

Appendix 1

STATE OF VERMONT
COUNTY OF CHITTENDEN, SS.

ROGER C. BARBER

v.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC DIOCESE
OF BURLINGTON, VERMONT, INC.,
VERMONT CATHOLIC CHARITIES, INC.,
ST. JOSEPH'S ORPHAN ASYLUM, INC.,
and/or ITS SUCCESSORS or ASSIGNS IN
INTEREST, and SISTERS OF CHARITY OF
PROVIDENCE, a/k/a SISTERS OF
PROVIDENCE

)
)
)
) Chittenden Superior Court

)
) Docket No S0784-96CnC
)
)
)
)
)

AFFIDAVIT OF REV. JAY C. HASKIN

NOW COMES the affiant, Rev. Jay C. Haskin, having been duly sworn and hereby
deposes and says as follows:

1. I am presently Pastor of Our Lady of Grace, a Roman Catholic Church located in Colchester, Vermont. I have been an ordained Roman Catholic Priest for the Roman Catholic Diocese of Burlington, Vermont since December 21, 1967.

I have previously served as Vicar for Administration for the Diocese from 1983 through June, 1998 and as Chancellor for the Diocese from 1991 through June, 1998.

2. As Chancellor, I was the official keeper of the records for the Roman Catholic Diocese of Burlington, Vermont, Inc.

3. I reviewed the allegations contained in Plaintiff's complaint, answers to interrogatories and deposition testimony in this matter while I was Chancellor of the Diocese.

4. In my official capacity as Chancellor of the Diocese, I have reviewed Diocesan records relating to the operation of St. Joseph's Orphanage-Child Center. These records were prepared in the normal course of Diocesan business matters and activities and have been maintained continuously by the Diocese since their creation.

*Brien Law Offices
6 West Allen Street
Winooski, Vermont
05404*

5. The Roman Catholic Diocese of Burlington, Vermont, Inc. was established by Pope Pius IX in 1853. Louis J. DeGoesbriand was consecrated as first Bishop of Burlington, Vermont on October 30, 1853.

6. In 1854 Bishop DeGoesbriand invited the Sisters of Providence from Montreal to Burlington to establish an orphanage to care for children, the aged, and the poor. They established St. Joseph's Orphanage which became the first Catholic school in Vermont. The Sisters of Providence later established another Catholic school and convent in Winooski in 1869, the St. Johnsbury Hospital in 1894, and took over the operation of St. Gabriel's School for Boys in St. Johnsbury in 1928.

7. The Ladies of the Immaculate Heart of Mary opened a Catholic school for children in Burlington in 1862.

8. The Sisters of Mercy, a religious order from Manchester, New Hampshire, arrived in Burlington to operate the Cathedral, a Catholic school, in 1874. They later established a convent in Burlington in 1876 with an accompanying school academy, Trinity College, a Catholic institution for women in Burlington, in 1925, and operated several other schools in Montpelier, Barre and Middlebury.

9. The Sisters of St. Joseph, a religious order from New York, established St. Peter's, a Catholic school in Rutland in 1873.

10. The Sisters of the Presentation of Mary, a religious order from Quebec, established St. Mary's Academy in Island Pond in 1886.

11. The Sisters of the Holy Cross, a religious order from Quebec, established Holy Angels School in St. Albans in 1889.

12. The Religious Hospitalers of St. Joseph established the Fanny Allen Hospital, the first Catholic hospital in Vermont in 1894, operated the Bishop DeGoesbriand Hospital from 1924 on, and St. Joseph's Home for the Aged since 1943.
13. The Daughters of the Holy Ghost, a religious order from Connecticut, established houses in Swanton and Graniteville in 1903, and assumed charge of the Nazareth School in Burlington in 1943.
14. The Daughters of Charity of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, a religious order from France, opened a mission house in Newport and Sacred Heart School in 1905.
15. The Sisters of the Assumption, a religious order from Quebec, operated St. Paul's Catholic School in Barton in 1907.
16. The Congregation of the Sisters of St. Felix established St. Stanislaus School in West Rutland in 1924.
17. The Daughters of Charity of the Most Precious Blood, a religious order from Italy, established a foundation in Randolph, Vermont in 1947.
18. The Congregation of Sisters of Notre Dame operated St. Mary's School in Rutland in 1948.
19. The Discalced Carmelites were established in Williston in 1950 as a strictly cloistered, contemplative order.
20. The Society of St. Edmund established St. Michael's College Vermont's first Catholic college in Winooski in 1904. The Society also operated St. Joseph's Novitiate in Putney, St. Mary's Seminary in Randolph, and St. Ann's Shrine in Isle LaMotte.
21. The Carthusian order, a contemplative order, established a foundation in Whitingham in 1950.

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22. The Congregation of Holy Cross established a Novitiate House in Bennington in 1952.
23. The Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer established a monastery and parish in Bradford in 1945.
24. The Order of St. Benedict established a monastery in Weston in 1954.
25. In 1953 at the 100th Anniversary of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Burlington, it was noted that in 1853, there were only five Catholic priests in Vermont administering to twenty thousand Catholics. Bishop DeGoesbriand was serving as a priest in Cleveland, Ohio before being consecrated as Bishop of Burlington in 1853.
26. In 1866, the Providence Orphan Asylum and Hospital of Burlington was incorporated by act of the general assembly of the State of Vermont. The corporation was given the sole and exclusive care, guardianship and direction of the children with all the legal power of guardian over such child.
27. The minutes of the first meeting of the Providence Orphan Asylum, dated December 3, 1866, indicated that the original incorporators included the then-Bishop of Burlington. He occupied the position of "ex officio" membership on the board and presided at all meetings when present. However, it is clear that he presided at those meetings as a member of the body corporate of the orphanage corporation, not in any way in his capacity as the moral and spiritual head of Roman Catholics within the Diocese of Burlington.
28. On or about July 1, 1879 the Sisters of Providence Asylum of Montreal quit-claimed their interest in the real estate occupied by the orphanage to the corporation known as the Providence Orphan Asylum and Hospital of Burlington of record at Volume 10, Pages 528 and 529 of the land records of the City of Burlington, Vermont.

29. In 1996, the Roman Catholic Diocese was incorporated by the legislature. The corporation was created "for the purpose of receiving, holding and managing any real or personal property conveyed to this Corporation by deed, bequest or otherwise and for holding and conducting the same and the income thereof for the support of the gospel and the maintenance of public worship, or to procure, hold and keep in repair houses of public worship according to law and for charitable, educational and cemetery purposes according to the regulations and canons of the Roman Catholic Church". At all times throughout its existence this Diocesan Corporation was a separate non-profit Religious Corporation from the St. Joseph's Orphanage Corporation.

30. On or about June 18, 1962, the Articles of Association of the Providence Orphan Asylum and Hospital of Burlington were amended to reflect a change of the corporate name to St. Joseph's Child Center, Inc. The corporation was empowered to receive any child for foster care and to provide for these children daily care and maintenance, education, health and welfare services, spiritual and moral training according to acceptable modern principles of child care so long as these children shall remain under its care.

31. On or about August 5, 1963, then Bishop Robert F. Joyce entered into a contractual agreement with the Sisters of Providence in his capacity as Bishop of Burlington and president of the St. Joseph's Child Center corporation and Vermont Catholic Charities Corporation. This agreement establishes that "[t]he supreme authority in financial and management affairs rests with the Board of Directors of the Corporation owning and operating the Institution, of which the Bishop of the Diocese is ex-officio President, and the Sister Superior ex-officio a member; the official name of which is ST. JOSEPH'S CHILD CENTER, INC. (Charter Amended December 19, 1962)."

32. On April 10, 1975, a merger occurred between the St. Joseph's Child Center Corporation and Vermont Catholic Charities Corporation resulting in the dissolution of the St.

Joseph's Child Center Corporation. Prior to this merger, the St. Joseph's Child Center and The Roman Catholic Diocese of Burlington, Vermont were separate and distinct non-profit corporations with separately elected Boards of Directors and separate staffs.

33. On April 18, 1975, the Roman Catholic Diocese acquired title to the St. Joseph's Orphanage property by Warranty deed of Vermont Catholic Charities, Inc., as successor corporation by way of the merger with St. Joseph's Child Center, Inc., formerly known as The Providence Orphan Asylum and Hospital of Burlington. The Diocese did not own, operate, or control the St. Joseph's Orphanage prior to 1975. Today the building at 351 North Avenue is known as the Bishop Brady Center and houses the administrative offices of the Diocese.

34. The following is a list of deceased priests who served at St. Joseph's Orphanage or otherwise had an association therewith since 1936:

Bishops

- a. Most Rev. Matthew F. Brady, Bishop from 1938-1944, died 9/20/59;
- b. Most Rev. Edward F. Ryan, Bishop from 1944-1956, died 11/3/56;
- c. Most Rev. Robert F. Joyce, Bishop from 1954-1972, died 9/2/90; and
- d. Most Rev. John A. Marshall, Bishop from 1972-1992, died 7/3/94.

Chaplains

- a. Rev. Robert Devoy, Chaplain of St. Joseph's Orphanage from 1935-1955, died 3/4/55;
- b. Rev. Walter F. Miller, Chaplain of St. Joseph's Orphanage from 1958-1959 and 1960, died 7/10/89;
- c. Rev. Roger Colletet, Chaplain of St. Joseph's Orphanage from 1959-1960, presumed dead;
- d. Rev. Joseph Carrigan, Chaplain of St. Joseph's Orphanage from 1960-1961, died 11/21/90; and
- e. Rev. Emile Savary, Chaplain of St. Joseph's Orphanage from 1961-1962, died 6/8/66.

Directors of Vermont Catholic Charities

- a. Msgr. William F. Cain, Director of Vermont Catholic Charities from 1939-1950, died 12/27/65;
- b. Msgr. John Glancy, Director of Vermont Catholic Charities from 1950-1957, died 5/13/76;


Don Bosco Directors

- a. Rev. James Hall, Director of Don Bosco from 1945-1948, and resided at St. Joseph's Orphanage from 1943-1945, died 2/15/51;
- b. Rev. Joseph Carrigan, Director of Don Bosco from 1948-1950, died 11/21/90; and
- c. Rev. Francis Hickey, Director of Don Bosco from 1950-1951, died 5/31/74.

35. At all times material to Plaintiff's complaint, the St. Joseph's Orphanage - Child Center was operated by the Orphanage Corporation and was staffed by the Sisters of Providence.

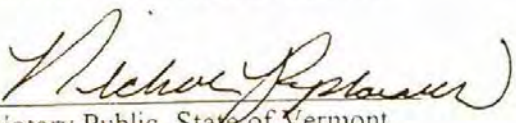
36. This Plaintiff makes no claim of abuse against any employees of the Roman Catholic Diocese nor is there any evidence of notice of any such abuse by others provided to the Roman Catholic Diocese.

Dated at Winooski, Vermont this 16th day of November, 1998.



 REV. JAY C. HASKIN

Sworn and subscribed to before me this 16th day of November, 1998.



 Notary Public, State of Vermont
 My Commission Expires: 2/10/99

O'Brien Law Offices
 26 West Allen Street
 Winooski, Vermont
 05404

Appendix 2

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Fall Back

Did you remember to set your clocks back one hour at 2 a.m. today?

IC SPORTS

UVM HOCKEY
 No. 2 Cats claw
 No. 3 Terriers, 4-2



WORLD SERIES
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The Burlington Free Press

Sunday, October 27, 1986

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Vermont GOP adopts anti-abortion platform

By Betty Lutz
 Free Press Staff Writer

The Vermont Republican Party has adopted for the first time a platform that opposes abortion.

Conservative within the state GOP said the statement in the party's platform is both one extension of a growing conservative movement in Vermont, it demonstrates how the conservative vote, so important in the national race, is sweeping into Vermont politics.

"The platform is a good because of where the base of the party is," said the

Rev. Craig Benson of Cambridge. "The conservative church voice is becoming more heard, more articulate."

However, Vermont Republican leaders and the party's candidates — see the platform — disagree the bulk of the state GOP's top Republican candidates — for Congress, governor and lieutenant governor — support abortion rights.

"Your party is nominated by four candidates," said both Benson, executive director of the Vermont Republican Party. "There is a broad spectrum of opinion as to whether I don't think it's changed one iota in this platform vote."

Evidence of conservatism

Conservative political movements taking their mark on the national scene include groups like the Christian Coalition. These groups advocate what they call family values politics, among them banning abortion and prohibiting same-sex marriage.

Vermont politics have been indirectly influenced by these conservative movements. Vermont has no restrictions on abortion, offers in part generous education and other provisions have repeatedly failed in the Legislature. The

Legislature passed a gay rights bill and last year approved adoption by same sex partners.

But Vermont conservatives — especially those affiliated with evangelical and pro-life churches — say evidence they number are growing. Benson and leaders of the Vermont Right to Life Coalition cited these social markers.

■ The GOP platform change, including the anti-abortion plank, which recalls — quoted Article I and Article 9 of the Vermont Constitution protecting all life.

See GOP, back page

"There is a broad spectrum of opinion on ... (abortion). I don't think it's changed one iota by this platform vote."

Ruth Stokes,
 executive director,
 Vermont Republican Party

Echoes of abuse grip orphans

St. Joseph's Orphanage was supposed to be a haven for children. But for some, it was place of fear and misery.



Stories by Sam Hemingway
 with photos by Peter Walker

The CHILDREN of St. Joseph's

St. Joseph's Orphanage in Burlington was founded in 1864 to care for orphans. Some parents were dead or unable to care for their children. Others were in jail, some in the state mental hospital. Some were abandoned by their own parents in the state who were expected to care for them.

The Roman Catholic Diocese of Burlington has spent more than \$250,000 to settle the claims of over 100 ex-orphans.

Here are five stories, some likely first-time reports. See Hemingway in this issue for more on this and other orphans.

Sally Dale kept her eyes on the sidewalk, looking at the former orphanage. But now Sister Dale's right leg is twisted, wrinkled face and hooded squinty of the back building.

"I was 'battered' by the staff," she said. "I was in the worst place when I was 12 years old."

St. Joseph's Orphanage, Burlington, and Appleton, the past site, putting the past behind it, is now a home for the elderly. "They used to make babies but it's all empty."

Sally Dale, 62, said she might better explain the orphanage, the building, the staff, but she has been blind since she was 33 years old. She has been blind since she was 33 years old. She has been blind since she was 33 years old.



Sally Dale, center, lived for 22 years with the staff of St. Joseph's Orphanage.

Dale is one of almost 100 orphans who have claimed they were abused at the orphanage. Dale said she was molested by a nun and a Catholic seminarian, severely beaten by nuns and other ended up in the building's attic.

The largest sponsor the Roman Catholic Diocese of Burlington and the Sisters of Providence is one of 17 orphans alleging such abuse.

At left, former resident Sally Dale sings to her husband, Bob, on seeing St. Joseph's Orphanage for the first time since she left 35 years ago. Photo by ADAM PIKE REISNER, Free Press

Campaign skips Generation X

By Ted Anthony
 The Associated Press

★ 1996 ELECTION

The race for the presidency

■ Core strategy in Calif. 2A

STATE COLLEGE, Pa. — When recent graduate returned back to Penn State University's homecoming this month to watch football, more friendships and share budding aspirations of the adult world, the 16th generation touched on politics.

For the most part they don't anger Clinton-Dale. Instead, the young alumni "wake up" the state's political process and what is unfolding — it needs to them.

This is, generational, perhaps the most unmet election of the century. Two groups — the World War II generation, personified by Bill Clinton, and the Baby Boomers, exemplified by President Clinton — are squaring off and invoking values associated

with the times they came of age. But on the electoral calendar is a formidable list of voters a group too young to hold a candle but strong enough to influence the economic mood and momentum.

Members of this group are, some say, a "wasteful generation" in this year's campaign, 1996 to define their generation after coming of age in a media-saturated culture drastically different from anything that came before.

"Clinton is developing his

campaign, commonly or not, around the values that Boomers have in the '90s," says author J. Walker Smith. "Dale is the GI generation — the ones who made it through the depression and made sacrifices. — And then there is Generation X — a truly unique lot."

Consider these traits of the 18-30 demographic. Many never knew a childhood without divorce; some knew an adult world without AIDS. For some, Richard Nixon's resignation is their entire political memory.

"There are people who are entering for some honesty in politics," says Tabitha Stone, the 26-year-old MTV reporter who made her name covering the 1992 presidential race from her parents' con's perspective.

INSIDE: Tone set in O.J. trial

When former football starlet in the O.J. Simpson case, dominating news stage into a courtroom of chaos. This time when evidence took the stand, the street battles were as wild as in the past. **Stars 2A**

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Suspect Jewell cleared in Olympic bombing

The assumed flier

ATLANTA — Federal prosecutors cleared Richard Jewell as a suspect in the Olympic park bombing Saturday, ending a three-month ordeal that saw the security guard go from hero to suspected terrorist.

"This is to advise you that based on evidence developed to date, your client Richard Jewell is not considered a target of the federal criminal investigation into the bombing," U.S. Attorney Karl Alexander said in a letter to Jewell's lawyer.

"Having my newly discovered evidence, this means you are innocent," the letter said.

"We are overjoyed," said attorney Jack Martin. "It says what we have known all along — that he is no longer a suspect in the bombing."

Jewell, who maintained his innocence and was never charged, said he would speak at a news conference Monday.

No one has been publicly identified as a suspect.

■ FTS takes halt, 2A



Jewell

The CHILDREN of St. Joseph's

"I can't say there wasn't some heavy punishment here and there. But things were done. People forget that." — Rev. Paul Brossnan, former chaplain of St. Joseph's Orphanage

God's house was home to horror, c



Left, a faded plaque still identifies the former St. Joseph's Orphanage on North Avenue, now headquarters of the state Roman Catholic diocese. Right, the entrance of the orphanage. The triangular entrance was added in the 1950s.



Continued from 1A

without permission or writing their beds. ■ Twenty-two people said they were usually allowed during their stay, although half of them by name, the others by general identification or staff workers. The sexual abuse allegations ranged from fondling to one man's attempt to seal a girl's genital area with his finger.

■ Nine former orphans said later they were forced to see their own wounds after receiving or what they claimed was more times indigestible food.

■ Eight youths remembered when, while taking bath or meals, their heads were taken out in buckets to water over their heads on Lake Champlain, their clothes overboard and told to swim to shore.

■ Three orphans said of young girls, they and others were made to go and watch as a man lit a match to scorch the fingertips of a fellow inmate in front of them for treating a piece of candy.

■ Several spoke of going to mass, games or family members to complain about their treatment. In some cases, they said, nothing was done and they were punished for complaining. In one case a parent's protest appeared to have led to a violent episode of a man to Montreal, the home base of the Sisters of Providence.

Church declines to comment

But as devastating as the claims are, the Holy See investigation also found that no one can prove the abuse claims are true or false.

The inquiry, however, decides first look under the abuse personally took place, physical evidence of the abuse is lacking, many of the supposed perpetrators are dead. Investigators also might indicate whether the church knew about the abuse and if not, whether it should have known, as in the case of church lawyer William O'Brien.

On the advice of its lawyers, the Roman Catholic Diocese of Burlington declined to discuss the orphanage cases, citing the sensitivity of the pending lawsuit. Sister Ann Marshall, spokeswoman for the Sisters of Providence order in Burlington, likewise had no comment.

"There was a canonical decision not to comment," Marshall said. "It's a very painful time for us and I'm sure a very painful time for the people making the accusations."

But some church officials questioned the reliability of some of the claims, including in particular a story Diale had told about seeing a boy pushed into a mouthful of urine by an nurse aide.

"That's just simply unbelievable," said the Rev. Paul Brossnan of Plattsburgh, who wrote a memoir's thesis on the history of St. Joseph's and was its chaplain, years after Diale had departed.

Brossnan also depicted claims that children were locked in the attic or forced to sleep in slats.

He said the orphanage had no toilet during its time there in the 1930s and 1970s, and that men did not want urine in the attic. "They were afraid," he said.

Discipline tactics change

The orphanage, founded in 1854, was home to an estimated 13,000 children over the years. Over the years, changing a culture of changing views on the appropriate of corporal punishment of children.

Discipline was often the only option for children whose parents died and for children from troubled families. Some of the children who lived at St. Joseph's had parents who were poor, the orphanage because of poverty, illness, alcoholism or abuse of them.

"I can't say there wasn't some heavy punishment here and there," said Brossnan, who also served as executive director of Vermont Catholic charities from 1966 to 1977. "That things were done differently in those days. People forget that."

Richard McKenzie, a University of California-Davis professor argued the author of a book on orphanages, he has surveyed more than 1,000 graduates of orphanages in the South and Midwest.

"Corporal punishment was common in the 1930s and before. Nobody thought anything about it," he said. "The real issue is whether the discipline was any worse inside those homes than outside, in the general community."

McKenzie said his survey has found some former residents of orphanages took on personality on their own. Psychology and sexual abuse did occur but were not rampant. He also said Catholic orphanages had a reputation for more religious discipline.

"Many of the Catholic orphan reformers



Orphan Matthew Brady pays a visit to St. Joseph's Orphanage in the early 1940s. A young Sally Franklin, now Sally Brady, sits on the far right. The expression is serious, she says, because she was concentrating on keeping her hands on her knees so she wouldn't get in trouble with the nuns who ran the orphanage. (Photo courtesy of Sally Brady)

THE SISTERS OF PROVIDENCE

Nuns accused of abuse in Montreal

The former St. Joseph's Orphanage is not the only place where the Sisters of Providence have been accused of sexually and physically abusing orphans in their care.

Six orphan homes in life in Montreal, two sites run by the 157-year-old order have been identified as places where children were allegedly abused by nuns or staff members under their direction. The cases involving Mount-Providence hospital and the Saint-Joseph-de-Des-Paroisses hospital are part of a set of lawsuits seeking \$1.2 billion in damages on behalf of 1,000 children. The young lives of orphanages run by the Catholic church in six Quebec cities during the 1940s and 1970s.

The suits allege children at all the institutions were often beaten, put in stress jackets, given shock treatments, sexually abused, told to beat or submerge in icy baths. The cases are awaiting trial in Quebec courts.

Officials of the Sisters of Providence have declined to discuss the Quebec cases or the relationship between the Montreal headquarters of the order and its Burlington operations.

But, according to a Canadian lawyer critical of the order, the order is "a very serious and

Pauline Gall, thousands of orphaned children were declared mentally incompetent in 1975 by the Quebec government to solve a legal problem and secure funding for the money-starved orphanages. Before the change, the government was paying \$3 a day for each orphan's care, when a child was declared insane, the fee rose to \$2.75 a day. "Without the government's aid," said Pierre Magloire, a Montreal attorney representing some of the ex-orphanes in Quebec. "The Sisters agreed to this because of their financial position and so they said to the doctors: 'Here, give every report that this child is crazy.'"

The Sisters of Providence began work at the Burlington orphanage in 1854. Until the work just before its closing in 1974, the orphanage was home to between 200 and 300 children, according to a history of Catholic social services written by the Rev. Paul Brossnan in 1979.

Nuns who worked at the orphanage received their religious training at the Montreal headquarters, and Brossnan said most nuns who worked at St. Joseph's were Quebecers by birth. The order has operations in eight countries, including Utah, Haiti and El Salvador.



A young Debbie Cole, now Debbie Hagan, with a nun at St. Joseph's. Hagan would later say that she and her sister and brother were physically abused when they lived at the orphanage. (Photo courtesy of Debbie Hagan)

official who was familiar with the orphanage's operation in its final years, said it was never although she conceded she was never able to collect proof of abuse.

"I always thought the children seemed unhappy, frightened," said Kenneth, supervisor of housing for the state Social and Rehabilitation Services Department in the early 1970s. "I got uncomfortable about the place and I remember saying I never wanted to place anyone there."

Others in an official list the same way. Attorney Robert Whitman, who is involved in 27 of the 14 orphanage lawsuits, said despite the lack of physical evidence he's convinced the claims are true. "When you look into the eyes of these

people you know they're crying, you know it's real," he said. "These people are suffering greatly. Why would they be making it up and putting themselves through all this pain?"

Routine was strict
Few however, can speak with more authority than Diale about what life was like for an orphan at St. Joseph's. He spent 23 years there after being removed from a grade elementary private mission in Providence in 1974.

According to Diale, the daily routine inside St. Joseph's remained essentially the same over the years. Boys and girls — except infants and toddlers — found in two rows on the building's north side — lived in separate dormitories and ate each other only during school, at special events.

Each day, children awakened at sunrise, built by their beds for early morning prayer, they dressed and reported to breakfast, followed by chapel and school. Every child had a number assigned to put on his or her belongings, the nuns sometimes used the numbers instead of names to address children.

Each child had three uniforms, one for work, one for school and one for Sunday chapel. Girls were required to sleep with their hands in a praying position above their heads to avoid the temptation of

differently in those days.

Orphans say

YOUR COMMENTS WELCOME

The Burlington Free Press welcomes comments about The Children of St. Joseph's. Call the Free Press Opinion Line at 600-1886 or send letters to the editor in Editor's Page, Editor: Stephen Korman, The Burlington Free Press, 90 Sun St., Burlington, VT 05401. Send e-mail comments to theburlington@vt.com.

treating themselves under their lockers. Dale said.

In addition to schoolwork and keeping their sleeping quarters neat, orphans had daily chores, from working on the kitchen to cleaning their uniforms and their lockers to sweeping and waxing the floors.

"It was like a whole city one day," said Francis Antoniazzi of Newark, Ohio, who lived at St. Joseph's from 1936 to 1937. "You didn't go anywhere on a day off from this place," she said.

Combs' wife had a school bag and inventory with everything confined, stamped and stamped mail was collected by the nuns. Visits from relatives were allowed just a week or two followed by a child's birthday. Birthdays included party ideas and tips to celebrate if you could.

Breakfast often got the day off to a bad start, Combs said. "It was terrible, cold, uncooked, every day." Dale said, "I used to wake up nearly every night because I was always cold. They'd make one on a stick or off the floor."

Other orphans said the same story. "I remember my sister wanting her oatmeal and they wouldn't let her," said Christine Shepard of Shelburne, who lived at the orphanage in 1940 and 1942. "I'd think of going out to observe I could eat."

Bred's second daughter, who lived at the orphanage home, was equally unimpressed. "The food was awful," said Mildred Cook, a Catholic, a day care attendant from 1962 to 1964. "I had the milk sweet until. They made you sit on it. They'd throw a down your throat if you didn't."

Left to sink or swim

Sally Dahn said she found out what happened to someone who did not follow the nuns' orders specifically. "The nuns said I was very obedient," she said. "When I had a temper tantrum, they would kick me in the back and say, 'You're a bad girl.'"

The sisters of those from one or other orphanage or with incidents under their belts.

"They were a kid, Pre-adolescent boys who didn't fit who would get into trouble," said William Davis of Burlington, Va., an orphanage resident from 1922 to 1926. "They were the trouble makers who had kids that had three times as bad as the worst. The whole place could have been wild."

Red-writing was simply not tolerated, orphans said. Leroy Baker of Burlington, who lived at St. Joseph's from 1943 to 1947, was among those who faced severe discipline for a bad-writing problem.

Others who had punishments included beatings, forced visits in the late afternoon, or punishment by fellow orphans. "They would give 'bad food' but the best was a piece of bread," Combs said.

Melba Cardwell of Salt Lake City, Utah, one of the children who sang the song, said she remembered being locked in toilet Baker.

"I was one child, sleeping dry fast with my hands under my nose, looking down and saying to me," she said. "I always hid about it."

Baker found incident reports were not simple. Dale and six others recalled times when they were occasionally shown how they were to be. Dale's mother, who was a nurse, said she had a "bad" mother who said "I'm not a nurse."

"I happened across them to me," said Ed Deacon of Barre, one of St. Joseph's from 1938 to 1944. "I found the best of it. I'm still afraid of water."

David Case of Salem, N.H., who lived at St. Joseph's from 1938 to 1944, said he remembered an episode in 1941 when he was locked in the lake with about the supervision of a nun.

"I saw the boob," he said. "I'm not sure, but I saw the boob on July 20, 1961 incident, however, indicated the drowning of Marvin White, 11, in a winter accident. The report said that White's swimming nearby did not have anything wrong with it," they saw him turn over on his back with no mouth open and gasping water."

Forced to break down

McWhorter broke down over visits with a "boy" who was treated, abused and sold religious mania dropped in shirts, orphans said.

With other aspects of the orphanage's operation, there were separate-but-equal areas for boys and girls, with only a few girls in their room. Dale said she was locked in the attic for 30 hours.

Dorothy Haines of Johnson, who attended the orphanage from her sister's brother from 1934 to 1944, recalled a time when the attic was used by a man as a

toilet structure to break down by older sister Deanna, who had gradually learned to cry over coming to the orphanage.

"They brought me back up there and said they were going to lock me inside a trash can above their quarters and bath," Haines said. "It was screaming forever."

Her sister, now Donna Fowler of Fort Knappton, Fla., remembered the night routine. She said at a girl she had held her emotions inside as a way of being strong.

"My only sense of self then was that cry," she said, weeping at times while she spoke. "The nuns here was punitive of Deanna as they did this. I didn't cry, even when they held me there while Deanna was screaming."

Karen Davis, Dale and many of the other orphans said there were some incidents when they were struck with mopping paddles, chairs or walls or others. Dale said she was struck with a mopping paddle for laughing or crying. Dale said she was struck with a mopping paddle for laughing or crying. Dale said she was struck with a mopping paddle for laughing or crying.

"She told him to go to the kitchen, come and sit," she said. "I think she was supposed to do that."

Dale said she did remember "some men was a little rougher than others." But she said she was never afraid to say they were badly abused might have a chance of not being doing so.

"I don't believe them anyway, so I don't think any one was ever taken into it," she said. "I think it's just wrong."

But when the Free Press called Captain Richard Korman, who lived at the orphanage from 1934 to 1938, agreed with Patricia Degan. "They're trying to make some money that's what I think."

"I felt so hurt" she said. "The alleged beating of Deanna Cook by a nun was not in any school book, paragraph because the nuns' father and grandmothers visited the orphanage directly, they did not see the women, something, the order to continue the nun in apartment."

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Preschool children pose in the St. Joseph's orphanage nursery program in a 1940s-era photograph. Boys and girls had together in the room, but were separated once they reached school age. (Photo courtesy of Daily News)

'I never saw a nun lift a hand to a child'

Patricia Degan of Burlington said she is troubled by the claims of people who say they were abused at the former St. Joseph's orphanage.

"I don't know anything about any abuse that happened there," said Degan, who lived at St. Joseph's from 1948 to 1953. "I never saw anything like that when I was in the girl dorm and I've never talked to anybody that has."

Patricia Degan said she remembers some boys being hit with her hairbrush, girls at Christmas, but she said she never saw anything like that when she was in the girl dorm and I've never talked to anybody that has.

"I don't believe them anyway, so I don't think any one was ever taken into it," she said. "I think it's just wrong."

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think," she said. "I've read it. I was treated very well there. My letters to it I had to have them. I might not have had any for it."

She did remember some mild discipline. Once, all the girls in her dorm had to put their names over their heads because the nuns would walk by to photograph without a nun's permission.

In response to a question, Degan said she did not remember anything like the nuns taking a child to get spanked. "I got to be home, I did not see that," she said.

I once saw some boys at the Free Press to contact her for some information.

"I was treated fine," said Dorothy Menzies of Burlington, who lived at St. Joseph's from 1931 to 1939. "I don't know anything about anything like that when I was in the girl dorm and I've never talked to anybody that has."

Marie Miles of Colchester, who lived at the orphanage in 1943 and 1945, said she did not see anything like that when she was in the girl dorm and I've never talked to anybody that has.

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CHRONOLOGY

- 1854 St. Joseph's orphanage opened May 11. It is a former school on the corner of Front and Flanagan streets with houses of Providence as its operators. 50 children lived in first year.
- 1863 orphanage president using Old War name.
- 1883 Deacon for services closer to the nuns' dorms. In 1883, Deacon for services closer to the nuns' dorms. In 1883, Deacon for services closer to the nuns' dorms.
- 1912 acquisition of St. Joseph's orphanage on 200.
- 1925 child placement program for orphans began by Catholic Daughters of America.
- 1928 with creation of National Catholic Children, making responsibility for orphanage moves from Sisters of Providence to state houses.
- 1946 Bishop Matthew Brady initiates discussion of orphanage to replace government, education, training and a nursery in Essex.
- 1948 foundation at St. Joseph's at 200. Dan Baker's school for high school aged boys opens in building next to orphanage.
- 1962 orphanage name changed to St. Joseph's Child Care Center (numbered at 40).
- 1966 Old Chapel School closes, orphanage expansion at 122.
- 1974 Deacon announces orphanage day camp operation at 15.

HOW TO GET HELP

The Children of St. Joseph's Orphanage, a group of former residents alleging abuse occurred at the institution, can be reached through Louise Pinta at 608-236-61, or by e-mail at pinta@vt.edu.

The state Senator Patrick Doonan has provided settlement of up to \$5,000 to help with the institution, can be reached through Louise Pinta at 608-236-61, or by e-mail at pinta@vt.edu.



The Cole children - Deana, Debbie and Deyne - with their grandmother Susan Hahn. Cole said she had been beaten by a nun. Like many orphanage residents, the Cole children were not orphaned, but were sent to the institution because their family was unable to care for them. (Photo courtesy of Daily News)

Appendix 3

VERMONT

*The
Proceedings of the
Vermont Historical Society*

HISTORY



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Community-Building in Uncertain Times: The French Canadians of Burlington and Colchester, 1850–1860

. . . the decade of the 1850s was a momentous one for the area's French Canadians, a period during which they evolved from an ill-defined cluster of settlers to a self-conscious ethnic community.

By BETSY BEATTIE

The 1850s in Burlington and Colchester were years of economic change and insecurity. New industries rose tentatively out of the dislocations brought about by the arrival of the railroad, the changing lumber industry, and the failure of the Burlington Mill Company, which in 1850 had been the largest employer in the area. These new enterprises held out the promise of rekindled, redirected industrial development for the region, but by 1860 most of them were struggling just to survive. The financial panic of 1857 and the reduction of tariffs on textiles further retarded growth.

For French Canadians in the Burlington area, the future seemed even less secure. They had been entering Burlington and Colchester in sizable numbers since the 1820s and 1830s, and by 1850 totaled more than one thousand, the largest concentration of French Canadians in the state. While their numbers increased seventy-one percent across the decade of the 1850s, their overall economic status apparently declined, and the changing composition of the population caused by the constant influx and outflow of residents added to the general sense of instability. In spite of these serious problems, the decade of the 1850s was a momentous one for the area's French Canadians, a period during which they evolved from an ill-defined cluster of settlers to a self-conscious ethnic community. In the course of

these years, they founded institutions of cultural preservation — a French Catholic church, French language schools, fraternal, and mutual aid societies — with assistance from some church leaders but mostly by their own motivation and efforts.

FAITH REAFFIRMED: EARLY FRENCH CANADIAN RELIGIOUS LIFE AND
THE FOUNDING OF ST. JOSEPH'S PARISH IN BURLINGTON.

In the minds of the Catholic clergy in Quebec, it was axiomatic that those who abandoned their ancestral lands for brighter economic horizons in America would lose their faith as well. It simply could not survive transplantation to English-speaking, republican, and fiercely Protestant New England. Yet whenever a Canadian missionary or bishop visited the French Canadian settlements along Lake Champlain, he met French-speaking Catholics who welcomed his arrival and attended his services. As early as 1815, Bishop Plessis of Quebec and Father François A. Matignon came to the Burlington area and found about a hundred immigrant settlers who not only greeted them with enthusiasm but even asked the bishop to send a Canadian priest on a permanent basis.¹ At that time all of New England fell under one diocese, headquartered in Boston, and the bishop there could not spare a priest for such a remote and sparsely populated part of his district. Instead, he arranged with the church hierarchy in Quebec for a missionary priest to come from Canada from time to time to minister to the religious needs of the Canadians living in the Champlain valley. Abbé Pierre-Marie Mignault served the French Canadian settlers of Vermont in that capacity for the next forty years and found "the people of that district very eager" for his visits.² Even when infrequently served by a priest of their own nationality, these early immigrants held onto their faith with tenacity.

Bishop Benedict Joseph Fenwick, the second bishop of the Boston diocese, sympathized with the Vermont French Canadians' desire for French-speaking clergy. In 1828 he asked the bishops of both Montreal and Quebec if they would send priests to minister to their compatriots now living in New England.³ But members of the Quebec clergy, fearful of the weakening of the French church in Canada, had little motivation to encourage more emigration by supporting such churches in America. For the first half of the nineteenth century they resisted sending Canadian priests to serve these Quebec émigrés on a permanent basis. Some Canadian-born priests came as missionaries anyway, among them Father Zephyrin Levesque, who served French Canadians in central Massachusetts in the 1840s.⁴ In general, however, the French Canadian Catholics in New England, under the jurisdiction of the American church, had to attend churches served by English-speaking clergy.

The French Canadians living in the Burlington area were no exception. In the early 1830s the first Catholic parish of the region was established with the building of St. Mary's Church. The priest appointed to serve the parish was Father Jeremiah O'Callaghan, a native of Ireland.⁵ Father O'Callaghan did not ignore the needs of his French parishioners; he operated a parochial school for both French and Irish children and married and baptized the faithful of both nationalities.⁶ On the other



*Bishop Benedict Joseph
Fenwick, 1782-1846*

hand, he apparently looked with some scorn on the average French Canadian parishioner, especially those without money to donate to church collections. On one occasion, having received a Christmas contribution from Francis LeClair, one of the wealthiest French Canadians of the area, the priest commented to the assembled congregation, "Frank is a Frenchman, but not like the rest; he is a gentleman."⁷ Such remarks could not have won him much support among the Quebec émigrés who comprehended the meaning of his words.

The greatest problem for the French Canadians, however, was that most did not understand Father O'Callaghan's English, and he, in turn, understood none of their French. He could neither hear their confessions nor counsel them in their daily lives as the priests of the Quebec parishes had done.⁸ Even the liturgical practices of the American Catholic Church were unfamiliar and unappealing. In an effort to remove some of the more "popish" pageantry and thereby reduce anti-Catholic prejudice

among New England Protestants, the American clergy had dropped certain of the more solemn rites of the Mass such as the use of Gregorian chant.⁹ It soon became clear to the French Canadian community that the establishment of St. Mary's parish did not satisfy their spiritual needs. Even the periodic visits of Father Mignault were not enough to curb their desire for their own priest and their own services.

In the late 1830s the events of the failed rebellions in Canada brought two men to the Burlington area who offered to help these French Canadians obtain their first permanent French-speaking priest. Ludger Duvernay, the journalist, and R. S. M. Bouchette, a young lawyer, were both personifications of the belief that political liberalism and an abiding faith in Catholicism could coexist. They were anxious to help their Burlington coreligionists and, following their years as *Patriote* activists, were veterans in the skill of petitioning higher authorities. After St. Mary's Church had burned in 1838 and a new church had been dedicated in the fall of 1841, a group of French-speaking parishioners gathered on October 12, 1841, for a special meeting chaired by Duvernay. At that meeting, they "resolved to erect a church of their own and to obtain a priest acquainted with their language."¹⁰

Without the support of Father O'Callaghan and in the face of opposition from Irish parishioners, the group agreed to send a petition, carefully worded by lawyer Bouchette, to Bishop Fenwick in Boston requesting a French-speaking priest. Sympathetic to their cause, Fenwick wrote Bishop Ignace Bourget of Montreal asking him to send a Canadian priest to serve the French Canadians of Burlington and the surrounding towns. For a time Bourget balked at the idea, even suggesting that Fenwick request a priest from France rather than Canada. In February of 1842, however, he agreed and authorized Abbé François Ancé to come to Vermont.¹¹ Elated, the French-speaking community built a small church for its own use on North Gough (now Prospect) Street in Burlington, near the bridge to Winooski Falls. It was the first French Canadian church in New England.¹²

Neither the new church nor its priest lasted long. In 1848 Bishop Fenwick removed Father Ancé from his duties after the young priest had harbored three fugitives from Canadian justice, and Ancé was ordered to return to Montreal.¹³ Again the French Canadians petitioned the bishop of Boston, this time pleading that Ancé be reinstated. Fenwick refused. Without a priest the church building was useless, so it was sold to a local businessman for use as a store. Reluctantly, the French-speaking Catholics postponed their plans for a separate parish and returned to Father O'Callaghan's church.¹⁴

In the spring of 1850 they tried again. That year Abbé Mignault, who

still occasionally visited Vermont, brought with him another Canadian priest, Father Joseph Quevillon of Montreal. The arrival of a new priest from Quebec rekindled hope for a new parish. On April 28, a group of three hundred French Canadians held a meeting chaired by Abbé Mignault and drafted yet another petition to the Boston diocese requesting a permanent French-speaking priest and a separate parish. At the same time they formed a committee to select a possible site for a church and chose an unused portion of the land deeded to St. Mary's parish. As in past years, the Irish protested. They did not want to lose parishioners, and they justly claimed that land deeded to St. Mary's Church was for all Catholics, not just those who spoke French. But by now the Canadians were determined to have their own church. They abandoned claims to the St. Mary's land and purchased another plot at the end of Gough Street where the church could easily serve the Québécois of both Burlington and Colchester.¹⁵

Bishop John Bernard Fitzpatrick, the new Boston prelate, granted the request of the petitioners to build a new church, with Father Quevillon as its pastor,¹⁶ and the French Canadian community devoted the summer and fall of 1850 to raising revenues. French Canadian women in Burlington and Colchester were probably responsible for organizing church suppers, bazaars, picnics, card parties, and concerts to earn money for the church construction.¹⁷ Meanwhile, the men demonstrated their skills as joiners, masons, and carpenters in building this symbol of ethnic pride. At the same time the project also gave fellow French Canadian craftsmen and store owners an economic boost.¹⁸ The fruit of their labors was a brick and stone structure seventy-five feet long, forty feet wide and thirty feet high.¹⁹ On June 1, 1851, the completed building was consecrated as St. Joseph's Church and dedicated to that first patron saint of Canada.

The tradesmen, laborers, their wives and families, whose persistence and hard work built St. Joseph's church, did not realize it at the time, but their local achievement had far-reaching implications both for the American Catholic church and later immigrants. In founding a separate French church, these French Canadians had established the precedent of the ethnic-based or "national" parish.²⁰ Traditionally, parishes had been geographically defined districts, each of which was served by a separate church. Whenever the number of parishioners required it, the parish was divided into two or more units and churches provided for these new districts. St. Joseph's parish, however, served French Canadian communicants from all around the Burlington area and competed directly with St. Mary's Church for parishioners. The lines of separation were cultural and linguistic rather than geographical.

.....

In 1853 Burlington became the seat of a new diocese for the state of Vermont and Louis de Goësbriand, its bishop. Under de Goësbriand, the establishment of national parishes spread throughout Vermont and New England. A Frenchman himself, de Goësbriand was firmly committed to the concept of language-based parishes, believing that those who were taught religion in their native language would be less likely to abandon



Parishioners constructed St. Joseph's church in 1850-51 on Gough Street in Burlington. Around 1907 the structure was dismantled and rebuilt on Flynn Avenue where today it serves as the church for St. Anthony's parish. Courtesy of St. Joseph's Church, Burlington, Vermont.

the faith of their fathers or to be converted to Protestantism.²¹ Through his encouragement and the efforts of French Canadian communities throughout the Northeast, the founding of a national parish became a common occurrence; by 1890 there were seventy-four French-language parishes in New England alone.²² The American Catholic hierarchy was not altogether enthusiastic about dividing the church into such ethnic enclaves, which seemed to place nationality above the Catholic ideal of

universality. However, by the late nineteenth century linguistic and cultural differences among American Roman Catholics were so great that at the Catholic Conference of Baltimore in 1889, church leaders could only insist that such national enclaves were "temporary expedients."²³ Meanwhile, new Catholic immigrant groups from southern and eastern Europe continued the same pattern of parish formation that the small group of determined French Canadians in Burlington and Colchester had established nearly forty years earlier.²⁴

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF OTHER FRENCH CANADIAN RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS.

National parishes quickly became more than places to worship in a familiar tongue. A parish characterized by ethnic homogeneity soon became the center for celebrations where the community could gather to share the traditions that had been part of their lives in the old country. In addition, the founding of a parish church led to the development of other institutions dedicated to both cultural preservation and social welfare. Between 1850 and the early 1860s, St. Joseph's parish in Burlington blossomed from a single church to a whole network of interconnected social and cultural organizations. In the spring of 1854, less than three years after the church was consecrated, seven members of the Sisters of Providence, a religious order based in Montreal, came to Burlington and established an orphan asylum, which by 1866 housed 115 children. In addition, they ran a tuition-free school for Catholic girls in the area.²⁵ In 1857 Father H. Cardinal came to St. Joseph's parish and supervised the construction of a brick schoolhouse to serve the needs of French-speaking boys and girls.²⁶ Until 1863 the priest relied for teachers on young women in the parish.²⁷ Then, through his efforts, sisters from the Daughters of the Heart of Mary came to teach in the parochial schools of the parish.²⁸ From that time, French-language Catholic education — a cornerstone of *survivance* or cultural survival — was firmly established.

Another social institution that the French Canadians established for themselves during the 1850s was a mutual aid society. Mutual aid societies, common to every immigrant group in the nineteenth century, were what Maxine Seller in her study of American immigration has labeled "American solutions to American problems."²⁹ The financial and psychological support systems of old-world villages and parishes no longer operated in the unfamiliar and impersonal setting of urban America. Families were often far from the friends and relatives whose comfort and resources had once sustained them through lean or tragic times. To compensate for the loss of traditional community support, immigrants formed organizations that provided unemployment insurance for families out of work, sickness insurance for the ill or disabled, and coverage of funeral expenses for

members who died. Monies collected from initiation fees, monthly dues, and fund-raising events supplied the revenues for the society.³⁰ In August of 1859, Burlington-area French Canadians established their first mutual aid society, *La Société Mutuelle de St. Joseph*.³¹

The typical immigrant mutual aid society was more than just a source of social welfare, however. It also became an ethnic-based fraternal organization and a place committed to upholding cultural traditions. In 1859, the Burlington-area French Canadians established another such association, a regional branch of the *Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste*. According to Robert Rumilly, in his history of French Canadians in the United States, the Burlington organization had a distinct nationalist as well as economic purpose and actively encouraged both use of the French language and preservation of Canadian traditions.³² Its motto was "Outside, English for business, but, at home, nothing but French."³³

The Saint Jean-Baptiste societies in the United States patterned themselves after the original *Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste* established in Montreal in 1834.³⁴ Members of the Burlington organization probably felt a special kinship with the parent organization, for its founder was Ludger Duvernay, the journalist who had come to Vermont and helped them establish their first French church. The original association, like Duvernay himself, was closely linked to the activities of the *Patriote* movement, but the Canadian society survived the disruption of the rebellions and afterwards became what its American counterparts also would become: an organization committed to preserving French culture in an English-speaking environment.³⁵

In America, and in the Burlington area, membership in organizations like the *Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste* and the *Société Mutuelle de St. Joseph* also provided some valuable personal experiences for its male members. It offered opportunities for leadership and achievement for individuals whose experiences in America were often in positions of subservience to Yankee employers, landowners, and businessmen. In these societies, a factory operative could become an officer and exercise his executive talents. (For example, George Consigny, a laborer in the Burlington Cotton Mill, was elected president of the *Société Mutuelle de St. Joseph* in 1869.³⁶) They also offered a place where immigrants from every stratum of the community could come together and share opinions on issues that concerned them all. From such discussions ethnic bonds were formed and a sense of political as well as cultural identity emerged. As this nascent political consciousness grew, it became what one writer has called "a constituency in search of a spokesman."³⁷ The leadership opportunities that Burlington's Saint Jean-Baptiste Society provided would eventually produce spokesmen whose experiences in this smaller, more familiar setting

would give them the self-confidence to enter the Yankee-dominated world of Vermont politics.

All the institutions that Burlington-area French Canadians established during the 1850s—a parish church, French Catholic schools and social services, mutual aid societies—worked in concert to build ethnic solidarity and to restore some of the cultural traditions of Quebec that earlier settlers had been unable to preserve for lack of numbers or institutional support. Festivals in honor of saints or religious holidays became community-wide efforts with church sponsorship and financial and organizational help from fraternal societies.³⁸ On June 24, 1869, the *Burlington Free Press* described one such celebration, a procession honoring St. Jean-Baptiste, which included a parade of religious societies and marching bands, High Mass at St. Joseph's Church, and French language speeches in front of City Hall.³⁹ Moreover, ideals promoted by one institution were reinforced by others, thus recreating to some degree the integrity of community that had been the hallmark of the rural Quebec parish.⁴⁰ Life in urban, English-speaking America was a radical change from anything the French Canadian from a small rural parish in Quebec had experienced before, bringing with it unique problems and rewards. The religious and cultural institutions that the French Canadians established helped to ease the transition to this new life for future Quebec immigrants.

OLD INDUSTRIES, NEW STARTS: THE BURLINGTON-AREA ECONOMY,
1850 TO 1860.

The founding of Franco-American institutions and the reestablishment of ethnic traditions in Burlington and Colchester took place at a critical time in the lives of French Canadians, for these cultural forms brought a sense of stability in a decade marked by change. The Burlington area moved gradually and unevenly toward industrialization during the 1850s, causing an increasing demand for employment in some sectors of the economy and a declining demand in others. However, the gradual rate of growth, even in the healthier industries, was barely able to absorb the influx of new émigrés from Quebec.

As T. D. Seymour Bassett has noted, "Vermont industry was moving ahead on the eve of the Civil War, but much of it was moving one step ahead of its creditors. Insecurity was the keynote from the processors to the machinists."⁴¹ The tenuousness of these industrial ventures derived in large part from their newness and from the uncertain economic climate of the decade. The region had weathered the arrival of the railroads, the decline of the native lumber trade, and the failure of the Burlington Mill Company; entrepreneurs had rebuilt existing businesses and developed new industries to fit the changing economy. By 1860, however, few enterprises, new or rebuilt, were yet on a secure financial footing.

The most dramatic and most promising developments involved the area's lumber business. Not long after Vermont's timber resources had been depleted, two events occurred that transformed the nature of the lumber trade in the state. First, in 1851, the canal system that connected the Richelieu River with Montreal and the vast timber reserves along the Ottawa River was finally completed.⁴² Second, in 1854 Canada and the United States signed a reciprocity treaty that established free exchange of natural products including "timber and lumber of all kinds."⁴³ In such a favorable trade environment Canadian lumber businessmen turned to the populous and industrializing United States as their primary buyer. Burlington, with its excellent harbor and direct rail links from Lake Champlain to larger northeastern cities, was in an ideal position to be a major distribution center for their timber. By the end of the decade lumber shipping and processing had become the town's most important industry.⁴⁴



Burlington's waterfront lumber industry provided jobs for many French Canadian residents in the 1850s. The city continued as one of the major lumber shipping and processing centers of North America until the late nineteenth century. Photograph c. 1875. Courtesy of Special Collections, University of Vermont Library.

Lawrence Barnes had begun the trade when he shipped the first cargo of Canadian lumber to Burlington in 1850.⁴⁵ By 1860 woodworking and lumber-related industries employed 535 individuals.⁴⁶ In the intervening years, the community witnessed the construction of lumber sheds, planing mills and new wharves, all specifically designed for unloading, sorting, and dressing lumber.⁴⁷ This boom in processing and distributing lumber also led to the development of other wood-product industries,

such as chairmaking and the manufacturing of doors and wooden furniture.⁴⁸ Altogether, in 1860 there were twelve area companies that owed their existence to Burlington's revitalized lumber trade.⁴⁹

Another boost to the region's manufacturing, particularly to its craft industries, was the construction in 1852 of the Pioneer Shops. The Pioneer Shops originally consisted of a single four-story factory, built on the waterfront near the lumber yards, and a small separate structure that housed two 750-horsepower steam engines. Designed to support a number of small industries, according to Bassett, "at fullest occupancy it rented for \$3,400 to machinists, blacksmiths and manufacturers of wrought iron axles, matches, washboards, sashes and blinds, shoetrees and lasts, and chairs."⁵⁰ In April 1858 a fire destroyed the original structure, but three two-story factories rose in its place, and in 1869 the shops were again operating successfully.⁵¹

Even the textile industries of Burlington and Colchester were holding their own by the end of the 1850s, although the decade had been rocky for both the cotton and woolen mills. The Winooski Mill Company, which had employed only seventeen operatives in 1850 and suffered a devastating fire in 1852, rebounded gradually and in 1860 had a work force of sixty-two employees and an annual production of cotton goods worth \$57,200.⁵² The larger Burlington Mill Company, which had ceased operation in November 1850, was bought by three brothers from Oxford, Massachusetts, who were experienced in the production of woolen fabric. They moved to the area and operated successfully until the textile tariff reductions of 1857 and resulting low prices forced them to turn from native Vermont wool to the purchase of Argentine wool. The imported fleeces were less expensive but often arrived matted with burrs, an obstacle they overcame by inventing a special "burr crusher." In 1860 the mill was back in full operation, employing 340 operatives and producing two thousand yards of fine woolen cloth each day.⁵³

All around the region at this time were signs of apparent prosperity and development. Yet beneath the surface of activity was a shaky foundation. In terms of real economic growth, these budding industries were merely replacements for the businesses lost in previous years. The Burlington Mill Company, for example, although growing, still had a smaller work force in 1860 than the four hundred operatives it had employed in 1850. The cotton mill had expanded its operations during the decade but was still small by textile mill standards and no competition for the larger cotton mills in southern New England. Even the small manufactures in the Pioneer Shops, although powered by steam engines, were still largely craft rather than industrial operations. Such small-scale enterprises would not be able to last for long in the face of bigger, more

mechanized producers who could manufacture similar products in greater volume and at lower costs. On the eve of the Civil War, only Burlington's thriving lumber industry seemed beyond the threat of serious competition from larger companies. Perhaps the most telling indicator of the underlying tenuousness of the region's economy was the population which, from 1850 to 1860, grew from 10,160 to only 10,754.

OLD OPPORTUNITIES, NEW ARRIVALS: THE FRENCH CANADIAN WORK FORCE, 1850 TO 1860.

U.S. census figures for 1860 in Burlington and Colchester reveal another important aspect about the area's population: its changing composition (see Table 1). When compared to 1850 census statistics, the 1860 figures reveal that while neither the total population of the region nor the Irish population grew, the number of French Canadians increased across the decade. The Irish population actually decreased slightly from 1850 to 1860 as emigration from Ireland declined and many in Burlington and Colchester at mid-century moved on to places with more job opportunities.⁵⁴ Meanwhile, native-born Vermonters continued to move away from the short growing season and uncertain economic situation of their home state to more promising farms further west or to growing cities. According to Joseph Amrhein "by 1860, 42% of all persons born in Vermont were living outside the state."⁵⁵ Only the French Canadian community grew, its population increasing 71.2 percent from 1850 to 1860, as more children were born to young French Canadian parents and émigrés continued to arrive from Quebec.

TABLE 1
French Canadian and Irish Populations of Burlington and Colchester
(combined), 1850 and 1860.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Total Population</i>	<i>French Canadians</i>		<i>Irish</i>	
		<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
1850	10,160	1397	(13.8)	2453	(24.1)
1860	10,754	2392	(22.2)	2327	(21.6)

A review of the industries that were operating in the Burlington area in 1860 would suggest that many of the same types of employment available in 1850 still existed ten years later. Skilled labor, especially in construction and woodworking, was still in demand in the lumber yards, in factory construction, and in the Pioneer Shops. Factory operatives in the textile mills still accounted for about four hundred jobs in the area, although those positions had not attracted many French Canadians in 1850. Certainly the wharves and railroad yards provided as many or more semi-skilled and unskilled jobs as were available a decade earlier. Given a similar employment pattern it seems logical to expect that French Cana-

dians in 1860 would have made occupational choices similar to those in 1850.

Table 2 reveals a small but significant change in the employment patterns of the 1860 immigrants. While there was an increase in the number of French Canadians in both white collar and skilled labor positions across the decade, there was a decline in the percentage of French Canadian males who were employed in those positions. In fact, only two types of occupations showed an increase in the percentage of Québécois workers from 1850 to 1860: semi-skilled and unskilled laborers and factory workers. The rise was not precipitous but does represent an overall decline in occupation status for Burlington-area French Canadians. The increasing number of men working in factories is particularly telling because factory wages, already lower than wages for unskilled labor in 1850, only rose 14.7 percent while wages for day labor rose a full 66.6 percent in the same ten-year period.⁵⁶

TABLE 2
Occupational Status of French Canadian Males in Burlington and Colchester
(combined), 1850 and 1860.

<i>Type of Job</i>	<i>Number of French Canadians Employed-1850</i>		<i>Number of French Canadians Employed-1860</i>	
	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
Merchant	4	(1.3)	2	(0.3)
Professional	2	(0.6)	0	(0.0)
Small Business	8	(2.5)	19	(3.1)
Other White Collar	3	(0.9)	4	(0.6)
Skilled Labor	120	(38.0)	175	(28.5)
Semi/Unskilled Labor	135	(42.7)	293	(47.7)
Farm Labor	40	(12.7)	55	(9.0)
Factory Labor	4	(1.3)	60	(9.8)
Personal/Domestic Service	0	(0.0)	6	(1.0)
Total	316		614	

Another indication that the French Canadian community, while growing in size, was losing economic status is the apparent rise in the number of family members besides the father who worked outside the home. Although the 1850 census did not include occupations of daughters, the overall trend revealed in Table 3 is clear: over the decade of the 1850s there was a sharp increase in the percentage of youthful dependents who held outside employment.⁵⁷ Sons in 1860 worked primarily as factory workers and day laborers; only five of seventy were employed in white collar or skilled labor positions. Daughters were twice as likely to be employed as mill operatives as in any other jobs, although four were tailoresses and one was a teacher. As a group, then, these young people

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held the lowest-paying jobs where they learned no special skills, thus sacrificing their own future economic status to provide for the present material needs of their families. By 1860 only wives and mothers consistently remained at home, and dependence on child labor was on the rise.

TABLE 3

Sons and Daughters in French Canadian Families, Age 15 Through 19, Employed Outside the Home, Burlington and Colchester (combined), 1850 and 1860.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Total Number Age 15 through 19</i>	<i>Number Employed</i>	<i>% of Total</i>
<i>1850</i>			
Sons (only information available)	56	10	17.9
<i>1860</i>			
Daughters	83	21	24.1
Sons	92	70	76.1

Given the increasing number of French Canadian families who needed the wages of several family members to subsist, it is not surprising that average family size grew during the 1850s. The average number of children in a French Canadian family in 1860 had risen from 2.8 to 3.4 children. For wives in their thirties and forties, years when the greatest number of children were likely to have lived at home, the increase is even larger: from 3.7 to 4.4 children for wives age thirty to thirty-nine and 3.9 to 5.1 children for women age forty to forty-nine. Moreover, this increase in family size ran counter to the national trend for fertility rates for white women in the United States, which declined in the same decade.⁵⁸

These statistical trends suggest that the decade of the 1850s was one of increasing financial hardship for the French Canadian community in Burlington and Colchester in spite of the employment opportunities available throughout the period. The reasons for the changing economic situation lay beyond the borders of Vermont in Canada. Throughout the 1850s more immigrants had arrived in the Burlington area, and fewer of them came with special skills to offer. Economic and agricultural conditions in Quebec had continued to deteriorate throughout the decade as the shipbuilding industry collapsed, the wheat and potato crops failed, and the economic downturn of 1857 produced high urban unemployment.⁵⁹ In such troubled times increasing numbers of émigrés had left their homes not for the promise of better economic opportunity in a growing United States economy but purely as a matter of survival. Any job, no matter how poorly paid, was better than hunger and unemployment in French Canada.

Table 4 illustrates vividly the seriousness of the impact of new immigration on the French Canadian community in Burlington and Colchester.

TABLE 4

French Canadian Families Who Came to Burlington or Colchester Between 1850 and 1860.

<i>Town</i>	<i>Total Number of Families in 1860</i>	<i>Number of 1860 Families Who Were Listed in 1850 Census</i>		<i>Number of Families Who Arrived After 1850</i>	
		<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
Burlington	275	38	(13.8)	237	(86.2)
Colchester	141	36	(25.5)	105	(74.5)
Total	416	74	(17.8)	342	(82.2)

According to the census, less than twenty percent of the families living in the region in 1860 had lived there ten years earlier. These statistics must be viewed as suggestive rather than absolute because census takers in the Burlington area did not know French and wrote down French names the way they thought the names sounded. As a result, spellings of names varied greatly from census to census, and figures for families who remained throughout the decade may not include some families whose names were too dissimilar in the two censuses to be detected as the same.⁶⁰ Even if the number of ten-year residents is conservative, however, the disparity between the numbers of old and new families is still great. The newly arrived French Canadians outnumbered those more well-established in the area, and fewer of these new immigrants came with training in a specific craft. Instead, they began to swell the ranks of the unskilled and factory labor forces.

Another factor influencing the composition of the Burlington-area French Canadian population was the out-migration of immigrants who had been residents in 1850. Table 5 completes the picture of the changing nature of the region's French Canadian community, because it presents the number of families who had lived in Burlington or Colchester in 1850 but who left the area sometime during the succeeding decade. Again, while the changes in spelling of names probably have led to an underestimation, the trends are striking. Nearly three of every four families in the Burlington area at mid-century were no longer there in 1860. The causes of this exodus are not clear, but there are several factors that may have contributed to it. The completion of the railroad lines from Burlington to Boston and New York in late 1849 created an easy access to larger urban areas with more job opportunities. Also, the instability of the Burlington-area economy meant an uncertain employment picture. Many immigrants may have left to find more steady work. By 1860 small enclaves of French Canadians had begun to settle in the industrial towns of central and southern New England, so the French Canadians of Burlington and Colchester had new choices for settlement where traditions and language were familiar and jobs more plentiful.⁶¹

TABLE 5
 French Canadian Families Who Left Burlington and Colchester Between 1850
 and 1860.

Town	Total Number of Families in 1850	Number of Families Listed in Both 1850 and 1860 Censuses		Number of 1850 Families Who Left Before 1860	
		N	%	N	%
		Burlington	186	38	(20.4)
Colchester	96	36	(37.5)	60	(62.5)
Total	282	74	(26.2)	208	(73.8)

Geographical mobility, made easier by the railroad and necessary by the economic instability of the early years of industrialization, characterized French Canadian settlement patterns throughout New England in this period. Peter Haebler, in his study of French Canadians in Holyoke, Massachusetts, commented on the "migratory character of the French Canadian movement" and added that many expressed a "desire to return eventually to Quebec," a feeling that would have impeded the establishment of roots in any New England community.⁶² However, to isolate the French Canadians as particularly "migratory" is to ignore the mobility that characterized the entire American population in the middle years of the nineteenth century. Land in the West attracted New England Yankees; railroad construction kept many Irish and other immigrants on the move. As employment demands fluctuated, so did the number of laborers in any one place. In his research on the town of Newburyport, Massachusetts, for example, Stephan Thernstrom found that the Panic of 1857 caused the town's population to drop by more than one thousand persons, most of whom were manual laborers.⁶³ In fact, Thernstrom discovered that "of the 2025 families recorded in 1849, only 360 [or 17.8 percent] were to be found in Newburyport in 1879."⁶⁴ Geographical mobility was the rule, not the exception, in mid-nineteenth century America; the 308 French Canadian families in Burlington and Colchester in 1850 who had gone by 1860 were just part of a whole population on the move.

With new families arriving and others leaving throughout the 1850s, the composition of the Burlington-area French Canadian community was constantly changing. While the deepening crisis in rural Quebec forced greater numbers of émigrés from Canada into the United States, the Burlington region, experiencing a decade of economic uncertainty, could not hold these émigrés for long. As the composition of the French Canadian community changed, the nature of the community also was

transformed. The new Québécois immigrants brought larger families and fewer job skills than the French Canadians had who were living in the region in 1850. Lower occupational status and more children meant a growing dependence of local French Canadians on the wages of several family members, a situation that forced more of them to leave the Burlington area and move to larger New England cities to find adequate employment.

In the light of the instability of the region's French Canadian population, the immigrants' success in building their own church and parish institutions is even more remarkable. The cultural cohesion provided by familiar religious practices, French-language schools, ethnic-based fraternal societies, and revived traditions encouraged a sense of unity among French Canadian residents at a time when the economic conditions in Quebec, New England, and even the Burlington area fostered geographical mobility and disrupted the continuity of community growth. By the eve of the American Civil War, these institutions of *survivance* were well established in the Burlington area. By the end of that conflict, similar French Canadian institutions, patterned after those in Burlington, would appear throughout the Northeast, just in time to bring the comforts of cultural familiarity to a whole new group of immigrants arriving from Quebec.

NOTES

¹ Mason Wade, "The French Parish and *Survivance* in Nineteenth Century New England," in *A Franco-American Overview*, ed. Madeleine Giguère, 4 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: National Assessment and Dissemination Center for Bilingual / Bicultural Education, 1981) 3:236.

² Pierre-Marie Mignault, quoted in Wade, "The French Parish," p. 236.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 236.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 238-239.

⁵ W. S. Rann, *History of Chittenden County, Vermont* (Syracuse, N.Y.: D. Mason and Co., 1886), p. 525.

⁶ Joseph N. Couture, "New England's First National Parish; or, The History of St. Joseph's of Burlington, Vermont" (M. A. thesis, St. Michael's College, Winooski, Vermont, n.d.), *passim*.

⁷ Jeremiah O'Callaghan, quoted in Jean-Frédéric Audet, *Histoire de la Congrégation Canadienne de Winooski au Vermont* (Montréal: Imprimerie de l'Institution des Sourds-Muet, 1906), p. 40.

⁸ Couture, "New England's First National Parish," p. 19.

⁹ Wade, "The French Parish," p. 237.

¹⁰ Couture, "New England's First National Parish," p. 25.

¹¹ Wade, "The French Parish," p. 236.

¹² Couture, "New England's First National Parish," p. 26.

¹³ According to Joseph Couture, in his history of St. Joseph's parish, Father Ancé harbored Louis Bourdon, Jean-Baptiste Denis, Jean-Baptiste Mailet, and Anthony Lincourt "who had fled from Canadian justice" for unspecified crimes. These men robbed and injured Ancé, then reported him to Vicar General Pierre Marie Mignault who, in turn, told the incident to Bishop Fenwick. Apparently, the affair caused dissension within the French Canadian Catholic community, so the bishop decided to remove the priest. It is not clear why the priest's protection of these fugitives created division among the French Canadians. See Couture, "New England's First National Parish," p. 27.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

¹⁵ E. Hamon, *Les Canadiens-français de la Nouvelle Angleterre* (Québec: N. S. Hardy, 1891), pp. 184-187.

- ¹⁶ Couture, "New England's First National Parish," p. 31.
- ¹⁷ While there is no documentation that specifies that Burlington's French Canadian women sponsored money-raising events like bazaars, picnics, and concerts, Father E. Hamon, who visited French Canadians living in New England in the 1880s, wrote that it was common for Quebec immigrant women to contribute to the building of parish churches by organizing such charitable activities. See Hamon, *Les Canadiens Français*, pp. 90-92.
- ¹⁸ Couture, "New England's First National Parish," p. 33.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 32.
- ²⁰ Robert Rumilly, *Histoire des Franco-Américains* (Montréal: L'Union Saint-Jean-Baptiste d'Amérique, 1958), p. 31.
- ²¹ William MacDonald, "The French Canadians in New England," in *A Franco-American Overview*, ed. Madeleine Giguère. 4 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: National Assessment and Dissemination Center for Bilingual / Bicultural Education, 1981) 3:16.
- ²² *Ibid.*, p. 3.
- ²³ George F. Thériault, "The Franco-Americans of New England," in *A Franco-American Overview*, ed. Madeleine Giguère. 4 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: National Assessment and Dissemination Center for Bilingual / Bicultural Education, 1981) 3:150.
- ²⁴ There are numerous examples of other immigrant groups who followed French Canadian precedent and formed national parishes. Leonard Dinnerstein and David Reimers, in their book *Ethnic Americans*, wrote that "in the late nineteenth century a burning issue in American Catholicism was the nationality parish supported ardently by, among others, German, French-Canadian and Polish Catholics." Humbert Nelli, in his study of Italian immigrants in Chicago, listed parishes that the Italians formed in that city in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These parishes had names such as Santa Maria Addolorata and St. Anthony of Padua and presumably were also ethnic-based. See Leonard Dinnerstein and David M. Reimers, *Ethnic Americans: a History of Immigration and Assimilation*, 2nd ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1982), pp. 133-134; Humbert S. Nelli, *The Italians in Chicago, 1880-1930: a Study in Ethnic Mobility* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 31.
- ²⁵ *Burlington City Directory and Business Advertiser* (Burlington, Vt.: Published by Hiram S. Hart, 1865).
- ²⁶ Abby Maria Hemenway, *Vermont Historical Gazetteer* (Burlington, Vt.: A. M. Hemenway, 1868-1891), 1:551.
- ²⁷ T. D. Seymour Bassett, "Urban Penetration of Rural Vermont, 1840-80" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1952), p. 593.
- ²⁸ Couture, "New England's First National Parish," pp. 51-52.
- ²⁹ Maxine Seller, *To Seek America: a History of Ethnic Life in the United States* (Englewood, N. J.: Jerome S. Ozer, 1977), p. 152.
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 153.
- ³¹ Couture, "New England's First National Parish," p. 52.
- ³² Rumilly, *Histoire des Franco-Américains*, p. 44.
- ³³ Translation of the motto of the *Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste*, "Au dehors, l'anglais pour des affaires, mais à la maison, rien que de français," quoted in Couture, "New England's First National Parish," pp. 52-53.
- ³⁴ Rumilly, *Histoire des Franco-Américains*, p. 35.
- ³⁵ Florence Maria Chevalier, "The Role of French National Societies in the Socio-Cultural Evolution of the Franco-Americans of New England from 1860 to the Present" (Ph.D. dissertation, Catholic University of America, 1972), pp. 49-53.
- ³⁶ *Burlington City Directory and Business Advertiser* (Burlington, Vt.: Free Press Association, 1869), p. 15.
- ³⁷ Lauren-Glenn Davitian, "The 'Frogs Across the Pond': Perceptions of Change in a Vermont Mill Community" (Undergraduate research paper, University of Vermont, 1983), Wilbur Collection, Bailey-Howe Library, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt., p. 40.
- ³⁸ Thériault, "The Franco-Americans of New England," p. 141.
- ³⁹ *Burlington (Vermont) Daily Free Press*, 24 June 1869.
- ⁴⁰ Thériault, "The Franco-Americans of New England," pp. 146-147.
- ⁴¹ Bassett, "Urban Penetration of Rural Vermont," p. 300.
- ⁴² Joseph Amrhein, "Burlington, Vermont: the Economic History of a Northern New England City" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University School of Business Administration, 1958), p. 126.
- ⁴³ James Elliott Defebaugh, *History of the Lumber Industry of America* (Chicago: The American Lumberman, 1906-07), 1:172.
- ⁴⁴ William G. Gove, "Burlington, the Former Lumber Capital," *The Northern Logger and Timber Forester* 19 (May 1971): 38-39.
- ⁴⁵ Amrhein, "Burlington, Vermont," p. 42.
- ⁴⁶ Bassett, "Urban Penetration of Rural Vermont," p. 297.

⁴⁷ Amrhein, "Burlington, Vermont," p. 218.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 227.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 245.

⁵⁰ Bassett, "Urban Penetration of Rural Vermont," p. 293.

⁵¹ Amrhein, "Burlington, Vermont," pp. 204-210.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ For a concise, informative article on the history of the Burlington Mill Company while in the hands of the Harding Brothers, see David Blow, "Industrial Fluctuations in Winooski," *Chittenden 5* (January 1974): 32. For information on the number of operatives employed by the Burlington Mill Company in 1860, see Bassett, "Urban Penetration of Rural Vermont," p. 302a.

⁵⁴ These population figures are based on a count taken from the 1850 and 1860 U.S. manuscript censuses for Burlington and Colchester of all the members of families having at least one parent born in Canada and who were French-speaking. To determine whether or not a Canadian-born person was French, I followed a series of steps. First, I determined if the surname was French, an Anglicized spelling of a French name (e.g. "Johndro" for "Gendreau") or an English translation of a French name (e.g. "White" for "Leblanc" or "Stone" for "Desroches"). Since there are English-speaking families with names such as "White" or "Stone," I then looked for a French given name such as Napoleon or Philomene among family members. If none of these procedures clearly determined the Frenchness of the name, I consulted a list of Anglicized names that appears in the records of St. Joseph's parish, the French Canadian parish in Burlington, to see if the name was included. This procedure, while careful, was not foolproof. When in doubt of the language of a Canadian-born person I assumed that he / she was not French-speaking, so these figures are underestimations.

The count of Irish immigrants is also taken from the 1850 manuscript censuses for Burlington and Colchester and included the members of every family having at least one Irish-born parent. Families having a French Canadian father and Irish mother were counted as French Canadian; those with Irish father and Canadian-born mother were counted as Irish.

⁵⁵ Amrhein, "Burlington, Vermont," p. 70.

⁵⁶ Comparative figures on wage rates for factory work and unskilled labor are based on Amrhein's reporting of combined census statistics for 1850 and 1860 for Burlington, South Burlington, and Colchester. Because the percentages of change over the decade given for each type of work are figured differently (on annual wages for factory labor and on daily wages for common labor), the comparisons are inexact. Even allowing for the difference in measurement, one can assume that a 14.7 percent rise in annual factory wages and a 66.7 percent rise in daily wages for unskilled work represent a marked difference. See Amrhein, "Burlington, Vermont," p. 74.

⁵⁷ There are no available statistics for employment of children under age fifteen in either the 1850 or 1860 censuses.

⁵⁸ According to Linda Gordon's statistics on fertility rates, the average number of live births for women in the United States declined from 5.42 to 5.21 between 1850 and 1860. See Linda Gordon, *Women's Bodies, Women's Lives: a Social History of Birth Control in America* (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, 1977), p. 48.

⁵⁹ Ralph Dominic Vicero, "Immigration of French Canadians to New England, 1840-1900: a Geographical Analysis" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1968), pp. 105-106.

⁶⁰ Two of the most glaring examples of the misspelling of names by census takers were for the French names "Courbet" and "Niquette." "Courbet" appeared as "Kirby" in 1850 and "Curby" in 1860 while "Niquette" became "Neequith" in 1850 and "Nigget" in 1860.

⁶¹ According to Ralph Vicero, in Massachusetts alone, six towns—Millbury, Southbridge, Webster, Spencer, Worcester, and Grafton—all had at least one hundred French Canadians in 1860. See Vicero, "Immigration of French Canadians to New England," p. 156.

⁶² Peter Haebler, "Habitants in Holyoke; the Development of the French Canadian Community in a Massachusetts City, 1865-1910," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of New Hampshire, 1976), p. 46.

⁶³ Stephan Thernstrom, *Poverty and Progress: Social Mobility in a Nineteenth Century City* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964), p. 87.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

Appendix 4

CONTRACTUAL AGREEMENT

BETWEEN

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC DIOCESE OF BURLINGTON (VT.)

AND

LA COMMUNAUTE DES SOEURS DE CHARITE DE LA PROVIDENCE

CONCERNING THE OPERATION AND MANAGEMENT OF

ST. JOSEPH'S CHILD CENTER, 351 NORTH AVE., BURLINGTON, VT.

1. LA COMMUNAUTE DES SOEURS DE CHARITE DE LA PROVIDENCE agrees to provide care, education, and training of the children admitted to St. Joseph's Child Center by Vermont Catholic Charities, Inc.
2. The Sister Superior of St. Joseph's Child Center will direct the child care program and manage the affairs of the Institution under the supervision and with the collaboration and support of the Director of Vermont Catholic Charities, Inc.
3. The supreme authority in financial and management affairs rests with the Board of Directors of the Corporation owning and operating the Institution, of which the Bishop of the Diocese is ex-officio President, and the Sister Superior ex-officio a member; the official name of which is ST. JOSEPH'S CHILD CENTER, INC. (Charter Amended December 19, 1962).
4. Adequate financial support to operate the Institution is guaranteed by the Roman Catholic Diocese of Burlington through Vermont Catholic Charities, Inc.
5. LA COMMUNAUTE DES SOEURS DE CHARITE DE LA PROVIDENCE will supply, as much as possible, the staff needed to direct and manage the child care program.

6. Compensation for the work of the Sisters shall be computed at the rate of \$600.00 per year per Sister, plus room and board.
7. The authority of the Director of Vermont Catholic Charities, Inc. relative to St. Joseph's Child Center shall be acknowledged to be as described in the statement of Bishop Edward F. Ryan of July 21, 1945, attached hereto, except that Paragraph I shall be amended to read: "All placements of children in and out of St. Joseph's Child Center will be the responsibility of the Diocesan Director of Vermont Catholic Charities, Inc. in collaboration with the Superior of St. Joseph's Child Center. All financial arrangements with State and Town officials, parents and guardians will be the sole responsibility of the Diocesan Director of Vermont Catholic Charities, Inc."
8. This contract shall replace any existing agreements, written or oral; shall take effect upon the signatures of both parties and shall continue until abrogated by both parties.
9. Individual clauses may be amended annually or from time to time at the request of either party by mutual consent provided at least 90 days notice of such changes has been given.

SIGNED: For the Roman Catholic Diocese, ST. JOSEPH'S CHILD CENTER, INC.
and
VERMONT CATHOLIC CHARITIES, INC.

Date: 1 Aug 5, 1963

Robert F. Joyce
Bishop of Burlington
President, St. Joseph's Child Center,
President, Vt. Catholic Charities, Inc

SIGNED: LA COMMUNAUTE DES SOEURS DE CHARITE DE LA PROVIDENCE

Date: Aug 17 1963

Mother Joseph Aurele (Albertine Hudon)
Mother Joseph Aurele (Albertine Hudon)
Provincial Superior, St. Vincent de Pa
Province

Sister Emile (Antoinette Levesque)
Sister Emile (Antoinette Levesque)
Provincial Procurator

Appendix 5

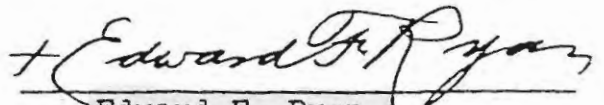
THE AUTHORITY AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE DIOCESAN DIRECTOR OF VERMONT CATHOLIC CHARITIES, INC. IN ST. JOSEPH'S ORPHANAGE ARE INDICATED AND OUTLINED IN THE FOLLOWING EPISCOPAL DIRECTIVE:

1. In 1939 by Episcopal Order all placements of children in and out of St. Joseph's became the sole responsibility of the Diocesan Director of Vermont Catholic Charities. This includes all financial arrangements with State and Town officials, parents, and guardians.
2. Since investigations, made prior to placement, are made by the Staff of Vermont Catholic Charities the Director is authorized to work out with the Superior of the institution the programs within the institution which will best serve the needs and problems of the children involved. In the case of girls the complete program of Domestic Arts is highly desirable. The Boys Program, especially in the older age group, should rest primarily with the Director.
3. The Spiritual Life and Program of the students is definitely under the supervision of the Director. All priests and seminarians working in St. Joseph's, as far as the children are concerned, are under his direction.
4. The Director and Superior should work out a system by which the Staff of Vermont Catholic Charities can follow the progress of their cases while they are at the institution.
5. The institution should keep all records of students which are considered necessary by the Director.
6. Plans for isolation of incoming students and infirmary care of the sick at St. Joseph's must meet the minimum requirements of the Director.

2.

7. The Summer Recreational Program employing the use of seminarians for boys and outside volunteers for girls is under the supervision of the Director of Charities.
8. All outside recreational facilities are subject to the Director.
9. To meet the requirements and to qualify for Federal Food Grants it is necessary that mennis and meals be planned in conjunction with the Director who represents the Diocese in dealing with these agencies. Scrupulous care in this instance must be exercised as it involves accounting for Federal money.
10. Since the Director must report to the Diocese the expenditure of funds collected in the Annual Drive -- all major expenditures and all lay employees and wages are subject to the approval of the Director. This prevails in all Diocesan institutions receiving allotments from Catholic Charities Drives.
11. To reduce overhead expenses and in the interest of economy the Director of Vermont Catholic Charities is authorized at his discretion to make wholesale purchases for dry goods and foods for all Diocesan institutions receiving allotments from the Catholic Charities Drives.

Signed:


Edward F. Ryan
Bishop of Burlington

Copies to:

Chancery Office
Superior at St. Joseph's Orphanage
Director of Vermont Catholic Charities ✓

THESE DIRECTIONS SHOULD BE INTERPRETED IN THE LIGHT OF THE
OF THE FOLLOWING:

1. The Social Worker should have access to her children within the Institution: First, through the medium of staff meeting with the Sisters involved: second, with the individual student alone at such time and place as determined by the Director and Superior. This would include the class room in exceptional cases.

2. Girls' Program is under the direct supervision of the Sisters. The Director of Charities is empowered to make recommendations for this program and to provide volunteer workers, especially for recreation, in as far as the Sisters deem advisable. In the event that volunteers have been placed at the Institution, with the consent of the Superior, the program should be carried out as planned.

3. Boy Guidance Department. The Boy Guidance Director will have primary responsibility in the disciplining of the boys. To assume this responsibility he must be cognizant of the disciplinary measures imposed by the Sisters. Such reports on discipline as he deems necessary should be available to him.

Assignments of boys made by the Guidance Director should be made in conjunction with the Superior. When the Superior is not available, in an emergency, the assignment may be made directly by the Director. He shall be required to leave notice at the Superior's office of the assignment.

In general, this agreement is intended to define the functions of both the Charity Department and the Sisters in St. Joseph's Orphanage, to the end that the Director of Charities and the Superior of the Institution may jointly establish a program for the best interests of the children. In the case of irreconcilable differences both the Director and the Superior may have recourse to the Bishop.

July - 1945

Appendix 6

Report to State of Vermont Office of the Attorney General regards to an information request on behalf
of the St. Joseph's Orphanage Task Force

Original 09/24/2019

Amended and Reissued 10/20/2020

James Forbes

Cynthia Walcott

VT Department for Children & Families

Family Services Division

On June 11, 2019 James Forbes, Senior Policy & Operations Manager, DCF Family Services Division and Kate Lucier, Director, AGO DCF-Family Services Unit received a letter of request from the Vermont Attorney General's Office. The request included review and production of relevant Department records related to any past Department interaction or relationship with the former St. Joseph's Orphanage in Burlington, VT. This included any Department records regarding a provided list of named individuals who had been cared for as children or youth by the orphanage.

The Family Services Division enlisted the assistance of Cynthia Walcott, retired Deputy Commissioner of the Division, to carry out the research necessary to respond to the request. This report will serve to inform the Vermont Attorney General's Office, and the Task Force, of the results of the research. We will report on the requested information and items individually, below.

On October 16, 2020 this report was amended and reissued. Initial research indicating that DSW records had been destroyed was later found to be incorrect. While paper files had been destroyed, many of these had been first transferred to microfilm. Found files are being made available in accordance with state statute to the VT Attorney General and to other relevant parties to include former residents.

Question 1. *“Any Department reports or files related to St. Joseph’s Orphanage. Specifically, reports that may explain the Department’s process for placement of children at the Orphanage; the relationship between the Department (formerly known as the Department for Social Welfare (DSW) or Social and Rehabilitation Services (SRS) and the Orphanage; and the Department’s role, if any, in the closure of the Orphanage. The Taskforce was made aware of a potential report or directive by DCF sometime between 1970-1975 on the topic of disciplinary protocols at the Orphanage. The Taskforce was also made aware of a potential report around the closing of the Orphanage in 1975.”*

Response 1. The inquiry around this topic was challenging as the Department has re-organized twice since 1975. First, the Department of Social and Rehabilitation Services (SRS) was formed about 1975. The new department took over responsibility for child welfare services formerly delivered by the Department of Social Welfare. Second, the Department for Children and Families (DCF) was formed in 2004. The Family Services Division of DCF continued to deliver the services formerly carried out by SRS's Social Services Division.

The only records we have been able to locate which are responsive to the request are records related to the licensure of Vermont Catholic Charities, under whose auspices St. Joseph's Orphanage was licensed. If the two reports or directives referred to in Question 1, existed at that time, they are not contained in the licensing record. No other records were found on site at the Department, nor did any Record Series at the Vermont State Archives & Records Administration (VSARA) suggest that they might contain such records or directives.

The earliest licensing records we were able to locate are from 1969. The records contain applications for re-licensure (first annual, then every other year), the licensing report, and correspondence. There is no mention in the record of allegations of child abuse or neglect with the exception of a report of an investigation that was done by the licensing unit in 1986 concerning an allegation concerning child to child sexual abuse at the St. Joseph's Group Home. There is no other reference to reports of child abuse

or neglect in the records, which almost certainly would have been investigated by the Licensing Unit, at least as potential violation of licensing standards.

Appendix 1 contains a table that summarizes information contained in the records that seemed at all relevant to the present inquiry. The only concerns outlined in the reports concerned the physical facility – in particular response to reports by the state fire marshal’s office. They are not mentioned in the summary as they were not judged relevant.

The summary ends with the 1975 licensing report, as St. Joseph’s, as it was, ceased to exist in 1974. Vermont Catholic Charities (VCC) continued to be licensed as a Child Caring Agency (later called a Child Placing Agency) through September 2008. During the earlier part of that period, VCC ran the St. Joseph’s Group Home that was quite different in nature than the previous Child Center. It was maintained in a separate building on the same campus.

The licensing record reflects that over the years, the number of children residing at St. Joseph’s Orphanage got smaller and smaller. In 1969, there were 102 children placed at St. Joseph’s Orphanage. By 1974, only 28 children lived there.

The file also contains a memo dated 1/4/1974 from Lyle McGinnis, social worker in the Burlington DSW district office to Enna Remick, supervisor of the Licensing Unit. Mr. McGinnis was the social worker assigned to the children residing at St. Joseph’s. The memo may be in response to a query from Ms. Remick. Mr. McGinnis says:

“I find it difficult to judge just how well the individual needs of children are met at St. Joseph’s. In respect to physical needs there has never been any question in my mind that this need is met very adequately. However, I have often questioned how well the emotional needs of children are being met.”

Later in the memo, Mr. McGinnis says that to his knowledge no placements were made by DSW in 1973. Four children from 2 families were reunited with their families in 1973. Both were families served by the Burlington DSW district.

Mr. McGinnis lists all of the children currently placed by DSW, with their dates of placement, and their DSW district office. There were 23 children from 11 different families. None of these children appear on the list we received from the Attorney General’s office.

Mr. McGinnis concludes: “Frankly, I would not refer any child for placement if a suitable alternative was available and I think other workers in this district are of a similar opinion.”

There is no indication in the Licensing Record that SRS played a role in the closure of St. Joseph’s Orphanage. Rather, it is apparent that best practice had moved away from the placement of children in large institutions. When Ms. Walcott began her work with SRS in 1977, there were few large child welfare-oriented institutions left in the state. Children placed in residential settings were living in smaller group homes, where perhaps 9-15 children resided. In fact, Vermont Catholic Charities itself ran one such small group home on North Avenue, adjacent to the St. Joseph’s Orphanage building.

Question 2: *Any records or files for the attached list of children who at one time resided at the St. Joseph's Orphanage.*

Response 2: The list originally provided by the Vermont Attorney General's Office on 7/10/2019 contained the names of 80 individuals who had been placed at St. Joseph's Orphanage as children. On 8/2/2019, the Vermont Attorney General's Office provided an amended list containing 132 names. The amended list also contained information about the entry and exit dates for the children listed. This information had been requested by the department in hopes that it would aid in the location of any records extant. The department added one more name, in response to an inquiry from the Victim's Advocate for the Burlington Police Department. All in all, this inquiry originally sought to locate records on 133 individuals.

These individuals were placed at St. Joseph's Orphanage from 1935 to 1970 for various lengths of time. In some cases, it was known that there was DSW involvement with the family. However, it is likely that many were privately placed by their families, perhaps with assistance from their parish priest.

Initial research performed by Ms. Walcott and reported to the Attorney General's Office in September 2019 indicated that past Department of Social Welfare (DSW) files related to named residents had been destroyed. This was later discovered to be incorrect when a separate query for an individual file revealed that some DSW files were still in existence. It was later confirmed with VSRARA that the existing DSW file series in question had been transferred to stored microfilm, while the original paper files were shredded.

AHS Records and Information Management Specialist Laura Carter, other VSARA staff, and DCF staff completed the review of over 500 separate microfilms related to DSW/SRS Record Series 58 spanning the years from 1949 through 1996. This represented well over 500 hours of staff time. The found files were uploaded to a state Sharepoint site and made available to both DCF and AAG staff for review. DCF worked with the reparative process representative to make found files available for viewing in accordance with state statute by interested past residents. This is ongoing at the time of this report submission.

145 discrete names were searched. This represented the original list of 132 names provided by the AG and included additional past residents currently active in the reparative process. Of the 145 names there were 45 found files (31%). During the process there was an additional 176 files found and recorded of individuals not named in the query. These will be available if any of these persons come forward in the future. In sum, 221 discrete past SJO residents were identified in the DSW record series.

It is difficult to conclude if this cache of files is comprehensive of all DSW involved children who were placed at the orphanage over these years. Some files may have not been transferred to storage; and others may have been included and sealed within adoption records. It is notable, however, that the 1973 Vermont Committed Child Study (summarized in Appendix 2) reported 108 children at SJO, 46 (or 43%) of whom were committed children. Most former residents were not committed children, and therefore would have no DSW record.

Other information:

As part of its research, DCF Family Services reviewed the 4 volumes Vermont Committed Child Study, published in August 1973 by the management consultant firm of Cresap, McCormick, and Paget, Inc. based on a study that firm completed in 1973.

The complete study is available through the Vermont Department of Libraries. The published study does not describe how the study came to be commissioned, but apparently it was at the behest of the Agency of Human Services. The volumes are as follows:

Vol.	Title	
I	Legal Framework and Case Tracking	<p>Describes the five categories of Vermont children who could be committed to state’s custody at that time:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neglected – committed by district court to the Department of Social Welfare. • Unmanageable -- committed by district court to the Department of Social Welfare and usually placed at the Weeks School, a public institution. • Delinquent -- committed by district court to the Department of Corrections and placed at the Weeks School, a public institution • Mentally Defective – committed by the probate court to the Brandon Training School, a public institution. • Mentally Ill -- committed by the probate court to the Department of Mental Health and placed at the Vermont State Hospital, which then served children. <p>Profiles eleven children thought to represent typical children in the five categories.</p> <p>Provides an evaluation of services for each of the five categories. Summarizes recommendations for action.</p>
II	Profiles of Children	<p>Provides a description of data collection methods and a statistical analysis based on a review of records, and pertinent interviews for a sample of children in the five commitment categories.</p> <p>Explores implications for the scope, organization and service delivery process for committed children.</p>
III	Evaluation of Services	<p>Presents scope and method for the evaluation of services available to committed children in all five categories.</p> <p>Presents the result of the evaluation of services.</p>
IV	Recommendations	<p>Presents recommendations on the following topics:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Legal Framework • Plan for a Service Delivery System • Development of treatment and placement facilities • Agency organization and operations • State-level planning and advocacy.

Appendix 2 contains a summary of the key findings from each volume. In Volume 1, case studies or profiles of eleven children in DSW custody were included. Two of the children, both characterized as neglected, had spent time at St. Joseph's Orphanage. One has been privately placed by his parents; the other was placed by DSW.

It is worth reading through the summary provided in Appendix 2, as it provides a window into some of the thinking of the time about various types of placements used for children in DSW custody.

Interestingly, the consultants casted institutional care in a positive light and seemed to suggest that institutional care was under-utilized in Vermont. In the decade that followed, however, Vermont moved more and more away from the use of institutional care.

APPENDIX 1

Summary of Licensing Records on St. Joseph's Child Center

The table below summarizes information contained in the Licensing Records that seemed at all relevant to the present inquiry.

The only concerns outlined in the reports concerned the physical facility – in particular response to reports by the state fire marshal's office. They are not mentioned in the summary below as they were not judged relevant.

The summary ends with the 1975 licensing report, as St. Joseph's, as it was, ceased to exist in 1974. Vermont Catholic Charities (VCC) continued to be licensed as a Child Caring Agency (later called a Child Placing Agency) through September 2008. During the earlier part of that period, VCC ran a group home that was quite different in nature than the previous Child Center. (St. Josephs Group Home)

Date	Summary
10/29/1969	<p>DSW licensed Vermont Catholic Charities (VSS) as a Child Caring Agency. They were specifically licensed to "provide institutional care for children deprived by death, illness, divorce or neglect by one or both parents; to provide foster homes for children unable to adjust to group living; to direct and guide teenage boys, pre-delinquent, dependent or maladjusted, and to provide placement in school employment homes" and other services, including adoption services. Expiry 10/23/1969.</p> <p>The licensing report indicates that children age 3 through grade 8 live at the center. There were 102 children placed (51 boys and 38 girls), most of whom had contact with family.</p> <p>The Center ran a school, grades 1-8. Five children were attending outside kindergarten. All high school age children being served were at boarding schools.</p> <p>Sister Lorraine was the Mother Superior and was in charge of the girls' department Under her were 25 sisters, six of whom were teachers. Three St. Michael's "college boys" lived in for room and board. They provided some "male figure" people.</p> <p>"Miss Markle" was "the social worker in residence". However, she had been away on educational leave for 2 years. She returned before 9/12/1969, having obtained her degree in social work.</p>
12/31/1969	License renewed for one year, expiring 10/23/1970.
Nov 1970	License renewal. Purpose remains the same. At that time 91 children were in residence, including seven in the infant nursery who would probably be placed for adoption. There were five ages 3-5 years in a second nursery. Since the last report, eighth graders now attending Cathedral School. At that time, 27 sisters worked at the Center, under the direction of a new Mother Superior, Sister Madelene Celine, who came in June 1970. Sister Madeline had been placed at St. Joseph's as a child. There were nine social worker, seven of whom worked at the Center. Miss Mary Markle, social worker, worked with children at the Center. "College boys" from St. Michael's College continued to reside there, in exchange for services.

Date	Summary
	<p>“St. Josephs’ Home for Children is meeting a need in our state. Father Bresnehan is a very capable, modern-thinking person. He has a degree in social work and he knows the needs of the children. He has persistently updated the program in an attempt to meet the needs of children in group living. Most of the social workers have their Master’s Degree.”</p>
<p>Oct 1971</p>	<p>License Renewal. There were 97 children in residence, including 8 infants and 8 toddlers. The others were ages 6-16 years. As Cathedral School had closed, the 8th graders attended the on-site school, or were living in foster homes. There were 28 sisters employed. The Mother Superior had once again changed. Sister Lucille Laperrier was just about to begin her duties, and was not met by the licenser. The social work staff remained the same.</p> <p>“Children are given good care here. Classes are small and sometimes special help can be given. If a Catholic family needs temporary placement to keep them together, this is an excellent placement for them. The social work staff are well trained and qualified to help pre-delinquent adolescents. Small caseloads make it possible to give concentrated help.</p> <p>With this many children in one building, however, there [sic] are somewhat regimentalized. <u>There are favorite sisters who are close to the children and others who are busy with cleaning and mending.</u></p> <p>It <u>is</u> an institution, and of course children can be “forgotten” in institutions sometimes, unless careful, yearly evaluations and on-going planning is provided. The Dept. of Social Welfare has 44 children her at present. 20 of them have been here over 3 years. 7 were placed there 2 years ago and 19 were placed there less than a year ago.</p> <p>This institutions is meeting a need in Vermont and if social workers or individuals placing children here consult with the supervisory staff and see children often enough so they do not become “institution” children, it can be a very useful placement.”</p> <p>The license was for 98 children.</p>
<p>Oct 1972</p>	<p>The 1972 application for re-licensing contains a list of religious personnel working at the Center. The licensing report indicates that the professional social work staff were Joyce Corning (who worked with the aged), Mary Markle, Patricia Markle and Ray Syriac (who supervised adoptions). There were 25 sisters working at the Center. The mother superior was Sister Lucille Laperrier. Brother Michael Jacques served as house parent supervisor for the boys’ program. There was 34 boys and 46 girls in residence. The license was for 90 children.</p>
<p>Oct 1973</p>	<p>Lucille Allen was a new social worker working with girls at the Center. The same Mother Superior supervised 18 sisters acting as child care staff. Other sisters performed other duties. “Some of them are better with children than others and there are always favorite sisters who have a way with youngsters and others who are more rigid. Caseworkers work with sisters in interpreting the needs of specific children.” There were six teachers, supervised by Sister Lucille Belval. Two St. Michael’s College students helped with the boys; one (John Brennan) lived on site.</p>

Date	Summary
	<p>“There are fifty-eight children living at the Center. Twenty seven of these were placed there by our agency. Most of them have been there two years or over. This year (1973) we placed no children there. These are supervised by the Burlington district.”</p> <p>“The average length of stay is two or three years. Father Bresnehan does not recommend that a child stay longer than this.”</p> <p>As in the past, children had regular access to a pediatrician. Dr. Lucy, from the UVM Medical School, conducted a weekly clinic. Dr. Gerald McGinnis, psychiatrist, was on site 2 days each week, consulting with staff and seeing some children on a regular basis.</p> <p>“The Child Center has spaces for about a hundred children but has only 58 in residence. The fact that our agency is making fewer placements has caused some concern to Father Bresnehan. He is questioning whether our policy is now not to make institutional placements. I explained that the commitments recently have been unmanageables, over the age of twelve, which his facility does not take. . . .</p> <p>The fact that we have removed no children from this home in the last year makes me question the use we are making of the home, as I understand most of them have been there for two years or more. I can see it as being a good placement in many instances, but not for extended lengths of time.</p> <p>I feel there should be more frequent staff meetings and that the sisters who actually do the day-by-day care should have some special in-service training. They should also attend staffings and know more about each child’s specific problems.”</p>
Nov 1974	<p>The licensing report states that there was considerable change over the previous year. Only the northern end of the building was being used for children in residence. The numbers have been reduced from 98 to 28. The children were ages 9 – 15 years (16 boys and 12 girls). The younger children previously in residence had returned home, been placed in foster care, or had been adopted. The school had been discontinued; all children attended local public or parochial schools, except two who were being tutored on-site. The Center was now interdenominational, rather than being exclusively for Catholic children.</p> <p>There were six child care workers. No mention is made of Sisters. The director was Mary Markle, who had been with the home since 1963. Social workers Ray Syriac and Lucille Allen provide some services. Dr. Collette and Dr. Young provided health care.</p> <p>“The resident program is more like large family rather than an institution. It is therapeutic, personal, and all health is given regularly and as needed. The total program is pleasantly structured and child care staff are more child development oriented than previously.”</p> <p>A staff list is included in the application for re-licensure. It appears that only 2 staff are sisters. Father Bresnehan is still the director.</p>