

PART I
THE JESUIT MISSION OF MISSOURI

CHAPTER I

THE MARYLAND JESUITS

§ I. THE MARYLAND MISSION

The history of the Jesuit Mission of Maryland begins with the name of Father Andrew White, who, with his fellow-Jesuits, Father John Altham and Thomas Gervase, a coadjutor-brother, was among the passengers that disembarked from the *Ark* at St. Clement's Island, Maryland, March 25, 1634. The "Apostle of Maryland," as Father White has come to be known, labored strenuously through fourteen years on behalf of the white and Indian population of the colony, leaving behind him on his forced return to England an example of missionary zeal which his Jesuit successors sought to follow for a century and more down to the painful period of the Suppression. As a consequence of that event the former Jesuit priests of the Maryland Mission organized themselves into a legal body known as the "Corporation of Roman Catholic Clergymen" for the purpose of holding by due legal tenure the property belonging to the Society of Jesus in Maryland and of restoring it to the Society in case the latter should be canonically reestablished.¹

During the entire period of the Suppression the Jesuits maintained a canonical existence in Russia. When in 1803 Bishop John Carroll of Baltimore and his coadjutor, Bishop Leonard Neale, both former Jesuits themselves, petitioned the Father General, Gabriel Gruber, to affiliate the Maryland ex-Jesuits to the Society as existing in Russia, the latter in a communication from St. Petersburg authorized Bishop Carroll to prepare the way for a Jesuit mission in Maryland by appointing a superior. On receiving this intelligence, Bishop Carroll summoned the one-time Jesuits to a conference at St. Thomas Manor, St. Charles County, Maryland, in the month of May, 1805. The Fathers assembled on this occasion, five in number, were met by Bishops Carroll and Neale.

¹ Under pressure brought to bear upon him by the Bourbon courts of Europe Pope Clement XIV suppressed the Society of Jesus in 1773. A brief account of the circumstances which brought about the measure may be read in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, 14 99. The act of suppression involved no condemnation of the Society as a whole or of any of its members, being a merely administrative measure in the interests of peace and not a sentence based on judicial inquiry. The Society of Jesus was solemnly reestablished throughout the Church by Pius VII in 1814.

The letter of Father Gruber was read to them and on the following day, May 10, all five signified their desire to reunite with the Society and witnessed moreover that Father Robert Molyneaux, who was absent, had authorized them to declare his intention to do the same. Under authority of the General's letter of instructions Bishop Carroll named Father Molyneaux superior of the American Jesuits, his appointment being dated June 27, 1805. Finally, on the Sunday within the octave of the Assumption, August 18, 1805, Fathers Robert Molyneaux and Charles Sewall renewed their Jesuit vows in St. Ignatius Church, St. Thomas Manor, thus reviving the corporate existence of the Society of Jesus in the United States.² On the same occasion Father Charles Neale, who had been only a novice in the pre-Suppression Society, pronounced his vows for the first time.

The tenth of October, 1806, saw the opening of the first novitiate of the Maryland Mission, no house of probation having existed in the mission in the period before the Suppression. On that day, sacred to the memory of the Jesuit saint, Francis Borgia, ten novices, eight of them scholastics or candidates for the priesthood, and two lay or coadjutor-brothers, assembled in a house opposite historic Trinity Church in Georgetown, D. C., and there, under the direction of Father Francis Neale as master of novices, entered on the thirty days' retreat with which the Jesuit noviceship usually begins. Father Francis Neale was himself a novice, being admitted to the Society that same day, October 10, 1806. Of the two lay candidates, one was John McElroy, a young man of Irish birth, who, on showing capacity for preaching and other ministerial functions, was later advanced to the priesthood. The retreat having ended on November 13, the novices went after High Mass to Georgetown College where they took possession of the second story of the pioneer building erected some seventeen years before.³

Georgetown College continued thus to house the novices for about five years, when, in consequence of crowded quarters, the distracting

² *WL* (Woodstock, Md.), 32-190. The restoration of the Society of Jesus in Maryland in 1806 was not a public and canonical restoration (*in foro externo*), but an informal or private one. The public restoration of the Society was effected only by the bull of Pius VII, *Sollicitudo omnium*, August 7, 1814.

³ *Catalogus Missionis Marylandiae*, 1806, "Recollections of Father John McElroy," *WL*, 16-161. These Recollections furnish a first-hand account of some of the circumstances attending the reestablishment of the Society of Jesus in the United States. Among the tests of fitness for the life of the order to which the Jesuit novice is submitted is that of a thirty-day period of intensive spiritual experience and training known as a "retreat." The exercises peculiar to a Jesuit "retreat" are those outlined by St. Ignatius Loyola in his classic manual for proper regulation of one's life, known as the "Book of Exercises."

presence of college students and the uncertainty of means of support, a change of place for the novitiate was found to be necessary. The support of the novices was provided for out of the revenue derived from the farms which the Jesuit mission owned in various parts of Maryland, but the revenue thus derived was quite unreliable and in some years amounted to almost nothing at all. An effort having accordingly been made to secure a more suitable house for the novices, White Marsh, a Jesuit estate in Prince George's County, Maryland, was selected for the purpose.⁴ Pending the preparation of suitable quarters at White Marsh, the novices were sent in 1812 to St Inigoes, Maryland, where they remained but a half year, the War of 1812 making it necessary for them to remove from so exposed a position. The presbytery at Fredericktown, Maryland, was then fitted up as a novitiate, but lack of proper accommodations here, together with the inability of the mission through lack of funds to build promptly at White Marsh, soon brought the novices back to Georgetown. Thence they went in 1815 to White Marsh, only to return to Georgetown at the beginning of 1818. But the following year the noviceship was again at White Marsh, where it remained until 1823. Father John Grassi, the energetic superior of the mission, had sought to solve the problem by the erection in Washington of a spacious building on F Street between Ninth and Tenth, but the building, though designed for a novitiate, was never used for that purpose. Under the name of the Washington Seminary it served first as a school of theology for Jesuit scholastics and later as an academy for boys, the first conducted by Jesuits in the city of Washington.

§ 2. FATHER NERINCKX AND HIS JESUIT RECRUITS

The Maryland Mission in the early decades of the nineteenth century counted among its members a number of Belgians attracted to the New World as a missionary field of extraordinary promise. The credit of securing to the mission the services of these zealous workers belonged under heaven largely to a single clergyman, himself not a Jesuit, but a priest of the diocese of Bardstown in Kentucky.

The name of Father Charles Nerinckx is a distinguished one in the annals of the Catholic Church in the United States. A native of Herffelingen, Province of Brabant, Belgium, where he was born October 2, 1761, being the oldest of a Flemish family of fourteen children, he had a special calling to cultivate the wild and neglected field of the western American missions. The account he gives of the motives which induced him to leave his native Belgium and dedicate himself to a

⁴ *Infra*, note 27

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life of tireless missionary activity overseas is a precious human document, eloquent of the piety and zeal for souls that characterized him through life.

In accordance with the parable of the Gospel, "I first sat down and reckoned the charges that were necessary," counting my resources with the utmost circumspection, and after repeated meditations on the subject, I found the following motives for setting out

- 1 The danger of my own defection from the faith, either by being perverted or by falling into error, if I remained at home, and the almost [*sic*] uselessness of my presence in Belgium in the actual state of affairs
- 2 The not unreasonable hope of promoting the honor of God under the severe menace "Woe to me if I have not preached the Gospel"
- 3 The inclination of the American people toward the Catholic religion and the want of priests
- 4 The urgent opportunity of paying my evangelical debt of ten thousand talents. A dignified sinner in my own land which abounds in advantages, I almost despaired of doing real penance and making due satisfaction. Hence I concluded that I had to undertake unavoidable toils and sorrows
- 5 The favorable advice of competent persons without whose counsel I did not deem it prudent to act.⁵

A missionary inspired by motives such as these and scrupulously following out the course which they dictated could not but exercise a ministry fertile in results. When Father Nerinckx first arrived in Kentucky in 1805, he found that the task of ministering to the Catholic population of the state was being discharged by a single priest, the Reverend Stephen Theodore Badin, first Catholic clergyman ordained in the United States. The sturdy Fleming threw himself at once into the endless round of missionary duties that awaited him, and his stalwart, imposing figure, mounted on his famous mare, Printer, soon became a familiar sight in every Catholic settlement of the state. His robust physical constitution, his steady disregard of danger and privation, his splendid faith, his zeal for souls, his constant practice of voluntary mortification, made him an unusually efficient worker in the vineyard of the Lord. For one achievement in particular his name is destined to endure in the history of the Catholic Church in America. He founded and for many years directed the congregation of nuns which, under the name of the Friends of Mary at the Foot of the Cross, or the Sisters of Loretto, continues to our own day to achieve a notable work in the cause of Catholic education.⁶

⁵ Maes, *The Life of Rev. Charles Nerinckx* (Cincinnati, 1880), pp. 31-32.

⁶ Anna C. Minogue, *Loretto Annals of a Century* (New York, 1912).

But Father Nerinckx was not satisfied to sacrifice his own person only on behalf of the struggling Church of America, he sought to induce others of his countrymen to make a similar oblation. He twice faced the perils of a transatlantic voyage to discharge business connected with his congregation of sisters as also to secure in his native Belgium the men and means urgently needed for his Kentucky missions. While in Belgium on the occasion of his first European trip, he addressed to his friends in August, 1816, a Flemish pamphlet, the publication of which was attended with important results. "Many Fathers of the Society of Jesus, now venerable for their age and their labors on the mission," declared an American prelate, "have assured us that they owed their vocation to the reading of this pamphlet and that this forcible plea in favor of the American mission was the instrument in the hands of Providence to bring them to the shores of the New World"⁷ A paragraph from Nerinckx's pamphlet of 1816 will serve to indicate its character

Catholic Belgium has the enviable reputation, in Rome itself, of being for the last thirty years the vanguard of the Church against all heretical and philosophical innovations of these times St Francis Xavier expressed a decided wish to have Belgians for his East India missions and obtained some of decided merit I am obliged to be satisfied with the want of them I learned with pleasure that during my absence in Rome three of our neighborhood (environs of Ninove) left to join the Jesuits in Georgetown and that the Bishop of New Orleans succeeded in obtaining some in Italy and France, but how little will he notice these few drops in our vast ocean I have done what I could to induce some priests to accompany me and my conscience is at rest May God dispose all things according to his holy will⁸

The appeal of the "Apostle of Kentucky" met with response in many quarters When on May 16, 1817, he embarked for America at the island of Texel near Amsterdam on the brig *Mars*, Captain Hall, he was accompanied by nine or ten young men, some in orders, eight of whom were to enter the Jesuit novitiate at Georgetown Of these recruits, three, James Oliver Van de Velde of Lebbeke near Dendermonde, Peter Joseph Timmermans of Turnhout and Peter De Meyer of Segelsem, were afterwards to labor as Jesuits in Missouri, the first two as priests, the last-named as a coadjutor-brother of the Society of Jesus Some details of this voyage of Father Nerinckx and his companions, typical of the discomforts and dangers of a sea-passage in the early nineteenth century, were afterwards put on record by Mr. Van de Velde

⁷ Maes, *op cit*, p 307

⁸ *Idem*, p 310

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The passage was long, stormy and tedious. Scarcely had they entered the British Channel than a violent storm overtook them, and threatened to bury them in the deep. One of the sailors was precipitated from the mast into the sea and drowned. All was fear and consternation on board. This happened on Pentecost Sunday. For three days the vessel, without sails or rudder, was left to float at random, buffeted by the winds and waves. During another storm she sprang a leak, which it was found impracticable to stop and for more than three weeks all hands had in turn to work at the pumps day and night without intermission. Fortunately the captain had taken about a hundred German and Swiss emigrants as steerage passengers, for without their aid it would have been impossible to save the vessel. When they were nearing the banks of Newfoundland, the *Mars* was chased and finally boarded by a privateer. The captain of this marauding schooner happened to be a Baltimorean by the name of Mooney, and far from manifesting any hostile intentions, seemed glad to have fallen in with one of his own townsmen. As our provisions had become very scarce, Capt. Hall bought several barrels of biscuit and salt beef, some casks of fresh water, besides a quantity of dry fruits and wine, of which the privateer had an abundant supply, having but three days before robbed a Spanish merchant vessel that had left the West Indies for some port in Spain.

Neither the captain nor the mate of the *Mars* were great proficient in navigation. Their calculations were always at variance, in consequence of which, after having passed the Azores, they steered direct toward the tropic and then discovering that they were too far south they veered about and in a few days found themselves on the great bank of Newfoundland. Sailing almost at random the vessel one fine morning was at the point of running ashore on the northern part of Long Island. Finally the Chesapeake Bay was reached on the 26th July, and on the 28th she landed in the harbor of Baltimore.⁹

Father Nerinckx had thus in a spirit of disinterested zeal performed the functions of a recruiting-agent for the Society of Jesus. Passing through Georgetown in 1815 on his way to Europe, he had been asked by the superior of the Maryland Mission to procure subjects for the Jesuit novitiate in America. The eight Belgians who now joined the Society of Jesus at Georgetown in 1817 was Nerinckx's answer to the superior's request. The Kentucky missionary was at all times warmly sympathetic to the Society. In Rome in 1816 he had solicited admission among its members, but the superiors of the order judged that his true vocation lay in other paths. Remaining outside of the Jesuit body, he exerted himself to reinforce its thinned-out ranks. "Forgetful of his own needs and of the sad neglect of the poor diocese of Bardstown," says his biographer in speaking of the Jesuit recruits of 1817, "he

⁹ "Biographical Sketch of the Rt. Rev. Dr. Van de Velde," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, 9 59-60

cheerfully sent those robust laborers where he thought they would do the most good, notwithstanding the fact that he had written so many letters complaining of the dearth of priests in his own missions and the imperious necessity in which he was of securing help."¹⁰

In 1820 Nerinckx made a second trip to Belgium, the results of which were to be of the first importance for the expansion of Jesuit activity in the United States. When he returned in 1821, he had in his party most of the group of young men who two years later were to emigrate from Maryland to the West under the leadership of Father Charles Felix Van Quickenborne and there lay the foundations of the Society of Jesus in the Middle West. The story of the circumstances that united these devoted youths in the prosecution of a common desire and plan requires to be told in some detail.

§ 3 THE BELGIAN RECRUITS OF 1821

In 1820 Father Nerinckx, while on his way to Europe to collect funds for his Kentucky missions, visited Georgetown College in the District of Columbia, where he met the superior of the Maryland Jesuits, Father Anthony Kohlmann, who asked him to endeavor during his journey abroad to obtain recruits for the Society of Jesus in America, as he had done during his visit to Europe a few years before.¹¹ Father Nerinckx had the pleasure of meeting again at Georgetown on this occasion the young Belgian, James Oliver Van de Velde, who had accompanied him to the United States in 1817. On leaving the college he bore with him a letter from Van de Velde addressed to Judocus (Josse) Francis Van Assche of Saint-Amand-lez-Puers in West Flanders, Belgium, then a student in the *petit seminaire* of Mechlin. Van de Velde had been a tutor of young Van Assche, who would gladly have accompanied him to America in 1817 if youth and lack of means had not at the moment stood in the way. But Van Assche by no means relinquished the idea of realizing his purpose to be a missionary in America though he kept the matter strictly to himself.

¹⁰ Maes, *op cit*, p. 342.

¹¹ The account which follows is based for the most part on a manuscript narrative in the Missouri Province Archives and on Chap. XXVI of Maes's *Nerinckx*. The narrative, from the pen of Father Peter De Smet, S. J., appears to be largely an English rendering, with added details, of a Latin account of the origins of the Missouri Province (*Historia Missionis Missourianae*) written by Father Peter Verhaegen, S. J. (A). The account in Maes's *Nerinckx* was contributed to that work by Father Walter Hill, S. J., who derived his information at first-hand from Father Judocus Van Assche, an active participant in the events described. Additional details concerning the mobilization of Nerinckx's Jesuit recruits of 1821 are in Lavelle, *The Life of Father Peter De Smet* (New York, 1915), Chap. I.

stances As it was, he gave them a generous contribution in money, besides furnishing them with letters of introduction to rectors of seminaries and other priests in Holland, from whom he assured them they might expect willing and substantial aid Armed with these letters Van Assche and Smedts made a pedestrian journey to Holland, going first to the Seminary of Bois-le-duc, where they were kindly received by the rector, Father Van Gills, who spoke in their behalf to the professors and seminarians besides writing letters commendatory of their design to various priests of his acquaintance Some months later Van Assche and Elet canvassed the same district in Holland, but in spite of the energy they displayed in quest of funds, the amount they collected still fell short of what was required for the expensive transatlantic voyage

The original two, now joined by Smedts of Rotselaer, began to be reenforced by new accessions Peter Verhaegen of Haeght, a young professor in the *petit séminaire* of Mechlin, learning of the projected missionary expedition to America under Father Nerinckx's auspices, resolved to accompany it A little later Felix Livinus Verreydt of Diest, Francis de Maillet of Brussels, Joseph Van Horsigh of Hoogstraeten, all of them students in the *grand séminaire* of Mechlin, and Father Veulemans, also a student in the same institution, were made partners to the enterprise At a still later date, Peter de Smet of Termonde or Dendermonde joined the others, thus completing the personnel of the missionary band Father Louis Donche, a Belgian Jesuit, was to sponsor the expedition and introduce the young men by letter to the superior of the Jesuit mission in America.

At the corner of the rues Saint Jean and Des Vaches in Mechlin was the house, bearing the sign *Het Schip*, of a wealthy tobacco merchant named Ketelaer, a friend of Nerinckx and his confidential agent¹³ Ketelaer had business connections in Antwerp and Amsterdam and was thus kept informed regarding the ship in which Nerinckx intended to return to America He also became the custodian of the money which Van Assche and his companions had gathered together and in his house they stored the baggage they were to take About the middle of July word came from Ketelaer that the ship on which Father Nerinckx was to take passage would sail from Amsterdam in August At this news the aspiring missionaries left Mechlin behind them and set out at once in carriages in the direction of Antwerp They travelled in different parties, one group being made up of Van Assche, Smedts, Elet and De Smet A priest of Antwerp, Jean Baptiste Beulens, previously advised of their approach, furnished them with certain articles needed for the voyage, thus saving them the necessity of personally entering

¹³ Laveille, *op cit*, p 16

that city As it was especially necessary for the travellers to elude the vigilance of the police, who might upset all their plans by taking them into custody on pretext that they were evading military service, they made every effort on entering a town to conceal their identity Not being provided with passports, which all occupants of public conveyances were required to present on entering a city, they alighted from the carriage in which they rode just before it reached the city gates, and swinging their sticks unconcernedly mingled with the people entering on foot. Finally, on July 26, they found themselves safe together in the appointed rendezvous in Amsterdam Here, certain Catholic families, particularly four, by name Roothaan, Van Has, Van Damme and Koedijk, added to the funds which the missionary party had industriously gathered towards financing the journey overseas

Meanwhile, the parents of the young men came to hear of their startling design. Peter De Smet had borrowed money from a friend, who promptly reported the circumstance to the elder De Smet, adding the purpose for which it was to be used. The latter, greatly shocked by the news, at once sent his eldest surviving son, Charles, to Amsterdam with instructions to prevail upon Peter to give over what appeared to be an ill-considered and Quixotic adventure and return to his family Charles, on arriving at Amsterdam, at once sought the police to solicit information at their hands regarding his brother's lodging-place. But this information it was not in their power to furnish, the last thing the young men had in mind to do was to report their presence in the city to the authorities. Charles now began to traverse anxiously the streets of the city in the hope of a chance meeting with his brother. Curious to relate, the haphazard search proved successful As Charles was crossing a bridge one day he suddenly came face to face with his brother, Peter. The latter invited Charles to his lodgings and listened quietly to the message he brought with him from his father. Then taking up his own defense, he pointed out to Charles the futility of the reasons that had been alleged to make him change his resolution So well did he succeed in this that the brother came around completely to Peter's point of view and, instead of opposing his design any further, made him a gift in money for the contemplated journey¹⁴

¹⁴ *Idem*, p. 19 The young men, some of them at least, left Belgium without taking formal leave of their families Laveille (p. 15) comments thus "It must be borne in mind, however, that they were driven by cogent reasons, a fact indicated by the words of Peter De Smet in a subsequent letter 'To have asked the consent of our parents would have been to court a certain and absolute refusal' (From a letter of Father De Smet written towards the end of his life). Thus, rather than jeopardize a well-defined vocation it appeared advisable to limit the leave-taking to farewell letters written before sailing Whatever attitude this course of action would seem to indicate, it is beyond doubt that all of the young

The position of the party in Amsterdam soon became an uncomfortable one, there was every reason to fear that their presence in the city would shortly reach the ears of the authorities. Consequently, after observing St Ignatius day, July 31, with the Jesuit fathers at their residence in Krijtberg, they had themselves conveyed in a small boat to the island of Texel, situated a few miles off the north coast of Holland. The ordinary conveniences of travel were lacking in the poor little craft and as a result the hours spent in crossing the Zuyder Zee to Texel were not without distress. A stop was made for a brief spell at the island of Wieringen, where the travellers visited a Catholic church, leaving an alms with the pastor for Masses to be said that the voyage before them might be safe and prosperous.

Arriving at Texel, they found that arrangements had been made through Mr Ketelaer and other friends to lodge them with a Catholic family. Meanwhile, Father Nerinckx himself had arrived incognito on the island, accompanied by Charles Gilbert, a Londoner, and James Vanrysselberghe, a Belgian, both of whom planned to become lay-brothers in a religious congregation in Kentucky. He put up at a house other than the one occupied by the young men of the party, with whom, to avoid publicity of any kind being given to their departure for America, he declined to have any communication as long as they remained on the island. Mr Verhaegen, however, on ascertaining where the missionary was housed, paid him a visit of courtesy. Though well meant, this proceeding elicited a reprimand from Nerinckx, who informed Verhaegen that he and companions by going about the island too freely and talking aloud in an unguarded manner about their affairs, were exposing the enterprise in hand to failure.

On August 15, while returning from services at one of the churches, the group were informed by a pilot whom they met on the way that the *Columbia*, on which they were to take passage for America, was nearing the island. They hastened at once to their lodging-place to pick up their bundles and parcels and were soon occupying seats in the pilot-boat that conveyed them across the shoal-water to the *Columbia*. On entering the pilot-boat they learned that Father Nerinckx had already boarded the vessel and was concealed at its end. Presently, after the *Columbia* was under way, Nerinckx emerged from his hiding-place. Not until then, so it seems, had any of the young men, with the

men were fully aware of the great sacrifice that was being imposed on their parents. That Peter De Smet had a poignant realization of this we know from his relatives, who tell us that to the end of his days the memory of his departure remained like an open wound. But, on the other hand, we are told that he was never beset by any misgivings, because he always felt that he had obeyed an imperative call of duty."

exception of Van Assche and Verhaegen, ever seen the missionary, so careful had he been while in Belgium to avoid all publicity and transact his affairs through intermediaries. Through the agency of Messrs Roothaan, Van Has and Schoop of Amsterdam berths for the travellers had already been secured on the *Columbia*. Moreover, an understanding had been come to with the captain as to the manner of taking them on board. The *Columbia* was to put out slowly to sea under full sail and when she had made some distance, the pilot-boat, with Nerinckx's party on board, was to come up to her. The arrangement was carried out successfully and on Assumption Day, August 15, 1821, all the members of the missionary party found themselves safe on the deck of the vessel that was to carry them to the shores of the New World. It was a source of lively satisfaction to these eager souls that their pious venture was launched under the auspices of the Virgin Mother.¹⁵

After a pleasant voyage of forty days the immigrants landed at Philadelphia on Sunday afternoon, September 23. The Negroes idling around the wharf proved a novel sight to them, they had never seen people of color in their native Belgium. Father Nerinckx remained some time in Philadelphia, while the Belgian youths, after spending Sunday night on board the *Columbia*, took another boat the next day for Baltimore, which they reached on the same day. Here they were presented to Archbishop Maréchal, who invited them all to remain in Baltimore, an invitation which was accepted by Father Veulemans and Mr Van Horsigh. The remaining seven, Messrs Van Assche, Elet, De Smet, Verreydt, Verhaegen, Smedts and De Maillet were bent on joining Mr Van de Velde at Georgetown College, according to the plan conceived from the very first by Van Assche, who, on receipt of Van de Velde's letter, had taken the step which started the entire movement. Moreover, Father Nerinckx in the course of the voyage had frequently advised them to become Jesuits as the surest means of realizing their ambition to become missionaries in America. They accordingly pro-

¹⁵ The following excerpt under the caption, "1821 Short Sketch of our Itinerary," is from De Smet's ms narrative referred to in note 11: "23 of July we left Belgium for Holland. On the 26th we reached Amsterdam, via Breda, Bergen, op Zoom, Gorcum, Utrecht. We proceeded, in a small sailing ship, on the 31st of August, to the island Texel, and visited on the island Wieringen. On the 15th of August we passed the Helde in a fish-boat and, late at night, went on board the *Columbia*."

We came in sight of the Ferro Islands, belonging to Great Britain. From the North Sea we entered the Atlantic Ocean, (First Trip) crossed the New Foundland Banks. Entered the Mouth of the Delaware river and landed in Philadelphia, forty days after our departure from Texel. We proceeded to Baltimore by steamer—to Washington and Georgetown by stage, and hence to the Novitiate at White-March [Marsh] in Prince George's County, Maryland. Distance 4520 miles."

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ceeded in carriages from Baltimore to Georgetown College, where on October 5, 1821, they were admitted into the Society of Jesus by Father Anthony Kohlmann, superior of the Maryland Mission, who had pleaded with Nerinckx in 1820 to obtain recruits for him in Belgium

In the economic distress that prevailed at the moment in the Maryland Mission the admission of the newcomers required courage. It was in fact carried out against the advice of many of the Georgetown Jesuits, who saw in the arrival of the new recruits only a fresh financial problem added to the others which the mission was vainly trying to solve. On the very day the candidates were accepted for the Society, Father Kohlmann hastened to communicate the good news to the Father General

Rev. Father Donché, a Belgian, has sent us seven missionaries from Mechlin who reached here yesterday. Today, after undergoing examination, they went to the novitiate. They are physically robust and with the best dispositions of mind. All have finished syntax and know Latin sufficiently well, most of them have also studied Poetry, Rhetoric and Logic for some years, while others again have applied to Theology for one or more years. All with the help of God will become useful workers. I am hoping that our truly good Master will supply proper means of support for so many recruits.¹⁶

The evening of the same day on which they left Georgetown behind them saw the candidates arrive at the Jesuit novitiate at White Marsh, Maryland. Here on the morrow, October 6, 1821, they formally began the period of their probation. They found discharging the duties of superior and master of novices in White Marsh a fellow Belgian, Father Charles Felix Van Quickenborne, who had come to America a few years before. By him and his socius or assistant, Father Peter Timmermans, one of Father Nerinckx's earlier party of Jesuit accessions, they were welcomed eagerly, and with something of ceremony, in the novices' assembly room. For two days there was holiday in token of an event which seemed to promise so much for the future of the mission. A month was spent by the candidates in the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius, after which they entered on the ordinary routine of noviceship life.

§ 4 FATHER CHARLES FELIX VAN QUICKENBORNE

The town of Peteghem near Deinze in the diocese of Ghent saw the birth on January 21, 1788, of Charles Felix Van Quickenborne. He

¹⁶ Kohlmann ad Fortis, October 5, 1821 (AA) [Fr. A. Kohlmann] "A gentleman and a scholar of high repute, the most affable Father I ever met. He received us with the most paternal affection. Every one of us, the one after the other, was called to his room." F. L. Verreydt, S. J., *Memoirs* (A)

studied first the classics and then theology in the Seminary of Ghent and after his ordination to the priesthood was assigned to the *petit séminaire* of Rottanen to teach the "humanities"¹⁷ Here he remained four years until, on the suppression of the smaller seminaries by Napoleon, the institution closed its doors He then returned to the Seminary of Ghent, resumed for a while the study of theology, and was later appointed vicar of the Walloon or French-speaking parish in Ghent. Meanwhile, Father Henry Fonteyne, the chief agent in the restoration of the Society of Jesus in Belgium, had opened a novitiate at the chateau of Rumbekke near Roulers On July 15, 1814, twelve priests and seminarians, most of them former students of Roulers or the Seminary of Ghent, met at the chateau to inaugurate the first Belgian novitiate of the restored Society They were joined on April 14, 1815, by Father Van Quickenborne, who had resigned his parochial charge to follow what he felt to be a special call to the foreign missions At Rumbekke and later at Distellberge near Ghent, whither the persecuting policy of the Dutch government had driven the Jesuits, he spent the two years of his noviceship At Roulers the Society opened a college in which Father Van Quickenborne was employed for a while as an instructor, having among his pupils Ferdinand Hélias D'Huddeghem, with whom he was to be associated again in later years in Missouri¹⁸ But the foreign missions were still uppermost in his thoughts and so he petitioned the Jesuit General, Thaddeus Brzozowski, for permission to affiliate himself to the Mission of North America that he might preach the Gospel to the abandoned Indians He had his wish, sailing from Amsterdam and arriving at Georgetown College towards the end of 1817. Van Quickenborne was at this time but twenty-nine A letter written to a Jesuit friend in the Netherlands shortly after his arrival at Georgetown throws an interesting light on the hopes and ambitions which then engaged him A few extracts follow

Nothing would have pleased me more on my arrival than to have been able to address a letter to your Reverence and thus afford what I knew would be a gratification to you and to our friends But during my stay in Baltimore no opportunity offered, and after resting a few days at Georgetown, during which I followed the Spiritual Exercises, the duty of writing, much against my will, was again unavoidably delayed I earnestly beg Your Reverence not to take it ill that you have had to wait so long, and I trust that the good news I am fortunate enough to send will make amends for my tardiness

In Helder I lodged in a Catholic inn at the sign of the "Sea-Castle,"

¹⁷ Ms sketch of Father Van Quickenborne (A) The account in Peter De Smet, S J, *Western Missions and Missionaries* (New York, 1863), is brief, but the best available in print

¹⁸ Lebrocquy, *Vie du R P Hélias D'Huddeghem* (Ghent, 1878), pp 32, 160

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and I was received most courteously by the Rev pastor of the place in whose church I twice offered Mass On the 25th of October, 1817, a feast of the Blessed Virgin, we set sail under her protection We first sighted America on Dec 15, the octave of her Conception On the 18th, the feast of the Expectation of the Delivery of the same Virgin Mother of God, we safely arrived at Baltimore, and on the 20th, also sacred to our most holy Patroness, we were warmly welcomed at Georgetown

Great indeed is my debt of gratitude to God for the successful voyage with which he favored me Shortly after I embarked, it is true, the sea exacted its tribute, but this indisposition was succeeded by excellent health which still remains My fellow-passengers were unexceptionable, nor was I constrained to see or hear anything unwelcome save the blasphemies of the sailors and those but seldom What is more, I so won upon the Captain, who mingled with us on shipboard as one of ourselves, that he was always at our service In Baltimore he brought me to a Dutch acquaintance of his and a warm friend of the clergy Scarcely had I entered his house, when the pastor of the neighborhood came in No sooner did he learn that I was a Jesuit than he took me by carriage to the Archbishop's house, where I found some of Ours So God's care of me was the greater the more destitute I seemed to be

The name of my present abode then is Georgetown The Society has here a college for Ours, with fourteen scholastics in the first year of philosophy, and a boarding-school for studious youths, with about one hundred boarders Georgetown is a small city, distant only half a league from Washington, the capital of the United States A more beautiful site could not have been chosen The novitiate is at present in the same house, but it is to be removed shortly to Washington, where a suitable building has been erected

I found here seven of the nine companions of Rev Father Nerinckx One of their number, Mr Van de Velde, is a young man of great promise Rejoicing in their vocation, they all pursue the exercises of the novitiate most fervently to the edification of their brethren The number of novices, reckoning also the coadjutor brothers, has risen to twenty-five, only two are priests It is my privilege to live with these dear brothers of mine, and as I move among them I fancy that I am in the company of Aloysius, Stanislaus and Berchmans in our houses at Rome For I am in the midst of religious brethren, whose rare modesty is a strong incentive to piety And so great is the fervor of their devotion, so unfailing their exactness in the observance of rules, so prompt the charity with which they forestall one another, that one should deem the blessing of such companionship a marked favor from God Your Reverence readily understands with what joy my soul is filled at sight of this religious spirit And my satisfaction was none the less thorough to note the fatherly anxiety of Superiors in securing a faithful compliance with religious discipline according to the Institute, and in furnishing the spiritual helps peculiar to the Society in behalf of their subjects who are engaged in missionary labor away from home This assuredly is not the least of the blessings found in the Society

A circumstance with which I should acquaint Your Reverence, and which should rejoice every zealous heart, is the favorable attitude of non-

Catholics towards conversion and the excellent disposition of infidels for receiving the faith. Consequently we may look to gathering fruit in plenty. For the harvest is abundant and ripe to fullness. And so the favored spot which is blessed with a devoted laborer is the scene of many conversions. Twelve years ago in Washington, instead of the present church was a large room merely, and there were but twelve of the Catholic communion. Now quite a handsome church has been built and the communicants number about three hundred. There were hardly any Catholics in Georgetown twenty years ago. Now there is a church, erected by Ours, which is nearly as large as the one at Kulenburg, and too small for the number of the faithful. There is absolutely no opposition from the Government. One may preach unmolested as often as he pleases. Neither is there any conflict with the secular priests. In them and in the Bishops we find only friends.

But this is not the only region where abundant fruit could be gathered, were there but priests. There lie open those vast tracts where dwell the Indians or 'savages', as we call them—fields once made fertile by the blood of many of our Fathers, but now ripe unto the harvest.

The Indians of other provinces are no less desirous. Last Sunday we were visited here by a venerable old man with whom I had a long talk in French. He had lived with our Fathers on the missions among the savages and was now transacting some private business with the Government. For fifty years he lived with the Illinois, the Iroquois, the Hurons, and others, among whom our Fathers Lallamant, Jogues and others were slain. When the missions had ceased upon the death of our Fathers, he himself used to baptize the children of the Indians and collect them into his house on Sundays for instruction. "It was a pleasure," he said, "to hear with what affection they used to speak of their Fathers." However, his business concerns forced him to leave them and they were deprived of all help. Not long since he journeyed through their country and visited them. They brought him to an island and showed him there on a rock some blood which could not be washed away. It was the blood of a Father whose name I have forgotten, but who was killed by the Indians in the last days of the old Society. The murderers, they told him, had all met with a wretched and unhappy death. They were very anxious to have the Fathers with them. The English Governor (for some, though not all, live in parts subject to the English) sent them Protestant ministers. They were asked whether they had wives, and when they replied that they had, the Indians said "Our black gowns who were with us before had no wives." They sent word, therefore, to the Governor that they would like to have the holy Jesuit priests.

Oh, when will that long desired time come when those many souls, ransomed by the precious blood, shall receive their liberty? It would be a work of zeal earnestly to beg their angel guardians not to cease praying to God that many priests may soon come to set them free from their unhappy slavery and lead them to heaven.

A no less favorable opportunity lies before us in the cities of building colleges where crowds of youth may throng to receive instruction in knowledge and at the same time in the Catholic faith. From these youths, some

hereafter may be raised to the priesthood to be pillars of the churches already founded and the future apostles to the lands of unbelievers If you happen to have any youths with vocations, they could be of the greatest service here and will be gladly welcomed They should have all the qualities demanded by the Institute for admission into the Society Those who wish to become priests should have finished their classics and be proficient in Latin If they would be temporal coadjutors, besides indifference, a certain amount of prudence is required and talent sufficient to learn English Let them not be old or weak in health

If anyone should wish to make donations to help on our religion here, it would be above all for the greater glory of God that the money should be spent in the purchase of albs, of everything needed by priests, or of bells

As I never forget you in my prayers, poor though they be, or in my Masses, I beg that you also, Reverend Father, will be good enough to remember in your holy prayers and sacrifices to God, one now far from you, upon whom, when he was with you, you lavished a wealth of kindness and affection For thus with the help of your many prayers, I am confident that I shall be kept from danger and so powerfully strengthened that I shall come to that place where there will no longer be any fear of offending God, and where we shall have it likewise in our power to praise our Creator for ages upon ages ¹⁹

Though a Jesuit barely four years, Van Quickenborne was named master of novices towards the close of 1818. Father Kohlmann suggested the appointment, which was made by the Visitor of the Maryland Mission, Peter Kenney Van Quickenborne filled this position in the last days of the novitiate at Georgetown and accompanied the novices on their removal to White Marsh, where they were installed on November 13, 1819. Here, besides discharging the duties of superior of the house and novice-master, he found time, despite uncertain health, for a wide range of ministerial work A handsome stone church built on the White Marsh plantation was one of the many fruits of his energy and zeal Every other week he rode on horseback to Annapolis, fifteen miles away, there to celebrate Mass and administer the sacraments to the slender congregation No inclemency of the weather ever held him back, so one of his novices wrote in later years, though he sometimes left the house in so weak a condition that he could scarcely keep his seat in the saddle and seemed to be on the verge of a collapse as he rode along But it was noticed that he usually returned greatly improved so that people were often heard to say, "Father Van Quickenborne is going on a trip to spite the fever" With funds diligently collected on all sides he was enabled to build a church at Annapolis, something no one before him had ventured to take in hand.

¹⁹ Tr in *WL*, 30 83, from Latin original

It was a practice of Father Van Quickenborne to visit the houses of the non-Catholic neighbors of the novitiate with a view to interest them in matters of religion. He was also a frequent visitor in the cabins of the Negro slaves and his ministry everywhere bore fruit. "We cannot state with accuracy," wrote one of his White Marsh novices, "the number of souls whom he won back from heresy with the assistance of his Father Socius, Timmermans, but some idea of their number may be gathered from the fact that he ordered a feast to be spread for the novices, who were constantly praying for conversions, as often as the number reached a hundred, a result that was achieved at least once a year." Between the dates December 14, 1819, and April 6, 1823, Fathers Van Quickenborne and Timmermanns administered four hundred and eighty-five baptisms in and around White Marsh ²⁰

Successful though he was in the field of the ministry, Father Van Quickenborne's inexperience as a Jesuit handicapped him in many ways as master of novices. Perhaps to be appointed such after only four years of Jesuit life was a tribute rather to the hopes entertained of him than to his actual qualifications for the office. In the spring of 1820 the Visitor, Father Kenney, gave this account of him to the Father General "He is pious and not unacquainted with our Institute, still, having been admitted to the Society but recently, he scarcely commands authority, a thing necessary for his office. He is of too vehement a temper and with little experience in governing others. He is an excellent religious, withal, and with time will become a spiritual father of great repute" Meantime, amid his varied activities at White Marsh Van Quickenborne had never relinquished the hope of being sent to the Indians. He appealed to the General in December, 1821 "I use this occasion to beg of your Very Reverend Paternity that if you intend to send men to our Indians, you deign to make me one of the number. So would you satisfy the desire which has been aglow in my heart almost from boyhood and which I pray God daily may find its fulfillment" The answer returned by Father Fortis struck a note of prophecy, borne out by subsequent events, as to the future that awaited the Belgian novices at White Marsh "Meantime let your Reverence look upon your present station as your Indies and those lads of yours as little Indians, who are to be educated, not to a life of mere civilization and human culture, but to a life of holiness and perfection (a thing of greater moment by far) and to the spreading of God's glory and the empire of Jesus Christ For so educated, these lads, whom I bless from afar with every

²⁰ *Historia Missionis Missourianae* (A) White Marsh Records (G) "Conversions are pretty frequent Since last July 65 have been received into the Church and more than 100 are being prepared now" Van Quickenborne ad Fortis, December 4, 1821 (AA)

blessing, will become, so I hope, educators in their turn to numbers of Indians, while the fruit they gather in will be laid up to the merit of your Reverence”²¹

§ 5 THE WHITE MARSH NOVITIATE

The hopes of the Maryland Mission for future development lay in the little novitiate at White Marsh. But the course of that institution was running anything but smoothly. Apart from the financial difficulties that were soon to disrupt it, the problem of recruiting was in no way of being solved. Candidates were indeed entering at intervals, but in many, if not in most cases, not of the type to pursue with success the Jesuit manner of life. On one and the same day, November 12, 1819, five scholastic and three coadjutor-brother novices were admitted, all of whom subsequently withdrew from the Society. At the time of the arrival of the Belgian group of 1821 the novitiate counted six scholastic and four coadjutor-novices. Of the six scholastic novices, all of American birth, only two were to survive the customary two-year period of probation. During the stay of the same Belgian group at White Marsh only a single accession to the novitiate, a coadjutor-novice of Irish birth, is chronicled, while at the time of their departure for the West in 1823 no other scholastic candidates except themselves were on the novitiate roll. Only at a later period was the recruiting of Jesuit novices from the Catholic youth of the United States to meet with success.²²

In December, 1821, Father Anthony Kohlmann, who had admitted the Belgian party to the novitiate, was succeeded as superior of the Maryland Mission by Father Charles Neale, called upon despite his advanced years and feeble health to undertake for the third time the duties of that office. In him the Maryland Jesuits found a living link with their predecessors of the eighteenth century, for Father Charles had entered the Society before the blow of the Suppression fell upon it. In the capacity of chaplain he was now making his residence with a community of Carmelite nuns at Portobacco, St. Marys County, Maryland, some thirty-five miles distant from Washington. To Portobacco, accordingly, went Anthony Kohlmann accompanied by Father Francis Dzierozynski, a Polish Jesuit lately arrived in America, to inform Father Neale of his appointment and to deliver to him the letters-patent from the General which Dzierozynski had brought with him from Rome. The latter, who was to become a conspicuous figure in the pioneer history of the restored Mission of Maryland, was sent

²¹ Kenney ad Bnzozowski, March 4, 1820, Van Quickenborne ad Fortis, December 4, 1821, Fortis ad Van Quickenborne, March 8, 1822 (AA)

²² White Marsh Records (G)

by the Father General to America that he might eventually succeed Charles Neale in the office of superior. Already in May, 1822, Dzierzynski was at White Marsh with the Georgetown rector, Enoch Fenwick, as his socius or assistant, making the official visitation of the house under commission from Father Neale, whose failing health incapacitated him for the routine business of his office. A report of this visitation forwarded by Father Dzierzynski to the General, Aloysius Fortis, affords intimate glimpses of Van Quickenborne and his novices.

Rev. Father Van Quickenborne, the Master of Novices, discharges the duties of his office with satisfaction. He is a man of solid virtue, familiar with the Institute and zealous for the spirit of the Society. The novices go to him with confidence in their doubts and temptations and find consolation and strength in doing so. Instructions and conferences he gives regularly, especially on the proper understanding and practical observance of the Rules. He knows the disposition, the conduct and the progress of his subordinates. He instructs the novices how to learn and teach the catechism. He writes to his Superiors at the appointed times. He is not as strong as Belgians are generally said to be. The novices, praise be to God, make satisfactory progress. They love their vocation and the Society, in which they wish to live and die in that particular state and grade which Holy Obedience has in store for them. All the scholastics are endowed with the necessary talents. Healthy and cheerful, they are in love with perfection, mortification and discipline. The recently arrived Belgians, about whom your Paternity already knows, are also a fine set, modest and fitted for apostolic labors. They learn English quickly.

The farm on which they live is very suitable as a place for the novitiate. It has quite a pretty church close to the house, also an ascetery and dormitory not so uncomfortably arranged, a good garden and pleasant walks. They live indeed in poverty as to food and clothing, especially under the circumstances in which all our temporal affairs are now to be found, but they are learning to put up with it willingly.²³

Not many months had elapsed since the arrival of the Belgians when White Marsh found itself tottering under a load of debt with almost no available funds to meet the living expenses of its inmates. "The novices," one of their number recalled in later years, "found themselves deprived of even necessities in food and clothing. Often, when they sat down at table, there was scarcely food enough for half their number. Things came to such a pass that Father Rector was put to the necessity of begging flour and meat from the neighbors while the use of coffee and sugar was entirely given up."

²³ Dzierzynski ad Fortis, May 12, 1822 (B) "Ascetery" is an assembly-hall for the novices.

In September and again in December, 1822, Van Quickenborne acquainted Father Fortis with the situation at White Marsh

Reverend Father Superior thinks that all the novices ought to be sent away, for, as he says, we haven't the means of supporting them. Father Marshall [procurator] says the same. But the execution of the plan is delayed until Reverend Father Superior receives an answer from your Paternity. Meantime, some of them will take their vows. The novices have borne themselves remarkably well in all those privations though sometimes owing to the procurator's carelessness, not his lack of means, they had to go to bed hungry for lack of bread. They have a very great love for the Society and a confidence in their vocation quite out of the common, and all of them are proceeding well in spirit.

When I wrote last there was a good deal of talk here about dismissing all the novices, especially the Belgians, owing to lack of means. The novices all asked money from their parents, Reverend Father Superior having so directed them, but none of them have so far received anything and I fear Reverend Father Superior will again get the idea of dismissing them. The majority are excellent religious, although seven of them are foreigners, they now speak English very well. The novices at present number 8 altogether. All are scholastics of the second year, no one having been admitted this year, and there is scarcely any hope that anyone from our schools will apply for admission the coming year.

On the ground that the Maryland Mission "had more members than it could support," Father Neale had ordered that the novices, on completing the customary two years of probation, were not to be permitted to bind themselves by the usual vows. Owing, however, to entreaties made on their behalf by Van Quickenborne, three of the young men, one a scholastic, the other two coadjutor-brothers, were admitted to the Jesuit vows in 1822.²⁴

For the financial crisis that had thus supervened in the affairs of the Maryland Mission, the native American Jesuits saw an explanation in the alleged unskilful management of the mission's temporalities by Father Anthony Kohlmann during the four years that he held the office of superior. Moreover, Father Van Quickenborne appears to have been held accountable in large measure for the critical state of the temporal concerns of White Marsh. The mission debts, so Father Francis Neale explained to the General, "were incurred by members of the Society not accustomed to the country," who inconsiderately made large purchases of supplies on credit.²⁵ On the other hand, incompetency was

²⁴ Van Quickenborne ad Fortis, September 4, 1822, December 12, 1822. (AA)

²⁵ Francis Neale to Fortis, March, 1824. (G) "Much of our debt is ascribable to them [the Belgian novices]. The present Superior, Father Charles, is out of all patience at it—and indeed he has reason to be so, for why should we be so liberal

alleged in the case of Father Adam Marshall, procurator of the mission, and of some of the coadjutor-brothers associated with him in the management of the Jesuit properties. It is difficult to determine with anything like precision the actual cause or causes of the economic crisis that was now besetting the Maryland Mission, if indeed it be worth while trying to settle the point at all.

Letters written at this period by Father Neale to Father Marshall afford intimate details of the situation that had developed at White Marsh. The superior gave orders to Van Quickenborne to leave the management of the farm entirely in the hands of Father Marshall and Brother Marshall, "and he being a good religious man," so the superior comments, "will no doubt comply with them."

[June 4, 1822]. I have written to Rev. Van Quickenborne for the novices to use their own clothes, that the Regulations of Father Kenney in our distressed circumstances cannot be followed for the present, that you must judge of the necessities and provide as well as your means will permit you.

I have desired him to dismiss the printer and Mr. Smith and that will mean two less to feed. . . . As for taking any more lay-brothers it is out of the question unless they be very extraordinary members able to make their living and something more for ourselves.

[June 11, 1822] I shall write to Rev. Van Quickenborne and forbid him to meddle with the plantation affairs, that you have the sole management and care of providing them with necessaries, that the novices must wear their own clothes and that they must apply the money they receive for Masses towards their own support. You must visit them often and see what they really want and not be too hard on them. As to sending every week to Annapolis for fresh fish, it cannot be allowed. Let salt cod be procured from Baltimore, which with herrings and pudding and what fish they can catch with hook and line, which will be an amusement for his novices, will be a sufficiency for fasting days.

[July 8, 1822] I am as adverse to the banks as you are. Never apply to them or let anyone under your control do it without the greatest necessity, such as the want of bread which cannot be procured otherwise. Altho' on account of the former extravagances[?] W[hite] M[arsh] deserves nothing in reality, still I would have them supplied with a few quintals of codfish for fasting days.

[July 22, 1822] Do not be down-hearted. If all the debts cannot be paid this year, they may next or the year after. As for dismissing the novices, [it] is a point requiring much consideration.

[July 30, 1822] I understand the scholastics at Georgetown are in want of clothes. Furnish them therefore and get them made and retain the

in receiving foreigners among us when we want the necessities of life even for our own native members—when we are adding daily to our debts and when there is scarcely a possibility now left of ever being able to extricate ourselves from them." Benedict Fenwick to George Fenwick, January 14, 1823 (B)

amount from what you intended to pay the College No handle should ever be given to our young men for want of necessities, it exposes them to loss of vocation

[September 4, 1822] They must have some meat at the White Marsh, absolutely must Let some tobacco be sold for that purpose Have they no live stock on the place? ²⁶

Meantime, as the specter of want hovered over the White Marsh novitiate, the property on which it stood had become an object of controversy between the Maryland Jesuits and Archbishop Maréchal of Baltimore That prelate had taken the position that a considerable portion of the Jesuit property in Maryland had been given, by legacy or gift, not to the Society of Jesus in its individual capacity, but to the Catholic Church in Maryland Basing his contention on this and other grounds, he accordingly preferred a claim before the Roman authorities for the White Marsh plantation, having selected this property because it was easy to reach from Baltimore "If I have desired," the prelate wrote, "that the White Marsh plantation be conveyed to the see of Baltimore, it is not because the land at White Marsh is of greater fertility and value, but because it is only ten leagues distant from Baltimore, while Bohemia, St Ingoes, etc., are situated near the limits of Maryland, that is, so far away that the Archbishop of Baltimore can make a visitation of these parts scarcely once a year This the Sacred Congregation can see for itself by casting a glance at the map of Maryland" ²⁷ The

²⁶ Charles Neale to Marshall, June 4, 1822, etc (B)

²⁷ Thomas A Hughes, S J, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Colonial and Federal*, Documents, 1 550 White Marsh was acquired by the Maryland Jesuits in 1729 as a legacy from James Carroll, kinsman of Charles Carroll of Carrollton The following description of the place is by Father Fidele de Grivel, S J, master of novices at White Marsh in the early thirties "White Marsh, formerly called Carroll's Burgh (Carrollsbury), is situated on a hill about one-hundred feet high, on the top is a fine church of stone, 95 by 36 feet Besides the church, there are frame buildings for twenty Novices and two Missioners, with two spare rooms for guests, kitchen, refectory, stable, an orchard, a garden, nothing else The top of the hill which is conveniently planted with trees, may be five hundred feet long and four hundred wide—almost round Eastward, at the foot of the hill, is a plain, from west to east, half a mile broad and a mile and a half long, with meadows, fields of tobacco, some wheat, a little more rye, plenty of Indian corn The soil is too sandy, fit only for tobacco, corn and vineyards, but of the last we have as yet none By and by we will plant them and the vines will succeed Half a mile from the hill, eastward and over the plain runs the Patuxent, from north to south, with a good wooden bridge called Priest's Bridge, it is on the road to Baltimore and Annapolis White Marsh is fourteen miles from the latter town, thirty-three from the former, twenty-two from Washington westward, twenty-five from Georgetown, seventeen southwest from Upper Marlborough and eight from Queen Ann southward It has about four thousand acres, of which one thousand is a very poor sandy soil" *WL*, 10 248

suit was referred by Pius VII to a commission consisting of Cardinals Castiglione, Fesch, and Della Genga, who reported in favor of the Archbishop. A brief was thereupon issued by his Holiness under date of July 22, 1822, requiring the Jesuits to render up White Marsh, or as much thereof as did not exceed two thousand acres, to the Archbishop of Baltimore. The brief having reached America in the fall of 1822, its contents were at once communicated to the Maryland Jesuits. Induced by various considerations that appeared to militate against the validity of the document or at least the immediate necessity of executing it, the Jesuits resolved to follow a course which in good faith they judged to lie open to them and to suspend action in regard to it until an adequate statement of their side of the question could be presented at Rome. The merits of the controversy have been appraised by an official historian of the Society of Jesus.²⁸ Here it suffices to note that the strained relations between Archbishop Maréchal and the Maryland Jesuits which resulted from the controversy and other circumstances were to be reflected in the attitude taken by the prelate towards the project, soon to be mooted, of a Jesuit mission in the trans-Mississippi West.

As to the White Marsh novitiate, struggling painfully with the problem of material upkeep and located on a property thus become a subject of painful litigation, the closing of it, at least temporarily, seemed to offer the only avenue of escape from what was fast becoming an intolerable situation. The measure had been suggested as early at least as Father Dzierozynski's visitation of White Marsh in May, 1822, the opinion being expressed by him on that occasion that the step could scarcely be taken without permission of the Father General. Late in July of the same year the superior, Charles Neale, wrote to Father Marshall "As for dismissing the novices it is a point requiring close consideration." Neale had already informed the General, Fortis, that unless permission were granted to receive tuition-fees from the students attending the Jesuit day-school in Washington, the novitiate would have to close its doors. The letter of the Jesuit rule requires that instruction be given gratuitously, but conditions in the United States, as experience was to demonstrate, made it impossible to put the provision into effect and, with the approval of the Holy See, the acceptance of tuition-fees became the recognized practice in Jesuit schools in this country from the thirties on. In July, 1822, Father Neale explained the situation to Father Dzierozynski.

So far I have received no letter from Reverend Father General. I have written to him twice that we are absolutely in need of a dispensation from

²⁸ Hughes, *op cit*, Doc. 2 1030 and *passim*.

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the Supreme Pontiff for our Washington schools etc , that without such relief the House of Probation will have to be closed and the scholastics sent to his Paternity [?] or else to the fields there to provide themselves food and clothing by their sweat and labor, that this is not a fable begotten of fear but so certain that before receiving his answer I cannot in conscience admit to the vows the novices who have finished their probation, that the situation in non-Catholic countries is quite different from that in Catholic ones, for in the latter, kings, powerful princes and cities make foundations and alms are bestowed, whereas here all foundations have to be built up solely by our efforts and industry ²⁹

Neale's appeal to the General for permission to accept tuition-money was answered in the negative. Five years later the Washington Academy conducted by the Jesuits closed its doors for lack of means to carry on the institution. Meantime, at least as early as the opening months of 1823, the decision had been taken to close the novitiate. "The reason that sufficed to close the novitiate," so Father Fortis, the General, was to write years later to a Maryland superior, "was distress, and well did Father Kohlman realize how acute that distress was when at White Marsh he had nothing else to live on but potatoes and water."³⁰ Following close upon the determination to suspend the novitiate, a new and unexpected turn was given to the entire situation by the appearance on the scene of Bishop Du Bourg.

²⁹ Charles Neale ad Dzierzozynski, July 1, 1822 (B) Cf *infra*, Chap IX, § 5

³⁰ Fortis ad Dzierzozynski, January 23, 1827 (B)