The legacy of Fr. Patrick Healy, S.J., should be celebrated, but we should not be so quick to attach to his story any notion of breaking down barriers of race or any other artificial division that we place between people. Healy should be celebrated as a good president, a good Jesuit and a good person. That's it. And that's good enough.[410]

Nixon sees the focus on Healy as a black Catholic hero as anachronistic and at odds with how Healy seemed to view himself. This view prioritizes Healy's standpoint over how he is seen by later generations. This represents one way of navigating Healy's identity: deprioritizing modern interpretations over the one he himself put forward. This is a mode of historical thinking that comes up repeatedly in discussions of Healy.

In a piece responding to Nixon entitled "Healy's Race Important Part of GU History," three alumni, including PBS White House correspondent Yamiche Alcindor, argue that Healy's self-understanding should be seen as a reflection of his time and not something that dictates present interpretations of him.

> Indeed, Healy was the first black president and should be recognized as that. Reluctance to label himself as such was more a reflection of the historical context during which he lived, its pressures to pass for white and negate one's African heritage. Regardless, he still stands as a proud symbol of how people of color

[410] D. Pierce Nixon, "Stay True to Healy Legacy," September 11, 2007, *The Hoya* http://www.thehoya.com/stay-true-to-healy-legacy/

> achieved at Georgetown, even if he unfortunately chose not to publicly embrace his identity.[411]

Conversely, this article argues that Healy's self-fashioning was the result of societal coercion and does not prevent him from being seen as African American in the present day. This represents a view of agency in which a person's self-conception cannot be considered without thinking about various societal pressures and forces that shaped that self-conception. In essence, Healy's personal identification during his lifetime is outweighed by the forces of history and white supremacy. This is a constant issue that comes up in portrayals of Healy at Georgetown or elsewhere; Healy's supposed self-understanding is put into conflict with how we see Healy today.

Interestingly, some approaches in *the Hoya* to Patrick Healy take the question of his racial identity in new directions, using it to interrogate other issues of identity at play on campus. One letter to the editor titled "It's Time to Out GU," for example, uses Healy's life to question how the school's administration addresses LGBT issues, specifically in terms of how its history is framed:

> Considering that Georgetown's leadership already has included at least one gay, but not "out" president (as well as provost, dean, treasurer, university chaplains and department chairs), a better question would be to ask how soon, or under what political and cultural circumstances, would the university begin to tout its LGBTQ history, as it did in the late 1960s with regard to its unfortunate history on race when Fr. Patrick Healy's, S.J., bio went from a self-identified ethnic Irishman to "the first black president of a major university"?[412]

The letter was written specifically in response to an interview in which the school's president was asked when it would have its first LGBT president. This specifically

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[411] Yamiche Alcindor, Amy Hang, Xavier Ringer, "Healy's Race Important Part of GU History," September 18, 2017, *The Hoya* http://www.thehoya.com/healys-race-important-part-of-gu-history/

[412] Michael MacPhee, "It's Time to Out GU," March 25, 2014, *The Hoya*, http://www.thehoya.com/its-time-to-out-gu/

employs Healy's legacy to argue for a certain mode of historical inquiry in which recovery is emphasized; members of marginalized groups have been present all along, they merely have to be uncovered. However, the letter writer is not in favor of this; instead, they question how these histories are used to reposition the university as progressive.

This mode of historical interpretation and appeal to representation is not the only time that Healy has been invoked in discussions of LGBT issues at Georgetown. This is a fascinating turn of events and displays an interesting logic of how oppression functions and how oppressed groups and their histories can be understood not just on their own, but in terms of their meanings for each other. Patrick Healy's constructed status as a person of color in an inhospitable environment is used to put forward arguments about other groups, in this case LGBT people at Georgetown. The history of LGBT issues at Georgetown goes back decades and has often been contentious. In the 1980s the school was sued in an attempt to have student LGBT groups recognized.[413] In 2007, the "Out for Change" campaign, formed in response to an anti-LGBT hate crime on campus, pushed for the university to create an LGBT resource center and make various administrative and other changes, and was successful.[414] Most recently, the school approved LGBT-centric student housing in January of 2018.[415] A piece on this in the *Washington Blade* was illustrated with--what else--a picture of Healy Hall.

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[413] Lacey Henry, "Pride Group Fought Legal Battle," March 22, 2013, *The Hoya*, http://www.thehoya.com/pride-group-fought-legal-battle/

[414] Jennifer Nguyen, "VIEWPOINT: Coming Out for Change, 10 Years Later and Every Day," September 26, 2017, *The Hoya*, http://www.thehoya.com/viewpoint-coming-change-10-years-later-every-day/

[415] Mariah Cooper, "Georgetown University approves LGBT dorm," January 15, 2018, *The Washington Blade* http://www.washingtonblade.com/2018/01/15/georgetown-university-approves-lgbt-dorm/

Another letter to the editor, written by Nate Tisa, the school's first openly gay student body president, brings Healy to the fore once again. Healy is invoked to support the claim that acceptance of LGBT and pro-choice student groups would be intrinsic to the university's historical openness to varying backgrounds and viewpoints:

> Georgetown was founded as a university open to all faiths. Fr. John Carroll, S.J., emphasized the importance of interfaith dialogue at a time when the Catholic Church was far from supportive of dissenting opinion. Fr. Patrick Healy, S.J., who served as university president 90 years after Carroll, was born a slave in Macon, Georgia. About a century after that, in 1969, the College opened up to women.[416]

Tisa establishes a certain logic here that sees a commonality between racial and other minority groups. He is positioning himself in a broader arc of acceptance of various components of society, seeing the acceptance of LGBT people at Georgetown as part of a continuum that has included the acceptance of African Americans and women.

All of this must be contextualized within recent discussions at various colleges and universities about controversial past events and figures as well as the legacy of slavery in particular. While these discussions have been especially prominent at Georgetown University, it is far from the only institution undertaking these discussions in the past several years. Other universities, such as Harvard and Brown, have also been asking questions about their institutions' connections to slavery.[417] The University of Virginia's page on "Universities Studying Slavery" lists dozens of institutions engaged in these conversations.[418] Generally, these universities are asking questions about the school's involvement in the buying, selling, and exploitation of the labor of enslaved

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[416] Nate Tisa, "TISA: Distorted Religious Identity Divides GU," September 14, 2012, *The Hoya* http://www.thehoya.com/tisa-distorted-religious-identity-divides-gu/

[417] Jennifer Schuessler, "Confronting Academia's Ties to Slavery," March 5, 2017. *The New York Times*, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/03/05/arts/confronting-academias-ties-to-slavery.html

[418] "Universities Studying Slavery," accessed May 15, 2018, *President's Commission on Slavery and the University*, http://slavery.virginia.edu/universities-studying-slavery/

people, and about the way in which slaveholders and others with unsavory histories are memorialized on campus. Some campuses have elected to change the names of buildings that memorialize slaveholders, while others have made other efforts to include the histories of the enslaved on campus.

Patrick Healy fits squarely yet oddly within this trajectory of universities discussing their pasts with slavery or more broadly problematic pasts. Namely, though, as noted in inquiries at College of the Holy Cross, while Healy benefited financially from the sale of slaves, he was also legally an enslaved person himself for a good portion of his life. This means that it is not easy to slot him in as oppressed or an oppressor in the way that other narratives around slavery can be conveniently classified. Healy was both an enslaved person and someone who benefited financially from the sale of slaves, both someone considered black in nineteenth century considerations of birth and blood and someone who presided over a school that did not admit people of color during his time there.

Other campuses have struggled with controversies over Confederate monuments. In what is one of the most prominent examples of struggles over this issue, in Virginia in 2017, white nationalist protesters and counter-protesters descended on Charlottesville and the University of Virginia campus there in part over questions about what would happen to a statue of Robert E. Lee in nearby Emancipation Park. White nationalist protesters became violent and a woman, Heather Heyer, was killed by a man who plowed his car into a group of counter-protesters.[419] Twenty-eight others were injured. At the time of

[419] Sheryl Gay Stolberg and Brian M. Rosenthal, "Man Charged After White Nationalist Rally in Charlottesville Ends in Deadly Violence," August 12, 2017, *The New York Times*, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/12/us/charlottesville-protest-white-nationalist.html

writing, the statue is still present in Charlottesville, after having been shrouded for a few months.[420]

In one example, a university elected not to fully get rid of a statue, but instead to recontextualize it. At the University of Texas at Austin, a statue of Jefferson Davis was removed from its spot on campus and placed in a history center on the campus in an attempt to display the statue as a historical artifact rather than as something meant specifically to honor Davis.[421]

Another recent example is the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill's "Silent Sam" statue, a statue of a Confederate soldier which had stood on campus for over a hundred years. On August 20, 2018, protesters gathered at the statue and pulled it down.[422] However, this victory may have been short-lived; at the time of writing, whether the statue would be restored to its former place or whether it would be relocated remains uncertain. A related case has come to light at Duke University. The man who spoke at the statue's unveiling in 1913, Julian Carr, bragged in the speech of having "horse-whipped a negro wench," and had other racist statements and actions in his past. At Duke University, a building is named after him; the department that the building houses has

[420] Andrew Shurtleff, "Tarps once again removed from Charlottesville statues," February 7, 2018, *The Daily Progress*, https://www.richmond.com/news/virginia/tarps-once-again-removed-from-charlottesville-statues/article_8caf6cf2-1236-5fa1-b96a-988c2aed1423.html

[421] Cailin Crowe, "What Happened When One University Moved a Confederate Statue to a Museum," September 10, 2018, *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, https://www.chronicle.com/article/What-Happened-When-One/244481

[422] Jesse James Deconto and Alan Blinder, "'Silent Sam' Confederate Statue is Toppled at University of North Carolina," August 21, 2018, *The New York Times*, https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/21/us/unc-silent-sam-monument-toppled.html

submitted a proposal to rename the building for the department's first African American professor.[423]

Georgetown University's current website also contains portrayals of and references to Patrick Healy. More specifically, awards, fellowships, and programs administered by the university bear Healy's name and thus are part of how Georgetown chooses to shape his image. One is the Patrick Healy Award, which is "conferred upon an individual who is not an alumnus/a, but whose achievements and record of service to Georgetown, community and professional achievements, exemplify the ideals and traditions of Georgetown."[424] The site makes no reference to Healy's heritage or racial identity, situating him primarily as the school's 29th president.

Other programs bearing Healy's name, however, emphasize a black identity for him, or construct him as a person of color through inference by connecting him to awards or events for people of color. The university's Center for Multicultural Equity & Access administers a fellowship named after Healy that offers "a community of dynamic leaders who share a passion for addressing issues that affect communities of color through a commitment to service, professional development, and alumni mentorship."[425] The program's website solicits applications from students "interested in issues of social justice and diversity" and mentions past activities such as traveling with other student

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[423] Andy Tsubasa Field, "After Silent Sam's Fall, Calls to Rename a Building at Duke Grow Louder," September 21, 2018, *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, https://www.chronicle.com/article/After-Silent-Sam-s-Fall/244600

[424] "Patrick Healy Award Recipients," *Georgetown University*, accessed September 1, 2017, http://alumni.georgetown.edu/alumni-association/alumni-awards/patrick-healy-award

[425] "Welcome to the Patrick Healy Fellowship," *The Patrick Healy Fellowship*, accessed September 1, 2017, http://healyfellows.org/

groups to Ferguson, Missouri in solidarity with protesters there.[426] The website makes no mention of Healy himself; however, its associated Twitter account mentions that the fellowship is "named after Patrick Francis Healy, 29th Georgetown President, & first African American to become a Jesuit Priest."[427] Another program, the Patrick Healy Dinner, is an annual event for the school's African American alumni.[428] These events and programs clearly establish Healy as African American and connect him to the university's present-day African American community.

As mentioned in chapter one, Patrick Healy was in many cases oddly absent from official Georgetown discussions of its past with slavery. However, this was not the case at College of the Holy Cross, where several Healy siblings were educated and where a building is named after James Healy. In 2016, partially in response to similar discussions at Georgetown University and the broader trend of universities discussing their pasts with slavery, the Mulledy/Healy Legacy Committee, named after both the Healy family and a former college president who sold slaves, met with alumni, students, staff, and faculty to determine whether buildings named after Mulledy and James Healy should keep their names and how the college should engage with this past going forward.[429] This is, as mentioned previously, in a broader context of colleges discussing ties to slavery and other unsavory elements of their pasts. In the case of College of the Holy Cross, this has

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[426] "Updates," *The Patrick Healy Fellowship*, accessed September 1, 2017, http://healyfellows.org/updates/
[427] PatrickHealyFellows, Twitter post, February 11, 2017, 11:59 AM, https://twitter.com/Healy_Fellows/status/830506623118536704
[428] "Patrick Healy Dinner," *GU Alumni*, accessed August 1, 2018, https://alumni.georgetown.edu/patrick-healy-dinner-2018
[429] "Holy Cross Mulledy/Healy Legacy Committee," accessed September 21, 2017, *College of the Holy Cross*, http://www.holycross.edu/mulledy-healy-legacy-committee

included discussions about whether the school will keep its "Crusader" mascot, deemed controversial by some students, alumni, staff, and faculty.[430]

The Healys were included in this committee not because of their status as slaves in Georgia, but because the sale of Michael Healy's slaves benefited the college. In 1854, Patrick Healy donated a portion of his inheritance from this sale to the college, which facilitated the repair of a damaged building on campus.[431] The Mulledy/Healy Legacy Committee's final report recognized the Healy family's mixed relationship to slavery as an institution, noting that they had both legally been slaves themselves as well as beneficiaries of the sale of slaves, creating a particularly complicated legacy.[432]

While college president Philip L. Boroughs, S.J.'s response to the report pondered hyphenating Mulledy's name on the building with that of John Brooks, S.J. Brooks, during his time as president of the college, made efforts to integrate it and moved to admit women to the school for the first time. Boroughs concurred with the recommendation of the committee that Healy hall keep its name, writing that "the Healy brothers' success at the College and their extraordinary professional lives which followed, as well as their own struggles with their racial identity in the context of the prejudicial social norms of the time, need to be remembered, understood and discussed by future generations of students, faculty and staff."[433] Interestingly, both the report and

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[430] "Crusader Moniker and Mascot," accessed February 28, 2018, *College of the Holy Cross*, https://www.holycross.edu/crusader-moniker-and-mascot

[431] "History Q&A," accessed September 21, 2017, *College of the Holy Cross*, http://www.holycross.edu/mulledy-healy-legacy-committee/history-q

[432] "What We Know: Report to the President of the College of the Holy Cross," March 18, 2016, *College of the Holy Cross*, https://www.holycross.edu/sites/default/files/files/mulledy-healy/mulledycommitteereportfinal.pdf

[433] Philip L. Boroughs, S.J., "President's Response to the Report of the Mulledy/Healy Legacy Committee," June 16, 2016, *College of the Holy Cross*,

Boroughs' response primarily frame the Healys as mixed-race individuals who benefited from the sale of slaves without spending much time on the fact that the Healys were also legally slaves at various points in their lives.

Both Georgetown University and College of the Holy Cross provide fascinating institutional case studies of how colleges and universities choose to construct and remember complex historical figures. The Healy family provides a unique intersection of race and religion in broader conversations about campus memorialization. Patrick Healy provides a unique intersection of these issues, as a person of African ancestry who also financially benefited from the sale of slaves. Additionally, Healy has been claimed by other marginalized groups, such as LGBT students at Georgetown, as a way to grapple with issues of representation and memory.

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http://news.holycross.edu/blog/2016/06/16/presidents-response-to-report-of-the-mulledyhealy-legacy-committee/

CHAPTER 5

PASSING FOR WHAT

In chapters five and six, I turn to theoretical categories that I find helpful in thinking through Healy's life and afterlives. Namely, I argue that while categories like empire, passing, sainthood, and sexuality tell us something about Healy, Healy also tells us something about them.

Intimate Empire

I would like to begin with the overlap between intimate relationships and empire. As Ann Laura Stoler puts it in her introduction to *Haunted By Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History*, "the obsession of the state and plantation bureaucracy with the intimate coordinates of racial categories--who slept with whom, who could marry, who could not, whose children were recognized as legitimate"-- form the underside of empire.[434] We need to understand the underside in order to understand the whole of empire and its constituting conditions. Moreover, "the disquieting presence of those 'misplaced' and displaced in the colonial order of things--mixed-bloods, poor whites, abandoned 'mixed-blood' children" serve as liminal cases that illuminate the logic and processes of empire.[435] Healy is, of course, one of these misplaced children. But rather than remain in this liminal space, he inserted himself into the mainstream of colonial life as a priest and as a member of the Irish-American upper middle class who traveled extensively and lived a rather comfortable life.

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[434] Ann Laura Stoler, "Preface," *Haunted By Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History*, ed. Ann Laura Stoler (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2006), xii.
[435] Ibid., xiii.

Nancy Cott, in the same volume, acknowledges that "as a nation-state the United States has generally refused to name its exercise of power as that of an empire."[436] However, empire forms a useful basis for thinking about intimate ties in this arena, as Stoler writes:

> Colonial authority depended on shaping appropriate and reasoned affect (where one's sympathies should lie), severing some intimate bonds and establishing others (which offspring would be acknowledged as one's own), establishing what constituted moral sentiments (family honor or patriotic duty); in short, colonial authority rested on educating the proper distribution of sentiments and desires.[437]

Healy attempted to distribute his sentiments and desires "properly"; he cultivated relationships with white relatives (or those perceived as white) and dissociated himself from black relatives like his mother. Moreover, he became a Catholic priest; this helped to solidify Healy's whiteness.

"Where one 'belonged' was reckoned, in part, by the cultivation of the self--by one's desires and by that for which *one ceased to long*."[438] This concept is tremendously helpful for thinking through Healy and his intimate and affective ties. He is defined just as much by that for which he "ceased to long"--namely, his mother--as he is by what he chose to associate himself with. Additionally, Healy dissociated himself from his father by calling Fenwick "dad," as did his siblings, taking on a more familiar form of address for a man who was not their biological father. However, he maintained ties with his siblings throughout their lives and cultivated relationships with extended kin on his father's side.

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[436] Nancy F. Cott, "Afterword," *Haunted By Empire*, 469.
[437] Stoler, "Intimidations of Empire: Predicaments of the Tactile and Unseen," *Haunted By Empire*, 2.
[438] Ibid., 13.

Distinctions between public and private, Stoler argues, were also an elementary part of how "racialized empire states managed their agents and subjects."[439] Moreover, as she writes,

> civility and racial membership were measured less by what people did in public than in their private lives--with whom they cohabited; who slept with whom, when, and where; who suckled which children; how children were reared and by whom; what language was spoken to servants, friends, and family members at home.[440]

Healy's private life was solidly white. Whether with other Jesuits or with his family, who also were cultivating a certain form of whiteness, his intimate connections went nowhere near blackness.

Moreover, we should be careful in thinking about the public/private divide not to elide the ways in which public/private functions as a colonial construction that aligns "private" with the feminine and the household.[441] Lisa Lowe writes in *The Intimacies of Four Continents* that

> The paradigm of separate spheres… cannot be easily extended to colonial or slavery societies, where the practice of the private and public spheres was unevenly imposed: colonial households and districts may have aspired to such divisions in manners reminiscent of the European metropolis, but colonized subjects were at once differentiated from, and yet subordinated to, regulating imperial notions of privacy and publicity.[442]

How did public and private operate in Healy's life, and in what ways is the labor of the private sphere (i.e. feminized household labor) obscured in accounts of his life, including his own? What kinds of private labor were required to facilitate Healy's life? His journals

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[439] Ibid., 15.
[440] Stoler, "Tense and Tender Ties: The Politics of Comparison in North American History and (Post) Colonial Studies," *Haunted By Empire*, 25.
[441] Linda Gordon, "Internal Colonialism and Gender," *Haunted By Empire*, 429.
[442] Lisa Lowe, *The Intimacies of Four Continents* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2015), 29-30.

imply the almost-ghostly presence of countless women, who washed his clothing, cleaned his quarters, cooked his food, and performed the myriad invisible labors that facilitated his life. This relationship to women's labor can be seen as part of Healy's cultivation of whiteness; the proper forms domestic labor took were performed by women.

The proper cultivation of intimate relationships and the denial of others forms an important aspect of another manifestation of racial systems under empire: passing. Passing depends on a sharp (and in the case of United States empire, binaristic) division between racial groups, and the presence of liminal people like Patrick Healy who attempt to pass between them. What follows is an extended examination of passing as a concept, what it tells us about Patrick Healy, and what Patrick Healy tells us about it.

Passing

Passing, as a concept, is at the heart of most discussions of Patrick Healy or the Healys more broadly. Passing surfaces both in terms of how Healy lived his life, historically speaking, as well as how he is perceived by contemporary interlocutors. While we have photographs of Healy, there is much else we do not know about him. We do not know how he carried himself or how he sounded when he spoke. Thus, it is hard to know how exactly Healy passed and how much effort he put into doing so. We have little evidence of how his contemporaries saw him racially. While we have some indication of how others saw James and Sherwood, we do not know if they saw Patrick in the same way. We know that mentors at College of the Holy Cross and some Jesuits were aware of his family background. However, we have few other commentaries on the racial status of Patrick Healy from the perspective of those who knew him.

I argue that passing for the Healys was a familial rather than individual affair, and that was full of contradictions. Working with literature on passing allows us to better see and understand these contradictions and understand what they do and do not tell us about Healy and his life. Passing, which initially would seem simple to define concisely, quickly becomes difficult to pin down. Aspects of our definitions that seem fixed become contingent and slippery. How we define passing comes immediately to depend on how we define race, ethnicity, and identity. However, in both popular and scholarly work on passing, certain elements and definitional characteristics consistently arise. Here, I examine how the term has been defined by various scholars, primarily in terms of race in the United States as well as in LGBT contexts, and what elements and characteristics these scholars point to as essential in defining passing. While the term has been used in other contexts, I focus here specifically on race and gender and sexuality for their utility in thinking about Patrick Healy as a case study.[443] I do this to think through connections between empire, sainthood, sexuality, and race in the American context.

In many ways, passing is something that happens in the eye of the beholder. For this reason, I use the phrase "passing gaze" to convey the ways in which passing operates in this fashion. Passing is something bestowed upon a person by another person; as much as the person passing can comport themselves in a way aimed to facilitate this bestowal, it is inevitably the judgment of the person viewing them that conveys whether they pass or not. This is just as true in person-to-person interactions as it is across time, such as when we look at a photograph of Healy and decide whether or not he passed. We are

[443] For example, passing has been considered for various other dynamics, including disability (Robert Rueda and Hugh Mehan, "Metacognition and Passing: Strategic Interactions in the Lives of Students with Learning Disabilities," *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* vol. 17 no. 3, 1986, 145-165).

engaged in this process just as much as those who knew Healy were. We simply have additional material, like historical and genealogical knowledge, to contend with along the way. Since Foley's work, those who encounter Healy have used their own conceptions of race and what constitutes it to think through where he belongs.

Healy himself rarely directly approaches the issue of passing directly. In one noteworthy letter to Fenwick, discussed earlier, he refers to "remarks" that are "sometimes made" by students at College of the Holy Cross, assuring George Fenwick, S.J. that "you know to what I refer."[444] This cryptic exchange becomes legible with the context of Healy's familial relationships, both with his mother and with his siblings; he refers in the exchange to the fact that some of the boys at the school know his brothers, hence the "remarks." This may mean that Healy's passing was not complete; through his association with family, he could still be read as not white in some capacity. However, it is unclear to what extent this actively impacted how people saw Patrick racially. Were the cruel remarks about him, about his siblings, or both? The Healys passed, or didn't, together.

Healy never addressed the topic of passing in his journals, beyond obliquely addressing the issue by talking about "negroes" during his travel, referencing a category he surely did not identify with himself. Did he see himself, in the parlance of the day, as a mulatto? Or did he see himself as simply white? Or did he have some other self-racialization that's more complicated? It could be that he saw transcending race as a form

[444] November 23rd, 1853, Patrick F. Healy to George Fenwick, Box 74, Folder 1, Correspondence [202-228], 1638 - 1959, Correspondence to G. Fenwick [221 A]., 01/01/1853-12/31/1853, Georgetown University Manuscripts.

of passing, in which black people were racialized and "had" race while white people did not. Later, I will discuss the role of religion in Healy's passing.

O'Toole, the primary scholar to engage the Healy family and their racial contexts, uses passing as a primary category for thinking about the Healys' situation. From the title of his book (*Passing for White*) to the content of the book itself, passing is the central paradigm through which he interprets the Healys' racial experience. Aside from some popular interlocutors who engage with the Healys as unproblematically black in some capacity, passing forms the primary basis through which the Healys are understood racially in both scholarly and popular works. Passing is generally defined as someone classified as a member of one group being accepted as a member of another. In the United States, the term is most often used to describe a person with African ancestry who becomes accepted as white. Pamela Caughie argues that passing in most conceptions "depends on a binary logic of identity" in which, for example, if someone is seen as a member of one group they cannot possibly also be a member of another.[445] Baz Dreisinger argues that passing need not always be defined as someone going from one group to another but can encompass people moving within a single category. She argues that examples like black rappers giving "exaggerated performances of 'authentic' blackness" can be considered in the frame of passing, with the rappers passing for what the viewer deems a more authentic form of blackness.[446]

A key element of passing in many definitions of it is a sense of distance from one's family and community of origin. In *A Chosen Exile: A History of Racial Passing in*

[445] Pamela L. Caughie, *Passing and Pedagogy: the Dynamics of Responsibility* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 21.
[446] Baz Dreisinger, *Near Black: White-to-black Passing in American Culture* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2008), 5.

American Life, Allyson Hobbs wrote that "racial passing is an exile" and, to many, the selling of one's right by birth to associate with a specific community for material and social gain.[447] Moreover, while skin color could be deceptive, intimate relationships (familial, friendship, or otherwise) were taken to signal whether one was black or white throughout the nineteenth and much of the twentieth century.[448] As such, successful passing required severing or adjusting many of those relationships. Passing is partially defined through a sense of loss; those who pass lose a connection to their communities and families of origin. Hobbs describes "personal and familial losses" as an element of passing, and argues that "the core issue of passing is not becoming what you pass for, but losing what you pass away from."[449]

It could be argued that this element of loss is the heritage not only of those who pass, but of those descended from the enslaved more broadly. As Saidiya Hartman writes in *Lose Your Mother: A Journey Along the Atlantic Slave Route*,

> the most universal definition of the slave is the stranger. Torn from kin and community, exiled from one's country, dishonored and violated, the slave defines the position of the outsider. She is the perpetual outcast, the coerced migrant, the foreigner, the shamefaced child in the lineage.[450]

Healy's mother fit this position perfectly; even in his accounting of his ancestry in later life, she was mentioned only in passing and with almost an air of embarrassment or reticence. This sense of Clark as singular and unattached to a familial context is present even in celebratory or otherwise positive accountings of her.

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[447] Allyson Hobbs, *A Chosen Exile: A History of Racial Passing in American Life* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2014), 4.
[448] Ibid., 10.
[449] Hobbs, *A Chosen Exile*, 6, 18.
[450] Saidiya Hartman, *Lose Your Mother: A Journey Along the Atlantic Slave Route* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007), 5.

Whether passing requires intentionality is a matter of debate. So too is the question of what constitutes intentionality; is it simply the mental will to pass, or does it require specific action or inaction? David Waldstreicher casts runaway slaves who sought to pass as other-than-black as "confidence men," remaking themselves with physical and other means to pass.[451] Linda Schlossberg, in her introduction to *Passing: Identity and Interpretation in Sexuality, Race, and Religion* writes that passing is "an attempt to control the process of signification itself," a phrasing that suggests intentionality/action.[452] Hobbs argues that intentionality is not a necessary element passing, citing the case of a man marked as white by a doctor when he enlisted in the Navy, who then went on to enroll in an all-white college and spend the remainder of his life in other white spaces.[453] The passing gaze is potentially clarifying here; the gazer's judgment is not necessarily dependent on effort or initiative on behalf of the one who passes. In a discussion of the multiracial character Bette on *The L Word*, Ralina Joseph notes that rather than passing, Bette is frequently "passed by an observer." She maintains that "passing versus being passed is an important distinction"; this is perhaps another way to think about intentionality in passing.[454] Even if the person does not have an intentionality regarding passing, the actions of an outsider can pass them regardless. Intentionality is secondary for the person being passed, who can either go along with it or put up some form of resistance.

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[451] David Waldstreicher, "Reading the Runaways: Self-Fashioning, Print Culture, and Confidence in Slavery in the Eighteenth-Century Mid-Atlantic," *William and Mary Quarterly* 56 no. 2 (1999): 243-272.
[452] Linda Schlossberg, "Introduction," Passing: *Identity and Interpretation in Sexuality, Race, and Religion,* ed. Maria Carla Sanchez and Linda Schlossberg (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 3.
[453] Hobbs, *A Chosen Exile*, 11.
[454] Ralina L. Joseph, *Transcending Blackness: From the New Millennium Mulatta to the Exceptional Multiracial* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2013), 59.

Some scholars have pondered whether passing is a distinctly American phenomenon. Hobbs wrote that "perhaps the most celebrated cases of passing have occurred in the United States because of the stark binary between black and white," unlike racial systems in countries like Brazil.[455] Katherine Pfeiffer reads passing in the context of American individualism, arguing that this results in a more historicized and open-ended reading of passing, as well as that seeing passing as a "racial transgression" accepts and enforces concepts of racial difference.[456] Laura Browder sees passing narratives as part of a broader American impulse toward self-invention, an impulse she traces back to the autobiography of Benjamin Franklin.[457] Moreover, she argues that passing occurs when people take the logic of class identity--perceived in the American context as fluid--to racial and ethnic identity, which by contrast is generally perceived as fixed.[458]Self-invention is also less morally weighted than many other tropes that go along with passing, which is seen by some as a betrayal of one's community of origin. This concept of passing as uniquely American is interesting for Healy, who moved from America's binary racial system to a transnational Catholic context when he became a priest.

Discussion of passing often becomes discussion of multiracial or biracial identity. Patrick Healy has been considered both as a "mulatto" in years past and as a mixed race individual in the contemporary era. This has occasionally been pitched as a solution to the problem of how or whether Patrick Healy passes; it's not that he's "truly" African

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[455] Hobbs, *A Chosen Exile,* 23.
[456] Kathleen Pfeiffer, *Race Passing and American Individualism* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003), 2-3, 7.
[457] Laura Browder, *Slippery Characters: Ethnic Impersonators and American Identities* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 2-3.
[458] Ibid., 7.

American and passing for white, but that he is multiracial and light-skinned, mistaken for white or having an equal claim to whiteness and to blackness. What conditions and states of being had to come into existence for Patrick Healy to be considered multiracial rather than a mulatto or similar constructions? I argue that multiracial identity and discourses about it have been essential to how Healy is discussed since the 1950s and 1960s.

This promotion of a multiracial identity for Patrick Healy has followed a more general elevation of discourse around the concept of mixed race people more broadly. It is not that the concept of thinking of Patrick Healy as having both white and black heritage is new, but the concept of him specifically as multiracial is. As Michele Elam writes

> So if mixed race people are neither new nor apparently increasing, why the current vogue for mixed race? Why now? ...To answer these questions means moving beyond what poses as the politically innocent "Why are there more mixed race people now?" and inquire instead "Why do we see more people *as* mixed race now?" and, furthermore, "How do people self-identifying as mixed see themselves?"[459]

It has, as Elam puts it, "little to do with 'gene flow' and everything to do with political expediency."[460] Much of the articulation of these identities in the last few decades is related to efforts to expand racial categories used in formal settings like the US census and have been accompanied by social movements of multiracial people who wish to be recognized as a distinctive mode of racial subjectivity.[461] Martha Hodes writes that "the information sought on census forms, the order and wording of the questions, the pool of acceptable responses--all are presented as an objective gathering of facts, yet each

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[459]Elam, *The Souls of Mixed Folk,* 6.
[460] Ibid., 7.
[461] Rainier Spencer, *Spurious Issues: Race and Multiracial Identity Politics in the United States* (New York: Westview Press, 1999), 1.

constitutes inventions and interpretations."[462] Along with this rising tide of mulitracial identity, new conceptions of Healy as multiracial have arisen.

Some scholars have questioned the political and social ramifications of the rise of multiracial identity politics. In *Amalgamation Schemes: Antiblackness and the Critique of Multiracialism*, Jared Sexton argues that "the principal political effects of multiracialism are neither a fundamental challenge to the living legacies of white supremacy nor a defiance of sexual racism in particular but rather the reinforcement of longstanding tenets of antiblackness and the promotion of normative sexuality."[463] In short, though multiracial identity is sometimes put forward as something that thwarts racism, Sexton argues that it can in fact do the opposite. Moreover, he argues that multiracial movements do not adequately historicize race and sexuality, and that they put forward "the reproductive sex act as the principal site of mediation for racial difference itself."[464] Sexton sees many of these movements' arguments as stemming from a belief that black people have as much or more power to police the racial border, so to speak, than white people.[465] Additionally, he argues that an over-focus on the "one-drop rule," or hypodescent, has led to the idea that racism in the United States stems from said rule, and that eliminating the notion of hypodescent would thus eliminate racism in America.[466] Others, like Michele Elam, argue that moves toward multiracial identity are seeking "the

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[462] Martha Hodes, "Fractions and Fictions in the United States Census of 1890," *Haunted By Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History*, ed. Ann Laura Stoler (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2006).
[463] Jared Sexton, *Amalgamation Schemes: Antiblackness and the Critique of Multiracialism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 1.
[464] Ibid., 4, 7.
[465] Ibid., 52-53.
[466] Ibid., 57-58.

destruction of a racial homogeneity that never existed… there is no purity to overturn."[467] Essentially, claims of multiracial identity as new or separate are seen as questionable. Elam also notes that some works on multiracial identity read this identity back onto figures who were categorized as black or mulatto.[468] This is clearly the case with Patrick Healy; arguments for him as multiracial have joined older conceptions of him as black or mulatto.

Discourses about mixed race people and interracial reproductive relationships are inherently tied to discourses about passing. In her article "Optic White: Blackness and the Production of Whiteness," Harryette Mullen argues that passing reifies whiteness. She writes :

> The usual mechanism of passing, which I take as a model for the cultural production of whiteness, requires an active denial of black identity only by the individual who passes from black to white, while the chosen white identity is strengthened in each successive generation by the presumption that white identities are racially pure. Passing on an individual level models the cultural production of whiteness as a means of nation building and as a key to national identity. Just as the white-skinned African-American becomes white through a process of silencing and suppression, by denying, "forgetting," ignoring, or erasing evidence of African ancestry, so does the "pure white" family constitute itself by denying kinship with its nonwhite members, as the racially diverse nation claims a white European identity by marginalizing its non-European heritages. While some Americans who identify themselves as white will admit to, or even boast of, a Native American ancestor, I have yet to meet a white person who acknowledged African ancestry, unless he or she had made a personal decision to identify racially as black. A few white Southerners will speak openly of sharing a white ancestor with an African-American contemporary (which often goes hand in hand with descent from slaveholders imagined as belonging uniformly to a Southern aristocracy), but the possibility that white Americans may be descended from African-Americans who became white is rarely discussed, except among

[467] Michele Elam, *The Souls of Mixed Folk: Race, Politics, and Aesthetics in the New Millennium* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2011), 14.
[468] Ibid., 43.

> African-Americans with knowledge of friends or family members who have "passed."[469]

In this sense, it is impossible to discuss Patrick Healy as "passing" without also thinking about how he has been figured as a mixed race person or how discussions of mixed race people more broadly have impacted discussions of passing. Whiteness required him to disassociate himself from his black mother; our resignifying him as mixed race brings her back into the picture but also dissolves his whiteness. As Mullins argues, it is impossible in the American context to speak of a white person with African American ancestry. It is also worth thinking about how agency is negotiated in this quote; the person who denies their black identity also facilitates a process at the societal or cultural level.

Given all of this, does Patrick Healy pass, or, does it make sense to describe Patrick Healy's mode of existing in the world as "passing?" I would argue that it both does and does not. While Healy clearly fulfills some aspects of common definitions of passing, there are others that are more complex or which he does not seem to fulfill. I explore what passing as a paradigm both reveals and obscures when contemplating the life of Patrick Healy. I argue that whether or not passing makes sense as a lens for contemplating Healy's life, the argument over whether he passes says just as much (if not more) about the present moment as it does about Healy's time. I include my own analysis in this argument; in the present age, questions of racial and ethnic identity have become incredibly fine-grained, and the popularization of new technology such as commercial DNA tests has taken the quest to know who someone "really" is look to the level of the molecular. Simultaneously, however, social constructive theories of race have begun to

[469] Harryette Mullen, "Optic White: Blackness and the Production of Whiteness," *Diacritics* no. 24 vol 2-3 (1994), 72.

push back on the idea that anyone is "essentially" of any particular racial origin, or that "race" itself is even necessarily a helpful or necessary concept, but instead a harmful social construct. This affects what questions I ask about Healy and racialization; I lean towards asking how Healy perceived himself and how others perceived him, as does O'Toole, not what he "really was" or how we might read his appearance based on photographs of him.

As discussed previously, separation from family, if one's family is perceived as black and one wants to be perceived as white, has often been regarded as an important element of passing. However, for the Healys, passing was a familial affair, with most of the Healy siblings remaining close throughout their lives. Additionally, as discussed in chapter two, Patrick Healy kept in contact with various cousins on his father's side and clearly had a close and rather friendly relationship with individual cousins. Part of this discrepancy between the classic notion of passing as familial separation and the Healys' experience could come from generational assumptions about the nature of passing. Namely, the assumption is that if passing is familial in nature, it occurs after a member of the parental generation has first passed, and is not formulated to consider situations like that of the Healys. All of the Healy siblings entered predominantly white spaces with little fanfare, implying that they at least partially passed often enough to operate in these spaces without significant pushback from parishioners or others. Additionally, it is not possible to know how much the death of both of their parents influenced the ways in which the Healys passed or didn't pass. Had Eliza Clark lived and gone with Michael Healy to live in the north, it is possible that their passing would have been impacted significantly.

It is difficult to gauge Healy's intentionality in regards to passing. He began passing as a child, thrust into a situation in the north that he surely did not fully comprehend. Once he was in that situation, was it really possible for him to "take back" a supposedly more authentic black identity he'd wanted to? Theoretically it would have been; however, it would have come at a severe social cost and could have potentially ended with him being returned to the south and his status as a slave restored. Intentionality once again poses a potential problem in thinking about Patrick Healy and the Healys more broadly. What do we mean when we discuss intentionality, and how can we reconceive it when discussing passing and subjectivity? Healy's own intentionality remains ambiguous and unclear in his letters and diaries, and we are left only with speculation. Regardless, thinking of passing as a decision Healy made is problematic, in that it assumes that the decision to pass was somehow made during or prior to Healy's immersion in specific situations and spaces, especially those that he entered as a child. Assuming Healy decided to pass as a child also ignores the importance of the passing gaze.

How conditional was Healy's passing? The letter about the "cruel remarks" that he sent to Fenwick seem to indicate that association with his siblings impacted his ability to pass to some degree. This makes the familial nature of the Healys' passing even more interesting; to some extent, it would have made sense for Healy to dissociate himself from his siblings in order to better pass. One would think that there would be an incentive for Healy to disassociate himself from his siblings if they impacted his ability to pass. However, he maintained strong ties with his siblings throughout his life.

A factor not commonly considered in theorization of passing but present in O'Toole's work is how religion works as a factor in passing. O'Toole argues (persuasively and innovatively) that Catholicism was a key ingredient in the Healys' passing, especially in the cases of Patrick, James, and Sherwood. He argues that becoming Catholic priests allowed them an access to whiteness that they might not have otherwise had. Think of it this way: Clark Kent wasn't recognizable to those who knew him as Superman. It's impossible that Superman would be working in your office or living in your apartment building, so no matter how much Clark Kent looks like him, he can't possibly be Superman. Healy's religiosity was not just a means to passing, but a crucial element of his life that seems to have been deeply important to him in multiple ways. Additionally, passing produces not just new ways of transgressing but also new ways of being constrained. What forms of constraint did passing involve for Patrick Healy? How did Catholicism shape those constraints?

The context of slavery is also inseparable from thinking about Healy's racial positioning; as Hobbs notes, those who passed in the antebellum era did not just pass as white but "pass as free."[470] Passing for white was, in this context, not just a cultural transgression but a legal one.[471] It is entirely possible that, had Eliza Clark not been enslaved, scholarly and popular interest in the Healys would be quite different, as it would be more difficult to have definitively proved that they had African ancestry, an idea derived primarily from their mother's status as enslaved. You can't really have one

[470] Hobbs, *A Chosen Exile*, 25.
[471] Elaine K. Ginsberg, "Introduction: The Politics of Passing," *Passing and the Fictions of Identity*, ed. Elaine K. Ginsberg (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996), 1.

without the other; in the antebellum context, African ancestry was inextricably linked to slavery, and slavery inextricably linked to African ancestry.

In the end, what does "passing" as a category obscure or prevent us from seeing or understanding about Healy? I argue that debates over passing and whether or not Healy passes tell us more about the person making the argument, and time period in which it was made, than they do about Healy. I include myself in this. In the present moment, scholarship is concerned to provide nuance around topics like race and to avoid essentializing such identifiers. As a consequence, O'Toole and I both avoid debates about what Healy "really is" in favor of debates about how he was perceived both by historical actors and in the present day. I also differ from O'Toole in arguing that the passing gaze is as important as the Healys' skin tone or how they presented themselves, as well as in arguing that passing may not be the most helpful lens with which to view their lives. By this, I mean that while it opens some corridors of possibility, it forecloses others.

One compelling way of considering this issue is presented in Nadine Ehlers' *Racial Imperatives: Discipline, Performativity, and Struggles Against Subjection*. Ehlers argues for a mode of thinking about passing that draws on the work of Judith Butler on performativity and Foucault's work on categorization and biopower. Rather than beginning from an assumed "prediscursive corporeal 'truth'," Ehlers interrogates whether it makes more sense to think of subjects as being "formed" through the operations through which they are recognized racially.[472] Her argument is that race functions as a discipline in the Foucauldian sense and that its formation is performative in nature, and

[472] Nadine Ehlers, *Racial Imperatives: Discipline, Performativity, and Struggles Against Subjection* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012), 3, 23.

that passing, as we know it, is a specific mode of racial performativity.[473] Moreover, "the power that governs the formation of racial subjects and the knowledge that is generated in relation to racial subjects cannot be extricated."[474]

While Ehlers presents a more flexible and relative definition of passing, she does not address a central issue: not everyone can pass. That is to say, not everyone can successfully change how others perceive their racial subjectivity, since passing is inherently social and rooted in interaction between the person who passes and society more broadly. The passing gaze bestows or does not bestow passing on someone. It will inevitably exclude people who lack the necessary ambiguity or visual cues that the person bestowing the passing gaze has been trained to respond to throughout their life to classify other people racially. The passing gaze has operated this way for Patrick Healy as well as it has for others. From here, I will move to other, non-racial forms of passing as well as the question of how religion impacts passing.

[473] Ibid.
[474] Ibid., 19.

CHAPTER 6

SAINTS AND CELIBACIES

Passing: LGBT, Religious, and Otherwise

Outside of racial contexts, "passing" is perhaps used most often to refer to LGBT people passing as straight and/or cisgender. Elaine K. Ginsberg notes that passing has been expanded beyond the racial context and into any context where someone "disguises… elements of [that] individual's presumed 'natural' or 'essential'" identity, including gender and sexuality.[475] Passing in an LGBT context is in direct tension with a form of identity politics that emphasizes visibility.[476] As we have seen with Healy's legacy, this longing for visibility and racial consciousness in historical figures exists in conflict with racial passing as well. A key difference from racial passing may be that, as Linda Schlossberg points out, while definitions of racial passing often involve estrangement from family of origin, passing for straight or cis may be a way of maintaining that tie.[477] I include straight/cis passing in this theoretical discussion because I believe its differences from and commonalities with racial passing gives us some helpful tools for thinking about Healy's life. Simultaneously, Healy's story allows us to see new contours and patterns within straight/cis passing.

Sandy Stone's *The Empire Strikes Back: Toward a Posttransexual Manifesto* made what would become a prototypical anti-passing argument in the LGBT community. Stone, responding in 1987 to personal attacks from Janice Raymond in her book *The*

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[475] Elaine K. Ginsberg, "Introduction: The Politics of Passing," *Passing and the Fictions of Identity*, ed. Elaine K. Ginsberg (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996), 3.
[476] Warren Hoffman, *The Passing Game: Queering Jewish American Culture* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2009), 6.
[477] Linda Schlossberg, "Introduction," *Passing*, 6.

Transexual Empire: The Making of the She-Male, called for trans people to come out as a form of self-empowerment, shunning pressure to quietly pass as cisgender. Stone's essay is broadly seen as the beginning of the transgender movement, which expanded and moved beyond the category of transsexual. She wrote

> The essence of transsexualism is the act of passing. A transsexual who passes is obeying the Derridean imperative: "Genres are not to be mixed. I will not mix genres." I could not ask a transsexual for anything more inconceivable than to forgo passing, to be consciously "read", to read oneself aloud--and by this troubling and productive reading, to begin to write oneself into the discourses by which one has been written--in effect, then, to become a (look out-- dare I say it again?) posttranssexual.[478]

Here, Stone reappropriates the term "read," commonly used in the LGBT community to refer to somebody being recognized as transgender while attempting to pass as cisgender. To be read is not to pass; the reading gaze is in this sense the opposite of the passing gaze. In essence, Stone advocates for a "self-reading" of sorts, declaring oneself out in the open.

When talking about racial and gender or sexuality passing, it is worth remembering that these have not always been separate. In *Queering the Color Line: Race and the Invention of Homosexuality in American Culture*, Siobhan B. Somerville argues that "discourses of race and gender buttressed one another, often competing, often overlapping, in shaping emerging models of homosexuality." For this reason, she argues, narratives of passing often contained elements of same-gender desire or gender-crossing.[479] Valerie Rohy notes that in America, racial and gender passing have often been part and parcel of the same narratives, giving the example of William and Ellen

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[478] Sandy Stone, *The Empire Strikes Back: Toward a Posttransexual Manifesto*, https://sandystone.com/empire-strikes-back.pdf, 1987, 16.
[479] Siobhan B. Somerville, *Queering the Color Line: Race and the Invention of Homosexuality in American Culture* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2000), 17.

Craft's flight from slavery, which depended on Ellen's masquerade as a young white man.[480] In another way of reading these two forms of passing together, Amy Robinson argues that passing narratives are often dependent on the notion that members of an in-group, such as African Americans or LGBT people, are able to "tell" when someone from their group is erroneously passing into another group.[481] This idea works to reassure the troubling of boundaries that comes from passing; the passer can still be identified and called out. Healy is an example of this; ideas of him as proudly black or as in some way not passing helps to reassure the reader that racial boundaries have not been troubled.

In another way of seeing racial and gender passing together, in his essay "F2Mestizo," Logan Gutierrez-Mock writes that

> In many ways, my mixed heritage served as a primer for my transgender identity: Being perceived incorrectly was nothing new. The fact that I was mixed also pushed me away from my family in a sense, because I was different (whiter) and they wanted me to assimilate. It was only through coming out to my family as transgender, and reclaiming my heritage, that I began to feel at home with my family.[482]

In essence, it was only after Gutierrez-Mock ceased to pass as a woman that he was able to cease passing as white.

Having examined racial and LGBT passing, I move now toward religion. Following O'Toole, I argue that religion played an important role in Healy's passing. In *New World A-Coming: Black Religion and Racial Identity During the Great Migration*, Judith Weisenfeld considers how people reimagined their racial subjectivity and created

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[480] Valerie Rohy, "Displacing Desire: Passing, Nostalgia, and *Giovanni's Room*," *Passing and the Fictions of Identity*, 219.
[481] Amy Robinson, "It Takes One to Know One: Passing and Communities of Common Interest," *Critical Inquiry* 20 vol. 4, Summer 1994, 715-736.
[482] Logan Gutierrez-Mock, "F2Mestizo," in *Nobody Passes: Rejecting the Rules of Gender and Conformity*, ed. Mattilda a.k.a. Matt Bernstein Sycamore (Emeryville, CA: Seal Press, 2006), 229.

new racial categories in the twentieth century.[483] Weisenfeld examines the ways in which groups like Father Divine's Peace Mission and the Moorish Science Temple refused traditional racial descriptors like "black" or "white" in favor of descriptors like "Moorish" or "human," going so far as to insist on these descriptors to census-takers. This was a form of self-identification that resisted legibility to the passing gaze and instead focused on self-conception and self-understanding.

The work of Ehlers, Weisenfeld, and others may reveal much that is helpful in thinking about Healy as passing. Healy chose a career path and modes of engagement with family and the world that signaled him to others as white, regardless of his intentionality and his relationship to his family. However, traditional ways of discussing passing may obscure the complexity and multiplicity of ways in which Healy's life was more complex than a simple question of whether he did or didn't (or did or didn't intend to) pass.

I seek here also to ask what element Healy's religion played in his passing or not-passing, or how we might conceive of the role of religion in questions of racialization and passing more broadly. Ehlers argues that law functions as a site of "racial knowledge production"; what, then, of religion?[484] How does religion, and in particular Catholicism, function as a tool for cultivating racial subjectivities in the life of Patrick Healy?

O'Toole argues that converting to Catholicism allowed the Healy brothers to sidestep the black/white categorization in favor of a Catholic identity, which gave them a separate space within which to operate. While this is an interesting argument, it feels

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[483] Judith Weisenfeld, *New World A-Coming: Black Religion and Racial Identity During the Great Awakening* (New York: New York University Press, 2017).
[484] Ehlers, *Racial Imperatives*, 5.

incomplete. What specific modes and concepts did a Catholic mode of being offer to the Healy siblings (and Patrick Healy in particular) that merely identifying as Irish-American (or with another ethnic group, or as "white" generally) did not offer? I argue that Catholicism in particular allowed Healy access to a transnational context in which his racial background was less important or determinative of his fate than it was in the United States writ large.

One argument on this topic might be that Catholicism, and in particular Irish Catholicism, was during much of the nineteenth century racialized as non-white in the American context. This argument has been made in numerous corners, from Noel Ignatiev's landmark *How the Irish Became White* to more recent works.[485] However, it is important to think in Healy's case about not just the relationship between Irish Catholics and white-designated Americans, but between Irish Catholics and African Americans. As Eric Foner argued in his review of Nell Irvin Painter's *The History of White People*, Irish Americans were not systematically disenfranchised, enslaved, or faced with many other forms of treatment that African Americans endured. "Immigrant groups suffered severe discrimination, but being discriminated against did not make them non-white... One can be white and still disempowered in the United States."[486]

It's possible to think about how Catholicism and priesthood opened up new forms of whiteness for Healy without making a claim about transcending racial categories. In thinking through this, I would like to construct a parallel to constructions of gender in nineteenth century American Protestantism. As Jenny Franchot notes in *Roads to Rome:*

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[485] Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White* (New York: Routledge Classics, 2008).
[486] Eric Foner, "The History of White People," *ericfoner.com*, http://www.ericfoner.com/reviews/092010harpers.html, accessed February 3, 2018.

The Antebellum Protestant Encounter with Catholicism, Jesuits were seen as "both excessively female in [their] religious enthusiasm and paradoxically male in [their] endurance of bodily deprivation and torture."[487] It is not that Jesuits transcended gender in their difference; rather, they created new forms of masculinity and transgressed into femininity. Likewise, women religious created new forms of femininity and were occasionally seen as transgressing into masculinity.

Joining the Jesuits also created a new family context for Patrick Healy in addition to his natal family, with which he remained close throughout his life. Antebellum Protestants saw holy orders in general and priests in particular as parasitically outside the natural family, muddling "distinctions between public and private central to liberal democracy and middle-class heterosexuality."[488] Moreover, Catholicism confused the role and status of women; unlike the cult of domesticity, it "advertised a constellation of alternative femininities."[489] Presumably, this included an array of alternative masculinities that didn't align with Protestant notions of manhood and placed priests and other Catholic men outside of those normative masculinities and into new categories.

Similarly, can we consider that Catholicism may have opened up alternative forms of whiteness, or of racialization more broadly, or that some of these alternative femininities and masculinities were racialized? Rather than transcending race in some sense, as O'Toole argues in *Passing for White: Race, Religion, and the Healy Family, 1820-1920*, it is possible to conceive of Catholicism as opening up new forms of whiteness for the Healy family. Perhaps these forms were more accessible to them than

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[487] Jenny Franchot, *Roads to Rome: the Antebellum Protestant Encounter with Catholicism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 71.
[488] Franchot, *Roads to Rome*, 117.
[489] Ibid., 120.

mainstream Protestant forms of whiteness. It is possible to argue that Catholicism provided new racializations for the Healys without arguing that they transcended race or that Catholicism was consistently not racialized as white. I am interested in thinking about how America's racial grammar can be conceived of as Protestant as concerns forms of whiteness, and how we might conceive of a Catholic grammar of race in nineteenth century America. As noted previously, I argue that Catholicism opened a transnational context; this context may be part of this racial grammar. I anticipate this as a topic for future work on Healy.

Where do we go from here? If "passing" is not always a useful or comfortable way of articulating Healy's life experience, then what is? I argue that the passing gaze allows us to acknowledge the ways in which passing and its vagaries shaped Healy's life while keeping in perspective how contingent passing truly is, and how dependent it is on the role of the person who possesses the passing gaze, whether they are contemporary or looking back in time. It is not that passing is not a useful paradigm for thinking about Healy at all, but that its constraints and limitations that often go unremarked. Passing is not a bad or unhelpful paradigm for thinking about Healy and race; it should not, however, be the *only* paradigm for thinking about it. Moreover, Healy reveals angles of passing that might otherwise remain hidden, especially regarding the familial nature of passing and the assumption that passing involves separation from one's natal family. Additionally, Healy is a useful case study for the passing gaze, as information about his family and mother in particular have shaped how or whether he passes today.

Hagiographical Habits

In thinking through the role of religion in Healy's passing, I return once again to the question of how Healy's image functions for those who want him to be a black Catholic icon as well as for those who argue against this mode of reading his life. I argue that it is in some respects helpful to compare him to black saints and black sainthood hopefuls whose lives and images have been used in constructing them for sainthood. Though there is no current cause for Healy or his siblings to become saints (that I know of), the push for them to be thought of as black Catholic pioneers bears some resemblance to the canonization campaigns for some candidates for sainthood. In sainthood, the lives of potential saints are raked over and examined for evidence of holiness; in Healy's case, his life and those of his siblings are examined for evidence of black racial consciousness and proof that African Americans are contributors to the Catholic Church.[490] This ties back to passing in that a relationship between passing for white and a lack of racial consciousness is often presumed by interlocutors; this search for racial consciousness in many ways seeks to negate Healy's passing.

Here, I turn to the work of Catholic theologian Katie Walker Grimes, specifically her book *Fugitive Saints: Catholicism and the Politics of Slavery*.[491] Grimes argues that, rather than serving as a celebration of the contributions of people of African descent to the Catholic church, saints like Peter Claver and Martin de Porres, among others, have functioned as a way for the Catholic church to absolve itself of the horrors of slavery and, more broadly, its complicity in systemic racism in the American context. Grimes begins

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[490] For additional context on saint-making in the United States, see Kathleen Sprows Cummings, *A Saint of Our Own: How the Quest for a Holy Hero Helped Catholics Become American* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019).

[491] Katie Walker Grimes, *Fugitive Saints: Catholicism and the Politics of Slavery* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2017).

the book by arguing both that the Catholic church has a "truly corporate moral character" and that sainthood and the processes by which saints come to be saints are valuable ways in which to examine this moral character, because sainthood emerges from this corporate body.[492]

She argues that most modes of hagiography for black or black-affiliated saints (like Claver) have

> helped to promote the following: a perverse attachment to black gratitude; an immoderate fear of black rebellion; an uncritical celebration of interracial proximity, affection, and love; an insatiable desire for white saviors and heroes; and a misplaced desire to elevate white heroes.[493]

Essentially, these "hagiographical habits," as Grimes calls them, have served to further marginalize and denigrate Catholics of African descent across the Americas and elsewhere. Moreover, American Catholics have "continued to update the stories of [saints], refashioning them to fit within the ideological parameters of the post-Civil Rights Era."[494] This is, Grimes argues, not necessarily bad; she argues that saints can only be inherited into new contexts through interpretation and reinterpretation, and should not be treated as "fragile collectibles preserved forever behind packaging that can never be opened."[495] However, in their reinterpretation, they have tried to position these saints as fitting modern progressive norms about race and the treatment of black people, ignoring the ways in which their actions did not meet these norms in most cases.

Grimes' answer to these hagiographical habits is to argue that the church should instead embrace what she calls black fugitivity. Rather than seek "retroactively to place

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[492] Ibid., ix, x.
[493] Ibid., xvi.
[494] Ibid., xvi.
[495] Ibid., 2.

its saints on the side of racial justice, the church ought to permit the dangerous memories of the racially righteous to remain outside of it, undomesticated and fugitive."[496] Black fugitivity, Grimes argues, "takes many shapes": claiming spaces as black, refusing to submit to surveillance.[497] Fugitivity seeks to escape the "strategic proximity" to blackness that white people seek, "just as a mistress strives to keep her slave at bay in some circumstances and to hold her close at others."[498] Overall, Grimes argues, the church needs to "appreciate the holiness of its black fugitives" to change its hagiographical habits.[499]

I argue that Grimes' analysis of black and black-proximate sainthood is helpful for thinking about the ways in which Healy has been memorialized, and how this memorialization has expressed a wish for certain forms of racial consciousness and an obscuring of the Catholic church's relationship to slavery. Here, I compare Healy to two black candidates for sainthood, Pierre Toussaint and Mary Lange, as well as to the already canonized Peter Claver. I ask what thinking through their cases allow us to see about Healy and the ways in which he has been memorialized.

Pierre Toussaint was a formerly enslaved man from Saint-Domingue who worked as a hairdresser in New York City. He was born in 1766 and died in 1853. Toussaint is often described as one of the most prominent black New Yorkers of his time period. He became well known for his charity and became memorialized as a good citizen who cared for the poor, establishing an orphanage and other institutions that served the city's

[496] Ibid., xx.
[497] Ibid., 144.
[498] Ibid., 144.
[499] Ibid., 149.

destitute. Additionally, he was known for his charity toward and close interactions with refugees from the Haitian revolution. Toussaint had a close relationship with members of the Schuyler family among other powerful members of the New York elite. There is an active movement for his canonization, and in 1996 Toussaint was declared "venerable" by Pope John Paul II, the second step on the path to sainthood. Xavier University, a historically black and Catholic university in New Orleans, promotes Toussaint's cause alongside several other black American Catholic candidates for sainthood from the nineteenth century, including Augustine Tolton and Mary Lange.[500] Toussaint was also the first layperson to be buried in the crypt beneath the altar of St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York City, which prior to this was reserved for bishops of the diocese.

However, the ways in which Toussaint has been memorialized have often emphasized not just his good works and charity, but the fact that, after the death of his former owner, he took on the care of his former owner's wife for the remainder of her life. The fact that this has been emphasized alongside other aspects of Toussaint's life and personality means that he is idealized in part for preserving a relationship forged in slavery, and by extent idealizing these relationships as happy or even wanted by the enslaved. Slavery is made benign and even benevolent in this particular rendering of it. Grimes argues that many hagiographical treatments of Toussaint portray him as a docile, accommodating subject whose ultimate allegiance was to the woman who enslaved him. Moreover, the role of the Haitian revolution in this iteration of Toussaint emphasizes its bloodiness and portrays whites as unjustly victimized by it. Toussaint is portrayed as the

[500] Carol Kuruvilla, "There Are No Black American Saints. These Catholics Are Working to Change That." *Huffington Post,* August 2, 2018, https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/no-black-american-saints-catholics-working-to-change_us_5b63380ae4b0b15abaa0e373

opposite of his "revolutionary countrymen and women: he was tranquil, docile, orderly, and most of all, obedient to his mistress."[501] Grimes argues that Toussaint is proof that the Catholic church cannot reform its hagiographical habits simply by canonizing black Catholics, but that it must "deliberately unmake" these habits.[502]

In the same way that Toussaint's memorialization has been used to soften and idealize the institution of slavery, Healy's memorialization often erases slavery altogether or avoids hard questions. In the case of Eliza Clark, her status as a slave is de-emphasized in favor of the idea of a mutually desired marital relationship with Michael Healy. She is depicted as either free, never a slave to begin with, or the fact of her enslaved status is erased altogether. This participates in the same elements as Toussaint's hagiography, in that slavery is positioned as neutral or even benevolent. The relationship between Eliza Clark and Michael Healy is depicted as happy and mutually desired rather than one of exploitation and inequity inherent to the rupture in power relations between the enslaved and those who hold them in slavery. In this way, slavery is erased from the narrative and prevents difficult questions about slavery and agency from being asked.

We turn now to the case of Mary Lange. Grimes does not examine Lange, but I find her to be an interesting case study both for comparison to Healy as well as for Grimes' larger ideas about race and memory-making in the Catholic church. Mary Lange was, like Toussaint, from Saint-Domingue, and although seen as black does not seem to have ever been enslaved. We know less about her life than we do about Toussaint's, who wrote down more of his life and day-to-day dealings. However, the main fact of interest

[501] Ibid., 123.
[502] Grimes, *Fugitive Saints*, xviii.

to those seeking her canonization is not in question: in 1829, she created the first religious order founded by women of African descent in the United States, the Oblate Sisters of Providence, under the supervision of James Nicholas Joubert, a Sulpician priest from France. The order went on to found a school for black children in Baltimore and to expand across the United States and into the Caribbean. Lange has been declared a Servant of God by the Catholic Church, a first step on the road to sainthood. She is one of several black Catholics from the nineteenth century at the center of Xavier University's efforts to expand the ranks of black American saints.[503] Additionally, the Oblate Sisters of Providence have long sustained their own efforts for Lange's canonization, including a Mother Lange prayer circle and other events.[504]

Grimes does not examine Lange and her cause for canonization; however, she could be seen as something of a counter-case to Toussaint. Lange and her cause for canonization, unlike that of Toussaint, can be read in terms of fugitivity. In this reading, Lange is a fugitive from the strictures of the white church. Rather than attempt to enter one of the white sisterhoods that were closed to her, Lange created her own sisterhood in order to expand the ways in which she and other women of color were able to operate outside of structures of white power. However, paradoxically, Lange's ability to do this rested in large part on her submission to white authority figures. Her fugitivity is paradoxical; in her escape from the constraints of white sisterhoods and similar environments, Lange had to submit to white male ecclesiastical authority in the form of Joubert.

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[503] Carol Kuruvilla, "There Are No Black American Saints. These Catholics Are Working to Change That."

[504] For more on the Oblates' cause for Lange, see http://www.motherlange.org/.

Rather than emphasizing servility and obedience, most work on Lange emphasizes her agency and her struggle in establishing an order for women like her. This is particularly the case in Diane Batts Morrow's *Persons of Color and Religious at the Same Time*, which examines the Oblate Sisters primarily in terms of their resistance against white patriarchy both within and without the Catholic Church. While this is an admirable portrayal of a woman who accomplished things that many other black women during this era would not have been able to, it elides the ways in which this resistance paradoxically entailed a submission to white ecclesiastical authority, as mentioned previously. Lange could not establish this groundbreaking black sisterhood without also submitting to white male authority both within and without the Catholic church.

What does thinking through Lange's portrayals in both religious and non-religious contexts help us to see about Patrick Healy? He has often been portrayed, similarly to Lange, as a black trailblazer. Unlike Lange, though, Healy was not viewed as black by his contemporaries. Celebrations of him as a black trailblazer erase his access to whiteness and with it his access to different opportunities and experiences than someone like Lange. While as a priest Healy was required to submit to white ecclesiastical authority as well, this did not carry the same social and cultural dynamics as the submission of Lange and her sisters. Both his whiteness and his maleness, as well as his position as a priest and not as a sister, gave him an authority that could have been exercised over Lange or someone like her, regardless of their shared supposed ontological blackness.

Another case study undertaken by Grimes is that of Peter Claver, a seventeenth-century Jesuit who was known for his work with the enslaved. Claver was a Spanish

Jesuit, known for his service to slaves in the Spanish empire in central and south America. It is estimated that he baptized 300,000 people (mostly enslaved) and heard confessions from 5,000 enslaved people a year. He is often memorialized as a "slave to the slave" due to what is perceived as his allegiance and service to enslaved peoples. Unlike Toussaint and Lange, Claver is already a saint and was canonized in 1888 by Pope Leo XIII.

Although Claver was not black, his connections to slavery and how they have been memorialized are instructive for thinking about the ways in which blackness and connections to blackness have been memorialized more generally in the Catholic Church. Grimes argues that "Claver's mastery over the souls of black slaves lent support to laymen's ownership of their bodies," as it helped to rid African peoples of their kinship ties and instead placed them under their masters' power.[505] Moreover, this process was one in which, unlike other Christians, enslaved Africans received their baptismal names not from family members but from Claver, operating as an agent of slavery.[506] Overall, Claver was "not a lowly servant of the social order but rather an exalted protector of it."[507]

Moreover, Grimes dismisses characterizations of Claver as a "slave to the slave," writing that "in declaring Claver the slave of the slaves, we speak the impossible. A masterless slave is no slave at all. Claver was not a slave because they were not empowered to act as his masters."[508] She also argues that the church remembers this

[505] Grimes, *Fugitive Slaves*, 8, 12.
[506] Ibid., 13.
[507] Ibid., 24.
[508] Ibid., 37.

ministry as benevolent because it views history through a white supremacist lens that "underestimates both the viciousness and the pervasiveness of racialized power in history and contemporary reality."[509]

Does Healy's memorialization in popular culture and in some scholarly settings participate in the valorization of black servility and slavery? If anything it does the opposite, in that it valorizes black agency and achievement. Yet it still results in an erasure of the harsh realities of slavery. The ways in which Healy is memorialized as a black trailblazer are, however, paradoxically centered in slavery in that they rely on his origins from there to create a narrative arc that goes from a low social standing to a high one. However, it may be argued that this form of memorialization elides the very real effects of slavery on people's lives, and the very real danger the Healy siblings could have found themselves in bondage if the wrong person had learned their origin story.

Grimes argues that subjective interpretations of saints' lives is not in and of itself the problem. Nevertheless,

> This plasticity has allowed contemporary Catholics to imagine these saints as symbols of not what the church was but what they wish it had been. In misremembering these men, the church also misremembers itself. More than simply perceiving their purported racial virtuousness as evidence of its own, the church celebrates its celebration of them: as one white, twentieth-century cleric proclaimed, "The Church not only baptizes and ordains and consecrates negroes and mulattoes: She canonizes them as saints." How can the church repent for sins it has not yet acknowledged?[510]

How does misremembering Healy as an African American Catholic pioneer participate in this process? Misremembering Healy allows the church to paint itself as more racially accepting and progressive than it really was, through extrapolating Healy's ancestry and

[509] Ibid., 53.
[510] Ibid., xvii.

accomplishments to African Americans and their status in the Catholic Church more broadly. His achievements are memorialized in ways that erase the struggles of African Americans for acceptance and equality within the church. Moreover, the fact of Healy's passing is erased by this conception of him.

Celibacies

As noted previously, racial passing and non-heteronormative conceptions of gender and sexuality have often gone hand in hand. Celibacy was a key element of Healy's life. It was one of the vows he made upon ordination, and it put him in a unique social category. It shaped what kinds of relationships he would have with people and how he would be perceived by them. Following the work of literary theorist Benjamin Kahan, I argue for an expansive view of celibacy that seeks to understand what celibacy is beyond merely not having sex, instead seeing it "not as an absence or as a stigmatized identity but in positive terms as an attractive identity with its own desires and pleasures."[511] It is worth noting that the Catholic Church also does not see celibacy as "an absence or as… stigmatized"; however, I am more interested in Kahan's work on celibacy, as it has not been used to think extensively about religious celibacy. Kahan primarily focuses on secular celibacy.

I also use the work of Peter Coviello, specifically his book *Tomorrow's Parties: Sex and the Untimely in Nineteenth-Century America,* to think about Healy's celibacy.[512] Coviello examines the time period that extends from "a time before the full emergence of

[511] Benjamin Kahan, *Celibacies: American Modernism and Sexual Life* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2013), 3.
[512] Peter Coviello, *Tomorrow's Parties: Sex and the Untimely in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: New York University Press, 2013).

modern sexuality as such, to a time after its surprisingly swift, decisive solidification."[513] He asks what "counts" as sexuality during this period, and how the nineteenth century contained multiple possibilities of bodies and pleasures that would not be folded into the final definitions of sexuality and particularly homosexuality and heterosexuality.[514] He uses the term "earliness" for these possibilities, defining it as "the experience of sexuality as something in the crosshairs of a number of forms of knowledge and regulation but not yet wholly captivated or made coordinate by them."[515] He is examining "all the fantastic visions, excessive imaginings, and unforeclosed possibilities that would not come to be."[516] Coviello clarifies that he does not see his work as "a kind of expose"; he does not see this as a recovery or uncovering project, but rather of taking seriously "the idea that sex is not a pregiven quantity, a thing whose shape, form, and extent we know in advance."[517] Neither it is a teleological retelling of the formation of sexuality.[518] Though Coviello does not specifically address celibacy as such, I find his work helpful for thinking about it in the nineteenth century American context regardless.

We return now to Kahan, who sees celibacy not as the opposite of sexuality but as another form of it. Though Kahan primarily focuses on twentieth-century non-religious figures, he does pay some attention to the intersections of celibacy and religion, acknowledging that religious celibacy is often seen as "old-fashioned" and written off as

[513] Ibid., 3.
[514] Ibid., 5.
[515] Ibid., 7.
[516] Ibid., 19.
[517] Ibid., 12.
[518] Ibid., 15.

uninteresting.[519] Moreover, he recognizes the connection between nineteenth-century anti-Catholicism and public concern about celibacy as unnatural or immoral.[520] However, Protestants, especially Protestant women, nonetheless borrowed from Catholic models of celibacy in an attempt to create independence and professional lives.[521]

Celibacy, Kahan argues, confounds our notions of what sexuality is or could be:

> Celibacy outplays, outsmarts, parries, and fakes out the hetero/homo binary by occupying neither term and both terms simultaneously… simultaneously, celibacy as a sexuality exceeds the boundaries of the hetero/homo binary, requiring a rethinking of sexual categories and the concept of sex as such.[522]

Discussions of priests and other religious forms of celibacy have often relied on assumptions about celibacy masking homosexuality. Kahan notes that this is one way of reading celibacy historically, and sees himself as going against the grain in not particularly seeing celibacy and homosexuality as overtly linked. In the wake of the Catholic Church's sexual abuse crisis, discussions about celibacy and homosexuality have kicked into overdrive, with some factions asserting that gay priests are the real reason behind the abuse crisis while others claim that celibacy is an unnatural state that results in sexual abuse from its practitioners. Kahan's work finds a way forward for thinking about religious celibacies in ways that don't depend on arguing with or agreeing with these assertions.

Kahan argues that celibacy created a sort of public life for women reformers of the early twentieth century:

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[519] Kahan, *Celibacies*, 6.
[520] Kahan, *Celibacies,* 13.
[521] Kahan, *Celibacies*, 18.
[522] Kahan, *Celibacies*, 145.

> Whereas most sexual formations are associated with private interests (even as they have public elements), celibacy is associated with the public good. This disinterestedness suggests that celibacy is not just a public identity, but one that motivates (rather than merely instrumentalizes) styles of and performances of publicness.[523]

How did Healy's celibacy create or enable a public life for him? It has been argued elsewhere that priestly celibacy was a sacrifice made to enable the priest to be of service to the broader church. However, I argue that this limits our perspective on celibacy. Healy's sexuality was made public by his priestly status in a way that it may not have been for other people. Moreover, celibacy enabled a livelihood for him that he could not have had as a married or otherwise non-celibate person.

Kahan does consider religion and celibacy primarily in the form of the figure of Father Divine. Divine, he argues, "promotes and authorizes celibacy in order to write a new narrative: one that does not differentiate black bodies from white bodies."[524] O'Toole argues that one function of Healy's celibacy was a removal from the reproductive pool that made his status as a person of African descent less threatening to whiteness and white people. Alternately, it is possible to read O'Toole as arguing that Healy, through his retreat to celibacy, was retreating from a system that made fractions out of people: quarters, eighths, sixteenths. In either case, Healy's celibacy can be read as part of a project that rejects racial differentiation in something of the same way Father Divine did.

Kahan also touches briefly on the history of the Oblate Sisters of Providence, following Diane Batts Morrow's argument that the Oblates held a unique position in that

[523] Kahan, *Celibacies*, 19.
[524] Kahan, *Celibacies*, 86.

they asserted themselves as both black and sexually virtuous, something seen as impossible by public opinion at the time.[525] Moreover, black priests during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries faced difficulty in being ordained in part because of the belief that they were not capable of celibacy. St. Joseph's Seminary, which was associated with the Josephite Fathers, an order founded to minister to African Americans, would not accept black candidates for priesthood until they were thirty (unlike white candidates, who could be as young as twenty-five) in the hopes that they had matured out of promiscuity.[526]

I return here to the image of Patrick Healy being buried not with his natal family, but with the family of celibate men he had joined instead. It produced new forms of sociality for him. What did it mean for him to be part of this new family? I turn back again to Coviello. In an examination of polygamy and slavery as twinned questions about humanity and the body, Coviello examines Joseph Smith's theology of the family and argue that it represents a sort of expansive experience of sexuality that would not come to be included in conventional definitions of sexuality. Smith "makes monogamous marriage seem an impossibly narrow form with which to ratify the sorts of joyous fellowship, of impassioned intimacies extending well beyond the dyadic couple, that the industrializing century had brought more and more into relief, and that Smith here understands to be 'fundamental' to the revolutionary restorative project that is Mormonism."[527] Essentially, Mormonism thought about familial relationships as expansive and far beyond the nuclear family and sought to make the whole of humanity

[525] Kahan, *Celibacies*, 95.
[526] Kahan, *Celibacies,* 97.
[527] Coviello, *Tomorrow's Parties*, 125.

into one enormous family through ordinances and ritual adoptions in a way that exceeded conventional notions of marriage at the time and later notions of sexuality.

What does this have to do with Patrick Healy's celibacy? Like polygamy, celibacy is something that exceeds narrow definitions of sexuality during this period. We need ways to think about the intimacies present in Healy's life and in his relationship to his fellow Jesuits. After all, what could be more intimate than being buried alongside somebody? Starting with the image of Healy buried beside his fellow Jesuits, what can we discover about the intimacies that made up his life with them? Can we conceive of the relationship between Healy and his fellow Jesuits as one with a certain intimacy without necessarily arguing that this intimacy was inherently sexual or that Jesuit celibacy was a cover for something else? There have to be other ways for us to think about intimacy between men during the nineteenth century. As Coviello puts it,

> The fact that there is no easily applicable contemporaneous terminology for what looks to us, today, like homosexuality plainly does not mean that there was not intimacy, ardor, attraction, desire, or indeed sex between people of the same gender, even if it does make same-sex intimacy in the era before our commonplace taxonomies intriguingly difficult to read, inasmuch as we must labor to see through and around the prism of our own conceptual categories and into an experience that was, necessarily, ordered and conceived differently.[528]

Same-sex intimacy is not necessarily same-sex sexuality, although one does not necessarily preclude the other either. Healy participated in various forms of intimacy with other Jesuits, from living and working alongside them to eventually being buried with them.

I turn now to one of O'Toole's arguments about Healy's celibacy, namely that it was a way for Healy to remove himself from the reproductive pool and the threat to white

[528] Coviello, *Tomorrow's Parties,* 161-162.

society of deceiving a white woman into marrying him and producing legally black children. We must read this alongside the idea of him refusing to participate in American race-making. Though I do not wish to give short shrift to Healy's seemingly genuine desire to become a priest, it is true that material concerns are worth considering in the calculus of how and why Healy chose a celibate life. In a discussion of Frederick Douglass, Coviello writes that

> Marriage extended to him the promise not only of a kind of affective ratification but offered as well--as marriage does--a framework within which all that is disreputable or threatening about black sexuality might be made amenable to hygienic narratives of social stability and social reproduction. At its most basic, marriage codes sex into a kind of legibility, translating whatever is worryingly ungovernable in it into normative, stabilizing terms.[529]

Could the same perhaps be said for celibacy? Celibacy, I argue, created a context in which Healy became newly legible, a different person than he might have been had he not joined the church and a new regime of thinking about sexuality.

In conclusion, passing, sainthood, and sexuality are all connected, and Patrick Healy tells us as much about them as they tell us about Patrick Healy. He unravels some of passing's contradictions, shows us the interconnections of passing (or race more broadly) and religion, passing's hidden connections to logics of sainthood and hagiography, and the ways in which celibacy can wrap back around to questions of passing and new familial contexts.

[529] Coviello, *Tomorrow's Parties*, 130.

CONCLUSION

On November 20, 2015, Georgetown's *The Hoya* published an article by Matthew Quallen (noted in his byline as the Hoya Historian) titled "Healy's Inner Turmoil, Our Current Conflict."[530] Quallens begins by drawing attention to what he sees as a paradox: Georgetown University's conflict over slavery had drawn attention to the names of buildings and led to two of them being renamed to rid them of names of slaveholding priests, while relatively little attention had been paid to Healy Hall, a building named after a man who had legally been enslaved for a good portion of his life. After a sketch of Healy's life and achievements (including an incorrect assertion that Eliza Clark was "purchased out of captivity" by Michael Healy), Quallen strikes at the heart of what Healy's new legacy "does" for Georgetown:

> ...until the 1960s, Healy was even remembered more or less as he expected: a pioneering, white president of Georgetown. Then the narrative shifted. Healy's blackness, once a closet-case, became a selling point in the post-civil rights era. His portrait was slashed because he was black — a label Healy never applied to himself. He became the first black president of a predominantly white university. The first black Ph.D. The firsts and plaudits continue. The re-remembering of Healy in the 1950s and 60s offered a way for Georgetown to resituate itself as a racially progressive site.[531]

Quallen concludes with a general reflection on Healy's importance for the institution and the history of race in America more broadly.

In the comments, a Steven Riley replies "Wonderful article Mr. Quallen. Thank you for reminding us about Georgetown University's tortured racial past."[532] However, Quallen's thoughts do not sit well with everyone in the comments section. A commenter

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[530] Matthew Quallen, "Healy's Inner Turmoil, Our Current Conflict," *The Hoya* (Washington, DC), November 20, 2015, http://www.thehoya.com/quallen-healys-inner-turmoil-our-current-conflict/
[531] Ibid.
[532] Ibid.

calling himself Sam asks "If Rachel Dolezal chooses to be black, that's OK. If Patrick Healy chose to be white, what then?"[533] Antwan Robinson replies "Well, no, he passed as white, meaning he didn't tell persons of his racial makeup. Rachel never had these dominant genes in her pool. You're making false equivalents here. Two different times with two different cases and two different consequences."[534]

Rounding out these reactions is blogger AD Powell, who expresses a strong opposition to Quallen's arguments, writing that

> Matthew Quallen, in my view, is far more racist than the people he condemns. Francis Healy and his siblings were NOT BLACK. They proudly identified as Irish-American. Apparently, Quallen feels that their minority of "black blood" makes them too inferior for the "honor" of being Irish American and white. Their 19th century contemporaries obviously didn't think so. What do you expect to gain by blackening the Healy family? Since they were predominately (sic) white, you can't use them to disprove the racist claim that blacks are genetically inferior. Their whiteness was essential to their rise (as well as their Irish ancestry), so they cannot be used as examples of what "blacks" can accomplish.[535]

This is clearly incredibly fraught territory. and the responses to it encapsulate the broad range of work that Patrick Healy's story is used to do in twenty-first century America. His story is a representation of the inconsistencies of racial definition in America, a condemnation of racism, a tale of passing that opens up questions of who gets to pass and how, and a debate about how identity functions and whether or how someone can choose their own identity. Healy's story means many things to many people, and significantly is used not just to make points about the past but also about the present. Moreover, Healy's story "does" a certain form of work; it transforms existing histories and imagines new futures.

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[533] Ibid.
[534] Ibid.
[535] Ibid.

When I began this project, I was convinced that I would find something that cracked Patrick Healy's racial subjectivity wide open. There would surely be an aside in a letter, a line in a journal, a thought in a spiritual reflection where he clearly articulated how he saw himself racially. This, of course, did not turn out to be the case. Rather, I received a general sense that while Healy saw himself as white (or at the very least, as not-black) and was regarded as such by those around him by and large, it is unclear how he reconciled this with broader nineteenth century notions of race, particularly the "one drop rule" and the fact that his mother was an enslaved woman.

Additionally, I was convinced that, given the wide array of journals available to me, I would fully understand Patrick Healy's inner life and his personality and why he did what he did when he did it. While I feel I do in fact understand his personality by and large, many things remain mysterious to me. Why did he record his illnesses in such detail and without a hint of participation in devotional practices around pain and suffering common to those around him? Why exactly did he choose to become a Jesuit, beyond general religious yearnings? How did he think about his relationship to his family, some of whom were more regularly seen as black than he was, and whom he acknowledged in that fateful letter to Fenwick when he was at Holy Cross sometimes racialized him by association? None of these questions have been definitively answered for me.

I also thought I would understand Patrick (and the family more broadly) and his relationship to slavery, both in terms of his relationship to his mother and in terms of him and his siblings profiting from the institution when the people their father held in bondage were first leased out and then eventually sold after his death. Unfortunately, Patrick never reflects on his relationship with his mother (and indeed only writes her

name two different times, both in the context of listing his family out) and certainly never writes about his relationship to slavery in any way, shape, or form. The closest we get is scant comments on “negroes,” a group that he clearly does not see himself as being a part of, and some commentary on the Civil War in a letter to Fenwick that does not mention slavery.

Although Healy did not create the self I expected to find, he did create one. Through his diaries and correspondence, Healy fashioned himself into someone for an implied audience. His illnesses and ailments, his spiritual thoughts, and what he did on an average day are set into writing for a future person to read. As I argued in chapter two, Healy seems to have seen College of the Holy Cross as the proper destination for James Healy’s diaries and may have seen this as the eventual resting place of his own papers as well. This audience is created through what he does record as well as what he doesn't record. In numerous instances, Healy lets us know that he isn’t putting something to paper, sometimes explicitly so that others will not see it but in other cases this is merely implied.

Further work can certainly be done on Patrick’s sisters, Josephine, Eliza, and Martha. While Josephine and Eliza became nuns, with Eliza becoming mother superior of a convent in Vermont, Martha became a Boston housewife who lived a relatively quiet life. While there is an excellent chapter on the sisters in *Passing for White: Race, Religion, and the Healy Family, 1820-1920*, there is more to learn about the sisters. Why did Josephine and Eliza choose to join religious life? Why did Martha bow out of it after a short trial period as a novice? How were their experiences similar to and different from those of their brothers who joined religious life during this same time period?

I also foresee the possibility of further work on Michael Healy Jr. and his family. Unlike the majority of his siblings, Michael did not enter the religious life, instead choosing to join the forerunner of the Coast Guard and marry and have a child. Today, the Coast Guard's largest ship is named after him. Why did Michael choose such a different path from the majority of his siblings? How did his interactions with indigenous peoples shape his own understanding of his whiteness? As we saw, even Patrick Healy's brief interactions with Inuit people during his trip with Michael seem to have shaped his self-understanding. What did much more extensive contact do for Michael? There are also diaries available from Fred, Michael's son. How did Fred shape his own racial identity? Was he aware of his grandmother's background?

Further work is needed on the ways in which stories of Healy spread. How did Foley learn of the fact that Healy's mother was enslaved? How did it spread after his publication of *Bishop Healy: Beloved Outcast*? An excellent senior thesis by Matthew Sheptuck was completed at Georgetown University in 2010 chronicling how Healy's story has been used over time at Georgetown itself.[536] Sheptuck argues that emphasis on Healy's identity as black dovetailed with student and institutional involvement in civil rights struggles.

However, more research is possible on this topic. Specifically, I envision a project doing a deep dive on Georgetown student publications, in particular *the Hoya*, the main student newspaper on campus. Though I include a few *Hoya* articles in my analysis, I do not look at them comprehensively or seek specifically to find change over time within them. Going back to the 1950s and moving forward chronologically would enable a

[536] Matthew Sheptuck, "Race, Identity, and National Consciousness: Georgetown University's Changing Conceptualization of Patrick Healy's Racial Identity," undergraduate thesis, Georgetown University, 2010.

thorough sense of how students and others at Georgetown have understood Healy's identity and how that has changed over time, with attention to subtleties not visible to me yet in the project as it stands. Other Georgetown university publications and newspapers or magazines, such as *The Georgetown Voice*, which has been in publication since the 1960s, may serve to help expand this project as well.

I also foresee further work on Albert Foley, S.J., the man who worked to popularize the Healys in the 1950s and saw their story as a reason for white Catholics to be less prejudiced toward their Black contemporaries. Foley was unique in that while he brokered the integration of various businesses in Alabama and saw himself as the vanguard of interracial cooperation and integration in the Church, he was also opposed to the work of Martin Luther King, Jr. and his associates, who he saw as taking things too far and moving too quickly. In this way, Foley was the very picture of the "white moderate" chastised by King in his letter from Birmingham Jail. In many ways, Foley sought to make the Healys the model of "good" African Americans who sought change quietly and without disruption, as opposed to the civil rights demonstrators he disagreed with. Foley's papers are split between the Josephite archives and those of Spring Hill College, where he was a professor. I anticipate conducting further study on Foley and his work beyond the Healy family and his general rhetoric and mindset around promoting Black Catholic history and integration within the Catholic church.

A final thought on future work on this topic concerns the Healys' descendants. Foley had some relatively adversarial contact with a few descendants, who did not want to be connected to and thus racialized by their ancestors. Though O'Toole contacted some descendants, he largely seems to have spoken to them regarding any potential

knowledge they had of their ancestors that was not in the archival record, not about their own thoughts and feelings about the Healys. I would be interested in the book version of this dissertation in speaking with descendants and asking what they think about the Healys and what they see their legacy as.

In this dissertation, I believe I have contributed significantly to our knowledge of both Patrick Healy's life and how that life has been remembered since the mid-twentieth century. This examination of Healy contributes to the fields of African American religious history, American Catholic history, studies of racialization and passing, and Jesuit history. Additionally, it is my hope that I have contributed to current discussions at Georgetown University and College of the Holy Cross about their legacies regarding race and slavery.

I have said that histories of Healy transform existing histories and imagine new futures. It is my hope that my work on Healy imagines new futures for Healy's legacy at Georgetown University and College of the Holy Cross, one that seeks to further complicate how we view Patrick Healy and his family beyond a simple oppressed/oppressor binary. Patrick Healy must be remembered as both someone who was enslaved and someone who benefited financially from the sale of enslaved people. Remembering one without the other flattens him and forecloses acknowledging his life's complexity.

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