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**THE FABRIC OF RELIGION:
VESTMENTS AND DEVOTIONAL CATHOLICISM
IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICA**

by

Katherine Hurwich Haas

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the University of Delaware in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Early American Culture

Spring 2004

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GLOSSARY

Definitions adapted from *Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language*. New York: Portland House, 1989, and William Barry. *Sacramentals of the Holy Catholic Church, or Flowers from the Garden of the Liturgy*. Cincinnati: John P. Walsh, 1858.

Agnus Dei: A Latin phrase that translates as “Lamb of God;” visually, it refers to the figure of a lamb as emblematic of Christ.

Alb: A white, long-sleeved linen vestment worn by clergy in the major orders; from the Latin “alba,” meaning “white.”

Amice: An oblong white linen vestment worn around the neck and shoulders by clergy in the major orders; when worn it is partly concealed by the alb.

Benediction: A service expressing adoration for the Eucharist, consisting of prayers, hymns, honoring the congregation and the Host with incense, and blessing the congregation by moving the Host in the form of the cross.

Biretta: A stiff square cap, worn as part of clerical dress, that has three or four upright projecting pieces extending from the center of the top to the edge.

Burse: A case or receptacle for a corporal or purificator, usually made of two pieces of stiff card covered with fabric and joined at three sides.

Cassock: A long close-fitting black gown with long sleeves that is worn as part of clerical dress; it typically buttons down the front.

Chalice: A cup used to hold the wine for the Eucharist.

Chasuble: A sleeveless vestment worn outermost by the priest when celebrating Mass.

By the nineteenth century several distinct styles of chasubles had emerged, including the French, Spanish, and Italian or Latin, which were distinguished by differing cuts and by conventions governing the division of space on the front and back panels.

Cincture: A woven cord worn around the waist, over the alb.

Cope: A long cape worn by all levels of the clergy over the alb or surplice for processions and other ecclesiastical occasions.

Corporal: A linen cloth on which the consecrated elements are placed during the celebration of the Eucharist.

Credence Table: A small side table used to hold objects necessary for the Mass.

Dalmatic: A sleeved vestment worn by deacons over the alb.

Ephod: A richly embroidered, apronlike Jewish vestment with two shoulder straps and attachments for securing the breastplate of the high priest; it is described in Exodus 28: 6, 7, 25-28.

Fanon: A striped, scarflike vestment worn by the pope over the alb when celebrating solemn Pontifical Mass.

Gloves: Liturgical gloves, often with crosses embroidered on the back, which are worn by bishops.

Gremial: A square of cloth placed on a bishop's lap during the celebration of Mass or the conferring of holy orders; it serves a ceremonial function, but also prevents oil, wax, etc. from dripping onto the underlying vestments.

Humeral Veil: A rectangular cloth worn over the back and shoulders with the two ends hanging down in front. Humeral veils are used by the subdeacon holding the paten at solemn high Mass, by the acolyte holding the bishop's mitre at Pontifical Masses, and by priests or bishops in processions of the Blessed Sacrament, during Benediction, and in bringing final Eucharist to the sick.

IHS: An abbreviation of the Greek spelling of Jesus, *ΙΗΣΟΥΣ*, over time the letters have acquired additional meanings, including *Iesus Hominum Salvator*, "Jesus Savior of Mankind," *In Hoc Signo*, "in this sign you shall conquer," and *In Hoc Salus*, "in this sign is salvation."

Major Orders: The upper three levels of the clerical hierarchy: subdiaconate, diaconate, and priesthood.

Mandorla: An almond-shaped space surrounding a representation of a saint or deity.

Maniple: A Eucharistic vestment worn by clergy in major orders, consisting of an ornamental band worn over the left arm.

Minor Orders: The lower four levels of the clerical hierarchy: acolyte, exorcist, lector, and porter.

Mitre: The official headdress of a bishop; typically a tall cap with the top deeply cleft crosswise.

Pallium: A vestment worn by the pope and archbishops, consisting of a narrow ringlike band worn on the shoulders with two dependent lappets, one in front and one behind; pallia are woven from the wool of white sheep presented to the pope on the feast of St. Agnes.

Paten: A metal plate on which the bread is placed during the celebration of the Eucharist.

Purificator: A linen cloth used to wipe the chalice after drinking.

Rubric: A direction in a liturgical book for the conduct of divine services or the administration of sacraments; from the Latin for “red,” the color in which such comments are traditionally printed.

Sandals: Embroidered red or black silk shoes are worn by bishops during liturgical functions; although called sandals, they have no apertures in the top.

Stockings: Also known as buskins, liturgical stockings in either red or white are worn by bishops when solemnly pontificating, except at Requiem Masses.

Stole: A vestment consisting of a narrow strip of silk; priests wear the stole around the neck with both ends hanging in front, while deacons wear it over the left shoulder, running diagonally across the body.

Succinctorium: An embroidered silk vestment, similar to, but broader than, a maniple, worn by the pope on solemn occasions.

Surplice: A loose fitting, broad-sleeved, white linen vestment worn over the cassock by all levels of clergy and altar servers.

Tabernacle: A receptacle or case in which the Blessed Sacrament is reserved,
traditionally placed on the high altar or a side altar.

Tunic/Tunicle: Although originally slightly different, by the nineteenth century the
tunic and tunicle were synonymous and refer to a vestment worn over the alb by
subdeacons; they are also worn by bishops as a sign of their embodiment of the
fullness of holy orders

ABSTRACT

The nineteenth century was a period of significant change in the American Catholic Church, as the church transitioned from a loosely organized body, with a religious emphasis on interiority and “plain piety,” to a highly structured entity promoting an intensely sacramental and performative style of “devotional Catholicism.” Drawing on a wide variety of sources, including surviving objects, church goods catalogs, ecclesiastical legislation, and contemporary Catholic literature, this thesis argues that nineteenth-century vestments fostered and reflected these ecclesiological and theological developments. Throughout the century, bishops and church-sanctioned writers strove to control the use and meanings of vestments. Through their appearance and iconography, as well as the allegorical interpretations assigned to them, nineteenth-century vestments communicated the key devotional Catholic tenets of the elevated position of the priest, the centrality of the Eucharist, and the internationalism and universality of the church.

**THE FABRIC OF RELIGION:
VESTMENTS AND DEVOTIONAL CATHOLICISM
IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICA**

When Edmond F. Prendergast, pastor of Philadelphia's St. Malachy Catholic Church from 1875 to 1911, stepped out of the sacristy to say High Mass on Pentecost and martyr's feasts, he did so in a full flowing cope, with a burgundy velvet stole around his neck. Each end of the stole was marked with an ornate, gold-embroidered cross and edged with two inch gold fringe. The altar he approached had been prepared with a coordinating frontal and the adjacent credence table was set with a chalice covered with a matching burgundy pall and topped with the corresponding velvet burse. As he entered the sanctuary, Prendergast removed his biretta, handing it to a deacon attired in a burgundy velvet dalmatic with high-relief embroidered columns of scrolls and flowers running from the shoulder to within inches of the hem. After kneeling briefly and sprinkling the altar, servers, and congregation with holy water, Prendergast removed his cope, replacing it with a richly embroidered burgundy chasuble and draping his left arm with a matching maniple, adorned with crosses like the stole. For the rest of the service, each time Prendergast turned towards the altar he offered the congregation a view of the magnificently decorated chasuble back, which was filled with elegant scrolls and flowers

executed in the same embossed embroidery as the deacon's dalmatic, but in the form of an ornate cross. At the center of the cross was an embroidered Lamb of God, rendered in three dimensions, complete with curly silver wool and stamped metal head and legs, all surrounded by embroidered rays of glory. After concluding the Mass, Prendergast might have led the congregation in Benediction, covering his shoulders as he did so with a burgundy velvet humeral veil emblazoned with the monogram IHS, surrounded by a wreath of twining vines and flowers (see figure 1).

The vestments used by Reverend Prendergast were beautiful, costly, and significant liturgical objects. They would have affected the experience of the Mass, both for Prendergast himself, who spent significant time praying over each item as he swathed himself in the multiple layers of sacred clothing, and for the congregants who knelt in the pews, for whom the vestments were among the most visible artifacts in the church at a time when the spoken elements of the service were inaudible and incomprehensible. But exactly what was it that these vestments communicated to their nineteenth-century wearers and users? During the nineteenth century, American Catholicism became increasingly attentive to the use of objects within the context of worship. Understanding these ritual objects and the many roles they served is critical in understanding Catholicism of the period. Study of these objects, however, has been thus far largely overlooked by both church historians and material culture scholars. As Colleen McDannell wryly points out, "we know far more about the material environment of the Shakers--a community that tried to simplify their physical universe--than we do

about that of Roman Catholics whose sacramental theology fully exploited the material world.”¹

Ecclesiastical vestments have a long history in the Catholic Church. Although the earliest Christians gathered and celebrated the Eucharist in everyday clothing, by the fourth century the celebrant’s dress had diverged from current fashions and the idea of distinct liturgical clothing had developed. By the thirteenth century the number, names, and liturgical functions of Catholic vestments were well established and would remain the same until the liturgical reforms of the twentieth century. These vestments, worn in various combinations, were the amice, alb, chasuble, cincture, dalmatic, fanon, gloves, maniple, mitre, pallium, sandals, stockings, stole, succinctorium, surplice, tunic, and tunicle (see glossary and figures 2 & 3).² Of these, the chasuble and cope were visually the most significant, as they formed the outermost layer of vestments and were frequently richly ornamented. Although the technical requirements concerning vestments were fixed in the middle ages, the appearance of these vestments and the meanings attached to them by clergy and laity continued to change and evolve. The vestments worn by Reverend Prendergast were visually quite distinct in their richness and their explicitly religious and iconographic style of decoration from those that would have been worn in an American church a hundred years earlier. Even those elements that remained constant, or revived older traditions, evoked new responses and took on new meaning for nineteenth-century Catholics. Ritual scholar Victor Turner emphasizes that, although portrayed as timeless, religious symbols are always “multivocal” and their meanings are

heavily context dependent.³ This was certainly true of the “traditional” aspects of vestments, which were reinterpreted within the framework of nineteenth-century Catholicism.

In order to access these new meanings it is necessary to approach the subject through a wide variety of sources. David Morgan suggests that “in order to study the material history of belief to greatest effect. . . [scholars must ask]: How do objects help generate and maintain the narratives, institutions, and rituals that make sense of a lifeworld? How do objects interact with texts, theology, narrative, and ceremony, and serve thereby to naturalize ideology?”⁴ Over the course of the nineteenth century vestments received significant attention from prescriptive Catholic sources, including church legislation and contemporary Catholic literature, which detailed their use, many aspects of their appearance, and even offered interpretive schema. These documents, and the themes they espouse, must be compared with physical evidence from actual vestments, as well as with the personal accounts of priests and laity, and even with anti-Catholic writings, whose opposition to Catholic vestments testify to their impact and importance. Through an examination of these sources, including one hundred and fourteen surviving vestments from seven mid-Atlantic and Midwestern Catholic repositories (see Appendix A), I will argue that the new appearance and understanding of vestments in the nineteenth century, along with increasing concerns over their appropriate use, both reflected and fostered fundamental structural and theological changes in the church, particularly the centralization of authority and the imposition of a

new style of “devotional Catholicism.” After a brief historical introduction, I will focus on five important themes expressed by vestments within the world of devotional Catholicism: the standardization of vestments as a means of centralizing authority within the church; the role of vestments as signs of the church’s universality and internationalism; the trend towards more overt iconography and explicit religiosity in the decoration of vestments; the function of vestments in focusing attention on the Passion and Eucharist; and the role of both vestments and clerical dress in elevating the position of the priest.

Nineteenth-Century Catholicism

During the nineteenth century, Catholicism in the United States was dominated by the centralization of power by the hierarchy and the Europeanization of the church. Up until the end of the eighteenth century, American Catholicism had lacked centralized church government or close ties with European Catholicism, owing both to its physical distance from Europe and to its position as a minority religion in colonies owned by a non-Catholic country. Immediately after the Revolution, American Catholics evinced a desire to maintain distance from Europe, calling for a church that was free from “all foreign jurisdiction,” and for an autonomous American bishop, who would be elected by the American clergy.⁵ The new American Catholic church of the 1780s also placed priority on incorporating democratic and Enlightenment values, including “intelligibility in religion,” especially the use of English in the liturgy, as well as an active role for the

laity of the church, which manifested itself in the growth of trusteeship as a form of parish government, in which elected lay trustees were responsible for a church's temporal and financial affairs.⁶

But this new "American Catholicism" was short lived, and even before the end of the eighteenth century, the American church began to look to Europe for guidance. As early as 1791, the decrees promulgated by the first national church synod merely echoed those of earlier European synods, and as time went on "this tendency to shape American Catholicism according to a traditional European model, rather than one inspired by the spirit of republicanism and the Catholic enlightenment, became more pronounced."⁷ By 1810 the church no longer endorsed the use of the vernacular and had backed away from the election of bishops. By 1830 the bishops and clergy began to do battle with the trusteeship system, legislating against it at the First Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1829 and reaffirming their opposition at every major council thereafter. The controversy over trusteeship represented a division between two fundamentally opposed concepts of local church government: "a congregational model in which there was an emphasis on a democratic exercise of authority, and a hierarchical model, which meant clerical supremacy in church affairs."⁸ By the Third Plenary Council of 1884 the hierarchical model had won.

The centralization of power and elevation of the clerical role were not only evident in matters of organization and church governance, but were also at the center of a major shift in Catholic piety and devotional practice. Jay Dolan describes this change

as beginning in the 1840s and marking a shift from a style of “plain piety” to that of “devotional Catholicism”:

The plain undemonstrative style of religion, with its emphasis on a personal union with Christ through the mediation of the Bible and other books, gave way to a demonstrative emotion-packed religion distinguished by its emphasis on the practice of external rituals of devotion, communion with a heavenly host of saintly relatives, and devotion to a suffering savior, all of which was mediated through a sacramental system controlled by the clergy.⁹

Ann Taves has also documented this shift through a consideration of prayer books, which moved from the subdued spirituality of St. Francis de Sales to the highly emotional, devotion-oriented style of St. Alphonsus Liguori.¹⁰ Devotional objects, such as rosaries, holy cards, and crucifixes, and official liturgical objects, including vestments, became increasingly important within this new performative style of Catholicism, since as one nineteenth-century writer explained, “human nature. . . is incapable of sustained devotion without external helps.”¹¹

The shift in piety dovetailed with a shift in the conception of the church. Joseph Chinnici contends that “after 1815 there was an increasing tendency to equate ‘church’ with organization. . . the spiritual life of the individual began to be oriented around hierarchical mediation.”¹² Whereas plain piety stressed prayer, meditation, spiritual reading, and works of charity, all of which could be done by the layman, the priest stood at the center of devotional Catholicism, which placed primacy on the Eucharist and confession.¹³ The most popular devotions were connected with the Eucharist, including Benediction, visits to the Blessed Sacrament, and the forty hours devotion. Those that

focused on the life of Christ generally centered on the Passion, thus further reenforcing the Eucharistic emphasis.¹⁴ Marian devotions were also common and while many could be performed privately, public expressions of Marian piety, such as corporate recitations of the rosary, grew in popularity by mid-century.¹⁵ The institutional aspect of these devotions was clear, since many were led by priests and others were conducted by members of a confraternity (pious organization) established within a particular parish. Besides fostering such overt connections with the institutional church, Ann Taves argues that devotions also encouraged more subtle bonds, claiming that “it is clear that reverential attitudes towards supernatural beings [such as Mary and the sacred heart] could be symbolically extended to the institutional church and its leadership. Once the affective bond was extended to a papal or priestly ‘father’ or to the ‘mother’ church, it could be mobilized to serve institutional as well as personal ends.”¹⁶

Centralization, clericalization, and devotionism were not peculiarly American phenomena, but part of an international Catholic trend. As the temporal power of the papacy and bishops declined, it became all the more important to maintain spiritual control within the church. The nineteenth-century church’s main enemy was no longer a rival monarch, but the omnipresent threat of secularism. James McSweeney explains, “if the ghetto was going to survive, its boundaries must be internalized, moralized, clearly drawn within the minds of Catholics. . . the goal was ultramontaniam--the creation of maximum cultural and moral dependence on Rome, leaving Catholics with minimal attachment to the secular institutions which governed their everyday lives.”¹⁷ The

ultimate expression of this centralizing, ultramontanist agenda was the declaration of papal infallibility at the First Vatican Council of 1870. Far from reflecting a spontaneous upsurge in devotional practice on the part of the laity, devotional Catholicism was actually an international, top-down phenomenon orchestrated by the pope. It provided the carrot for loyalty to Rome by offering a more personalized religion and promising indulgences and blessings for worshiping in a church-approved and church-controlled fashion.

While devotional Catholicism was an international phenomenon, the American church was much more willing to embrace this new version of Catholicism than the older, more established churches of Europe. There was less division between ultramontane and liberal Catholics in the United States, both because the majority of American Catholic institutions were founded during the ultramontane period and because the missionary priests and nuns who volunteered to come to the United States tended to be strongly ultramontane.¹⁸ The desire of the American clergy and episcopacy to maintain particularly tight control over the church was reflected in the large numbers of councils and synods convened during the century. As James Hennessy points out, “there is no other national church within the Roman Catholic communion which met so regularly and legislated so widely.”¹⁹ Between 1829 and 1900 the American church held thirty-five major councils, representing almost a quarter of the councils worldwide in this period.²⁰

Standardization of Vestments and the Centralization of Authority

The centralizing aims of the nineteenth-century church were clearly evident in its approach towards vestments. From the seventeenth century through the first decades of the nineteenth century, the peculiar conditions of Catholicism in America, including the scarcity of priests, absence of bishops, diversity of ethnic groups, far-flung settlements, and persecution, had conspired to create liturgical practices that were far from uniform and that did not necessarily conform to official church regulations and rubrics. In 1831 Alexis de Tocqueville claimed that “there are no Roman Catholic priests who show less taste for the minute individual observances, for the extraordinary or peculiar means of salvation, who cling more to the spirit and less to the letter of the law than the Roman Catholic priests of the United States.”²¹ In the eyes of the emerging forces of centralization this was clearly unacceptable, and the standardization of liturgical practice, including the use and appearance of vestments, became a constant theme at the century’s numerous synods and councils. In a pastoral address to the clergy, Philadelphia bishop Francis Patrick Kenrick, one of the United States’ earliest and most vigorous proponents of devotional Catholicism and hierarchical control, admonished:

Hitherto many circumstances were unfavorable to the uniformity and perfection of discipline and ritual observances throughout this Ecclesiastical province. . . You, Venerable Brethren, are placed in more propitious circumstances. . . It is time that all our efforts should be combined, not merely to propagate the truths of faith, and perform the most important acts of our ministry, but by the uniformity and exactness of our ritual observances practically exhibit, in a sensible manner, the unity, beauty, and majesty of our divine religion.²²

Kenrick called specific attention to vestments, insisting that “we should particularly take

care, lest the neglect of the vesture and solemn rites prescribed to be used in the administration of the sacraments should occasion, in ourselves, or in others, a want of regard and veneration for the mysteries sublime and tremendous.”²³

An important step in regulating the use of vestments at a national level took place at the First Provincial Council in 1829, which called for a new Ceremonial to be published for use in the United States. A companion to the Missal, Pontifical, and Ritual, which provide the texts for liturgical celebrations, a Ceremonial provides detailed instructions for the performance of these services. The publication of an American Ceremonial signaled that there was to be one American church with a standardized practice, rather than a conglomeration of diverse churches, each following a different tradition. Councils of all levels repeatedly decreed the use of this Ceremonial in order “to promote uniformity in the performance of sacred duties.”²⁴ As is the norm for Ceremonials, the American version gives extremely detailed instructions for every action involving vestments, from the specific vestments necessary for each function, to the precise set of motions prescribed for vesting, to the manner in which servers should adjust the celebrant’s chasuble when he sits down. The instructions for “vesting for the clergy and bishop” for a Pontifical Mass are four pages long and encompass eleven separate sections explaining exactly which server is to offer which vestment and where he should stand while so doing.²⁵

In addition to mandating the use of the new Ceremonial, bishops also attempted to control vestments through direct legislation. This was technically superfluous, since

the use of vestments was already prescribed in the various rubrics of the Ceremonials and Missals, but many bishops felt a need to reiterate these requirements. In 1866 the Second Plenary Council decreed the use of a stole whenever handling the Sacred Host or vessels containing it, and stated that both stole and surplice must be worn when removing the Host from the tabernacle.²⁶ At a local level, diocesan synods repeatedly enjoined their priests that they must wear a surplice, cassock, and appropriately colored stole when administering the sacraments.²⁷ Many synods even addressed details of the physical appearance and construction of vestments, reminding the clergy that vestments must be made only of silk and linen and that, in accordance with the 1837 statute of the Vatican's Sacred Congregation of the Rites, they must have a single predominant liturgical color rather than a multi-colored floral pattern.²⁸ This conciliar micromanagement may suggest that priests were not always attentive to following correct procedure, but it was also an important means of consolidating power in the hands of the hierarchy. Nothing was so insignificant as to be beneath their notice. In considering the impact of such apparently trivial and redundant decrees, Colleen McDannell's discussion of nineteenth-century sacramentals is particularly apt:

The minute details of indulgences and the proper use and investment of sacramental objects must not be seen as trivial or meaningless. Authority is constructed and maintained not merely through overt coercion, but also through the micromanagement of power. Meticulous rules and definitions communicate to the believer that the effectiveness of the object is wedded to and dependent on the institutional church.²⁹

The bishops also took steps to ensure that the rules were being followed. During

the nineteenth century, as the number of bishops increased and the size of their dioceses became smaller and more manageable, episcopal visitations took on a growing importance as a method of enforcing liturgical statutes. These visits had a sacramental purpose--to confer confirmation--but they were also concerned with inspecting the churches and their vestments, altars, and sacred vessels. The 1865 edition of the *Ceremonial of the Catholic Church For Use in the United States of America* lists 175 elements of the church and its property that were subject to episcopal visitation, including all the liturgical vestments. Bishops were to check that churches had stoles, maniples, and chasubles in all five liturgical colors (red, green, white, black, and purple) and several copes of different colors.³⁰

At the same time that the bishops were increasing their control over the use of vestments by the clergy through church rubrics, legislation, and visitations, devotional Catholic literature attempted to control the understanding of these vestments by the laity. Owing to a combination of increasing literacy, decreasing paper costs, and strong hierarchical support, the nineteenth century witnessed an explosion in the number and variety of religious books available to American Catholics, including both domestically written texts and reprints of popular European titles. These books were accessible to a very broad segment of the Catholic population. The literacy rate for Irish immigrants, who were generally less educated than their German coreligionists, was about seventy percent by the middle of the century, and by 1870 there was little difference between the literacy rates of native-born and immigrant men.³¹ The price of Catholic books also

decreased, and by mid-century the price of prayer books typically ranged from twenty-five cents to a dollar, which put “book ownership within the range of the average American Catholic.”³² A study by Sollow and Stevens suggests that while “the ownership of more than three books was a sign of wealth at mid-century, the ownership of from one to three books was common and did not correlate with income.”³³

The available types of books included pious literature and exemplary stories, but also a wide variety of didactic works, many of which included discussions of the purpose, history, and meaning of vestments. Prayer books, which gave the texts for Mass, popular devotions, and private prayers, occasionally included such explanations, but a survey of twenty-one late-eighteenth- and nineteenth-century examples found that only five included information on vestments (see Appendix B). However, catechisms, which were the most widely circulated Catholic books, frequently included questions concerning vestments, such as “Why has the church assigned particular vestments for the priest whilst officiating at the altar?”; “Why do priests wear a variety of color in their vestments?”; and “What do the vestments worn by the priest signify?”³⁴ In addition, a new genre of books developed that focused specifically on identifying and explaining the rituals and objects associated with Catholicism. Often written by priests, one of the earliest was Bishop John England’s *Explanation of the Construction, Furniture and Ornaments of A Church, of the Vestments of the Clergy and the Nature and Ceremonies of the Mass* which was first published in 1833 and was frequently reprinted and adapted. Other examples had such titles as *Sacramentals of the Holy Catholic Church, or Flowers*

From the Garden of the Liturgy and Teaching Truth by Signs and Ceremonies, or The Church, its Rites and Services. Although authors realized that their books could be important resources for Protestants seeking to learn about Catholicism, they viewed their books as “primarily for the instruction and edification of Catholics, that by a better understanding of the great central act of divine worship, the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, they may reap therefrom richer profit to their souls.”³⁵

Through their explanation of the history, use, and interpretation of vestments, these works integrated the laity into the system of institutional control and standardization already applied to the clergy through legislation and exhortation. The meanings applied to vestments were objective and institutional and there was a right and wrong way to think about them. The books created a dichotomy between insiders, who knew the appropriate explanations, and ignorant outsiders, who did not. One Catholic who attended St. Vincent’s Academy in the 1850s recalled feeling very much the outsider, noting that “in the community where I lived there were few Catholics, and no churches, monks, nuns or priests. I was totally ignorant of the ceremonies and symbols of the church and of the significance of the costumes worn by priests and nuns, and consequently had much to learn that was not in the curriculum of the school.”³⁶ Books underscored the importance of a correct understanding of vestments by ascribing spiritual significance to such knowledge. Although canonically the grace conferred by the sacraments is dependent only on the fulfillment of juridical conditions, devotional authors suggested that insider/outsider status had important consequences for one’s

spiritual life. Those who did not understand the nuances of the Mass did not reap its full spiritual benefits and the *Ursuline Manual* warned:

To give solidity and permanency to your devotion in discharging one of the most solemn duties of our holy religion, you should be careful to retain the explanations of all the types, figures, and ceremonies of the Mass: a knowledge of them. . . is at least extremely conducive to devotion, since the most trivial action, ceremony, or even ornament used at Mass, is not without mysterious significance.³⁷

Vestments and Catholic Universality

The correct understanding of the “mysterious significance” of vestments, as elucidated in manuals and by the physical characteristics of the vestments themselves, was one that reenforced key tenets of devotional Catholicism. One such tenet was the universality of the church. Instructional books frequently commented on the antiquity of the vestments, stressing their connection with ancient Judaism, ancient Rome or both. This elevated vestments into a visible sign of the great age and unbroken tradition of the church, both critical aspects of the nineteenth-century church’s self-conception. The idea that Christian vestments were the direct descendants of the Jewish priestly costume mandated in the Old Testament dates back to the middle ages, but by the nineteenth century the idea that each Christian vestment correlated exactly with a Jewish vestment (for example, that the chasuble developed from the ephod) was largely discredited and only a few books attempted to make such a strict connection between Catholic vestments and ancient Judaism. However, about a quarter of the books surveyed argued for a more fluid connection, claiming that the Old Testament regulations clearly indicated that God

wanted his sacred ministers to wear distinctive costume and that Catholic vestments were a continuation of the spirit of this tradition. At the same time, many books also stressed that in their physical appearance vestments evolved from Roman state dress and the everyday clothing of early Christians. This explanation, which is still favored by historians today, would have been especially appealing to the mid-nineteenth century ethos, since it was another example of the Roman-ness of the church. It also made vestments a sign of the unchangeability of the church, of its unwillingness to alter itself to suit the whims of fashion. Some authors made this point explicitly, as in the case of Bishop England, who wrote:

The incursions of barbarian hordes, the varying fashions of capricious tastes, together with a variety of other circumstances, wrought hundreds of changes through hundreds of years in the garments of worldly guise; whilst amidst this fluctuation of modes, the Church, desirous as far as may be, in all things, to assimilate the sameness of her customs to the unchangeableness of her doctrines, retained, around her altars, her clergy in their scarcely changed costume.³⁸

The images presented by England were important ones for the nineteenth-century American church, portraying vestments as strongholds against the outside world and mirrors of the church's universal and unchangeable doctrine.³⁹

The power of nineteenth-century vestments to evoke the ancient and timeless quality of the church is confirmed by the continual and widespread attacks on this idea in anti-Catholic tracts. Anti-Catholic writers agreed with the Catholic Church's claims that her vestments were ancient in origin and derived from Roman garb. However, while the church maintained that the ancientness of her vestments made them venerable, critics

claimed that they were nothing more than the outmoded trappings of paganism. This line of attack was perhaps most fully developed in Conyers Middleton's tract *Middleton's Letter From Rome, Showing an Exact Conformity Between Popery and Paganism*. This text was first published in 1729, but was republished up through the mid-nineteenth century and formed the basis for attacks on Rome by numerous nineteenth-century writers including W.C. Brownlee in 1834, Nathan S. Beman in 1851, Nicholas Murray in 1852, D.C. Haynes in 1856, and many others.⁴⁰ Middleton paints a picture of the pagan ceremonies of ancient Rome, describing how "the chief magistrate used frequently to assist in robes of ceremony; attended by the priests in surplices, with wax candles in their hands, carrying upon a pageant or thensa the images of their gods dressed out in their best clothes; these were usually followed by the principal youths of the place, in white linen vestments or surplices. . . ."⁴¹ His implication is clear: since Catholics use the same objects and forms of worship as pagans, they too must be pagans. Anti-Catholic writers agreed with the church that the vestments had centuries of tradition behind them, but for them, this was not seen as a point in their favor.

The nineteenth-century church presented itself as universal not only in time but also in space. The vestments in American churches would have reenforced the international scope of the church to those who used and viewed them, since throughout the century, the vast majority came from Europe. The prevalence of imported vestments stemmed from requirements governing their materials. Except for the amice, alb, and cincture, which were made of linen, church rubrics required vestments to be made of

silk, cloth of gold, or cloth of silver, preferably with silk linings. Vestment production thus became naturally aligned with silk-producing centers, which by the nineteenth century meant Lyons, France.⁴² The American silk industry began to develop in the second half of the nineteenth century, but the American Silk Association's *Silk Goods Directories* of 1876 and 1880 confirm that no American silk producers describe themselves as manufacturing fabrics for ecclesiastical use, although by 1880 some produced figured silks and rich satins.⁴³ Even as late as 1920, at the height of the American silk industry, a *Harper's Weekly* article on silk weaving claimed that "the manufactured silk that is imported now is confined to the costliest fabrics in broad silks, to fashionable novelties, and to church vestments and specialties not suitable for mechanical weaving."⁴⁴ In contrast, between 1840 and 1940 there were 187 firms manufacturing liturgical materials in Lyons and the city's vestment industry encompassed all aspects of production, from the manufacture of silk fabric, metal thread, and trims, to the assembling and embroidering of vestments, to their sale and export.⁴⁵

Lyons was the international center for vestment production and its vestments were sold throughout Europe and North and South America. One prominent firm, le Maison Truchot, received eighty percent of its business from exports.⁴⁶ In her study of Germanic vestment production, Karen Stolleis notes that while there was a revival of silk production and vestment manufacture in Vienna and southern Germany beginning in the 1830s, most German churches continued to purchase from Lyons, where mass production made them much more affordable.⁴⁷ The United States, and to a lesser extent

Canada, were major markets for Lyonnais firms and the 1919 guide *La Soierie de Lyon* claimed that “the most beautiful products are sent, among other countries, to the United States.”⁴⁸ To attract international recognition, vestment makers entered their wares in national and international expositions. At the 1834 and 1837 expositions of French industry the jury remarked that the prices of the house of Cinier and Fatin were “very moderate, assuring (the vestments) a large outlet in the United States. . . and abroad.”⁴⁹

Lyons’ influence extended well beyond its own manufactures, since it also played a critical role in providing the raw materials for other vestment-producing centers, especially Paris, which after 1800 no longer wove its own silk.⁵⁰ The firm Biaï, founded in 1782, was one of the oldest and longest lived Parisian houses. By the 1850s it occupied an entire three-story building and published a catalog oriented towards the export of chasubles in the “Roman, Italian, Spanish, [and] primitive Gothic . . . forms, for missions, in silk, very versatile, very graceful.”⁵¹ At the Third Plenary Council in 1884 the American bishops presented the presider, Bishop James Gibbons, with a set of gold vestments from Biaï. Several French religious orders, including the Carmelites of Tours and the monasteries of Mazamet and Coutances, were also well known for making vestments. They did not generally weave their own silk and so probably purchased their raw materials from Lyons as well.

Based on evidence from the style and embroidery of surviving vestments, as well as descriptions in church-goods catalogs and advertisements, France seems to have provided the lion’s share of vestments used in America. However, other countries were

represented as well. A sumptuous burgundy velvet cope with four and one-half inch long tassels and elaborately knotted gold fringe, supposedly given to Cardinal Gibbons upon his elevation to the cardinalate in 1886, bears the label of a London manufacturer, while other vestments came from continental sources. The parish history of St. Anthony's Church records that "at the High Mass on November 14th, 1875. . . a beautiful set of vestments, bought in Innsbruck [sic] Tyrol, was used for the first time," and *The Sacristan's Guide* describes a set of canvas vestments worked in tapestry stitch that were brought over from Belgium.⁵²

These European vestments made their way across the Atlantic Ocean in a wide variety of ways. In many cases, vestments offered evidence of close personal links between American and European churches. Priests and nuns emigrating to the United States often brought vestments with them, as in the case of Rev. Edward Sorin, founder of the University of Notre Dame, who was given a chasuble by the curé of Notre Dame in le Havre before his first voyage to America (see figure 4). Immigration was probably a very fruitful source of vestments since the percentage of foreign priests in the United States was extremely high. Eighty percent of the clergy present at the first American synod in 1791 were foreign born, as were ninety percent serving in Minnesota between 1844 and 1880.⁵³ Many of these immigrants retained close ties to Europe even after arriving in America, especially those in religious orders, who were required to maintain contact with their mother houses. The transmission of European objects could be an important part of these continuing relationships, as in the case of the Good Shepherd

Order in Louisville, Kentucky, whose community history describes one such gift in 1868:

[The French Mother-General] took occasion to send us vestments and money through the kindness of dear Mother Marie of St. Joseph-David--on her return from Angiers, where she had assisted at the election of our Second General Superioress. . . . Our dear Mother Marie of St. Ignatius Ward . . . [has] become accustomed to purchasing many things there for our monastery of Louisville. At the last election of our venerated Mother-Foundress--Marie of St. Euphrasie--we received from her charity a handsome silver ostensorium and one gold cloth vestment, which we highly appreciated and still have in our chapel.⁵⁴

In addition to foreign travel necessitated by such church affairs as order elections or the mandatory visits of bishops to Rome, both foreign-born and native priests also took the opportunity to travel abroad for pleasure and often brought back liturgical items. On Sunday October 15, 1865, Rev. Richard Burtzell noted in his diary that “we used the splendid vestments brought home by Fr. Preston from Lyons: all apparently of massive gold, in very good taste, though in French form.”⁵⁵

For those without personal links to Europe, vestments could be purchased through an intermediary who had such connections, such as Marc Frenaye of Philadelphia. Frenaye, a lay French émigré, managed the business affairs of the Philadelphia diocese from the 1830s through the 1850s and acted as an agent for foreign purchases by the hierarchy in dioceses as far away as St. Louis and Florida. As early as 1838, Frenaye wrote to Francis Patrick Kenrick, at the time coadjutor bishop of Philadelphia, explaining that he was traveling to Washington to sort out a customs problem on a shipment of vestments.⁵⁶ Over twenty years later Frenaye was still active

as a purchaser and in 1859 he frankly advised Bishop Wood, “Rt. Rev. Sir, You will want a large quantity of Vestments for your Cathedral. You cannot be supplied in this Country & if you order them in Lyon you may & will be cheated more or less. Your only safety is to order them [from] the Les Soeurs Carmelites de Reims, Puy de Dôme, France.”⁵⁷ By this point, Frenaye was clearly an old hand at importing; in his letter to the bishop he not only recommended a specific establishment to make the vestments, but estimated the time frame for receiving the vestments at one year and gave precise instructions on packing and shipping:

You will Direct the good sisters to put up the vestments (the Copes excepted) in large flat boxes so as to put in the Chasubles & Dalmatics without being folded. . . let them make a single expedition of the whole together . . . so as to come altogether by the same steamer, in order to have only one application to make to Congress for remitting the duty.⁵⁸

Frenaye’s French connections were very important in facilitating the transactions. He formulated a letter, in French, to the sisters, with extensive queries concerning decorative options and their prices, as well as the expected time to fill the order. This inquiry and the response were both forwarded through Frenaye’s niece, who was still living in France.

By the second half of the century, agents with personal European connections began to be superseded by the development of large church goods firms such as Benziger Brothers, Frederick Pustet & Co., Kreuzburg & Nurre, and their dozens of competitors, whose advertisements graced the pages of Catholic publications (see Appendix C). Like the department stores that were beginning to revolutionize the world

of secular retailing, these firms offered one-stop shopping for ecclesiastical supplies ranging from books and prints to metalwork to church fixtures. By the 1860s, the cathedral parish of Philadelphia was no longer buying its vestments through a personal contact like Frenaye. The parish account books reveal that some pieces were still being purchased personally from European sources, as in the case of moneys “paid by Rt. Revd. Bishop in Europe in 1869 for vestments for cathedral,” and those recorded “for vestments purchased from Seyner-Stougverts (Belgian Commission) at the Centennial Exposition,” but more common were notations referring to church goods firms: “Check remitted to Benziger & Bro. For one red cope and one purple veil,” “Pustet & Co. Check remitted for green velvet chasuble and pair dalmatics,” “Oesterle for two purple velvet vestments.”⁵⁹ Philadelphia’s experience was far from unique and in 1866 Rev. Burtzell described an ecclesiastical shopping trip in New York: “We visited Sturgis and got gilt candlesticks, 32 inches, for \$13 each: 18 inches for \$9 each. At Bensiger’s [sic] we bought a sanctuary lamp for \$21. We found no good vestments at either place, but at Berger’s there were some good chasubles at \$150 to \$200 each.”⁶⁰

Despite the shift towards larger firms, the close connection with Europe remained. Many of the church-goods companies operating in the United States, including Benziger Brothers and Fr. Pustet, were American branches of European businesses and at all firms the vestments continued to be predominately foreign made. Small firms were unwilling to invest in manufacturing facilities when importation was more cost-effective and many made their import orientation quite clear, as in the case of

J. Turgis of New York, “Publisher of Religious Engravings and Importer of Catholic Goods,” and Thos. J. Flynn & Co. of Boston, “Catholic Publishing House, Importers of Catholic Church Goods.”⁶¹ Some of the larger firms, such as Benziger Brothers and Fr. Pustet, did have facilities for manufacturing vestments, but they still imported a substantial share of their stock. In a 1905 advertisement, M. H. Wiltzius Co. of Milwaukee thought it was noteworthy that the firm’s vestments were “all made in our own establishment.” The advertisement’s admonition, “Why import when we can furnish a better article on shorter notice?” confirms that imported vestments were the predominant and accepted standard.⁶² Benziger Brothers promised that its stock “always contains the newest designs” and its catalogs carried top-of-the-line European pieces, such as the Angelique pattern, which was one of Lyonnais manufacturer J.A. Henry’s most famous designs.⁶³ The 1893 Benziger Brothers catalog, the only one to clearly distinguish “our own manufacture” from imports, lists seventy-four different chasubles, of which forty-four, or approximately sixty percent, were imports. The same catalog highlights Benziger’s “vestments and embroideries made in Lyons,” which won medals at the Columbian Exposition, whereas vestments are conspicuously absent from the medalists in “Our Exhibit in the American Section.”⁶⁴

Imported vestments set the standard for the vestments made domestically by those companies with production capabilities. Benziger Brother’s 1883 catalog measured its own manufacture against imported goods, promising that “there are so many advantages in making them under our supervision, that our catalogue prices,

especially for low priced articles, are, in many cases, less than those of vestments imported free of duty.”⁶⁵ The catalog went on to reassure readers that not only were made-up vestments cheaper than the imported variety, but they were functionally superior, since they had “the great advantage of. . . being made to suit [the customer’s] individual taste; thus precluding the possibility of buying old and shopworn stock.”⁶⁶ In an attempt to place its own production on a par with European designs, Benziger’s 1893 catalog touted that “Our own manufacture consists in the making up of vestments from the cheapest to the richest styles, as well as in designing and embroidering them.”⁶⁷ Despite the assertion that it manufactured high-end designs, an analysis of Benziger catalogs suggests that the American-made pieces were generally simpler than the imported ones (see figure 5). In the 1893 catalog, all of the imported chasubles featured embroidered central crosses, while the less expensive woven crosses were found only on pieces “of our own manufacture.” On Benziger-made pieces with embroidered decoration, the embroidery was always confined to the central cross element, in contrast to the more extensive embroidery found on some imported examples. Nonetheless, despite these minor differences, the style and emblems of the American made designs closely matched those of the European imports. They are often difficult to tell apart on the catalog page, suggesting that the American firms needed to carefully copy the European idiom if their pieces were to be accepted by customers accustomed to European vestment fashions.

Between their importation and their manufacture, commercial firms dominated

the American vestment trade and there was relatively little involvement from convents, as compared with Europe. Whereas needlework had been a traditional means of support for contemplative cloistered communities, the orders that emigrated to the United States were typically active orders, focused on social service, such as nursing and teaching. The need for teachers for the new parochial schools was so great that bishops often leaned heavily on traditionally contemplative communities, granting dispensations from regulations of enclosure and silence in order to facilitate more active service. In her analysis of the work performed by nineteenth-century nuns and sisters, Barbara Misner concludes that only one half percent worked in “needlework or craft,” although this does not count the needlework taught in convent schools. The dominance of the church goods firms in vestment manufacture is reflected in the account books of the Philadelphia cathedral, which indicate that between 1881 and 1887 a “Mother Dominic” was paid for repairing vestments, but the items themselves were purchased from firms such as Fr. Pustet and Oesterle.⁶⁸

Nonetheless, the tradition of religious production of vestments continued on a limited scale. From 1834 through 1844, the Oblate Sisters of Providence, an African-American order dedicated to the education of “colored girls,” manufactured vestments, which could be ordered through the seminary in Baltimore.⁶⁹ Apparently they took up this mode of support in response to suggestions by clergy at the provincial council of 1829 and the venture became a significant source of income; between March 1836 and January 1842 the community sold over \$8000 worth of vestments and produced

additional stock worth almost \$2000. However, declining profit margins and problems with their Lyonnais fabric supplier, Didier Petit, led to the demise of the short-lived experiment.⁷⁰ Community histories suggest that several other orders also produced vestments, but the anecdotal style makes it difficult to gauge the scope of the enterprises. A typical reference is the account of an 1857 fire at the convent of the Sisters of St. Francis in Oldenburg, Indiana, which notes that “when the alarm was given, Mother Teresa and another sister were engaged in embroidering a chasuble. . . on seeing the flames, they hastily wrapped the chasuble and a few other articles in a blanket snatched from a bed, and hastened downstairs.”⁷¹ It seems that towards the end of the century, convent production of vestments increased and became more visible. The Catholic Educational Exhibit at the 1893 Columbian Exhibition highlighted several examples of vestments produced by nuns or at convent schools, while in 1894 the Franciscan Poor Clare Nuns of Omaha, Nebraska began advertising in *Hoffman’s Official Catholic Directory* that they would “make to order vestments, embroidery, altar linens.”⁷² At about the same time, the enterprising Benedictine Sisters of Perpetual Adoration in Clyde, Missouri put together a catalog of their vestments “so that the sisters could travel two by two to Kansas City, St. Louis, and Chicago to try to sell them to interested priests.”⁷³

The production of vestments at a parish level is even more difficult to assess than that of convents. By the second half of the nineteenth century most parishes had an altar society, which was responsible for acquiring vestments, altar linens, and other church

furnishings, but the general assumption seems to have been that the societies would raise money from members to purchase these items, rather than making them. *The Sacristan's Guide*, published in 1886, suggests that "where members of a society have leisure to do so, it is a delightful thing to employ it in making vestments, hangings for the sanctuary etc.," but this was clearly not expected to be the norm and the manual also provided detailed instructions for purchasing vestments.⁷⁴ However, there are isolated references to local production, such as Bishop John Prendergast's speech dedicating the baptistery chapel at the Church of St Ignatius Loyola in New York City, which thanked the embroidery society for the "abundant supply of Baptistry linen, veils, surplices, stoles, and copes, all of a very high class of artistic needlework."⁷⁵ Church goods catalogs also provide evidence of home production, since Benziger, Horstmann, and others advertised that they sold raw materials, including "Galoons, Laces, Spangles, Silks, Satins, Velvets, Moire-Antiques, Brocades, Embroideries and all articles necessary for church use."⁷⁶

Local production of vestments was hampered by the unavoidable fact that they were difficult to make, especially the elaborately decorated chasubles and copes. In 1905, Rev. B.W. Fleming recorded that "the poor people whom I visit on the missions have not the time, talent to make, nor the money to provide the necessary equipment of the little chapels."⁷⁷ Even *The Sacristan's Guide* suggested that members stick to silk embroidery, since "the embroidery in relief, with which many of the vestments are ornamented, could not be done except by an expert in that kind of needlework (bullion embroidery)."⁷⁸ To address this problem, church goods firms retailed vestments that

were “embroidered but not made up” and provided embroidered crosses for chasubles, embroidered bands for dalmatics, capes, and copes, and assorted embroidered emblems for vestment manufacture and repair.⁷⁹ It seems likely that while some local seamstresses may have made simple vestments like albs, surplices, choir boy cassocks, stoles, and maniples, very few would have endeavored to make the more complicated vestments from scratch.

All American-made vestments, whether manufactured by Benziger Brothers, nuns, or laity, were inevitably connected back to Europe by virtue of the materials they used. In 1836, the Sisters of Providence explained to their potential customers that “the materials for these vestments have been procured from France at a very considerable expense and were most of them subject to heavy duties.”⁸⁰ Almost sixty years later, Benziger Brothers’ 1893 catalog touted that “we import the materials necessary for the manufacture of vestments and regalia and offer these at lowest prices. Many articles in this line are especially manufactured for us.”⁸¹ These imported materials included the decorative woven crosses and bands which not only dominated the appearance of many Benziger-made vestments, but were also retailed to customers to decorate homemade vestments. American reliance on European materials is underscored by the fact that only one American silk manufacturer, Horstmann Brothers & Co., advertised in Catholic directories, and this firm was an importer as well as a manufacturer.⁸² Horstmann specialized in manufacturing braids, fringes, and trims, but its ads also promised yard goods such as velvets, moire antiques, and brocades, which were presumably imported.⁸³

Thus all nineteenth-century vestments, even those made in America, served as visual reminders of the international nature of Catholicism. Although we have few records that illuminate Catholics' personal responses to vestments, it is likely that they would have recognized what they saw on the altar as European in appearance and also in origin, especially since immigrants represented a large proportion of the American Catholic population.⁸⁴ References to vestments in the histories of parishes and religious communities confirm that the origin of imported vestments was remembered long after the initial purchase or gift and was often a source of pride. Although the prominence of European vestments in nineteenth-century America was due in large part to practical considerations, such as silk production, it carried much greater symbolic import. In the dedication sermon of the Philadelphia cathedral, Cardinal Gibbons claimed that a European foreigner visiting the cathedral would find the vestments "as familiar as his mother's face."⁸⁵ Contemporary American Catholics would also have seen these objects as signs of their connection to the larger world of Catholicism.

Despite these close connections, the vestments that were popular in the United States were not exactly identical to those popular in Europe. One difference was the United States' lack of interest in Gothic vestments. Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, European antiquarians and ecclesiastical reformers, such as A. W. N. Pugin, Viollet-le-Duc, and Dom Prosper Guéranger, began promoting a return to earlier incarnations of the sacred vestments, most notably a fuller, draped chasuble in place of the stiff, small, square backed design developed in the baroque period (see figure 6). By

the 1850s German vestment-makers, following the lead of Abbot Franz Bock, began producing high-quality neo-Gothic vestments, while in France the style received the support of several bishops, most notably Pierre-Simon de Dreux-Brézé, bishop of Moulins for over forty-three years, and Marie-Dominique Silbour, archbishop of Paris.⁸⁶ However, these reformist ideas did not sit well with Rome, and in 1863 the Sacred Congregation of Rites warned against the use of these vestments, insisting that “an abrupt and considerable change in the vestments should not be made without consulting the Holy See because such changes trouble the faithful.”⁸⁷ Rome was wary of the Gothic vestments because they carried with them the inherent suggestion that the medieval church was in some way superior to its post-Tridentine incarnation. This went against the popes’ insistence on the value and virtue of the hierarchical, institutional model of the church born out of the Counter-Reformation.

Rome’s condemnation failed to deter many Europeans and the neo-Gothic style became “increasingly popular in northern Europe” during the second half of the nineteenth century.⁸⁸ In contrast, such vestments made little headway in the United States. None of the nineteen chasubles I studied used the Gothic form and the results of this small sample are consistent with the chasubles offered by Benziger Brothers. In their 1879 and 1883 catalogs Benziger did offer “Gothic style” vestments and the similar “Bernardine style.” However, these styles were by far the minority, accounting for only three chasubles out of the sixty-three shown in the 1883 catalog. The Bernardine style disappeared completely in the 1885 catalog and subsequent catalogs dropped the Gothic

as well. In 1905 Benziger noted that “all vestments in our catalog can be had in Roman or Spanish styles at the same prices,” but there was no mention of Gothic.⁸⁹ Since church goods retailers were more concerned about product popularity than official Roman sentiment, the absence of Gothic in contemporary catalogs presumably reflects a lack of American interest in the style, although superficial elements of Gothic decoration, such as trefoils and quatrefoils, were apparently more acceptable and were not uncommon in catalogs, although absent from surviving vestments. One exception to the general disinterest in neo-Gothic forms was the adoption by some American bishops of the shorter style of mitre favored by the Gothic revival. But even here, surviving examples suggest that these short mitres with triangular peaks were greatly outnumbered by those in the tall, arched, baroque style (see figure 6). While many factors may have influenced the relative lack of Gothic vestments in the United States, American ultramontanism, which was stronger and more pervasive than its European counterpart, was clearly an important consideration. American practice echoed that of Rome and Italy, where neo-Gothicism never took hold.⁹⁰ A 1910 article in the *American Ecclesiastical Review* promoting “The Reform of Church Vestments” took great pains to try to convince readers that Gothic vestments were not actually disallowed by Rome and that their use did not violate church law. The article admitted that the Congregation of Rites had stated that Gothic vestments were not to be used, but pointed out that the decree had not received the pope’s approbation and that therefore medieval style vestments could be used “without hesitation.”⁹¹

In addition to their lack of interest in neo-Gothicism, American vestments also differed from their European counterparts in their choice of iconography. Surviving American copes and chasubles, as well as those pictured in Benziger catalogs, indicate that the two most common emblems, by far, were the Agnus Dei, or Lamb of God, and the IHS monogram, which is an abbreviation of the Greek spelling of “Jesus.” The overwhelming popularity of these two emblems in an American context contrasts with Pauline Johnstone’s descriptions of contemporaneous European norms. Johnstone documents the development of European iconography depicting various aspects of Jesus, such as the Good Shepherd or the Man of Sorrows and suggests that “the romantic, idealistic attitudes of nineteenth-century Catholicism, which developed in reaction to the intellectual arguments of the Age of Reason, produced portraits which emphasized the humanity of Christ, showing a man of sweet and gentle nature, accepting meekly the suffering of the world.”⁹² She notes that figures of saints and of the Virgin Mary were popular, but claims that the most frequent theme for chasuble decoration was Jesus pointing to his sacred heart.⁹³ In contrast, only one surviving American chasuble depicts this image and one other example shows the entwined sacred hearts of Jesus and Mary. None have images of Mary, the saints, or the humanity of Jesus. Benziger Brothers advertised a few chasubles with these designs but they never amounted to more than eight items per catalog and other companies’ advertisements suggest a similar pattern: images of the sacred heart and crucifixes existed, but were greatly outnumbered by the overwhelming numbers of IHS.⁹⁴ Accounting for these notable differences in

iconography is difficult. They may reflect economic considerations, since embroidered figural works were among the more costly designs listed in the catalogs. However, they were not necessarily the most expensive option and surviving examples prove that certain American churches were willing to spend the money for very elaborate pieces. Another possibility is that the choice of iconography might actually be connected to the American hesitance to embrace the neo-Gothic movement, since figural work, which had fallen out of favor in the baroque period, was often associated with medieval design.

The Changing Appearance of Vestments

The rejection of neo-Gothic vestments in the United States did not mean that the appearance of vestments remained constant from the baroque period into the nineteenth century. In fact, nineteenth-century vestments differed dramatically from their eighteenth-century forbears. Devotional Catholicism's increased emphasis on the power of objects to carry religious messages and inspire devotion meant that nineteenth-century vestments were expected to look distinctly religious in material and decoration. A typical chasuble of the period, such as that worn by Philadelphia bishop John Neumann, had a cross outlined on the back with a religious emblem in the center of the cross, in Neumann's case an Agnus Dei (see figure 7). The fabrics used to make the vestments, were also distinctly ecclesiastical. Although they did not always feature explicit iconography, as on Neumann's chasuble, which utilized a large floral pattern, these fabrics were noticeably different from those used in contemporary secular dress.⁹⁵

This approach represented a distinct departure from the baroque practices that had predominated from the mid-seventeenth century through the end of the eighteenth. Although few pieces with American provenance survive from this era, European examples show little separation between church fabrics and secular fabrics and scant concern for overt iconography. Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century vestments were typically made from dress silks intended for the general market, although sometimes these silks were specifically woven to shape for chasubles and other vestments.⁹⁶ Pauline Johnstone suggests that the church preferred fabrics with rich weaves incorporating significant amounts of gold and silver, but surviving examples show that less ornate silks were also frequently used.⁹⁷ In contrast to the clearly religious decoration favored in the nineteenth century, on baroque vestments the cloth itself was frequently the main aesthetic component and many vestments had fairly little additional ornamentation; those that were decorated favored all-over floral embroidery rather than specifically religious emblems or symbols (see figure 8).⁹⁸ Many eighteenth-century chasubles did not even feature a cross on the back, simply dividing the back into three vertical segments, although crosses with steps in the corners were traditional on French chasubles (see figure 9). The one eighteenth-century vestment used in America that I have been able to identify, a chasuble made by the Ursulines in New Orleans, is clearly in line with the European baroque trends. It is in the Spanish style, including the use of a tripartite back division, rather than a cross, and is decorated with floral embroidery, without any religious symbols.

This relatively plain style, which used secular fabrics and lacked specifically religious iconography, went out of fashion after the first decades of the nineteenth century. Isolated examples still persisted, as in the case of an undecorated green stole owned by Rev. Sorin, the founder of the University of Notre Dame, but they were not the norm. Instead the focus shifted to vestments that made use of specifically ecclesiastical fabrics and were decorated with religious motifs. Fabrics incorporating religious symbols, especially IHS, had been introduced in the second half of the eighteenth century, but in these early fabrics the symbols were not prominently placed and were often almost completely hidden amidst the prevailing floral decoration.⁹⁹ Bolder, more visibly religious fabrics were a nineteenth-century development, and by the 1830s and 1840s Lyonnais silk producers offered designs specifically intended for church use that incorporated wheat and grape motifs. Later in the century many ecclesiastical silks were adorned with geometric motifs, scrolling stems, and heraldic animals, as well as complex woven designs of angels and human figures.¹⁰⁰ Some of these elaborate fabrics clearly made their way to the United States; one set of nineteenth- or early twentieth-century vestments in Philadelphia utilizes a fabric woven with images of Christ, each seated in a mandorla flanked by angels and saints (see figure 10).

Although the vast majority of American vestments surveyed did not involve such overtly patterned fabrics, the trend towards more obvious symbolism was notably evident in their decoration. All but one of the surviving nineteenth-century vestments, and almost all of the examples pictured in Benziger Brothers catalogs, have crosses

outlined on the back. This may be partly due to the fact that most came from France, where crosses had always been in use. However, Pauline Johnstone confirms that internationally the use of crosses was becoming more widespread, moving beyond France to encompass other countries, such as Germany, although not Italy or Spain.¹⁰¹ In all but two surviving American examples, the back of the chasuble was heavily decorated to highlight the cross element, in contrast to the large expanses of unadorned fabric frequently found on eighteenth-century pieces. The decoration was executed in embroidery or with woven designs intended specifically for this use and centered on a religious emblem, such as a pelican or Agnus Dei, placed at the intersection of the cross arms and shaft. Sometimes older vestments were even updated to fit into the new, overtly religious mode, as in the case of an eighteenth-century cope at St. Francis Xavier Shrine in Warwick, Maryland, which was modified by replacing the original hood with a new one featuring the large central emblem typical of the nineteenth century (see figure 11).

The move towards more explicitly religious-looking vestments reflects a number of factors. Technological innovation certainly played a part, as Jacquard looms made it possible to efficiently weave more complex designs, such as the central cross design found on the chasuble given to Rev. Sorin of Notre Dame (see figure 4). The decreasing cost of materials caused by mechanization and the increasing scale of the silk industry may have also contributed to a decrease in the perceived visual effect of plain silk. Popular taste in decorative arts may have been another factor, as nineteenth-century

revival styles stressed ornament and surface decoration over form. In addition to these societal factors, important religious influences were at work in shaping the new appearance of vestments. Pauline Johnstone links the increasing international prevalence of cross backs with the “increased emphasis on the sacrificial element symbolized in the cross” in the nineteenth-century church.¹⁰² Furthermore, the more overtly ecclesiastical materials and appearance promoted the devotional Catholic tenet that every aspect of the physical environment of a church should turn the mind towards God or, in the words of one nineteenth-century author, “it seems to me that all [in God’s temple] should be conducive to our sanctification.”¹⁰³ The idea that the visual impact of an object could affect the spiritual experience was deeply ingrained in nineteenth-century Catholicism, which felt that “Almighty God has furnished the corporal sense to be the inlets of all holy impressions to the soul. Of these senses, the most powerful in its influence upon the mind and heart is proverbially the eye.”¹⁰⁴ Therefore the visual qualities of the vestment, including the panoply of religious symbols, were primary. Cardinal Gibbons used the example of a foreigner visiting an American church to drive home the importance of the senses in the religious experience. Even if the foreigner could not speak English, the objects in the church, including “the pontiff and priest, in their sacred garments. . . preached to the whole man as God had made him, so that every faculty of his soul and every fibre of his frame was swayed by the sweet influence of religion.”¹⁰⁵ Objects could communicate spiritual truths visually as well as, or perhaps even better than, words could convey them audibly.

Overtly religious vestments, along with stained glass, statues, and carved altars, all of which became more prevalent in the nineteenth century, were not only aids to inspire devotion, but helped to focus attention on the institutional church by clearly dividing sacred and non-sacred space.¹⁰⁶ As one devotional author explained, a key function of the vestments was to “impress the people with awe and reverence.”¹⁰⁷ These objects visually reinforced ideas embodied in current church legislation, such as the 1829 decree banning Masses outside of churches, which functionally linked sacred actions with institutional buildings. This aspect of devotional Catholicism became so ingrained that in the early twentieth century a group of lay Italian-American Catholics in Newark, New Jersey complained to their cardinal about their fellow countrymen’s outdoor religious processions, which violated the norms of sacred space and sacred objects, claiming that “these performances are in no wise religious; as such they would be celebrated in their churches, their homes, their hearts. . . Holy statuary and sacred vestments are paraded repeatedly, not before the faithful and believers, but before scoffers and unbelievers.”¹⁰⁸ Colleen McDannell argues that the understanding of sacred space as separate from secular space was a key aspect of nineteenth-century Catholicism. Both she and Ann Taves suggest that Catholics’ perceived hierarchy of church and home was the reverse of that of Protestants. For Protestants the church gained its importance from its association with the family, whereas “Catholicism[’s] sacramental emphasis focused on the physical space of the church and the home remained only a reminder of that sacredness.”¹⁰⁹

In inspiring the laity and delineating sacred space, the appearance of the vestments mattered much more than the actual quality of the components used. Throughout the nineteenth century Catholics tried to economize on materials without sacrificing show value. When Marc Frenaye wrote to the Carmelite sisters at Puy de Dôme in 1859 to order vestments for Bishop Wood, he included a list of twenty questions. Among these were inquiries about substituting silk wrapped cotton for pure silk, making vestments entirely of cotton, and using gilded thread rather than pure gold. He also noted that on mitres, colored glass looks the same as precious stones.¹¹⁰ Other buyers had similar concerns. In 1892 a priest wrote to the *American Ecclesiastical Review* to ask whether “textiles which, though they resemble silk, are really cotton or woolen fabrics woven in the peculiar fashion of satins,” would be acceptable, while in 1906 a correspondent asked about the use of yellow vestments, rather than cloth of gold.¹¹¹ Both were firmly rebuffed by the magazine, but their inquiries demonstrate the desire to cut cost while maintaining appearance. This exterior focus corresponds with Rachel Coffey’s analysis of nineteenth-century ecclesiastical metalware. Describing the difference between nineteenth-century Catholic and Episcopalian metalwork, she writes that “one of the primary concerns for nineteenth-century Episcopalians was the mixing of consecrated and non-consecrated silver. Benziger Brothers, on the other hand, was not interested in ‘honesty’ in design. It commonly made objects that appeared to be of a richer material than they were.”¹¹²

Vestments, the Passion and the Eucharist

In addition to acquiring a new and more overtly religious appearance, nineteenth-century vestments also took on a more important position within the church. The emerging theology of devotional Catholicism stressed the centrality of the sacraments; this increased the need for, and attention to, the vestments necessary to carry them out. The crucial role of vestments is apparent in Bishop Francis Kenrick's diary of his episcopal visitations, in which it appears that a chalice, a missal, and sacred vestments were the absolute minimum needed to conduct divine services in the rural churches he visited.¹¹³ The close connection between vestments and sacramentality was continually reiterated in episcopal legislation, which repeatedly stressed the need to wear vestments for "administering the sacraments, except mixed marriages."¹¹⁴ Bishops were also concerned about promoting institutionally-directed and Eucharistically-focused devotions. Thus the first diocesan synod of New York not only required "the celebration of Mass with proper and becoming vestments and the altar neatly kept," but also urged the acquisition of a full complement of vestments, especially the copes and veils necessary for the devotional practices of Benediction.¹¹⁵ The bishops recognized that it was not enough simply to legislate the use of vestments without addressing financial considerations, since church fittings were expensive. As early as 1792, Bishop John Carroll appealed to American Catholics to support their churches' physical needs, noting that "in many places, they are without chalices, without the decent and necessary furniture of the altars, without vestments suited to the different services of the Church, in

a word, without those sacred utensils, which its ordinances require. . . .”¹¹⁶ He decreed that one-third of offerings should be used for “the procuring of all things requisite for divine worship and for building and repairing the church.”¹¹⁷ Throughout the nineteenth century, bishops continued to remind both clergy and laity of the need to allocate money for proper vestments and church furnishings and the Bishop of Rochester’s 1878 pastoral letter demonstrates how far the church had come since 1792:

At the beginning of this visitation it was thought that there would be room for much fault finding and that, necessarily, the people would be called upon to redouble their sacrifices to supply their churches with whatever might be deemed essential for the worthy and becoming celebration of the offices of religion. There was in reality more occasion for praise than for censure, and indeed, with the exception of baptismal fonts, nothing important was wanting. Nearly all the sacred vessels were of the proper metal and in good order; the tabernacles were richly adorned within; and sacristies were well supplied with vestments, linens, and all things needed.¹¹⁸

Bishops were not the only Catholics who were concerned about vestments and their crucial role in the new sacramentally-oriented church. The connection between liturgy, devotions, and vestments is nowhere better illustrated than in the work of the tabernacle societies connected with the Association of Perpetual Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament and Work for Poor Churches. The Association was an international organization founded in 1848 in Brussels, which then spread across Europe and the United States. The explicit purpose of the Association’s tabernacle societies was “the increase of devotion to the Blessed Sacrament” and towards this aim members pledged not only to spend one hour each month in adoration before the Blessed Sacrament, but

also to contribute yearly dues towards a fund for supplying vestments to poor churches. This money was used to purchase vestment materials, which were then made up by the members of the society and distributed.¹¹⁹ Thus members both increased their own devotion to the Blessed Sacrament and made it possible for others to celebrate the Eucharist and to engage in Eucharistic devotions. Letters from needy priests to the Tabernacle Society associated with the Convent of Notre Dame in Boston indicate how access to vestments could affect the availability of sacraments and devotions to their congregations. In 1906 Thomas Price of Nazareth, North Carolina asked, “if you could by possibility get us a cope, it would certainly be of greatest help. A number of services we cannot have without copes and we have no cope that can be allowed by the rubrics of the church.”¹²⁰ C. Haule of Marlborough, New Hampshire, who wrote in 1901, was even worse off, noting that “Sunday last I was unable to give Mass to my people, not having even a corporal at my disposal.”¹²¹ In addition to recognizing the inherent benefits of vestment ownership for maintaining a Eucharistically-focused spirituality, the Boston group also took specific steps to promote Eucharistic devotion. The application form requested that vestment recipients establish a monthly hour of adoration at their parish and explained that the group would not send copes to any parish lacking the devotion. Thus the integral connection between vestments and the centrality of the Eucharist was explicitly spelled out.

This connection was also emphasized in devotional books of the period. As has been discussed earlier, many books called attention to the connection between Catholic

vestments and the Jewish vestments prescribed in the Old Testament. This approach not only reenforced the antiquity of vestments, but also stressed the connection between vestments and sacrificial worship. As one book explained, “if any one feels the ceremonies and rich vestments a difficulty, let him only read the minute and particular laws given by God Himself for the sacrifice by the Jewish priests. . . and he will see that what Protestants venture to call the ‘mummeries’ of Catholic worship are nothing more than God Himself commanded in the offering of Sacrifice to Him.”¹²² The use of vestments was a constant reminder of the sacrificial nature of the Mass and the centrality of that sacrificial act to Catholic worship. Furthermore, many devotional guides also suggested that each individual vestment had a symbolic meaning linked with the Passion. In this explanatory system, the amice represented the blindfold worn by Christ; the alb was the white garment in which Christ was clothed by Herod; the cincture suggested the cord by which Christ was bound to the pillar; the maniple and stole represented His fetters; and the chasuble was the purple garment forced on Him by the soldiers, with the cross on the back indicating the carrying of the cross. This allegorical model was one of the two most popular symbolic explanations of vestments in period devotional guides, appearing in about two-thirds of the surveyed books and articles dealing with vestments. The model was originally developed in the thirteenth century and quickly became popular because it was easily expressed and understood.¹²³ With the explosion of printed materials in the nineteenth century, the archaic and esoteric symbolism was revitalized and became more widely available; it fit perfectly with the

prevailing focus on the Eucharist, with its concomitant interest in the Passion and suffering of Christ. It also meshed with a larger framework of hearing Mass encouraged by devotional guides, which encouraged congregants to meditate on the Mass as a reenactment of Christ's life and Passion, with each section of the Mass linked with a certain event. For example, the recitation of the Gloria recalled the nativity, and the passing of the priest from one side of the sanctuary to the other represented Christ being sent from Herod to Pilate and back. These meditations often drew attention to the clothing worn in the Passion, even in books that did not specifically provide explanations of the vestments. *The Golden Manual* encouraged the faithful to "meditate upon Christ sent by Pilate to Herod and by him sent back again. . . clothed in a white garment, as a silly person, not worthy of credit" at the gospel, and to reflect upon "Christ, about to be condemned by Pilate, presented to the people in a crown of thorns and a purple robe" when the priest turned to the people and exhorted them to pray.¹²⁴

The link between vestments and the Passion-centered approach to the Mass, which was itself bound up with the increased sacramentality of the period, was conveyed visually through the frequent use of the Agnus Dei as a decoration on chasubles. One of the two most commonly used emblems on American vestments, the nineteenth-century version of the Agnus Dei featured a recumbent lamb lying on the cross, on top of the book of seven seals from Revelation. This iconography calls attention to Christ as the lamb who was slain for the sins of the world and is quite different from the Agnus Dei used on earlier vestments, and on Gothic revival examples, which depicted a standing

lamb with a cross-embazoned banner, symbolic of the resurrection (see figure 12).¹²⁵

The choice of the slain lamb, rather than the lamb triumphant, visually encapsulated the sacrificial and sacramental theology of devotional Catholicism and reenforced the role of the institutional church by highlighting the centrality of the Mass, wherein the lamb is continually offered.

Sacred Clothing and the Elevation of the Priest

The increased sacramentality of devotional Catholicism was inextricably linked with the elevation of the role of the priest within the Catholic community, since “the church, through its clergy, controlled this important realm of the spiritual life.”¹²⁶ Saying Mass was the mainstay of the priest’s daily work and hearing confession and visiting the sick were his most important pastoral duties.¹²⁷ This increasing association of priests with their sacramental roles fueled a growing separation between clergy and laity. More than any other objects, vestments and clerical clothing symbolize the fundamental clerical/lay distinction, since while many ecclesiastical objects, such as the chalice and paten, were restricted to certain levels of the clergy, all clergy had distinctive liturgical clothing. The ordination ceremonies for each level of the clergy involved the bestowal of the clothing or vestments proper to that order by the bishop, who offered a prayer with each garment. Clerics received the cassock and surplice at the ceremony of tonsure marking their entrance into the clerical state, along with the admonition “may the Lord put on thee the new man, who, according to God, is created in justice and in the holiness of truth.”¹²⁸ Further vestments were given in the major orders: the amice, maniple, and

tunic at the ordination to the subdeaconate, the stole and dalmatic as a deacon, the chasuble and priestly stole as a priest, and the emblems of authority, such as the ring and mitre, at the elevation to the episcopacy.¹²⁹ *Priestly Vocation and Tonsure*, a 1908 guide for those entering the clerical state, suggests that the acquisition of distinctive clerical clothing was viewed as a matter of great importance for clergy. It not only devotes a chapter to explaining “Clerical Appearance and Dress,” but includes separate meditations on both the cassock and the surplice, as well as one concerning simplicity of dress. In a meditation on the cassock, which is technically an element of clerical dress, rather than a vestment, the guide urges the reader to contemplate “the reasons of the change in the eternal appearance of the Tonsured, what the cassock signifies, and what obligations it imposes,” noting that “the change of dress, *a change of state in life*, implies an analogous change in ideas, sentiments, and habits.”¹³⁰ These sentiments found in prescriptive literature were echoed in the personal experience of priests. When Joseph Shaw, a blue-blooded Bostonian convert, entered the seminary, he wrote in his diary that “having my hair cut short, & got a cassock, broad-brimmed three cornered hat & ecclesiastical cloak, offered myself to God as perfectly as I could, & with the sweetest consolation.”¹³¹

In addition to their restricted use, the fine fabrics and impressive appearance of vestments further highlighted the importance of the priest. Vestments were among the most expensive church fittings. When St. Patrick’s Cathedral burned in 1866, *Harper’s Weekly* described the parishioners as rushing in and saving “sacred vessels and

vestments. . . estimated at \$20,000. One set of vestments alone, brought from Paris by Archbishop Hughes was valued at \$3000.” According to *Harper’s*, the church’s vestments were insured for \$5000, as compared with \$6000 for the organ and \$40,000 for the building itself.¹³² The set of Bia’s vestments given to Archbishop James Gibbons at the Third Plenary Council in 1884 are among the most elaborate of surviving American pieces (see figure 13). The vestments are made of cloth of gold and the ground is overlaid with highly ornate scrolls and leaves executed in deeply relieved embossed embroidery. The chasuble features additional stamped metal decoration in form of grape clusters. The bishop in his chasuble and the deacons in their dalmatics arrayed upon the altar, with the candles flickering against such huge expanses of gold, would have been a most impressive sight. This represented the pinnacle of American Catholic grandeur, but less expensive vestments also made strong visual statements. The chasuble belonging to Bishop John Neumann is not made of cloth of gold, and its woven floral scrolls are bulky and crude when compared to Gibbons’ fine embroidery. Nonetheless, its large amount of gold thread is eye-catching and the contrast between the gold design and the red background is striking (see figure 7). Technical developments in textile production also contributed to the visual impact of vestments. As Natalie Rothstein points out, “the new dyestuffs of the nineteenth century and, above all, the coal tar dyes invented by Sir William Henry Perkin in 1856 make a shattering impression on silk. A chasuble already heavily decorated in gold and silver adds purple, or rather Perkin’s mauve, or the even more strident aniline green. . . in the candle-lit interior of a church

they looked very exciting.”¹³³ The immense visual and financial contrast between the dress of clergy and the laity underscored their separation and relative position.¹³⁴

Devotional guides attempted to explain the use of these impressive garments to the laity by describing them as analogous to uniforms used in secular life, such as those worn by the military and by royal attendants. This argument diffused attacks on the excessive finery of the church, since “if an earthly potentate may justly require that his attendants should manifest the respect due to his exalted rank by the cleanliness and richness of their garb, may not God, King of kings and Lord of lords, exact the same from the ministers of his sanctuary?”¹³⁵ It also reenforced the role of vestments in distinguishing clergy and laity. A uniform, whether worn by a policeman, soldier, or priest, sets the wearer apart from other men and serves to “impress others with the position of the person who wears it.”¹³⁶ The particular uniform worn by priests emphasized that their power came from their close identification with Christ.

Devotional writers argued that just as the livery of servants points to the master, so the vestments of priests mark them as servants of God and give him honor.¹³⁷ As Jacob Schmitt wrote in *Instructions for First Communicants*, “the priest goes to the altar in the service and in the name of the Supreme Lord; therefore he needs a particular holy dress. . . . He wears, as it were, the uniform of Jesus Christ. It is not his sacrifice that he offers. Though he is a sinful man, the sacrifice is still very holy, for it is Jesus who through him offers himself on the altar.”¹³⁸ Here the distinctive appearance of the priest is closely bound up with his ability to offer Mass and bring Christ to the people though the

sacraments. Significantly, the priest wears a uniform, clothing which expresses the function and nature of the person who wears it, rather than, as Protestants charged, a costume, which tries to make a man appear to be what he is not. This approach to vestments emphasized the Catholic concept that ordination makes an “indelible mark on the soul” and as a result priests are fundamentally and permanently different from the laity. It established the appropriate relationship between congregants and clergy, which was the respect owed to a man in uniform, not the “vain curiosity” and passivity of the theater.¹³⁹

The identification of the priest with Christ through the medium of vestments was further reenforced by the symbolic interpretations of vestments offered by the guides. The allegorical system in which each vestment represented an article of clothing worn in the Passion placed the priest, who wore the vestments, in the role of Christ. Thus vestments visually asserted the Catholic theological position that in his sacramental actions the priest is *alter Christus*, “another Christ.” The confluence of the priest and Christ is clearly evident in the guidebooks’ presentation of this symbolic system, as in the example of *Catholic Ceremonies and Explanation of the Ecclesiastical Year*, which urged:

See the priest at the altar: the chasuble recalls the mantle at the praetorium; the tonsure, the crown of thorns. Nothing is wanting, not even the cross; see it, drawn large upon the chasuble; the celebrant, like his Master, carries it upon his shoulders.

This cross is formed of our iniquities. Let us not forget it when the priest comes forth to offer the sacrifice; let us say to him who stands in the place of Jesus Christ: “It belongs to me to carry that cross which love has

made you bear in my stead. I know that my weakness is too great for such a burden. But at least I will fill the place of Simon the Cyrenian, and will help you with the feeble aid of my prayers.”¹⁴⁰

Although it ostensibly distinguishes between the celebrant and his Master, in this passage the line becomes blurred as the priest not only represents Christ, but becomes Christ, carrying the sins of his congregation upon his shoulders. The superiority of the priest over the laity is clearly established; the layman can not even bear up under the weight of his own sins and is reduced to a supporting role as the priest bears the sins of many. Another book further distinguished between the dress of the priest as *alter Christus* and that of other clerics, noting that the deacon’s dalmatic, “has no cross on the back, for he only assists at the sacrifice, but does not offer it.”¹⁴¹

In its discussion of the cross found on the chasuble but not the dalmatic, this devotional guide drew attention to the importance of vestment appearance in linking the priest with Christ in the mind of congregants. Another visual element that highlighted this connection was the overwhelming popularity of IHS, the monogram of Jesus. Over time, Benziger Brothers catalogs moved away from the Agnus Dei and towards more exclusive use of IHS: the 1879 catalog showed fifteen chasubles with the Agnus Dei and fourteen with IHS; in 1890 there were thirty with IHS and six with the Agnus Dei; by 1905 the ratio was forty-one to three. The use of the IHS emblem on vestments visually marked the priest with the name of Christ in a manner that, like the cross on the reverse of the chasuble, was highly visible to the congregation, since the emblems could range from ten to twenty inches in diameter.¹⁴² The prevalence of this motif in both surviving

examples and printed materials suggests that it was a very potent and powerful image for nineteenth-century Catholics.

The power of Catholic vestments to promote the image of priest as Christ is further evidenced by the backlash it generated among anti-Catholic writers. Protestant tracts emphatically maintained that the priest was not, in fact, *alter Christus* and that Catholicism's heresy was that "the work of salvation is taken out of God's hands and put into the hands of men who, outside of their vestments, are like other men. . . . They are not like our Christ. . . ." ¹⁴³ L. Giustiniani, the ex-Catholic author of *Papal Rome As It Is, By a Roman*, charged that in Catholicism the priest is not only erroneously identified with Christ, but that "THE PRIEST IS MADE SUPERIOR TO CHRIST? For not only is he the son of God, but he is so, when and where he pleases. It is sufficient that the priest put on an alb, a stole, and a manipulum and repeats the words of consecration over a piece of bread and it is changed into the body, soul, and divinity of Christ." ¹⁴⁴ In this attack, Giustiniani hyperbolizes and parodies the power of vestments and the power of the priest, as well as the sacrificial system of the Mass and the doctrine of transubstantiation.

In addition to identifying the priest with Christ, vestments could also serve as symbols of his virtue. Along with the passion symbolism, many devotional guides offered a "moral symbolism" for vestments, in which each item was representative of the "official and priestly virtues" of the wearer. ¹⁴⁵ This interpretation was originally developed between the ninth and eleventh century and was codified in the vesting

prayers said by the priest as he dons each piece of clothing. Two-thirds of the nineteenth-century sources dealing with vestments presented this moral symbolism, with almost half of these making reference to the vesting prayers. In the most common elaboration of this scheme the amice represents divine protection, the whiteness of the alb represents purity of life, the cincture represents the restraint of lust, the maniple represents patient suffering, the stole represents immortality, and the chasuble stands for charity and perseverance under the yoke of the Lord.

Like the Passion interpretation, moral symbolism elevated the priest, in this case by focusing attention on the heroic virtue necessary both to celebrate the Mass and to live the priestly life. A few books suggested that the virtues symbolized by the vestments were applicable to all Catholics. Bishop England took this approach and consistently used the first person plural, claiming that “[the alb] excites *us* to piety, by teaching *us* the purity of heart and body whereby *we* should possess in being present at the holy mysteries” [emphasis added], while *The Catechism of Perseverance* offered somewhat more pointed suggestions to the laity, suggesting that the amice “reminds us of the moderation to be used in our words, and of the care we should have to refrain from all useless conversation whilst we are in church.”¹⁴⁶ But the inclusion of the laity represented a minority approach; it was much more common for books to indicate that the vestments represented only the priestly virtues. *The Beauties of the Catholic Church* by Gregor Rippel goes so far as to distinguish what the vestments represent to the priest, the moral symbolism, from what they should mean to the congregation, the Passion

symbolism.

The association of vestments with virtues clearly appealed to priests themselves. The 1829 “Pastoral Letter to the Clergy” reminded them that “it was committed to us to bear and watch the tabernacle in the holy attire of virtue, proclaiming the precepts of the Gospel whilst we ourselves were models of their observance.”¹⁴⁷ Half a century later, Archbishop Gibbons of Baltimore preached on the same theme at the funeral of Cardinal McCloskey of New York. Gibbons took his text from Ecclesiasticus 45:

The Lord exalted Aaron. He made an everlasting covenant with him and gave him the priesthood of the nation, and made him blessed in glory and girded him about with a glorious girdle, and clothed him with a robe of glory, and crowned him with majestic attire.

Appropriating this text as a fitting description of Cardinal McCloskey, Gibbons insisted that the “glorious ornaments” worn by the cardinal “represented to the people his exalted dignity and authority, but symbolized to himself those interior ornaments of virtue with which he was endowed; for it was not the glory of the vestments but the splendor of the soul, that commended itself to God.”¹⁴⁸

As vestments elevated the priest, presenting him as “another Christ” and investing him with virtue in the minds of congregants, they also had a depersonalizing effect, emphasizing his role as a representative of the institutional church. The choice of which vestments to wear was regulated by the wearer’s canonical rank, the ritual being celebrated, and the liturgical calendar, rather than any personal preference. When vested for Mass or other ceremony, the individual priest was buried under vast layers of church-owned, or at the very least church-regulated, clothing. This transformation clearly

communicated that his importance came not from himself, but from his position as a man invested by the church with a particular set of powers and responsibilities.

The commingled vestment functions of dividing priests from laity and depersonalizing priests were also central to the debate over clerical dress which raged throughout the nineteenth century. As early as the First Provincial Council of 1829, bishops attempted to increase the use of distinctive and standardized clerical clothing by insisting that priests must wear the cassock, surplice, and biretta at all sacred functions, in accordance with the Ritual.¹⁴⁹ Legislation about clerical dress was reiterated at subsequent councils; the Second Plenary Council of 1866 required all clerics to wear the cassock both in the church and at home, and to wear appropriate black clerical clothing at all other times, while the Third Plenary Council of 1884 added the requirement of Roman collars.¹⁵⁰ In defense of clerical dress, bishops repeatedly cited the Council of Trent, which counseled, “Wherefore clerics called to have the Lord for their portion ought by all means so to regulate their whole life and conversation as that in their dress, comportment, gait, discourse, and all things else, nothing appear but what is grave, regulated, and replete with religiousness.”¹⁵¹ The theological themes and strategies of control invoked by the nineteenth-century church to combat its declining territorial power and the rise of secularism were strikingly similar to those used to strengthen the institutional church during the Counter-Reformation. As a result, in both periods the church mandated distinctive clothing for priests as a symbol of their separation from the laity and a sign of their dedication to a life of holiness. The admonition to wear clerical

clothes at all times underscored that being a priest was not just a profession, but a permanent state of being. In an article on conducting missions, the experienced preacher Father Xavier advised that “most people are impressed with a garb that stands for a life of sacrifice apart from the world,” noting that “Protestants too are taken with it.”¹⁵² A lack of clerical dress, even under frontier conditions, scandalized the Sisters of Providence, who had emigrated from France to St. Mary in the Woods, Indiana. They were dismayed when the bishop visited “dressed like any other man of the Indiana woods, sunburnt, dusty, and with dry mud on his clothes.”¹⁵³

Like the use of vestments, the increasing adoption of clerical dress had the effect of depersonalizing the clergy, by giving them a uniform, church-mandated appearance. In 1829 the bishops even attempted to regulate the physical appearance of the outfits, by decreeing that the surplice and biretta should be of Roman style. However, the Vatican’s Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, recognizing that the creation of truly standardized uniform had profound implications and fearing the appearance of an overly strong national church, refused to accept such stringent regulations.¹⁵⁴ While the church has always held that the identity of the priest is irrelevant in the administration of sacraments, uniform clerical dress suggested that priests were interchangeable in a much broader sense, a view which may have derived from devotional Catholicism’s increasing identification of the priest’s role with the dispensation of the sacraments. Contemporary accounts confirm that when confronted by a priest in clerical dress, laity responded to the office rather than the person. Recalling his seminary days in St. Louis, John O’Hanlon

noted that “the dress of our seminary was a long walking cassock called a Levi, and it gave our students a distinctive appearance, whenever we walked through the city or its suburbs; and when we went forth on this errand it was our chief credential among the Catholic workmen and labourers whom we encountered singly or in groups.”¹⁵⁵ Even anti-Catholic sources alluded to the effect of clerical “uniforms,” viewing them as a form of deception. The author of *Confessions of a French Catholic Priest* claimed that the church:

has succeeded in striking the senses of the vulgar by clothing the clergy in a particular dress, which makes the man disappear and displays but the minister of God. For the multitude, who never penetrate into the interior of things, who look only at the surface, reason thus: “these holy men, who have a garb so different from ours, are naturally different from us, above our humanity, above our feebleness.” To produce this result is precisely the aim of popery.¹⁵⁶

Not all priests were comfortable with the implications of the hierarchy’s attempts to standardize and depersonalize their clothing. Bishops’ constant reiteration of the need for clerical dress indicates that it was never perfectly adopted and the bishops at the Second Plenary Council grumbled that, “as regards the ecclesiastical attire in general, we fear that in this country we are drifting in a direction not altogether in harmony either with the spirit or the letter of ecclesiastical law. We have met priests who sought relaxation from their arduous duties on seashores, or in fashionable watering places dressed in every other conceivable way but as priests.”¹⁵⁷ More outspoken criticisms were also occasionally heard from the priests themselves. The records of the 1831

Charleston Synod indicate that “the canons of 1829 were read and each decree was explained to the priests present. . . decrees 25, 26, and 27 elicited some opposition, especially the last on the use of the cassock and surplice and clerical dress.”¹⁵⁸ After the Second Plenary Council, the liberal priest Richard Burtzell wrote in his diary that “Fr. Quin and I had a sharp controversy on clerical dress. He thought that sleeve-buttons should not be tolerated in priests!!! I thought the church should not interfere with collars, buttons, beards, etc., etc.”¹⁵⁹

The increasing association of sacred clothing, both vestments and clerical dress, with the power of the priest in the nineteenth century was also reflected in the creation and popularization of lay clothing practices modeled on those of priests. Many devotional books attempted to sacralize everyday clothing by offering prayers to be said while dressing, thus extending the concept of a vesting prayer to the laity. These prayers echoed the language and sentiment of those used by priests before Mass. The *Manual of Catholic Piety* suggests “while clothing yourself, say, O my God clothe my soul with the nuptial robe of Christ, and grant that I may carry it pure and undefiled before thy judgement seat,” while the *Visitation Manual* proposes making the sign of the cross (an action the Ceremonial recommends, although does not require, of the priest before vesting) and praying “clothe me, o my God! With the mantle of innocence and the robe of charity. Permit not, O my God! That I appear stripped of good works before thy face.”¹⁶⁰

In addition to praying through their regular clothing, nineteenth-century Catholics

also turned to specially blessed clothing, especially scapulars. The term scapular originally referred to the aprons worn by monks, but by the nineteenth century it was nothing more than two pieces of woolen cloth connected by a string and worn over the shoulders and could be worn by laity as well as religious.¹⁶¹ The church began to encourage the use of these scapulars, through offering indulgences, in the post-Reformation period and the nineteenth-century church, in an attempt to inspire devotion along institutionally-directed lines, strongly promoted their use. Many new scapulars were approved over the course of the century, including the Red Scapular of the Passion, the Scapular of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, the Scapular of St. Michael the Archangel, and the Scapular of St. Benedict.¹⁶² According to the *Mission Book*, “those who wore this miniature habit were entitled to a share in all the masses, prayers, alms-deeds, penance, and other good works continually offered to God in the Religious Orders represented by the Scapulars.”¹⁶³ With such strong inducements, scapulars became very popular among the laity who attributed to them not only religious benefits but also mystical powers. Wearers wrote in to *Ave Maria* magazine to report miraculous cures and protection, such as the case of a Civil War commander who was shot, but not killed because the scapular covered the vertebrae of his neck and deflected the bullet from this vital spot.¹⁶⁴

Like the clothing prayers, the discussion of scapulars in the devotional literature echoes themes found in their explanation of vestments. *Sacramentals of the Holy Catholic Church, or Flowers from the Garden of the Liturgy* refers to the Carmelite

scapular as “Mary’s livery,” a significant term, since priests’ vestments were often described as the livery of Christ’s servants.¹⁶⁵ Another book insisted that the Carmelite scapular “ought to distinguish us from men of the world; it ought to put us on our guard. Does this habit reproach me? . . . let us keep up the holiness of this habit by an exact observance of all of the duties of our state in life.”¹⁶⁶ As with the lay “vesting prayers,” the rhetoric of clothing denoting separation from the world and serving as an inspiration to virtue corresponds closely to language used in describing vestments and clerical dress. These similarities were especially evident in the rhetoric surrounding the Red Scapular of the Passion which was introduced following a vision by a Sister of Charity in 1846. In keeping with the general trend towards Passion-centered devotion, the scapular depicted Jesus crucified, surrounded by the instruments of the Passion and the phrase “Holy Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, save us.” *St. Vincent’s Manual* quotes the Sister of Charity as revealing that “our merciful savior wishes ardently that the scapular which he showed me should be worn, and that we should clothe ourselves with him and with his love for sufferings!”¹⁶⁷ Just as each vestment clothed the priest in the Passion of Christ, laity could be clothed in the Passion by wearing the scapular.

In addition to the institutionally-sanctioned clothing prayers and scapular devotions published in devotional works, there were also more localized, less official, examples of sacralized clothing, such as those documented by Robert Orsi in his study of the feast of Our Lady of Carmel in Italian Harlem. Orsi claims that Italians were less attracted by the institutionality of devotional Catholicism than other Catholics and that

they clearly distinguished between religion and the church, “often view[ing] the latter with cynical criticism.”¹⁶⁸ Nonetheless, Italian-American spirituality still had a place for sacred clothing that was closely connected with official church figures. Some of the penitents at the festival wore special clothing, either “special robes, like Mary’s or Franciscan-style brown robes knotted at the waist with a cord; they had promised to wear these robes during the procession, though some had promised to wear their abatini for several months, or even a year.”¹⁶⁹ The wearing of “special robes” for a procession is a distinct echo of contemporary vestment practices and the tradition itself derived from devotional practices introduced by Jesuit and Redemptorist missionaries during the Counter-Reformation in an attempt to wed Italian peasants more closely to the institutional church.¹⁷⁰

The extension of sacred clothing, especially versions with interpretations similar to those of vestments, during the nineteenth century posits a complex relationship between the laity, the clergy, and the church. On one hand, the ability to use sacred clothing can be viewed as an elevation of the laity, suggesting that they were entrusted with sacred things and shared some of the privileges of the clergy. On the other hand, the use of sacred clothing by the laity was largely controlled by the church and given meanings which reenforced devotional Catholic themes, thereby serving to integrate lay Catholics into structures that elevated the clergy and the institution. The use of the scapular was particularly reliant on the clergy, since “to participate in the benefits of the confraternity it is necessary to receive the scapular from a priest who has been

empowered to give it. . . ”¹⁷¹ Even among Orsi’s Italians, who supposedly evinced skepticism of the hierarchy and institutional church, the laity chose to adopt clothing that imitated that of vowed church members. The imitation of clerical clothing and the adoption of sacred clothing by the laity may, at least at some level, have been the sincerest form of flattery of the clergy, indicating the pervasive influence of institutional views on sanctity and religious power.

The adoption of sacred clothing by the laity confirms the conclusion about the importance of vesture in nineteenth-century Catholicism already evidenced by the attention paid to vestments by church legislators, devotional writers, and anti-Catholic polemicists alike, by the responses of clergy and laity to priestly costume, and by the origins, expense, and appearance of the vestments themselves. The old adage states that “the clothes make the man” and an examination of nineteenth-century vestments suggests that in many significant ways, the clothes helped make the church. Vestments did not simply illustrate the new nineteenth-century Catholicism, but were central to its creation and implementation. They were necessary objects that made the liturgical practices and popular devotions of devotional Catholicism possible. They helped create and articulate the boundary between sacred and secular space that was critical to the nineteenth-century Catholic ethos. As ornately decorated, highly visible objects charged with religious symbolism, vestments played a critical role in the experience of Catholicism for both priests and laity. In their materials and iconography, the garments

communicated important theological concepts about the centrality of the Eucharist and the nature and role of the priest, concepts which were reenforced by the new life breathed into centuries-old allegorical interpretations presented in devotional literature. As European and European-inspired objects, they communicated a sense of trans-Atlantic continuity for immigrant Catholics and served as omnipresent reminders of the universality of the Church at a time when the American church was struggling to align itself more closely with Europe. Ultimately, in all of these myriad and diverse ways, vestments served to strengthen the institutional element of the church, binding Catholics, both clerical and lay, ever more closely to its structure.

The understanding of vestments that was developed and promoted in the nineteenth century remained important well into the twentieth. Pauline Johnstone notes of European vestments that “fashions do not necessarily switch punctually to a new style as a new century is ushered in, and the vestment fashions of the nineteenth century, perhaps because they had been very slow to declare themselves, seem to have lingered on into the first twenty or thirty years of the twentieth,” and the same was true of vestments used in the United States.¹⁷² Devotional Catholicism remained a potent force through the 1940s, even as the seeds of change were planted with the emergence of an American liturgical reform movement in the 1920s and 1930s.¹⁷³ Under the influence of the reform movement, vestments again began to evolve and change until their use was radically redefined by the Second Vatican Council. Nonetheless, the devotional Catholic tradition remained powerful and aspects of vestment appearance and interpretation

developed in the nineteenth century continued to inspire diatribes from reformers even into the 1950s.

This thesis's exploration of the role of vestments in nineteenth-century Catholicism does not begin to exhaust the potential meanings and implications of these fascinating and important objects and many intriguing questions remain to be answered. Due to geographic and time constraints, as well as object survival patterns, this analysis has focused primarily on the dominant American Catholic culture, often associated with the Irish-Americans who populated the hierarchy. Additional research utilizing more specialized sources might help tease out the role ethnicity played in the use and understanding of vestments by different communities of nineteenth-century Catholics. There is also work to be done on the gender dynamics of vestments, many of which were paid for, if not directly made, by female altar guild societies, but used exclusively by male priests. On a broader level, exploration of the meanings of Catholic vestments in this period also begs for a comparison with the understanding of vestments in the newly emerging Anglican Ritualist movement, a relationship of which both nineteenth-century Anglicans and Catholics were well aware. Finally, there is a strong need for a more comprehensive look at liturgical objects within the Catholic tradition to discern how such disparate objects as vestments, tabernacles, altars, fonts, and even church architecture itself might have interacted with each other, drawing from shared iconography and systems of meaning to create an overall atmosphere for worship. Asking and answering these questions about the use and function of liturgical objects is

crucial to getting at the heart of Catholicism in America, a fact which nineteenth-century Catholics themselves clearly recognized. As James Meagher concluded in *Teaching Truth By Signs and Ceremonies*, “In the ornament of churches and of cathedrals, of shrines and of altars, in vestments and in liturgies grand and majestic. . . religion speaks to the mind through the eye and ear and raises up the soul to our Lord and our Creator, God.”¹⁷⁴

NOTES

1. Colleen McDannell, *Material Christianity: Religion and Popular Culture in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 11.
2. *Catholic Encyclopedia*, (New York: Encyclopedia Press, 1912), s.v. "Vestments," (by Joseph Braun).
3. Ronald Grimes, *Beginnings in Ritual Studies*, rev. ed. (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1995), 156.
4. David Morgan, introduction to *The Visual Culture of American Religions*, eds. David Morgan and Sally M. Promey (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 2001), 15-16. For a further exploration of potential questions and approaches for studying ritual objects, see also Grimes, 28-29. The concept that rituals, and by extension ritual objects, are not simply expressions of existing theological ideas, but are themselves important in shaping religious thought and action is not unique to Morgan, but has been advanced by such diverse scholars as functionalist Alfred Radcliffe-Brown, culturalist Clifford Geertz, and performance theorist Ronald Grimes; see Catherine Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 28, 66-67, 74.
5. Thomas O'Brien Hanley, ed. *The John Carroll Papers* (South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1976), 1:171, 168, quoted in Jay Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience: A History from Colonial Times to the Present* (South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992), 106.
6. Dolan, *American Catholic Experience*, 105-110.
7. Dolan, *American Catholic Experience*, 112.
8. Dolan, *American Catholic Experience*, 172.
9. Dolan, *American Catholic Experience*, 219.
10. Ann Taves, *The Household of Faith: Roman Catholic Devotion in Mid-Nineteenth Century America* (South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1986), 71-2.

11. *Mass and Services of the Catholic Church Explained* (New York: Edward Dunigan and Bro., 1855), 79.
12. Joseph P. Chinnici, "Organization of the Spiritual Life: American Catholic Devotional Works, 1791-1866," *Theological Studies* 40 (1979): 254.
13. Dolan, *American Catholic Experience*, 210.
14. Taves, 35.
15. Taves, 36.
16. Taves, 111.
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18. John T. McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom: A History* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2003), 29.
19. James Hennesey, "Papacy and Episcopacy in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century American Catholic Thought," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia* 77 (1966): 183.
20. Jay Dolan, *Catholic Revivalism: The American Experience, 1830-1900* (South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1978), 30.
21. Alexis de Toqueville, *Democracy in America* (New York: Vintage Books, 1945) 2:28, quoted in Dolan, *Catholic Revivalism*, 175.
22. Catholic Church, Diocese of Philadelphia, Coadjutor Bishop Francis Patrick Kenrick, *Pastoral Address of the Rt. Reverend Dr. Kenrick, to the Clergy of the Diocese of Philadelphia, on the Occasion of the Promulgation of the Decrees of the Provincial Council* (Philadelphia: Eugene Cummiskey, 1831), 4-7. Available on microfiche in the University Microfilms series "Pamphlets in American History," Group IV, CA-33.
23. Catholic Church, Diocese of Philadelphia, Kenrick, *Pastoral Address*, 7.
24. Catholic Church, Diocese of Philadelphia, Decrees of the Fourth Diocesan Synod, 1853, translated typescript, Philadelphia Archdiocesan Historical Research Center, Wynnewood, PA.
25. Catholic Church, *Ceremonial for Use of the Catholic Churches in the United States of America: Published by the Order of the First Council of Baltimore* (Baltimore: Kelly and Piet, 1865), 353-357.

26. S. Smith, *Notes on the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore* (New York: P. O'Shea, 1874), 204.
27. Peter Guilday, *A History of the Councils of Baltimore* (New York: Macmillan Co.), 133. See also, among others, *Fasciculus: Consitutionem Synodaliū Baltimorensium Ad Normam qua in Dioecesi Harrisburgensis Vigem Redactarum* (Baltimore: Foley Brothers, 1893), 36 and Catholic Church, Diocese of Sault Ste. Marie, *Statuta Dioecesis Sanctae Mariae* (Cincinnati: C. Clark, 1856), 33.
28. See, for example, *Fasciculus*, 36; Catholic Church, Diocese of Trenton, Synod, *Statuta Dioeceseos Trentonensis: Quæ in Synodo Dioecesana Secunda, Die Vicesima Quinta Mensis Junii, A. D. 1896, in Ecclesia Cathedrali Beatæ Mariæ Virgini Dicata* (Trenton: True American, 1897), 54-55; Catholic Church, Diocese of Erie, PA, Synod, *Statuta Dioecesis Eriensis, Lata in Tertia Synodo Dioecesana, Celebrata A.D. 1875* (Erie: The Visitor, 1875), 16; Catholic Church, Diocese of Sault Ste. Marie, *Statuta Dioecesis Sanctae Mariae*, 19.
29. McDannell, *Material Christianity*, 24.
30. Catholic Church, *Ceremonial for Use of the Catholic Churches in the United States of America*, 495-96.
31. Taves, 9.
32. Taves, 8.
33. Taves, 8.
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35. M. F. Howley, *An Explanation of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass* (Boston: Doyle & Whittle, 1894), iii.
36. Anna Blanche McGill, *Sisters of Charity of Nazareth Kentucky* (New York: Encyclopedia Press, [1917]), 103.
37. *Ursuline Manual*, rev ed. (New York: P.J. Kenedy, 1902), 113.

38. Robert Macalister, *Ecclesiastical Vestments: Their Development and History* (London: E. Stock, 1896), 12; John England, quoted in John Sullivan, *Prayers and Ceremonies of the Mass, or Moral, Doctrinal, & Liturgical Explanations for the Prayers and Ceremonies of the Mass* (New York: D. & J. Sadlier & Co., 1870), 57.
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41. Conyers Middleton, *Dr. Middleton's Letter from Rome, Showing an Exact Conformity Between Popery and Paganism*, ed. J. J. Dowling (New York: Leavitt, Trow, & Co., 1847), 82-83.
42. "Sateen for Sacred Vestments," *American Ecclesiastical Review* 15 (June-Dec 1892): 641.
43. William C. Wycoff, *The Silk Goods of America: A Brief Account of the Recent Improvements and Advances of Silk Manufacture in the United States* (New York: Silk Association of America, 1880), 33-34.
44. Thaddeus S. Dayton, "The Story of Silk: Some Interesting Facts About 'The Gold of Textiles,'" *Harper's Weekly*, 11 November 1920, 13.
45. Bernard Berthod and Elisabeth Hardouin-Fugier, *Paramentica: Tissus Lyonnais et Art Sacré, 1800-1940* (Musée de Fourvier, 1992), 58.
46. Berthod and Hardouin-Fugier, *Paramentica*, 61.
47. Karen Stolleis, *Messgewänder aus deutschen Kirchenschätzen vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart: Geschichte, Form und Material* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2001), 46-47.
48. "Le plus belles productions s'en vont, entre autres pays, aux États-Unis." Berthod and Hardouin-Fugier, *Paramentica*, 64.
49. The prices were "très modérés, assurent (aux ornements) un grand débouché dans l'Amérique. . . et pour l'étranger." Berthod and Hardouin-Fugier, *Paramentica*, 64.
50. Berthod and Hardouin-Fugier, *Paramentica*, 70.
51. Bernard Berthod and Elisabeth Hardouin-Fugier, *Dictionnaire des Arts Liturgiques: XIXe-XXe Siècle* (Paris: Éditions de l'Amateur, 1996), 123.

52. Anthony F. Dorley, *Historical Sketch of St. Anthony's Church, Lancaster, Penna, 1870-1895* (Lancaster, PA: Lancaster Lithographing Co., 1895), 36, available on microfiche in the University Microfilms series "Pamphlets in American History," Group IV, CA-1136; Helen O'Donnell, *Sacristan's Guide: A Handbook for Altar Societies and Others Having Charge of the Altar and Sanctuary* (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1886), 61.
53. Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience*, 118-119, 170.
54. *Annals of the Good Shepherd Order in Louisville, Kentucky* (Louisville, KY, 1893), 65. Available on microfiche in the University Microfilms series "Pamphlets in American History," Group IV, CA-688.
55. Richard Lalor Burtzell, *The Diary of Richard L. Burtzell, Priest of New York: The Early Years, 1865-1868*, ed. Nelson (New York: Arno Press, 1978), 159.
56. Francis Patrick Kenrick, *The Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence: Letters Chiefly of Francis Patrick Kenrick and Marc Antony Frenaye, 1830-1862*, ed. F. E. T. (Philadelphia, 1920), 13.
57. Marc Antony Frenaye to James Frederick Wood, [1859?], 50.69, James Frederick Wood Collection, Philadelphia Archdiocesan Historical Research Center, Wynnewood, PA.
58. Marc Antony Frenaye to James Frederick Wood, [1859?], 50.69, James Frederick Wood Collection, Philadelphia Archdiocesan Historical Research Center, Wynnewood, PA.
59. Cathedral Parish of Philadelphia, Account Books 1864-1888, Parish Files, Archdiocese of Philadelphia, Philadelphia Archdiocesan Historical Research Center, Wynnewood, PA.
60. Burtzell, 310.
61. *Sadliers Catholic Directory* (New York: D. & J. Sadlier & Co, 1866), 47; *Official Catholic Directory, Almanac and Clergy List for 1905* (New York: P. J. Kenedy, 1905), 67.
62. *Official Catholic Directory, Almanac and Clergy List for 1905*, 137.
63. Benziger Brothers, *Catalogue of Church Ornaments, Statues, Vestments, Material for Vestments, and Regalia* (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1890), 5; Benziger Brothers, *Catalogue of Vestments, Banners, and Regalia* (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1893), 33.

64. Benziger Brothers, *Catalogue of Vestments, Banners, and Regalia*, n. pag.
65. Benziger Brothers, *Catalogue of Church Ornaments, Statues, Vestments, Material for Vestments, and Regalia* (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1883), 124.
66. Benziger Brothers, *Catalogue of Church Ornaments*. . . 1883, 124.
67. Benziger Brothers, *Catalogue of Vestments, Banners, and Regalia*, 5.
68. Cathedral Parish of Philadelphia, Account Books 1864-1888, Parish Files, Archdiocese of Philadelphia, Philadelphia Archdiocesan Historical Research Center, Wynnewood, PA.
69. Diane Batts Morrow, "The Oblate Sisters of Providence: Issues of Black and Female Agency in their Antebellum Experience, 1828-1860" (Ph. D. diss, University of Georgia, 1996), 110; *United States Catholic Almanac, or Laity's Directory* (Baltimore: James Myres, 1834), 126; *United States Catholic Almanac, or Laity's Directory* (Baltimore: James Myres, 1836), 170.
70. Morrow, 242-243. Although Morrow lists the dates of vestment manufacture as 1834-1844, she also notes that the sisters continued to do sewing for "both the public and local religious institutions," in the 1855-60 period. However, this effort was clearly smaller in scale and may well reflect repair work and production of basic items such as clerical clothing and altar linens rather than the production of vestments or elaborate church fittings. Morrow, 312.
71. *Historical Sketch of the Convent and Academy of the Sisters of St. Francis in Oldenburg, Indiana* (Oldenburg, IN: Self published, 1901), 47.
72. *Hoffman's Catholic Directory, Almanac, and Clergy List* (Milwaukee: Hoffman Brothers, 1894), advertising section.
73. Benedictine Sisters of Perpetual Adoration, "Liturgical Vestments Department: Liturgical Vestments Made by the Benedictine Sisters of Perpetual Adoration," <http://www.benedictinesisters.org/b4-2.html>.
74. O'Donnell, 55.
75. John Prendergast, *Notes on the Baptistery Chapel of St. John the Baptist, Church of St Ignatius Loyola, New York* (New York, 1897), 22. Available on microfiche in the University Microfilms series "Pamphlets in American History," Group IV, CA-1136.
76. *Sadliers Catholic Directory* (New York: D. & J. Sadlier & Co, 1868), Colleges and Academies Advertising Section 27.

77. B. W. Fleming to Adeline C. Horgan, 2 June 1905, Catholic Church, Archdiocese of Boston Records, University of Notre Dame Archives, South Bend, IN.
78. O'Donnell, 54.
79. O'Donnell, 55.
80. *United States Catholic Almanac, or Laity's Directory*. . . 1836, 169.
81. Benziger Brothers, *Catalogue of Vestments, Banners, and Regalia*, 50-54.
82. *Sadliers Catholic Directory*. . . 1868, 27.
83. Two other firms advertised in the directories as "importer[s] and manufacturer[s]" of fabrics and trimmings: Pollard & Leighton of Boston and Shannon, Miller & Crane of New York. However, neither of these firms is listed in the American Silk Goods Directory for either 1876 or 1880, suggesting that these firms were primarily importers rather than manufacturers.
84. Further research needs to be done to elucidate the differences between vestments used by different immigrant groups, especially the non-Irish groups including Germans, Italians, Slovaks, and Poles who established their own ethnic parishes in America. The unrepresentative nature of the surviving vestments located thus far, which are overwhelmingly connected with the hierarchy rather than with specific parishes makes it impossible to address such questions in this paper.
85. James Gibbons, *Sermon Preached at the Consecration of the Philadelphia Cathedral June 30, 1890* (Baltimore: John Murphy, 1890), 12. Available on microfiche in the University Microfilms series "Pamphlets in American History," Group IV, CA-818.
86. Stolleis, 46-47; Berthod and Hardouin-Fugier, *Paramentica*, 46.
87. Pauline Johnstone, *High Fashion in the Church: The Place of Church Vestments in the History of Art from the Ninth to the Nineteenth Century* (Leeds: Maney Publishing, 2002), 129. Pius IX (1903-1914) banned Gothic vestments in the Diocese of Rome and the Sacred Congregation of Rites reiterated its disapproval again in 1925.
88. Johnstone, 129.
89. Benziger Brothers, *Church Ornaments of Our Own Manufacture* (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1905), 231.
90. Johnstone, 136.

91. George Metlake, "Reform in Church Vestments: II--Ornament and Shape," *American Ecclesiastical Review* 42 (Jan-May 1910): 320.
92. Johnstone, 132.
93. Johnstone, 132.
94. Benziger Brothers catalogs also offered pre-made emblems of the sacred heart of Jesus and the sacred hearts of Jesus and Mary for those manufacturing their own vestments, but these were apparently not a very popular option either, since they did not make it into the slimmed down vestment section of the 1890 catalog.
95. Nineteenth-century fabrics marketed for church use frequently employed outmoded patterns inspired by fashionable fabrics of the eighteenth century or earlier. Pauline Johnstone notes that "as early as 1839, the firm of Ciner & Fatin of Lyon exhibited in Paris silks woven for the church which were undoubtedly out of date by the standards of the fashionable dress trade." Johnstone, 113. The relationship between the use of archaic fabric patterns for vestments and the wider nineteenth-century interest in revival styles for interior decoration and upholstery is an area worthy of future study. See for example, Mary Schoeser and Kathleen DeJardin, *French Textiles: From 1760 to the Present* (London: Laurence King, 1991) and Richard E. Slavin III, *Opulent Textiles: The Schumacher Collection* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1992).
96. Johnstone, 88. See also Christine Aribaud, *Soieries en Sacristie: Fastes Liturgiques XVIIe-XVIIIe Siècles* (Paris: Somogy Éditions d'Art and Toulouse: Musée Paul-Dupuy, 1998).
97. Johnstone, 88.
98. Johnstone, 86.
99. Johnstone, 90.
100. Johnstone, 128.
101. Johnstone, 130.
102. Johnstone, 130.
103. *Half-Hours With the Servants of God, With a Compendium of the History of the Catholic Church* (New York: Murphy & McCarty, 1891), 137.
104. *Mass and Services of the Catholic Church Explained*, 79.
105. Gibbons, 13.

106. Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience*, 215.
107. John Joseph Lynch, 60.
108. Mario Terenzio to Cardinal Farley, 30 November 1915, Archdiocesan Archives of New York, quoted in Silvano M. Tomasi, *Piety and Power: The Role of the Italian Parishes in the New York Metropolitan Area, 1880-1930* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1975), 124.
109. Colleen McDannell, *The Christian Home in Victorian America* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1986), 104. See also Taves, 127.
110. Set of questions from Marc Antony Frenaye to Carmelite Sisters at Puy de Dôme, [1859?] 50.76, James Frederick Wood Collection, Philadelphia Archdiocesan Historical Research Center, Wynnewood, PA.
111. "Sateen for Sacred Vestments," 641; "Yellow Vestments," *American Ecclesiastical Review* 34 (Jan-May 1906): 207.
112. Rachel Coffey, "Negotiating Tradition and Technology: Benziger Brothers' Trade Catalogues of Church Goods, 1879-1937" (master's thesis, University of Delaware, 2001), 15.
113. Francis Patrick Kenrick, *Duty and Visitation Record of the Right Reverend Francis Patrick Kenrick*, ed. and trans. Edmond F. Prendergast (Lancaster, PA: Wickersham Printing Co, 1916), 152.
114. "In administratione sacramentorum, exceptis matrimoniis mixtes, utantur sacerdotes veste talari, superpelliceo ac stola debiti coloris." Catholic Church, Diocese of San Francisco, Synod, *Synodus Dioecesana Sancti Francisci, Habita Mense Julii MDCCCLXII* (San Francisco: Town & Bacon 1862), 8.
115. Guilday, *A History of the Councils of Baltimore*, 133.
116. Peter Guilday, ed. *The National Pastorals of the American Hierarchy, 1792-1919* (Washington D.C.: National Catholic Welfare Council, 1923), 7.
117. Guilday, *National Pastorals*, 10.
118. Catholic Church, Diocese of Rochester, Bishop McQuaid, *Pastoral Letter of the Rt. Reverend, The Bishop of Rochester* (New York: Catholic Times, 1878), 2. Available on microfiche in the University Microfilms series "Pamphlets in American History," Group IV, CA-461.

119. *Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Encyclopedia Press, 1914), s.v. "Tabernacle Societies," <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/14426a.htm>.
120. C. Haule to "Sister Superior," 25 June 1901, Catholic Church, Archdiocese of Boston Records, University of Notre Dame Archives, South Bend, IN.
121. Thomas Price to Lillian Westerveld, 10 June 1906, Catholic Church, Archdiocese of Boston Records, University of Notre Dame Archives, South Bend, IN.
122. *Manual of Prayers and Instructions for Persons Seeking the True Religion* (New York: Edward Dunigan & Brother, 1859), 54-55.
123. *Catholic Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Vestments."
124. *Golden Manual: Being a Guide to Catholic Devotion, Public and Private* (New York: D. & J. Sadlier & Co., 1889), 364-65.
125. Johnstone, 132.
126. Dolan, *American Catholic Experience*, 224.
127. Dolan, *Immigrant Church*, 64-65.
128. J. S. M. Lynch, *The Rite of Ordination According to the Roman Pontifical*, 4th ed. (New York: Cathedral Library Association, 1918), 12.
129. J. S. M. Lynch, 40-41.
130. L. Bacuez, *Priestly Vocation and Tonsure* (New York: Cathedral Library Association, 1908), 229.
131. Joseph Coolidge Shaw, *A Proper Bostonian, Priest, Jesuit: The Diary of Joseph Coolidge Shaw*, ed. Walter J. Meagher (Chestnut Hill, MA: Boston College, 1965), 1.
132. "Burning of St. Patrick's Cathedral," *Harper's Weekly*, 20 October 1866, 670.
133. Natalie Rothstein, "Silk: The Industrial Revolution and After," *The Cambridge History of Western Textiles*, Vol. II, ed. David Jenkins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 802.

134. The connection between the formalization of the priest's functions (via the focus on the sacraments) and of his dress (via the use of vestments) in establishing power hierarchy corresponds with other scholars findings about the relationship of formalism and ritual. In his study of the use of language in ritual, Maurice Bloch argues persuasively that formalization tends to be "closely connected with traditional forms of social hierarchy and authority," and the "formalization of language is a way by which one speaker can coerce the response of another. . . it is really a type of communication where rebellion is impossible. . . ." Bell, 140.

135. William Barry, *Sacramentals of the Holy Catholic Church, or Flowers from the Garden of the Liturgy* (Cincinnati: John P. Walsh, 1858), 191.

136. A. A. Lambing, *Sacramentals of the Holy Catholic Church* (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1892), 279.

137. John Joseph Lynch, 60.

138. Schmitt, 116.

139. *Half-Hours with the Servants of God*, 135.

140. Alfred Durand, *Catholic Ceremonies and Explanation of the Ecclesiastical Year* (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1896), 16.

141. John England, "An Historical Explanation of the Vestments, Ceremonies, etc. Appertaining to the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass," in Richard Challoner and John England, *Garden of the Soul: A Manual of Fervent Prayer, Pious Reflection, and Solid Instruction. An Historical Explanation of the Vestments, Ceremonies, etc. Appertaining to the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass by the Right Reverend Dr. England, Late Bishop of Charleston* (New York, 1856), xii.

142. Benziger Brothers, *Catalogue of Church Ornaments*. . . 1883, 153.

143. Robert Seth McCallen, *Devil in Robes, or The Sin of Priests* (Aurora, MO: Menace Publishing Co., [1899?]), 320.

144. L. Giustiniani, *Papal Rome As It Is: By a Roman*, 3d ed. (Baltimore: Printed at Publication Rooms, 1843), 53.

145. *Catholic Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Vestments."

146. England, ix; Jean Gaumé, *Catechism of Perseverance: A Historical, Doctrinal, Moral & Liturgical Exposition of the Catholic Religion*, trans. F. B. Jamison, 50th ed. (Boston: Thomas B. Noonan, 1850), 356.

147. Guilday, *National Pastorals*, 48.
148. George William Sheldon, "The Cardinal's Funeral," *Harper's Weekly*, 24 October 1885, 695.
149. Guilday, *A History of the Councils of Baltimore*, 93.
150. S. B. Smith, 124; Guilday, *A History of the Councils of Baltimore*, 233.
151. S. B. Smith, 125.
152. *Winchester Conference: Papers by the Missionaries to Non-Catholics on the Work of Making Converts* (New York: The Missionary, 1901), 117. Available on microfiche in the University Microfilms series "Pamphlets in American History," Group IV, CA-830.
153. Mary Ewens, *The Role of the Nun in Nineteenth-Century America* (Salem, NH: Ayer Pub. Inc., 1984), 96.
154. Thomas Casey, *Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide and the Revision of the First Provincial Council of Baltimore (1829-1830)* (Rome: Gregorian University, 1957), 136.
155. John O'Hanlon, *Life and Scenery in Missouri: Reminiscences of a Missionary Priest* (Dublin: James Duffy & Co., 1890), 91.
156. *Confessions of a French Catholic Priest: To Which are Added Warnings to the People of the United States* (New York: John S. Taylor, 1837), 203.
157. S. B. Smith, 123-125.
158. Guilday, *A History of the Councils of Baltimore*, 102.
159. Burtzell, 316.
160. William Gahan, *A Manual of Catholic Piety*, rev. ed. (Philadelphia: Peter Cunningham & Son, 1875), 8; *Visitation Manual*, rev. ed. (Baltimore: John Murphy & Co, 1858), 44.
161. McDannell, *Material Christianity*, 22.
162. *Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Encyclopedia Press, 1914), s.v. "Scapular," <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/13508b.htm>.
163. Taves, 54.

164. "The Scapular: An Incident of the Late War," *Ave Maria*, 15 July 1865, 147, quoted in Taves, 59.
165. Barry, 166.
166. *Half-Hours with the Servants of God*, 126.
167. *St. Vincent's Manual*, 581.
168. Robert Orsi, *Madonna of 115th Street: Faith and Community in Italian Harlem, 1880-1950* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 57.
169. Orsi, 8.
170. Michael A. Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 151.
171. Barry, 168.
172. Johnstone, 187.
173. Dolan, *American Catholic Experience*, 384-390.
174. James Meagher, *Teaching Truth by Signs and Ceremonies, or The Church, Its Rites and Services* (New York: Russell Brothers, 1883), 1.

Chasuble

Dalmatic

Burse

Pall

Humeral Veil (Detail)

Stole

Figure 1: Vestments Worn by Edmond F. Prendergast
St. Malachy Church, Philadelphia. (Photos by Author)

Dalmatic: Worn by deacons

Humeral Veil: Worn by all clergy

Cope: Worn by all clergy

Figure 2: Nineteenth-Century Catholic Vestments

Top two images: Meagher, 28, 134; Other images: Benziger Brothers, *Catalogue of Church Ornaments*. . . 1883, 143, 139, 131.

Figure 3: Priest Vested for Mass

This image depicts the Offertory, in which the bread and wine are presented to God before being consecrated. The priest wears a chasuble over a white alb and black cassock. One of the widened ends of his stole, marked with a cross, is clearly visible on his left side and he wears a maniple over his left arm. The server is wearing a surplice and cassock.

Herman Rolfus and F.J. Braendle, *Means of Grace*, trans. Richard Brennan, (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1884), 152.

Figure 4: Chasuble Given to Rev. Sorin, Founder of the University Of Notre Dame, by the Cure of Notre Dame, Le Havre, France
This chasuble features a typical nineteenth-century woven cross filled with leafy scrolls and depicting an Agnus Dei at the center.

Sacristy Museum, Basilica of the Sacred Heart, University of Notre Dame, South Bend, IN. (Photo by Author)

Chasuble of "Our Own Manufacture"
Featuring Woven Cross

Chasuble of "Our Own Manufacture"
Featuring Embroidered Decoration

Imported Chasuble Featuring Embroidered Decoration

Figure 5: Imported vs. Domestically Produced Benziger Brothers' Chasubles
Although quite similar in style, domestic chasubles were frequently less elaborate than their imported counterparts; woven crosses were only found on domestically-produced examples, although the crosses themselves were imported.

Benziger Brothers, *Catalogue of Church Ornaments*. . .1893, 10, 18, 38.

Figure 6: Baroque vs. Gothic Shapes for Chasubles and Mitres

In each example, the baroque version is on the left, the gothic version on the right.

Top image: Benziger Brothers, *Catalogue of Church Ornaments, Vestments, . . .* (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1885), 146; Lower left image: Spalding Mitre, Bishops Museum, Basilica of the Sacred Heart, University of Notre Dame, South Bend, IN; Lower right image: Gilmour Mitre, American Catholic Historical Society Collection, Philadelphia Archdiocesan Historical Research Center, Wynnewood, PA. (Photos by Author)

Figure 7: Chasuble Used by Bishop John Neumann of Philadelphia
This chasuble has a typical nineteenth-century layout, with a woven central stepped cross outlined in metallic trim and an applied relief-embroidered ornament. The fabric, although floral, is distinct from contemporary dress fabrics.

Sacristy Museum, Basilica of the Sacred Heart, University of Notre Dame,
South Bend, IN. (Photo by Author)

Chasuble

Cope

Humeral Veil (Detail)

Figure 13: Elements of Vestment Set Given to Archbishop Gibbons in 1884
 Made by Biaï, a leading French manufacturer, this elaborate set of gold vestments features high relief embroidery and stamped metal accents.

Basilica of the Assumption, Baltimore, MD. (Photos by Author)

APPENDIX A: AMERICAN VESTMENTS SURVEYED

The vestments and related altar furnishings surveyed for this study include ninety-five objects that have attributions of nineteenth-century use from their collecting institution, representing six sets of vestments and fifty-nine isolated pieces. Most of the attributions are based on tradition or anecdotal church records. In some cases, documentation survives that vestments were presented for a particular occasion, but the association of specific vestments with those gifts is still reliant on tradition, since the records do not give detailed physical descriptions and no photographic records exist. The items at the University of Notre Dame are especially valuable, since most were collected by James Edwards in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and so have strong collecting histories dating back close to their original use.

In addition to the attributed vestments, I have identified nineteen other objects as probably dating from the nineteenth-century, based on collecting history or style; these include four sets of vestments and eight isolated objects.

Survival patterns mean that this sample is unrepresentative, since relatively few nineteenth-century vestments were preserved, especially after the reforms of Vatican II. The vast majority of surviving examples were saved because of their connection with a bishop, so elaborate high-end pieces are over-represented and the various non-English speaking Catholic communities are under-represented. Furthermore, thus far, not enough objects have been located from any specific area to allow for regional comparisons.

American Catholic Historical Society Collection. Philadelphia Archdiocesan Historical Research Center, Wynnewood, PA.

Late nineteenth-century chasuble from a church in Washington, D.C.

Mitre used by Richard Gilmour, Bishop of Cleveland 1872-1891 and John Frederick Ignatius Horstmann, Bishop of Cleveland 1891-1908

Mitre used by Francis Patrick Kenrick, Bishop of Philadelphia 1830-1851, Archbishop of Baltimore 1851-1863

Unattributed gold gremial

Unattributed set of green vestments (cope, dalmatic, chasuble), very similar to those at Basilica of the Assumption in Baltimore

Unattributed set of gold and red vestments (chasuble, dalmatic, humeral veil) with figures woven into cloth

Unattributed set of black vestments (dalmatic and chasuble)

Unattributed gold cope

American Catholic History Research Center and University Archives. The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.

Set of vestments (chasuble, stole, pall, burse, maniple) made by Irish nun in Italy; used by Edward Joseph Dunne, Bishop of Dallas 1893-1910

Dalmatic used by John Carroll, Bishop of Baltimore 1789-1815

Basilica of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Baltimore, MD.

Set of vestments (chasuble, stoles, humeral veil, dalmatic, cope) made by Biaisi and given to Bishop James Gibbons at the Third Plenary Council in 1884

Set of nineteenth-century green vestments (chasuble, three maniples, stole, pall, burse)

Cope given to Bishop James Gibbons at elevation to the cardinalate in 1886

Basilica of the Sacred Heart. Notre Dame University, South Bend, IN.

Chasuble supposedly "embroidered by the Empress of Austria" and given to Ireneus Baraga, bishop of Upper Michigan 1853-1857, Bishop of Sault St. Marie 1857-1868; used by Ignatius Mrak, Bishop of Sault St. Marie-Marquette 1868-1901

Chasuble used during the Civil War by Patrick Dillon, Chaplain of the 63d Reg't. New York Volunteers

Chasuble used by Peter Dufal, Coadjutor Bishop of Galveston, Texas 1878-1898

Chasuble, mitre, and maniple used by John Neumann, Bishop of Philadelphia
1852-1860

Chasuble given to Edward Sorin in 1841, by the curé of Notre Dame in Le
Havre, France

Chasuble brought by Edward Sorin from France in 1854; used by Joshua Young,
Bishop of Erie 1853-1866, John Henry Luers, Bishop of Ft. Wayne 1857-
1871, and at St. Patrick's Church in South Bend

Cope and chasuble "presented to Father Sorin by Emperor Napoleon III"

Stole presented to D.J. Haggerty on September 18, 1888

Stole, maniple, and surplice used by Edward Sorin

Stole worn by Edward Sorin during his final illness in 1893

Stole used by Rev. Thomas Walsh, C.S.C.

Two mitres used by James R. Bayley, Bishop of Newark, New Jersey 1853-1872,
Archbishop of Baltimore 1872-1877

Mitre used by François Norbert Blanchet, Bishop of Oregon City 1845-1883

Mitre used by John Cretin, Bishop of St. Paul 1851-1857

Mitre and maniple used by Francisco Diego, Bishop of California 1840-1847

Mitre used by James Duggan, Bishop of Chicago 1857-1899

Mitre used by Michael Egan, Bishop of Philadelphia 1810-1814

Mitre used by John England, Bishop of Charleston 1820-1842

Mitre used by Célestine De La Hailandière, Bishop of Vincennes, Indiana 1839-
1847

Mitre used by Michael Heisse as Bishop of La Crosse, Wisconsin 1868-1880

Mitre used by John Martin Henni, Bishop of Milwaukee 1843-1881

Mitre used by Thomas Francis Henrickson, Bishop of Providence, Rhode Island
1872-1886

Mitre used by Francis Janssens, Bishop of Natchez 1881-1888, Archbishop of
New Orleans 1888-1897

Mitre used by H. D. Junchen, Bishop of Alton, Illinois 1857-1868 and P.J.
Baltes, Bishop of Alton 1868-1886

Mitre used by Peter Kenrick, Bishop of St. Louis 1841-1895

Mitre used by John Lamy, Bishop of Sante Fe 1851-1888

Mitre used by Pierre Loras, Bishop of Dubuque 1837-1858

Mitre used by John Henry Luers, Bishop of Ft. Wayne 1857-1871

Mitre used by Joseph Machebeuf, Bishop of Denver 1868-1889

Mitre used by Camillus Maes, Bishop of Covington Kentucky 1885-1915

Mitre used by Dominic Manucy, Bishop of Brownville, Texas 1878-1885

Mitre used by John McCloskey, Bishop of Albany 1842-1864, Archbishop of
New York 1864-1885

Mitre used by James Augustine McFaul, Bishop of Trenton 1894-1917

Mitre used by Richard Miles, Bishop of Nashville 1837-1860 and James Whelan,
Bishop of Nashville 1860-1864

Mitre used by Ignatius Mrak, Bishop of Sault St. Marie-Marquette 1868-1901

Mitre used by Bernard O'Reilley, Bishop of Hartford 1850-1856

Mitre used by John Purcell, Bishop of Cincinnati 1833-1883

Mitre used by Simon Bruté de Rémur, Bishop of Vincennes, Indiana 1834-1839

Four mitres used by Martin John Spalding, Bishop of Louisville 1850-1864,
Archbishop of Baltimore 1864-1872

Mitre used by Boniface Wimmer O.S.B., Archabbot of St. Vincent Archabbey,
Pennsylvania 1855-1887

Unattributed stole, possibly used by Claude Dubin, Bishop of Galveston, Texas
1862-1895

Unattributed stole

Unattributed purple stole

Unattributed white stole

Unattributed mitre, used in diocese of Chicago

Unattributed mitre

**Mount Saint Mary's Archives and Department of Special Collections. Mount Saint
Mary's College and Seminary, Emmitsburg, MD.**

Set of vestments (cope, dalmatic, maniple, pall, humeral veil, stole) donated by
the Sisters of Charity in 1908 for the centennial of the college

Unattributed set of black vestments (chasuble, stole, dalmatic)

St. Francis Xavier Shrine (Old Bohemia). Warwick, MD.

Nineteenth-century gold chasuble

Eighteenth-century cope with replaced nineteenth-century hood

Nineteenth-century white damask cope

Nineteenth-century reversible purple/white stole

Unattributed red Spanish-style chasuble, probably used prior to St. Xavier's
closing in 1908

St. Malachy Church, Philadelphia, PA.

Set of vestments (chasuble, dalmatic, humeral veil, stole, pall, burse) used by
Edmond Prendergast, pastor of St. Malachy 1874-1911, Auxiliary Bishop
of Philadelphia 1897-1911, Archbishop of Philadelphia 1911-1918

APPENDIX B: PRAYER BOOKS SURVEYED

Selected from Ann Taves' list of "Prayer Books Published in the United States, 1770-1880." Those including information on vestments are listed in bold.

Richard Challoner, *Garden of the Soul*

Christian's Guide to Heaven, or A Manual of Spiritual Exercises for Catholics

Edward Damphoux, *The Devout Manual, or Exercises of Piety*

John Baptist Mary David, *True Piety, or The Day Well Spent*

Devout Christian's Vade Mecum: Being a Summary of Select and Necessary Devotions

T. J. Donahue, *Catholic Companion*

Golden Manual: Being a Guide to Catholic Devotion, Public and Private

Alexander Hohenlohe-Waldenburg-Schillingsfurst, *Prince Hohenlohe's Prayer Book*

Key of Heaven, or A Manual of Prayer

Key of Paradise

Alfonso Maria de Liguori, *Mission Book of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer: A Manual of Instructions and Prayers*

Little Flowers of Piety

Manual of Prayers and Instructions for Persons Seeking the True Religion

Pious Guide to Prayer and Devotion

John Power, *Catholic Manual*

Roman Catholic Manual

St. Vincent's Manual, Containing a Selection of Prayers & Devotional Exercises

Ursuline Manual

Visitation Manual

Francis Xavier Weninger, *Sacred Heart Mission Book*

**APPENDIX C: MANUFACTURERS, IMPORTERS, AND RETAILERS OF
VESTMENTS ADVERTISING IN CATHOLIC DIRECTORIES, 1833-1900**

Compiled from *U.S Catholic Almanac*: 1833-1837; *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac*:
1838-1850, 1859, 1861; *Dunigan's American Catholic Almanac*: 1858; *Sadliers
Catholic Directory*: 1864, 1866, 1869-1888, 1890; *Hoffman's Official Catholic
Directory*: 1889, 1891-1900

A La Ville de Lyon/J. J. Ract: New York

Joseph Bayan: New York

Benziger Brothers: New York, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Chicago

Albert Berger: New York

Thomas Birchler: Chicago

Catholic Bookstore and Salesroom of the Female Industrial School: Chicago

Chicago Catholic Bookstore and School Book Depot, John Graham: Chicago

Chicago Central Catholic Bookstore: Chicago

Diepenbruck & Uchtmann: New York

Patrick Donahoe: Boston

Thomas Duggan & Co. Booksellers: St. Louis

E. Fayeton: Lyons, France; U.S. Agent in Algonac, St. Clair Co., MI

Franciscan Poor Clare Nuns: Omaha

John Graham: Chicago

Mrs. J. Guenter & Sisters: Boston

B. Herder: St. Louis

Hoffmann Bros: Milwaukee

Horstmann Bros. & Co: Philadelphia

A. Kaelin: No location listed

H. Kramer's Catholic Bookstore: Cleveland
Kramer & Mesker, Catholic Booksellers: Cleveland
Kreuzburg & Nurre: Cincinnati
John A. McSorley & Son: Washington
H.A. Oesterle: Philadelphia
Felix E. O'Rourke: New York
P. O'Shea: New York
Plaggenborg & Nurre: Louisville, KY
Pollard & Leighton/Pollard, Alford & Co.: Boston
Fr. Pustet: New York, Cincinnati
A. Riffarth: New York
J. C. Robillard: New York
D. & J. Sadlier: New York
Francis Saler: St. Louis
Joseph Schaeffer: New York
Shannon, Miller & Crane: New York
J.G. Schreibmayer: Munich
Sisters of Providence: Baltimore
Stolzenberg & Co: New York
Svendsen & Hierner/Charles Svendsen: Cincinnati
Thym & Co.: New York
J. Turgis: New York
Union Catholic Publishing Co: Chicago
M. H. Wiltzius: Milwaukee

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