

## CHAPTER XVIII

### TRAINING THE PERSONNEL

#### § I. THE NOVICE-MASTERS

The succession of masters of novices at Florissant down to the period of the Civil War and beyond comprises the names of Fathers Van Quickenborne, De Theux, Verhaegen, Van Assche, De Vos, Nota, Smedts, Gleizal and Isidore Boudreaux. Van Quickenborne was in charge of the novices at White Marsh and later at Florissant, but he received no scholastic-novice after he came to the West and was at no time entered in the mission register as novice-master. De Theux's tenure of office covered the period October 10, 1831, to October 4, 1837, on which day Verhaegen, superior of the mission, replaced him both as rector of the novitiate and master of novices. Of Father Verhaegen's six novices, the first, Francis McBride, was received November 4, 1837, and the last, Father Peter De Smet, a novice for the second time, November 29, 1837. On April 25, 1838, Father Van Assche was installed as novice-master in succession to Verhaegen, his first candidate, John Verdin, being admitted on the same day. Van Assche's term of office lasted a little over a year.<sup>1</sup> He was succeeded June 15, 1839, by Father Peter De Vos, of the province of France, and a member of the first staff of St. Charles College, Grand Coteau, Louisiana.<sup>2</sup> Sixty-six candidates entered the novitiate during his incumbency, which lasted until April 18, 1843, when he gave place to Father Leonard Nota and left Missouri for the Oregon missions. On October 3 of the same year, 1843, Father John B. Smedts, one of the pioneer group of 1823, was installed as rector and master of novices. The occasion was marked by the presence at the novitiate of the recently appointed vice-provincial, Father Van de Velde, who was accompanied by Judge Bryan Mullanphy, afterwards mayor of St. Louis. During Father Smedts's term of office fifty-five candidates were received at Florissant. On July 22, 1849,

<sup>1</sup> Florence Riordan, first scholastic-novice deceased in the Missouri Mission, died October 8, 1838. Born in Ireland, January 1, 1811, entered St. Stanislaus Seminary, Florissant, January 24, 1838. The printed register of the mission has the erroneous entry June 24, 1838.

<sup>2</sup> Peter De Vos, born in Ghent, Belgium, September 27, 1797, entered Society of Jesus December 9, 1825, died at Santa Clara College, Santa Clara, California, April 27, 1859.

at the conclusion of the evening prayers recited in common in Jesuit houses, he announced to his community that a new novice-master would be inducted into office on the following day. This was Father John Gleizal, who held the position until July 3, 1857, when he was succeeded by Father Isidore Boudreaux, who remained master of novices for twenty-three years

Of the earlier novice-masters much has been said elsewhere in this history and there is no need to portray them further. All the days that remained to Father Van Assche after being relieved of the care of the novices he spent in the parochial ministry and this, with one or other brief interruptions, at St. Ferdinand's in Florissant, where he greatly endeared himself to the congregation.<sup>3</sup>

Father Leonard Nota, of the province of Naples, one of the professors supplied by Father Roothaan to Missouri in the early forties, became involved in difficulties with his superiors in the West and spent his latter years in the Maryland Province, in which he labored to excellent purpose as professor of philosophy, dying at Holy Cross College, Worcester, in 1870.<sup>4</sup> Father Smedts was a man of simple, ingenuous character, but he lacked, so it was alleged, the shrewdness one looks for in a trainer of the young. As novice-master he fell short of expectations and in 1849 was given a successor by Father Elet. He spent his remaining days in Cincinnati and St. Louis, in which latter place, while filling the office of spiritual father, he died on February 19, 1855. Father Murphy, writing to the General some time after, commended Father Smedt's "innocence of life" and noted that though a great fear

<sup>3</sup> "A good fisher with the line, but not a good hunter. One always finds him at home when one has need of his ministry, he will go, too, as faithfully by night as by day to administer the sacraments to the sick, but he doesn't seem to know what it is to go in search of his wandering sheep, if such neglect their religious duties. He says that the experience of long years has proved this to be useless with the class of people he has. Perhaps he is right." Coosemans à Beckx, November 28, 1868 (AA)

<sup>4</sup> Father Van de Velde, Nota's superior, said of him that he had a "warm Italian imagination" (Van de Velde to Purcell, September 24, 1847, Catholic Archives of America, Notre Dame University). "Good Father Nota teaches Latin and Greek with great success to such novices of the second year as have given satisfaction. If only he knew English well enough he would be given care of the novices and with great advantage. The American temperament is rather phlegmatic, hence that Italian ardor, which breaks into flame at the slightest provocation, must be moderated. Taught by experience, I always distrust men of lively imagination. I prefer a restrained zeal which slowly but with a sure step consecrates itself to the works of God, for *violenta non durat*." Verhaegen ad Roothaan, September 1, 1842 (AA). Vivier, *Nomina Patrum et Fratrum etc.* (Paris, 1897), p. 272, gives November 13, 1849, as date of a second admission of Nota into the Society.

of death had followed him through life he met his end with edifying composure.

Avignon, the city of the Popes, saw the birth of John Gleizal, who at eighteen entered a Jesuit novitiate in France, but found it necessary to withdraw for reasons of health. He was subsequently a student at the seminary of Viviers, was advanced to the priesthood at an early age, and served for a while at la Louvesc, where rest the remains of the Jesuit saint, John Francis Regis. Here, while meditating one day at the tomb of the saint, he resolved to try again the life of a Jesuit. Father De Smet was at this time about to return to America to re-enter the Society, from which he had himself withdrawn two years before. Father Gleizal with Arnold Damen and another candidate, Adrian Hendrickx, were his companions on the journey, the party arriving at Florissant in the November of 1837. As pastor Father Gleizal gave tokens of enterprising zeal in successive charges in Florissant, Cincinnati, and St. Louis. At the College Church in St. Louis he introduced two important parish organizations, the Archconfraternity of the Immaculate Heart of Mary for the Conversion of Sinners and the Young Ladies Sodality. He was an effective preacher and director of retreats though he was already in the priesthood when he set himself to the task of learning English. In New Orleans in 1848 he attracted widespread attention by his sermons and missions so that an attempt was made to retain his services permanently for that city.<sup>5</sup> For eight years he was master of novices, filling the office with marked satisfaction to all concerned. Like Father Boudreaux after him he was an admirable letter-writer, his communications to the General in the capacity of consultor reflecting vividly the hopes and aspirations as also the difficulties and problems of the struggling group of Jesuits resident in the West. In the summer of 1857 he was obliged by a weakness of the lungs, which developed into consumption, to discontinue his work at Florissant, and he thereupon returned to St. Louis, where he engaged again in pastoral work but only for a brief spell. When informed, three weeks before it came, that the end was not far distant he began to make fervent preparations for death. On six o'clock on the morning of August 6, 1859, he received Holy Communion at his own request and expired immediately after. At the solemn funeral services in the College Church Archbishop Kenrick spoke in high commendation of the virtues of this "holy priest," as he did not hesitate to call him.<sup>6</sup> An appreciation of Father Gleizal by one who had every opportunity to know him will bear reproduction. Requested to

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<sup>5</sup> Father Gleizal had come down from St. Louis for some temporary engagements in New Orleans churches.

<sup>6</sup> *Western Banner* (St. Louis), August 8, 1859.

say whether he had noticed certain traits in the latter, whose minister he was at Florissant, Father Charles Messea replied in these terms

Is it true that Father Gleizal is of fickle temper, singular in certain things and not fond of taking orders?<sup>7</sup>

To this I say that Father Gleizal is very vivacious and eminently French in temper, but he is a prudent man and one of more than ordinary virtue and has such control of his natural disposition as not to allow it to influence any actions of his of consequence unless it be for the better I do not recall all the time I have been minister under him any singularity in his manner of acting Nor do I recall that he did not like to listen to advice while I have sometimes seen him follow the advice of his consultors in preference to his own opinion however opposed it was to theirs Moreover, I always found him affable and patient when I had anything to propose to him I can say of Father Gleizal that he is a man who naturally, and perhaps as a result of his earlier education and studies, inclines to rigorism, and who, although exceedingly exact in his own practice, is gentle, affable and discreet I think I can safely say that the manner in which Father Gleizal has governed this Novitiate from the moment he was chosen to be its Rector and Master of Novices is such as to render him altogether deserving of this Vice-Province <sup>7</sup>

Father Isidore Boudreaux passed from St Louis University, where he was a student, to the novitiate, being the first candidate for the Society to present himself from any of the western Jesuit colleges He was one of a family of nine orphans of St Michel, Louisiana, of whom five were boys. Four of the number, Eustache, Arsene, Isidore and Florentine were sent by friends to St Louis University, Isidore thus owing his education at least in part to Bishop De Neckere of New Orleans. At Florissant Isidore made his noviceship under the stern direction of Father De Theux, but in the methods which he himself followed as master of novices there was little of sternness, but rather the engaging mildness that wins confidence and inspires affection He was at all times what the Society of Jesus would have every member of it become, a man of prayer. One saw him on his knees in the novitiate chapel for one, two, three hours at a time, a radiant smile playing over his spiritualized features as he held prayerful converse with his Master in the Blessed Sacrament To a novice who was about to pronounce his vows he recommended above everything else the practice of union with God Father Coosemans wrote of him thus to the General "Good Father Boudreaux has certainly the grace of his office for he succeeds very well with the novices and juniors, forming their hearts and directing them along the path of perfection."

It is not customary for Jesuit novice-masters to communicate to the Father General individual pen-pictures of their novices. None of Father

<sup>7</sup> Messea à Beckx, August 17, 1854 (AA).

Boudreaux's predecessors in the office had done so, but he, for some years at least, put down on paper for the eyes of his superior in Rome the salient traits, good and less good, as it might be, of each and all of the young men committed to his care. His sketches show insight and he was happy in individualizing his subjects as some instances may serve to indicate.

*Carissimus [Rudolph] Meyer* entered the novitiate July 12, 1858 and is now going on nineteen. He was born in St. Louis of German parents, made his studies at the University and asked to enter after Rhetoric for fear, said he, of becoming proud at college, where he met with success. He was very small for his age when he entered but has grown a good deal since. He is robust and enjoys excellent health. His talents are of superior order. Besides Greek, Latin, English and German, he knows French and a little Spanish. He has an admirable memory and an excellent judgment. I believe he is no poet and will be a little cold as an orator. In his case the intellect seems to get the better of the heart. Although his conduct as regards his companions is irreproachable, he has not the art of winning their affection. He has set himself to acquire perfection. One may scarcely reproach him, so I think, with not having made every effort to profit by his novitiate, which is going to finish the 12th of next month.

*Carissimus [Hugh] Erley*. He is the angel of the novitiate. He was born in America of German Protestant parents, whom he lost while still a child. It was the will of Providence that he be taken for a Catholic child and received into the orphanage as such. He was brought up in the fear of God and in piety. It was only after his first communion that it was learned he had never been baptized, at least as a Catholic. The Superiors of the orphanage sent him to a college kept by the Benedictines, where he received a fairly complete education. Father Provincial made some difficulty about receiving him on account of his frail and delicate constitution, but since he has been here, which is now nearly a year, he has improved a good deal physically. One admires in him a noble heart, an angelic piety and an attraction to the interior life. But he is still a child and the good God seems to have dealt with him up to the present only as such. Trials may make him appear in a less favorable light.

*Eugene Brady*, an American born at Bardstown in Kentucky, 22 years old. He received the degree of A. B. from St. Louis University. He regrets the haste with which he made his studies, having skipped some classes. He has less judgment than liveliness of disposition, which makes him critical. He has much ardor for his spiritual progress, but is inclined to carry things too far. Entered July 26, 1860.

*John Stephens*, born in Ireland, educated in Cincinnati, aged 17. He is our Benjamin. His talents are of a high order. He made his studies at our college of St. Xavier and, though he left them unfinished, he is distinguished for an excellent taste in matters of literature. But he is still more remarkable for the frankness and uprightness of his character. Though of

rare beauty, he has nothing effeminate about him. He appears to neglect nothing to acquire perfection. I place the greatest hopes in him. Entered August 6, 1860.

*Brother Brady*, our miller, bears on his features the imprint of something or other angelical. A fine figure, in which there reigns a modesty and a serenity quite heavenly, that have the effect of a beautiful eulogy on virtue and the religious life. He is very simple. During the Long Retreat I was afraid his weakness of head might not be able to endure the fatigue of the exercises, his mind seemed to stagger a bit, but I think nothing serious is to be feared on this score. What I have said of his beauty of countenance and his modesty can be applied in great measure to Brother Lenz, our cook, but he has more mental stamina than Brother Brady. I am well pleased with all the novice-brothers, they are quite devoted and work with all their strength from morning to night.<sup>8</sup>

Father Beckx wrote on one occasion to Father Boudreaux that on reading his letters the men and things of the province seemed to pass before his mind in vivid procession. The passages cited from the novice-master's correspondence are typical of his graphic manner. Father Boudreaux had the direction of the novices for twenty-three years (1857-1880). At the time of his death he was spiritual father at Marquette College. He was taken ill on a visit to Chicago and died there February 8, 1885.

#### § 2. NOVICESHIP LIFE

From the beginning the exercises of the Florissant novitiate followed the customary routine observed in Jesuit houses of probation. It was a distinct advantage that the masters of novices from the first days of the mission found at hand, carefully drawn up by the skilful hand of Father Peter Kenney, the Visitor, a memorandum covering the substance and many of the details of the day's program in the noviceship. The document bears the caption, "*Distribution of time for the entire year in the Novitiate made by Rev. Father Kenney, Visitor of the Mission in 1832*." The hour of rising was set at 4:30 A. M., that of retiring at 9 P. M. The only time reserved for study appears to have been between the period 10:15 and 11:30 A. M., when the novices were to apply themselves to the composition of catechetical instructions or to learning English or some other language, as the master might appoint. On twelve of the principal feasts of the year High Mass was sung.

The twelve days mentioned are appointed rather by a dispensation in favor of this missionary country than by any prescription of the rules or practices of the Society. This number cannot be increased, as it appears quite

<sup>8</sup> Boudreaux à Beckx, June 21, 1860, April 20, 1861 (AA)

sufficient for the edification of the faithful and the knowledge which our priests ought to have of functions which are not the proper object of our institute. The prescribed number seems even too often for a small number of novices when they are the principal singers. The Rector will not then allow High Mass so often, when it is attended with inconvenience. In fine, there is no custom with which he may not freely dispense, and he should often caution the scholastic novices never to introduce on the missions the practice of singing High Mass every Sunday nor even every holy-day. Such custom, though pious and a cause of edification in the parochial churches of Catholic countries, would bring an intolerable burden on our missionaries, whose lungs and whose time St Ignatius wished to be otherwise employed.<sup>9</sup>

The problem of educating the younger members of the order with a view to their efficiency in the colleges was a perplexing one for the superiors of the mission. Father Roothaan demurred in 1835 to a proposal that some of the novices, after completing the first year of their noviceship, should be attached to the teaching-staff of St. Louis University, but he suggested to Father De Theux, as a compromise, that such of the candidates as gave evidence of solid piety and fervor might be set in the second year of their probation to repeat or continue their studies.<sup>10</sup> Again, in the course of the same year Father Roothaan urged on De Theux the necessity of advancing the scholastics in their studies by the usual stages, so as not to hurry them forward precipitately with a view to utilize them in the functions of the Society. He was certain, indeed, that such was not De Theux's manner of procedure, he merely suggested the means to be employed against "the temptation," as he called it, if such should arise.<sup>11</sup> It was indeed only by slow degrees that the full requirements of the Jesuit Institute in regard to the education of candidates could be realized at Florissant. Father Roothaan was especially insistent that the novices should not be withdrawn to the colleges before the period of their probation was complete. To Father De Theux he wrote in 1836

Now that the number of subjects increases daily, your Reverence's first thought ought to be, not of multiplying houses, for nothing new ought to be set on foot, but of bringing the novitiate up to the requirements of the Institute and of ordering the studies of our young men in accordance with the Ratio. Let them not be withdrawn from the novitiate before the two years are up. Those who give satisfaction in all details may indeed, in the

<sup>9</sup> (E) Custom and in cases episcopal prescription have militated against Father Kenney's directions and there are perhaps few Jesuit parish churches today in the United States in which Sunday High Mass is not the rule. Cf. *supra*, Chap. X, § 2.

<sup>10</sup> Roothaan ad De Theux, (received) July 4, 1835 (A)

<sup>11</sup> Roothaan ad De Theux, October 13, 1835 (A)

second year of their probation, be made to repeat their studies, especially Rhetoric and Grammar, and Theology too, in the case of those who went through a theological course before their entrance into the Society. As far as possible, they are to be put to teach only at the end of their Philosophy and after the usual examinations. Your Reverence ought to be of the conviction that nothing will tend more to strengthen the Missouri Mission than to observe the customary steps in the education of its members. Members of a premature growth are dangerous everywhere, but especially on the missions.<sup>12</sup>

But the General's caution not to withdraw the novices from Florissant before the two-year period of their probation had run its course was not always duly observed. In the eyes of the superiors circumstances now and then appeared to warrant a lapse into the contrary practice, as when in 1836-1837 a group of novices, including Father George Carrell and Messrs Aelen, Van den Eycken and Verheyden, were on the teaching-staff of St. Louis University. The mission register of that year enters them under the caption, "Novices residing at the University." The compiler of the *Annual Letters* for 1840-1849 noted with regret that lack of men had forced superiors thus to interrupt the noviceship of many of the candidates and assign them to the colleges. He called the practice an evil, but a necessary evil withal.

When Father Gleizal took up the duties of novice-master in 1849 he set himself firmly against the practice of calling out the novices for service in the colleges. He brought to Father Elet's attention an ordination of 1842 in which Father Roothaan had renewed his previous injunction against the practice. "No scholastic or brother is to be withdrawn from the Novitiate before the end of the biennium [two years]." "Since 1842," Gleizal declared in a letter to the General, "there has been considerable deviation from the above-mentioned regulation and, knowing things as I know them, I dare say that your wishes in this regard will not be long observed unless your Paternity gives an order *in virtue of holy obedience*. At the very moment I write this letter there is talk at St. Louis College of taking a scholastic novice [Julius Johnston] out of the Novitiate and sending him to the University. Besides, he is an American novice, very pious no doubt, but here [in the novitiate] only one year and a Catholic only 2 or 3 years. For quite a while back the abuse I point out has existed in this Province."<sup>13</sup> In replying to Father Gleizal the General let it be known that he himself had long protested against the same irregularity. The instructions of 1842 were still in force and Gleizal must enter protest when-

<sup>12</sup> Roothaan ad De Theux, June 28, 1836 (A)

<sup>13</sup> Gleizal à Roothaan, September 1, 1849 (AA)



ever they are contravened "We let ourselves be carried away by the desire of meeting somehow or other present needs, which we have ourselves created by inconsiderately accepting new engagements."<sup>14</sup>

Conditions, spiritual and otherwise, at the novitiate in the first decades of its history meet with occasional comment in the *Annual Letters* of the period. The annalist for 1837 observed that the fervor of the novices kept pace with their growing numbers. At the end of 1836 they were only six or seven, a year later their number had risen to twenty. The more numerous they were, the more frequent the opportunities to practice virtue. Catechetical instruction in the Creole cabins of the neighborhood was the novices' golden opportunity to practice zeal for souls. They visited the cabins to give catechism lessons, primarily to the children, but the older folk were sometimes glad to lend an ear to the instruction. The Creoles were not a church-going people. Poor roads, poor clothes, poor weather, not to say frank indifference, combined at times to set up a barrier between them and the parish church. To visit them in their humble quarters was therefore the only way to reach them for the purpose of religious instruction and appeal. Sometimes this outside ministry of the novices assumed more serious proportions as when in 1838 two of their number began to instruct some poor cottagers living in the Missouri bottoms. Their audience grew from Sunday to Sunday until finally a pulpit was improvised for the preacher and benches for the people. The congregation numbered about a hundred souls and many of them, long estranged from religious practices, were recovered for the Church.

But it was not necessary for the novices to leave the immediate precincts of the novitiate to bring the word of God home to Catholics of the neighborhood. They could appeal to them in the novitiate chapel. Here the families of the vicinity were permitted to attend Mass and evening devotions and here they listened to sermons preached by the novices. As a rule, only some six of the more mature candidates were commissioned for this delicate and important duty. Moreover, there was a sermon by a novice every Sunday in the parochial church of the village. In connection with these efforts of the youthful Jesuits at sacred oratory, it is in place to mention the sermonette, known as a *Marianum*, which was delivered in succession by the novices on Saturday evenings in the common refectory. Its theme was invariably some incident of history, public or private, attesting the value of devotion to Our Lady, hence the name. It was first introduced at Florissant in January, 1842, at which period it was delivered in English or French by the novices of the first year and in Latin by those of the second. The French *Ma-*

<sup>14</sup> Roothaan à Gleizal, January 3, 1850 (AA)

*rianum*, as the need for that language in the colleges and parishes became less urgent, was later discontinued<sup>15</sup>

For physical exercise and diversion the novices had their semi-weekly tramps through the woods or along the country lanes of the vicinity. Sometimes these pedestrian trips were extended beyond their customary limits as when Father Smedts would invite the novices to visit him *en masse* at St. Charles, or Father Van Assche would dispense hospitality to them in Portage des Sioux. Father Smedts, when in charge of the novices, once conducted them to the College Farm in North St. Louis, where they visited the adjoining garden of Colonel John O'Fallon and saw, among other objects of interest in that well-known pleasure-spot of the day, now O'Fallon Park, its locally famous peacocks. Portage des Sioux, in St. Charles County, Missouri, site of a Jesuit residence, was but eight miles distant from the novitiate, but to the young men, unfamiliar with the topography of the neighborhood, it seemed romantically remote. An oft-told adventure was the one which the novitiate diarist records under date of January 2, 1840: "The novices, with Brother O'Connor, walked to Portage des Sioux, which they reached at a late hour, after losing their way in the trackless snow. They had to spend the night here, though in the little house there was scarcely room for them to lie on the floor." Sometimes the scene of the misadventure was nearer home as in the incident recorded for February 11, 1840: "*Carissimes* Hoecken, Kindekens and Brother Joseph Specht lost their way in the woods about three o'clock in the afternoon. Having kindled two big fires, they passed the night in the open. Meanwhile Father Rector sent some of the Negroes to find them and had the large bell rung steadily for a while, but all to no purpose. The next day the wanderers came back just before dinner together with the other novices who had been sent out to search for them." A walk attended with no untoward incident was recorded by Father Verhaegen, when he was superior of the mission and master of novices.

I took a walk to the Missouri on the 2nd instant. Father De Smet was our leader, carrying a hammer. The novices were armed with various implements. Axes, spades, shovels, hoes, etc., were made the order of the day. On the loftiest hill of the renowned Charboniere (I do not recollect whether you saw it) there is an Indian mound and this mound we undertook to explore. We dug a hole in its centre and found human bones, but no Indian curiosities. We will try the mound again. Our walk, however, was not unprofitable. We discovered a large rattle-snake near one of the crevices of the rocks that form the bank of the river. It was alive but benumbed and unable to move. This fellow we secured and carried home in a handkerchief. When

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<sup>15</sup> *Historia Domus Probationis S. Stanislawi* (E)

in a large bottle he was still motionless, but when a shower of whiskey began to fall on his back, he stirred and played a tune for us with his nine rattles <sup>16</sup>

The cassock or religious garb was worn by the novices only while on the novitiate premises, on their walks and excursions they doffed it for a secular dress. In the first years of the mission, as has been recorded, the cassock was worn on the streets of St. Louis and in public generally until Father Kenney, the Visitor, abolished the custom in 1832. Father Van Quickenborne, a few weeks after his arrival at Florissant, wrote to the superior in Maryland that the novices went about in their Jesuit garb much to the edification of all. But this garb was not always in the best of condition, as the scholastic Van Assche wrote back to Belgium:

With regard to dress, we wear a habit of the pattern you must have seen in pictures of St. Louis de Gonzaga. We have two habits, one for winter and one for summer. When new, they look black, by the time they are ready for repairs, they have taken on two or three different colors. They are patched over and over again, but we go about just as if they were new, with our beads hanging from a cincture of two or three pieces tied together by knots. Our hat is all you could desire for summer, being full of holes which let in the fresh air, but in winter we have to put a handkerchief in it to keep the rain from pouring down on our heads <sup>17</sup>

Jesuits from St. Louis and friends of the Society, clerical or lay, were often welcomed at the novitiate gates. There is a note from Bishop Du Bourg to Father Van Quickenborne to the effect that Judge Lawless of St. Louis and his wife had expressed a desire to visit the novitiate and that it would be well to receive them with all due hospitality <sup>18</sup>. Bishop Rosati was a frequent and welcome guest. On May 26, 1839, he administered confirmation in the Florissant church and then proceeded to the novitiate where he addressed its community in the domestic chapel. In December, 1843, Bishop Kenrick came to make a retreat. He celebrated the community Mass on December 8, feast of the Immaculate Conception, and preached thereat on the great religious dogma commemorated by the Church on that day. A program of compositions in prose and verse was arranged by the novices in honor of the distinguished guest, who, during his stay at the novitiate, so the diarist is at pains to note, conducted himself in all things as one of the community. The intern students of St. Louis University were sometimes taken on a brief visit to Florissant, but Father Roothaan disapproved of

<sup>16</sup> Verhaegen to McSherry, January 4, 1838 (B)

<sup>17</sup> Van Assche à De Nef, Florissant, September 1, 1825 (A).

<sup>18</sup> Du Bourg à Van Quickenborne, May 10, 1826 (A).

the practice on account of the distractions it caused the novices. On occasion, however, the University students lodged for a while at the novitiate as during the cholera epidemic of 1833 and, it would appear, the summer vacations<sup>19</sup>

### § 3 NOVITIATE BUILDINGS AND FARM

The earliest addition to the original cruciform group of log buildings that dated from 1823 was made in 1828 when Father Van Quickenborne began to build a frame structure meant to provide better accommodations for the Indian boys.<sup>20</sup> This unit was completed only in 1833. "The novitiate has also been improved by the plastering of the new frame building and kitchen," Father De Theux informed a correspondent, "the upper story will give a nice and roomy chapel, considering the number of those who are likely to frequent it. Besides the kitchen we shall have in the lower or basement story a fine refectory into which by means of a small window the dishes will pass warm and only at the proper time."<sup>21</sup>

The structure described by Father De Theux, containing a refectory on the lower and a chapel on the upper floor, continued with the log buildings to serve the needs of the Jesuit community until the completion in the summer of 1849 of the massive rock structure which forms at present the center-piece of the novitiate group. The annual influx of novices increasing notably in the late thirties, it was determined to build a new chapel to meet the growing needs of the community. Ground for the purpose was dug on a site immediately adjoining on the north the site of the later "rock building" and the corner-stone of the projected edifice was laid August 17, 1839.<sup>22</sup> The chapel, however, never rose above the foundations, work on it being suspended as soon as the decision was reached to erect a substantial stone structure adequate, so it was hoped, for all the future needs of the novitiate. Work on the new building was begun June 12, 1840.<sup>23</sup> The walls were to be of hewn rock lined with two or three thicknesses of brick. This was to be manu-

<sup>19</sup> "The boarders who on account of the too great distance or from other motives do not return to their paternal homes during the vacation, will be allowed to enjoy, during that time, the country air, at Florissant, a place well known for its wholesomeness and rural charms" Prospectus of St. Louis College issued by Father Van Quickenborne, October 20, 1829 (A)

<sup>20</sup> "We are busy building for our poor Indians" Van Quickenborne to Rosati, January 2, 1828 (B)

<sup>21</sup> De Theux to McSherry, September 13, 1833 (B) The building referred to by De Theux was in later years used by the juniors as a villa or house of recreation. It was demolished in the nineties to make room for the "tertians' building"

<sup>22</sup> *Hist Dom S Stan* (E)

<sup>23</sup> *Idem*

factured on the novitiate premises On July 21, 1840, Father De Vos, the rector, in presence of the assembled community, moulded the first brick By October 23, sixty thousand brick had been cut and the process of baking them began under the skilful direction of Peter Kindekens, a scholastic novice. While the brick-making was in process, the Right Reverend Faubière de Janson, Bishop of Nancy in France, was a guest at the novitiate As the preparations then going forward for the new building were the chief topic of interest at the moment, the prelate did not fail to visit the scene of the brick-making, where he gave the enterprise his episcopal blessing The corner-stone of the new building was laid in 1844 by Father Smedts The annalist for the period supplies these data

All the stone had to be blasted out of the solid rock at a considerable distance from the novitiate, hauled over well-nigh impassible roads and then cut and set in place Steady rains from spring to autumn had swollen the creeks and washed out the roads And yet, besides performing this labor, the brothers had to till the fields and gardens, clear the underbrush from land hitherto unworked and build an addition to the villa to accommodate the increasing number of subjects Yet this year, thanks to the persevering labor of the brothers, the foundations of the new house rose above the ground And this seemed all the more remarkable to Superiors, in view of the fact that owing to stagnant water and unwholesome air, the number of sick both among Ours and the slaves was so great that scarcely any were left to wait on them The scholastics from St Louis University coming here to spend the autumn holidays, as is their custom, had to return to St Louis in the same conveyance that brought them out Our people almost to a man were taken down with malignant fever <sup>24</sup>

Work on the new building proceeded slowly enough and it was not until the midsummer of 1849, nine years after ground was first broken, that it was ready for occupancy Father Elet wrote of it with enthusiasm to the General "The best building in the whole state of Missouri for solidity, convenience and elegance."<sup>25</sup> It was three stories

<sup>24</sup> *Litterae Annuae*, 1842-1849 (A)

<sup>25</sup> In 1843 the Religious of the Sacred Heart offered to sell their convent in Florissant to the Jesuits Some of the latter advised its purchase as the old novitiate was falling to pieces Nota à Roothaan, June 16, 1843 (AA) "As to the Novitiate building the work proceeds slowly, it is true, but solidly You would be very well satisfied with it, if you could see it The walls are European—all in good stone, they will soon begin the third floor So far it has cost little as all the work was done by Ours, but for the roof and interior we shall need means, which just now we do not possess" Smedts à Roothaan, September 29, 1846 (AA) "The novices spent a very gloomy winter in the old novitiate building, the roof of which is decayed and no longer affords protection against the rain With 1500 dollars or 8000 francs I can have the new building finished so as to make it habitable, but

in height with a basement, and measured one hundred and twenty feet in length by forty in breadth. On July 29, 1849, Mass was celebrated for the first time in the chapel, which occupied the southern end of the first story and was dedicated to the Immaculate Heart of Mary and St Stanislaus Kostka. On August 3 the scholastics moved into their new quarters, and on August 4 the tearing down of the old log buildings was begun. The significance of the occasion did not escape the writer of the *Annual Letters*. "The old building, the cradle of the Society, built, as I said, by the hands of the pioneer Fathers, is now in great part demolished and levelled to the ground. They have preserved a portion of it in everlasting memory of that remarkable enterprise and converted it into a chapel for the Negroes, where the latter receive instruction from one of our Fathers, who is charged with their spiritual care." The house thus left standing was the one Van Quickenborne began to build in 1828. It served in later years as a chapel for the neighbors, dormitory, study-hall, and finally recreation-place for the juniors. It remained standing until the early nineties, when it was torn down to make room for the "tertians' building."

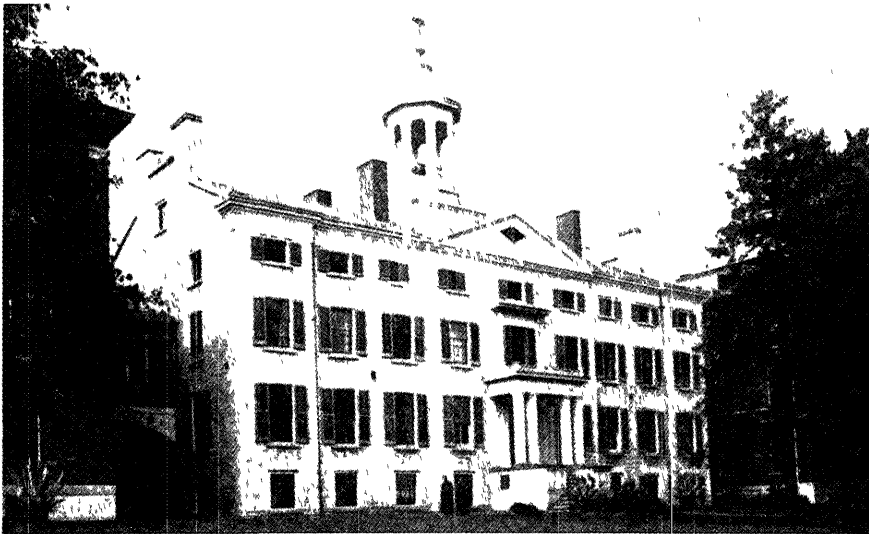
The new "rock building," to this day a conspicuous and impressive land-mark as it rises on a knoll at the western edge of the Florissant Valley, was to provide a home for the refugee Swiss and German scholastics, whose adventures have already been told. They spent the session, 1848-49, at St. Louis University, where they continued their philosophical and theological studies. During the session, 1849-1850, they were at Florissant, where the newly built edifice at once assumed importance as the home of a scholasticate. The conferring of sacred orders now began to take place in the domestic chapel. Bishop Van de Velde of Chicago noted in his diary for August 16 and 17, 1849 "Ordained Mr. John Meyer, Deacon, and went to Florissant, celebrated pontifically in the Chapel of St Stanislaus, near Florissant, and conferred Minor Orders on three Scholastics of the Society, and raised Rev John Meyer to the Priesthood." Another entry in the Bishop's diary, dated July 27, 1850 "Celebrated Mass in the new Chapel of the Novitiate, gave confirmation to Edward Farish, a convert from the University, and conferred Minor Orders on Messrs Charles L. Vertongen, Cor-

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where shall I get them?" Elet à Roothaan, March 4, 1849 (AA) "Besides 6 rooms, each of them forty-five long and broad in proportion, 2 large dormitories, and the attic, which contains the clothes-room, there are 20 rooms, 8 of which are 20 [feet] long by 16 wide. The building can lodge comfortably 50 novices and as many scholastics without mixing them up. Two things are lacking here, a chapel 60 feet by 30, and a house of retreats of the same dimensions, but divided into three stories, each of which would have 5 rooms. The two buildings would cost me 11,000 dollars." Elet à Roothaan, November 14, 1849 (AA).



Isidore Boudreaux, S J (1818-1885), master of novices at Florissant for twenty-three years, 1857-1880.



The "Rock Building," St Stanislaus Seminary, Florissant A dignified structure of fortress-like solidity dating from the forties Built of Missouri lime-stone from near-by quarries, its walls being lined with thicknesses of brick made on the premises by the hands of novices





nelius Daniel Swagemakers [Swagemakers] and William Niederkorn, Scholastics of the Society of Jesus” Still a third entry, July 27, 1851 “In the course of the evening the Bishop returned to St Louis with his companion, Rev. Father Busschotts, and next morning after Mass left for St Stanislaus, near Florissant, where, on the same day he conferred the tonsure on Mr. Paul Limacher, of the Diocese of Chicago On Tuesday morning the Minor Orders were conferred on the same gentleman, after which Messrs Emmanuel Costa, John Roes, John Verdin, Anthony Levisse and Ferdinand Coosemans, all of the Society of Jesus, together with Mr Limacher, were ordained subdeacons On Wednesday the six gentlemen just mentioned were promoted to the order of Deaconship, and on Thursday, Feast of St Ignatius, founder of the Society of Jesus, they were raised to the holy order of Priesthood At a later hour, High Mass was sung by the Rev P J Verhaegen, assisted by Rev J F Van Assche, Deacon, Rev A Levisse, Sub-deacon, and Rev F. Nussbaum, Master of Ceremonies.”<sup>26</sup>

Father Van Quickenborne in his sanguine way used to look to the farm as the chief if not the only means of support of the novitiate community But at no time did the farm ever achieve this result Other means of support had to be drawn upon From the very meagre funds at their disposal Fathers Van de Velde and Elet, when vice-provincials, annually assigned the novitiate the modest sum of a thousand dollars In 1850 Father De Smet, allowing only fifty dollars for each of the thirty-three novices, found that the novitiate needed an annual appropriation of sixteen hundred and fifty dollars<sup>27</sup> It was, obviously, in an economic way a non-productive institution The fathers in the parishes could look for support to their parishioners, as the professors in the colleges could look for their support to student-fees, but the novices as also the fathers and brothers having care of them had no such sources of maintenance Yet a kindly Providence provided at all times the really necessary means of subsistence In 1851 the Belgian M De Boey left Father Roothaan a legacy of one hundred thousand francs or twenty thousand dollars, which the latter directed should be deposited with St Louis University with an obligation on that institution of paying the novitiate annual interest on the sum at the rate of five per cent For a period of years, however, half the resulting revenue or five hundred dollars went, by direction of the General, to Bishop Miége The De Boey legacy proved a welcome prop to the always precarious finances of the novitiate, a foundation in fact, as Father Boudreaux described it, though clearly it was very far from providing for the upkeep of the

<sup>26</sup> Diary of Bishop Van de Velde in McGovern, *History of the Catholic Church in Chicago* (Chicago, 1891), p 153

<sup>27</sup> De Smet à Roothaan, November 1, 1850 (AA)

house of probation. On occasion the inheritances, none of them very considerable, of members of the vice-province went to the novitiate, which thus received seventeen hundred dollars in 1848 from Father Smedts's patrimony, as it was called, and nineteen hundred and seventy-one dollars in 1850 from Father Verhaegen's.<sup>28</sup> In 1848 Bryan Mullanphy, mayor of St. Louis, in appreciation, as he declared in a Latin letter addressed by him to the General, of the education received by him at Jesuit hands at St. Louis University and at Stonyhurst College in England, made a gift to Father Roothaan of a thousand dollars, which money the recipient bestowed on Father Elet, who in turn applied it to the novitiate.<sup>29</sup> But occasional gifts of money, however helpful, by no means balanced the novitiate budget or relieved it of the necessity of looking to the procurator of the vice-province for aid in solving the problem of subsistence. In 1860 Father Boudreaux, the novitiate rector, wrote to Father Beckx: "So far the land we bought in 1853 [Le Pere farm] hasn't yielded us much, but it is to be hoped that in the course of time it will repay us for the loss we incurred in acquiring it. The produce of the farm does not suffice for the support of the community. It was noticed that the biggest account was always the butcher's. For this reason we began about two years ago to raise stock and we succeeded all through the year 1859 in getting along without a butcher. On the other hand we had to sow less wheat in order to get pasturage, further, expense had to be incurred in buying the stock. But there is every ground to hope that we shall in the sequel do considerably better."<sup>30</sup> Strangely enough, in 1869 Father Boudreaux reported to the General that the novitiate was then self-supporting, the means serving thereto being the farm, the Mass stipends received by the fathers of the community, and revenue from the grist-mill. This was apparently an exceptional state of affairs and one not generally met with in the subsequent history of the institution.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Vice-province account-book (A)

<sup>29</sup> B Mullanphy ad Roothaan, October 13, 1848 (AA)

<sup>30</sup> The La Pere farm, a few miles southwest of the novitiate, was acquired in 1853 for \$8970. It was subsequently found a burden and disposed of. Boudreaux à Beckx, March 30, 1860 (AA)

<sup>31</sup> Boudreaux à Beckx, November 1, 1869 (AA). The grist-mill was an important adjunct of the novitiate farm. In 1826 Father Van Quickenborne informed the Maryland superior that the lack of a mill was sorely felt at Florissant. He was under the necessity of sending his corn and grain to a neighboring mill to be ground, which was inconvenient, not to say expensive. Van Quickenborne ad Dzierozynski, October 11, 1826 (B). The first novitiate mill was set up in 1831, in which year Brother De Meyer purchased two mill-stones in St. Louis at a cost of thirty dollars. Somewhat later than that date Father De Theux wrote to Madame Thieffry, superior of the Religious of the Sacred Heart in St. Louis, regretting that he had no corn meal or bran to send her, as she had requested. "We can not grind

The novitiate or seminary farm was located in the Common Fields of St. Ferdinand, which were laid off in long narrow rectangular strips running from the left bank of the Cold Water Creek (Rivière L'eau Froide) towards the Missouri River. The Common Fields, a usual adjunct of the Creole settlements of the colonial period, took their name from the circumstance that though allotted to individuals out of the King's Domain, they were enclosed by a public or common fence. This system, as exemplified in the seminary farm, elicited in 1826 this comment from Father Van Quickenborne "The farm is situated in the Common Fields of St. Ferdinand's, i.e., for one field containing the farms of eighteen individuals there is but one fence kept up in common by all. This is a wretched system, for the field being open very often until May, it is impossible to raise any grain. It is true that this year we have raised upwards of two hundred bushels of wheat, but if the hogs had not destroyed the wheat in the common field, the crop would have been double that quantity. If the farm therefore is to pay, it must be fenced in at once"<sup>32</sup> In 1831 the "big field," which included the seminary farm, was surrounded by a fence put up at the expense of the novitiate, the neighboring farmers or "landholders of the big field," paying the latter annually a small sum for the use of the fence. Open as it was to serious inconveniences, this system soon gave way to the present-day arrangement of private or individual fences<sup>33</sup>

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corn at present without stopping the ploughing which would be a serious injury to the field" A more elaborate milling outfit was installed in 1840, when Ira Todd and Son of St. Louis sold to the novitiate a pair of thirty-four-inch French burr mill-stones at a price of one hundred and ten dollars. The new stones were used for the first time on St. Stanislaus day, November 13, 1840. During the year subsequent to that date, 3000 bushels of corn and wheat were ground, while for 1842-1843 the number was 8758 (Account-book, St. Stanislaus Seminary Archives). The mill at this period stood on the site of the present wine-house, power being furnished by oxen working a tread-mill. The farmers of the neighborhood patronized the mill and it was no unusual sight to see a line of boys on horseback with sacks of wheat and corn waiting their turn at the door. About a fourth or a third of the corn and a sixth of the wheat was asked as the toll for grinding. A third mill, a large brick structure with steam for power, was later on built in a hollow at some distance south of the community buildings and opened for use in April, 1865. To an inquiry of Father Boudreaux as to whether it was licit to buy wheat and grind it into flour to sell, Father Beckx replied, January 14, 1872, that such procedure had about it "a semblance of trading," and hence was forbidden to members of the Society. Jesuit legislation goes beyond general Church law in restraining members of the order even from any "semblance of trading (*species negotiationis*)"

<sup>32</sup> Van Quickenborne ad Dzierzynski, October 11, 1826 (B)

<sup>33</sup> Garraghan, *Saint Ferdinand de Florissant*, p. 34. The nucleus of the novitiate farm was a Spanish grant made about 1785 by François Dunegant, founder of Florissant, to Pierre Devaux.

The novitiate farm was worked largely by slave-labor. The first group of middlewestern Jesuits came directly from Maryland, a state where negro slavery as a legally established institution was something recognized on all hands and taken quite for granted. Moreover, they found themselves on emigrating to the West in another slave-state, Missouri, where free-labor for the cultivation of farms was often difficult to obtain.<sup>34</sup> The Church of the apostolic age, it may here be recalled, did not adopt towards existing Roman slavery an attitude of outright condemnation, however much it may have been out of sympathy with it as an institution, it looked rather to the gradual emancipation of the slaves by a process extending over a wide range of time. In like manner in the United States in pre-Civil War days Negro slavery never came under the ban of the Catholic Church.<sup>35</sup> Apart from the fact that slavery was not held by Catholics generally to be a variance *in se* with the law of nature, Negro slavery appeared to most of them to be so interwoven with the economic system of the country that any attempt to remove it must have seemed impracticable. A statement made by Bishop England in 1837 probably reflects the prevailing attitude of most of his coreligionists toward Negro slavery as an actual problem. "I have been asked by many a question which I may as well answer at once, viz. Whether I am friendly to the existence or continuation of slavery? I am not, but I also see the impossibility of now abolishing it here. When it can and ought to be abolished is a question for the legislature and not for me."<sup>36</sup>

"The Catholic Church," says an historian in reference to the institution particularly as it existed in Missouri, "considered slavery as a part of the patriarchal life of the old French settlements . . . [it] was the special guardian of the bondman."<sup>37</sup> The position of slaves owned by the clergy appears to have been more comfortable than the position of slaves in the hands of layfolk. In Maryland in the colonial period the term "priest's slave" connoted a contented and well-cared for if not particularly efficient type of Negro, while in Missouri, according to the author just quoted, the Catholic clergy who held slaves "did not govern them very strictly."<sup>38</sup> When the British ships hovered along the Mary-

<sup>34</sup> "White labor was not to be had in some counties and was scarce in all" Harrison A. Trexler, *Slavery in Missouri* (Baltimore, 1914), p. 54.

<sup>35</sup> *Catholic Encyclopedia*, 14:39.

<sup>36</sup> *The Works of the Right Rev. John England* (Baltimore, 1849), 3:191. Cf. also RACHS, 35:332 *et seq.*, John T. Gillard, S.S.J., *The Catholic Church and the American Negro* (Baltimore, 1929), pp. 10-30, "Bishop England on Domestic Slavery" in *The Monthly* (Chicago), 2:118 (1865), Arnold Lunn, *A Saint in the Slave Trade: Peter Claver, 1581-1654* (London, 1935).

<sup>37</sup> Trexler, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

<sup>38</sup> "A priest's negro is almost proverbial for one who is allowed to act without

land coast during the War of the Revolution, large numbers of slaves on the adjoining plantations took occasion to desert to the invaders, but the "priests' slaves," preferred to remain with their masters rather than seize the opportunity for freedom that came within their reach<sup>39</sup> That the Negro as well as the white man has a soul to save was the fundamental fact that determined the relations between the Christian master and his slaves As early as 1749 Father George Hunter, a Maryland Jesuit, expressed the fact in these terms "Charity to negroes is due from all, particularly their masters As they are members of Jesus Christ, redeemed by His precious blood, they are to be dealt with in a charitable, Christian, paternal manner, which is at the same time a great means to bring them to their duty to God and therefore to gain their souls"<sup>40</sup>

The Jesuit plantations in Maryland had long been cultivated by slave labor and any other way of engaging in agriculture, at least on a considerable scale, must under the circumstances have seemed impracticable Father Van Quickenborne on setting out from one slave-state, Maryland, to take over a farm in another slave-state, Missouri, was accordingly assigned six Negro slaves, these being the legal property of the corporation that controlled the Jesuit plantations in Maryland<sup>41</sup> As agent of this corporation, Father Adam Marshall, S J, signed at Washington, D C, under date of April 10, 1823, a deed of transfer which reads "I hereby deliver up to Rev Charles F Van Quickenborne the six following Negro slaves, (viz) Tom and Polly, his wife, Moses and Nancy, his wife, Isaac and Sucky, his wife, all of whom are the property of the above corporation I also hereby appoint the Rev Charles F Van Quickenborne my Sub-Agent to govern and dispose of said slaves as he thinks proper, and to sell any or all of them to humane and Christian masters who will purchase them for their own use, should they at any time become refractory, or their conduct grievously im-

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control" Words of Father John Carroll in a controversial tract Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Colonial and Federal*, Text, 2 565, Trexler, *op cit*, 86 For an interesting discussion of slavery, especially as the system operated in Kentucky, cf Augustus J Thébaud, S J, *Forty Years in the United States of America, 1839-1840* (United States Catholic Historical Society, New York, 1904), p 65 *et seq*

<sup>39</sup> Hughes, *op cit*, Text, 2 565 However, some of the Florissant novitiate slaves seem to have deserted when the opportunity came

<sup>40</sup> Hughes, *op cit*, Text, 2 559

<sup>41</sup> Article 4 of the concordat between the Jesuit superior, Father Charles Neale, and Bishop Du Bourg (*supra*, Chap II, § 4), provides for the transfer to Florissant of "at least four or five negroes to be employed in preparing and providing the additional buildings that may be found necessary and in cultivating the land of the above mentioned farm"

moral”<sup>42</sup> One curious result of this removal of the six Negroes from White Marsh was that it elicited a protest, as being an unwarranted depreciation of that estate, from Archbishop Maréchal of Baltimore. This protest was embodied in a report which the Archbishop addressed to the Congregation of the Propaganda in Rome detailing the grounds on which he laid claim to the White Marsh property.<sup>43</sup> The six slaves had, it is obvious, a commercial value, reckoned by Father Van Quickenborne at about two thousand dollars.<sup>44</sup>

Down to the period of the Civil War the Negro slaves or, as they were generally called, the blacks, were familiar figures on the Florissant farm.<sup>45</sup> Their numbers, except through natural increase, grew but little. In 1829 there were still the three adult male Negroes from Maryland, Tom, Isaac and Moses, with a later accession, Protus, each with his family.<sup>46</sup> Still later accessions were Jack and Augustine with their families. In 1859 the Negroes totalled twenty, namely seven men, two women, two boys and nine girls. Brother Kenny, the novitiate farmer, penned in his diary an epitaph for Moses, who died March 26, 1862. “Good and faithful servant old Moses, who died yesterday evening, aged about 85 years.”<sup>47</sup> Big Peter was bought by Father De Theux at St. Charles in 1832 from Louis Barada, the price paid being five hundred and thirteen dollars. He proved a source of annoyance to the other Negroes at the novitiate and in 1849 was sent with his wife to St. Joseph’s College, Bardstown, Ky. Here, within a few weeks of his

<sup>42</sup> Hughes, *op cit*, Doc, 2 1024

<sup>43</sup> *Idem*, 2 521

<sup>44</sup> Van Quickenborne to Du Bourg, September 4, 1825 (B)

<sup>45</sup> “The missionaries seem to have avoided the term ‘slave.’ The names used were ‘servant men,’ ‘servant women,’ ‘the family,’ ‘creatures,’ ‘labourers,’ ‘negroes.’” Hughes, *op cit*, Text, 2 560. This was the eighteenth-century Maryland practice. Father Van Quickenborne almost invariably used the term “negroes.” “Servants” occurs in Father De Theux’s correspondence, in Brother Kenny’s Diary are found the terms ‘blacks,’ ‘servants’ and also ‘slaves.’

<sup>46</sup> Protus was still to be seen around the novitiate premises in the early seventies.

<sup>47</sup> Brother Kenny’s Diary (D). An incident in connection with Moses comes to light in some early correspondence. Father Dzierzynski being at Florissant in 1827 gave Moses permission to visit his family in Maryland, at least Moses so declared. Van Quickenborne, to assure himself, wrote to Dzierzynski inquiring whether such permission had actually been granted. If so, then he would go along with Moses, for he would be afraid to let him travel alone, not because he would attempt to run away, but because “wicked men” were said to be on the lookout for slaves to kidnap and liberate them. Moses’s little affair hung fire for some years. In 1831 Father De Theux made exactly the same inquiry to Father Dzierzynski in regard to Moses’s permission to travel to Maryland. He is a good fellow, this Moses, Father De Theux writes, but he prefers to have his word in the matter corroborated by the superior’s. Whether the Negro ever succeeded in visiting the East is not on record. De Theux to Dzierzynski, October 11, 1831 (B).

arrival, he appears to have been sold, the money thus obtained being employed to purchase a wife for Augustine, another novitiate Negro Isaac had a son, Little Peter, so-called to distinguish him from Big Peter. Little Peter was destined to be the last survivor of the Negro colony at the farm, lodging at the novitiate up to within a short time of his death, which occurred as late as 1907. In the dark days of the Civil War he was Brother Kenny's chief aid in working the farm. The Brother's diary for September 10, 1862, has an entry that tells its own tale: "Rain. Nothing a doing. Hands all scattered on account of the war or sick. Only Peter to work." Peter's honesty was proof against all temptation and no sum of money was too great to entrust to him for delivery in St. Louis. He was a deeply religious man, who knew his *Imitation of Christ*. He was married in January, 1863, to a Negress named Margaret, purchased by the novitiate at an outlay of eight hundred dollars.<sup>48</sup> Strangely enough, the date of the purchase, December 27, 1862, followed by some months President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, but slavery in Missouri was not abolished until 1865 and this only by act of the state legislature, the Emancipation Proclamation not having affected the status of slavery in such states as remained in the Union.

While the purchase of slaves to meet actual needs was not discountenanced, the sale of them was forbidden by the Jesuit superiors except under circumstances of peculiar gravity. Father Dzierozynski was especially insistent on this point and, as a result of certain complaints lodged against Father Van Quickenborne, required him to solicit his express permission before disposing of any slaves belonging to the mission. At the same time, the purchase of more slaves seemed the natural step to take when there was need of additional help.<sup>49</sup> In June, 1824, Van Quickenborne offered the Maryland superior six hundred dollars for Jack and Sally with their child, these being a White Marsh

<sup>48</sup> *Hist. Dom. S. Stan.* (E)

<sup>49</sup> Van Quickenborne ad Dzierozynski, June 3, 1824 (B). Father Dzierozynski put the question to the General, Father Fortis, February 12, 1822, whether it was lawful to sell Negro slaves "who are truly their masters' bondmen and are sold without any scruple even by Catholics and other pious people in this country. I very humbly ask for a solution of this difficulty, the supposition of course being that the seller is under some grave necessity and that the individual sold be not placed in a worse condition especially as regards religion, it is allowed by the government and is an old practice even with the bishops" (AA). What answer, if any, Father Fortis returned to this query is not available, but Father Roothaan (c. 1832) wrote (in Latin) in his own hand on the margin of a document, apparently in answer to a similar question as to whether slaves might be sold: "Such as are scandalous and immoral, yes—after admonitions and corrections—these can be sold in case they are incorrigible, but only if the thing can be done safely and in every case only to Catholic masters (AA)."

family of Negroes. Of the Negroes then at Florissant, one woman was sick, another had a young child and could not leave the house, while a third did the washing. One of the three adult male Negroes was employed on the new building, leaving only two to obtain food for fifteen persons.<sup>50</sup> Again, in 1827 the Florissant superior petitioned Father Dzierzynski to have Mr. Notley Young of Prince George County, Maryland, buy a family of Catholic Negroes and send them by steamboat to St. Louis, care of "[Rev.] Mr. Saulnier." "[He] will advise me at once of their arrival. I shall pay all expenses. Your Reverence ought to reflect that we need them most urgently. Two of our men and two of our women are old and cannot perform heavy labor. I think only the annual first plowing of our land."<sup>51</sup> None of these efforts of the Florissant superior to obtain additional blacks from Maryland were successful. Only in 1829 did he succeed in obtaining a Negro family from the East, and this family he personally conducted from Maryland to Missouri. Later, in 1834, Father De Theux is found inquiring of Father McSherry whether he may have Ned the blacksmith, his wife and two or three of the smaller children and at what price. "We do not stand in need of additional slaves unless we make a new establishment either among the whites or the Indians."<sup>52</sup>

Most of the Jesuit houses in Missouri before the Civil War appear to have made use of slave labor at one time or another. In 1835 there were two Negroes attached to the St. Charles residence. When that house lost by death a Negress valued at two hundred dollars, Father De Theux offered to secure another in her place with a gift of money then in his hands. In 1846 Molly, a Negress, was assigned to the residence in Florissant. St. Louis College at its opening in 1829 was given two Negroes, Ned and Tom, from the novitiate farm. The services of Ned as cook and Tom as overseer of the hired help were rated highly by the college authorities. By 1847 the slaves had disappeared from all the houses of the Missouri Vice-province, the novitiate alone continuing to possess any and this mainly on account of the farm. At the Bardstown college, which was acquired by the Jesuits in 1848, slaves were employed down to 1856, when they were replaced by hired labor.

We may now cast a glance at the system of slave labor as it worked itself out on the novitiate farm.<sup>53</sup> First, the blacks, as the property before the law of their legal owners, were not free to choose the kind

<sup>50</sup> Van Quickenborne to Dzierzynski, 1826 (B)

<sup>51</sup> Van Quickenborne to Dzierzynski, November 7, 1827 (B)

<sup>52</sup> De Theux to McSherry, December 5, 1834 (B). Mary, a Negress, was purchased by the novitiate in 1859 for \$603.

<sup>53</sup> The following paragraphs embody data found in account-books and other contemporary material in the novitiate archives.



or place or duration of their labor. They were subject to certain regulations, the violation of which was punished by docking their time of leisure or recreation. They were to begin work promptly at five o'clock in the morning and were not to stop working before "the blowing of the horn" in the evening. They might not make use of a horse for themselves without permission except to plough their gardens, nor might they sow or plant any kind of grain, though they might raise vegetables such as potatoes, turnips, etc. None were to be away from the premises after hours, i e, after nine o'clock at night without leave. On the other hand, they could earn money of their own by working overtime or performing certain tasks, and this money they might spend in buying extra victuals or in other ways. Thus, for breaking a colt or yoke of oxen, they received a dollar. The novitiate account-books contain numerous entries like the following:

1838	March	7	To Little Peter for partridge	18¾
"	"	"	Isaac for partridge and two rabbits	68
"	"	"	Big Peter for cabbage	2 00
"	"	"	Nancy for making hay in her own time	27½
1839	Dec.	6	" Little Peter for making a broom	12
"	Sept.	10	" Succy for raising poultry	2 00
1840	June	"	" Moses for working for the house	1 00
		"	" Peter and Geep for hauling hay in their own time	.25

On four or five of the great Church feasts, as Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Whitsunday and the Assumption, the blacks were given, as a contemporary record expresses it, "a little treat." This amounted in money-value to about twenty-five cents for each adult. Thus at Easter, 1836, Jack's family received three chickens, nine lbs. of sugar, a gallon of cider and twenty-five eggs, the cost of the whole being about a dollar and a half. The other families received in proportion.

As to clothes, the Negroes made what they wore, cloth being furnished to them for the purpose. For winter use, shirts were of cotton Osnaburg lined with brown domestic, coats of blue pilot-cloth and trousers of so-called Negro cloth. In summer, shirts were either of cotton Osnaburg or simply of brown domestic. On special occasions an extra grant of cloth was made. Thus in 1836, when Little Peter and Geep received their first holy communion, they were each given, besides a cap, two yards of cloth for pantaloons, two and a half for jackets and half a yard for vesting. Blankets were allotted every three or four years. In 1848 Jack's family received five, Protus's four, Isaac's two and Moses's one.

Most of the farm-labor was performed by the male-blacks, the

women-folk having their household work and garden-patches to attend to. On occasion the latter were called upon to render direct service to the Jesuit community, as when Sucky was called in on some feast-day to prepare the community dinner or Sally made a cassock for one of the fathers, for which she received a dollar. A Negro was frequently sent to St. Louis on horseback to carry messages and bring back such merchandise as he could find room for in his saddlebags. The Negro messengers, however, even the best of them, often failed, not on the score of honesty, but of competence. "I must also desire your Reverence," wrote De Theux to a correspondent in St. Louis, "to communicate with me in writing as the servants are apt to misunderstand and even to forget." Father Elet, procurator at St. Louis College in 1829, found that the house Negro whom he was required to employ as buyer, "seldom made purchases at a medium price and hardly ever at the lowest price." And Father Verhaegen, rector of St. Louis College, wrote in 1834 that "greater economy would result if the duties of Brothers were not performed by the slaves, whom one can scarcely trust" <sup>54</sup>

The slaves brought from Maryland appear to have been orderly and well-behaved. In 1847 complaint was made to Father Roothaan about alleged misbehavior on the part of the novitiate blacks. Father Van de Velde insisted in reply that the report was without foundation. "For a long time none of them have been living in this college [St. Louis] or in any other house except the Novitiate and these are well-instructed and well-behaved, so as to be patterns for others by their industry, piety and regularity" <sup>55</sup> Yet the management of the blacks was not always without its difficulties. At the beginning of 1856 the Bardstown Jesuits ceased to employ Negro help, male or female, as the Negroes "had always been a source of trouble." <sup>56</sup> Even at the novitiate discontent among the Negroes was not unknown. In 1856 it was determined to allow some of the disaffected ones among them to hire out to other masters on condition that they behaved themselves properly and indemnified the novitiate by the payment of a stipulated monthly sum.

On the whole the bondmen attached to the novitiate and other houses of the vice-province would seem to have had no ground for complaint on the score of unfair treatment. When in 1827 Father Dzięrozynski was making the visitation of Florissant, it was brought to his notice that the Negroes were without suitable living-quarters, he gave orders at once that the need be supplied. In the early thirties one Brown, a superannuated slave at St. Louis College, filed complaint with the

<sup>54</sup> Elet ad Roothaan, January 12, 1829, Verhaegen ad Roothaan, January 20, 1834 (AA).

<sup>55</sup> Van de Velde à Roothaan, August 14, 1847 (AA)

<sup>56</sup> Coosemans à Beckx, February 1, 1856 (AA)

Maryland superior that the lodging provided him was highly uncomfortable and he offered to purchase his freedom for seventy-five dollars, "all these old bones are worth," as he wrote pathetically.<sup>57</sup> But cases like this were rare. "The Negroes are perfectly cared for, soul and body," wrote Father Murphy in 1851.<sup>58</sup> In 1860, just before the slave system fell to pieces, Father Isidore Boudreaux, the Florissant rector, informed the General "We have a house for our Negroes and workmen. Each Negro family has a separate apartment. We have some thirty Negroes, men, women, children and old people. All do not stay here, there are some in St. Louis and other places who send us a certain sum every month, the rest of what they earn is their own. I am sometimes apprehensive about our slaves and doubt whether we always fulfill our duties in their regard."<sup>59</sup>

At the novitiate, whatever is to be said of Missouri in general in this regard, slavery as an economic institution failed to justify itself. Father Arnoudt, author of the devotional classic, *The Imitation of the Sacred Heart*, who was interested in ministerial work on behalf of the Negroes, looked upon the system as an obvious failure.<sup>60</sup> Brother Matthew Smith, who at one time had been a slave-overseer on his brother's plantation in South Carolina and as an assistant to Brother Kenny dealt much with the blacks on the novitiate farm, while disposed to look kindly on the system as conducted thereon, admitted it nevertheless to have been expensive and troublesome. The blacks with their wives and children had to be clothed and fed and they had to be provided for in sickness and old age. Back in Maryland the Jesuit brother, Joseph Moberly, had characterized the system in highly uncompl-

<sup>57</sup> Father Van Quickenborne was sometimes charged by his associates with treating the slaves harshly. On one occasion in 1830 after an unpleasant incident on the farm he ordered four of the slaves put on a wagon and taken to St. Louis where they were to be imprisoned and then sold, but on their way to the city Brother De Meyer prevailed upon them to agree to return to the novitiate and "ask Father Van Quickenborne's pardon." De Theux ad Roothaan, January 16, 1831 (AA).

<sup>58</sup> Murphy à Roothaan, October 8, 1851. (AA) Cf also Father Kenney's "Memorial," Florissant, 1832. "The Visitor takes this occasion of recording the satisfaction which he experienced and the edification which he received on witnessing in each of our houses of the Missouri, the good-conduct, industry and Christian piety of all the coloured servants of both sexes. He considers that as a matter of credit to our Fathers and of much edification to the faithful in general, and it is the more appreciated by the Visitor as our houses of the Missouri are the only ones where no complaints have been made of the slaves. To preserve so great a good he exhorts the fathers to preserve everywhere the same paternal and yet vigilant conduct towards those creatures whose happiness here and hereafter so much depends on the treatment they receive from their Masters." (E)

<sup>59</sup> Boudreaux à Beckx, March 30, 1860 (AA).

<sup>60</sup> Reminiscences of Brother Matthew Smith, S J (A)

mentary terms "In this life they [the masters] are impoverished by keeping slaves, their lives are filled with cares and vexations, their prospects of happiness are marred, and when they die, they lose all forever. Who then would possess a slave?"<sup>61</sup> The Maryland provincial, Father McSherry, presumably because he realized the economic weakness of slavery, advised Father Verhaegen in 1836 to work the newly acquired College Farm in St. Louis with white labor as the more profitable plan, advice which the recipient put into effect.<sup>62</sup>

The question what to do with the slaves, keep them or get rid of them, exercised the wits of the fathers not a little. Father Van de Velde wrote in 1845. "Political agitation over the abolition of slavery has given rise to a fanatical faction and many slaves in this state of Missouri either escape of their own accord into free states or are secretly abducted Citizens here and there, not to be exposed to lawsuits and expense, are selling their slaves into other states at a safe distance from the free states, for between us and the free state of Illinois the only thing intervening is the Mississippi river. Many of Ours are of the opinion that it would be expedient to sell our slaves to Catholic owners in Louisiana or some other state."<sup>63</sup>

Interesting views on the question were expressed in 1854 by Father Messea, minister for some months at Florissant. He believed the novitiate farm could be worked more profitably by an American or German farmer with slave-labor than with hired help, but the Jesuits could not make the farm more productive than it was at the moment, chiefly for the reason that they could not "conscientiously get out of the slaves all the advantage which an American would get" But if it was unprofitable to work the farm with slaves, why not get rid of them and employ day-laborers? "We should lose more than we gained. We should deprive ourselves of servants who are good and faithful Christians, (though others may think differently in the matter), and whom we can manage as we please in order to take [in their place] others who would

<sup>61</sup> Hughes, *op cit*, Text, 2 565.

<sup>62</sup> McSherry to Verhaegen, September 22, 1836 (B) Father Verhaegen had previously asked McSherry (June 25, 1836) to procure him some slaves in Maryland

<sup>63</sup> Van de Velde à Roothaan, April 16, 1845 (AA) In this same letter Van de Velde referred to the General the case of two female slaves married to Negroes belonging to other masters They lived accordingly separated from their husbands and it was feared they would attempt to join the latter and escape with them and their children from Missouri Father Roothaan left the matter to be determined by Van de Velde himself "With regard to the servants let your Reverence decide as prudence and charity will suggest. Certainly it should be seen to that they are not separated from their husbands or incur any other risk to their salvation" Roothaan à Van de Velde, June 24, 1845. (AA).

leave us at the first notion that came into their heads” Besides, the washing and mending were being done by the female slaves, and the expense for the day-laborers would be greater than the income from the capital obtained through sale of the slaves “In fine, whatever advantage the sale of the slaves would bring, I do not think we could in conscience sell slaves who do not deserve it for the little pecuniary advantage that might perhaps be derived” On the same day that Father Messea penned this letter to Father Beckx, Brother Kenny, manager of the Florissant farm, chanced to be in St. Louis and was questioned by Messea as to the slaves. “The slaves,” said the brother, “were never in a better state as regards their religious duties than at present I do not deny that our slaves are not as industrious or diligent as those of our neighbors owing to our indulgence towards them and that our neighbors blame us for being excessively kind and indulgent masters.”<sup>64</sup>

In 1859 Father Boudreaux assured the General that most of the slaves at the novitiate did not earn their own living, being women or children or superannuated. There were, in addition to the slaves, four hired workmen, more were needed but no money was at hand for paying their wages. Three years later Father Murphy put on record the final verdict of the Jesuits of Missouri on the system of involuntary servitude in which by the pressure of circumstances and despite themselves they had become involved “There are no abolitionists in this state who, as is the case elsewhere, demand that the slaves be freed right away and without recompense. But there are not a few Emancipationists, who want them redeemed at full expense Slave-holders would perhaps agree to this if the slaves on being emancipated could move away from here, but they are thrust back by the neighboring states. We should willingly send away our twenty-four slaves of both sexes and all ages if the law allowed, for they are a detriment and a burden.”<sup>65</sup>

The Jesuit slave-owners of Missouri had no regrets, one may be sure, on seeing “the peculiar institution,” definitely pass away. Economic necessity alone had made them a party to it and they welcomed a state of things in which such necessity no longer made itself felt. In the end the Civil War gave the death blow to slavery, which was becoming extinct in Missouri even before its formal abolition by the state legisla-

<sup>64</sup> Messea à Roothaan, August 17, 1854. (AA).

<sup>65</sup> Murphy à Beckx, June, 1862. Just what law, federal or state, forbade the manumission of slaves, does not appear. Trexler (*op cit*, p 65), discussing the question whether slavery in Missouri was economically worth while, declares the evidence to be too conflicting to warrant one in drawing conclusions either way “After the Civil War the advantages of free labor were realized, but not in slavery days” On the status of slavery in Missouri at the close of the Civil War cf. Earl J. Nelson, “Slavery in Missouri,” in *Missouri Historical Review*, 28 260-274 (1934).

ture in 1865. An entry in the novitiate diary, April 30, 1864, is significant: "Some of the brothers rise at four o'clock, workmen are scarce and the slaves are leaving us." When even the novitiate bondmen preferred freedom to the company of their indulgent masters, it was plain that the system, independently of the attacks made upon it from without, could not endure.

#### § 4. THE JUNIORATE

The Jesuit noviceship is followed by a period of literary training designated as the juniorate and generally lasting at least two years. The name derives from that of the junior scholastics, the younger members of the order fresh from the two-year probationary trial and bound by the customary religious vows, for whom as a distinct group in the Society special legislation began under Acquaviva in the Sixth General Congregation (1608). The staple of instruction in the juniorate is literature, classical and vernacular, the junior compasses his own development along the lines of general culture, mostly of a humanistic type, and at the same time equips himself for the coming duties of the classroom. As was the case with other stages of Jesuit training, the proper organization of the juniorate on the plan laid down by the Institute was a matter of slow growth in the vice-province of Missouri.

As early as September 9, 1841, Father Roothaan had written to Father Verhaegen: "It is to be desired that Rhetoric be taught at the novitiate according to old-time usage and that the Juniors be applied to it directly they have pronounced their vows. They thus remain the longer under the shadow of the novitiate and become, as a consequence, better grounded. If any of the second-year novices are found to give satisfaction to their master in all respects, they may, with the Provincial's dispensation, study Rhetoric with the others."<sup>66</sup>

Father Roothaan was not content with an empty expression of solicitude for the studies of the younger Missouri members, he secured for them the services of four professors, two of belles-lettres and two of philosophy and theology. These were Fathers Di Maria and Nota of the province of Naples and Fathers Parrondo and Irisarri of the province of Spain. The Neapolitan fathers destined by Father Roothaan for the projected juniorate at Florissant were not to be subject to recall by their provincial unless for reasons of health, the Spanish fathers were merely lent and that for a term of only three years.<sup>67</sup> Fathers Nota and Di Maria with the coadjutor-brothers, Romano and Lincetti, also from Naples, arrived at St. Louis University December 21, 1841.

<sup>66</sup> Roothaan ad Verhaegen, September 9, 1841. (AA).

<sup>67</sup> Roothaan ad Verhaegen, September 23, 1841. (AA).

Father Nota proceeded at once to the novitiate, where it had been planned to open the class of rhetoric some time previous to his arrival, but his tardy coming, together with the circumstance that the novices had not as yet made the prescribed retreat of thirty days, necessitated delay with the result that the class of rhetoric was actually begun only on January 24, 1842.<sup>68</sup> It was made up entirely of novices of the second year so that Father Roothaan's desire for a juniorate in the proper sense of the term, what Father Murphy was to call a juniorate *en regle*, was not yet realized. But the General had the matter very much at heart, as he wrote again to the vice-provincial July 12, 1842, enjoining not only that the novices were not to be withdrawn from the noviceship before the end of the *biennium* or two-year period of probation, but also that when that moment came they were not to be employed in the colleges "before finishing the juniorate, as it is called."<sup>69</sup>

Father Roothaan's wishes, however, did not create a juniorate. Circumstances still stood in the way and some years were to pass before its actual inception. Father Gleizal, master of novices, reported in 1849 that both scholastic- and coadjutor-novices were being withdrawn from the novitiate before the expiration of the *biennium*. "Of the fourteen novice-brothers one is at St. Charles, another in Cincinnati, still another in St. Louis."<sup>70</sup> The turn of the tide came with the administration of Father Murphy. A normally trained Jesuit himself, he was keen for the scholastic training of the younger members of the vice-province. With him the juniorate made an actual beginning. "We think we have done wonders this year (1852-1853) in finally beginning the juniorate. Shall we be able to continue it?"<sup>71</sup> It was a misgiving the vice-provincial

<sup>68</sup> *Hist Dom S Stan.* (E)

<sup>69</sup> According to contemporary registers there would seem to have been no juniorate properly so-called in Father Nota's time. The scholastics referred to in the following account as being taught by Nota were probably second-year novices. "The novices, on the completion of the biennium, were being sent to the colleges. But when at last the need of their pursuing their studies was realized, the Juniorate was established. Accordingly, Fathers Nota and Zerbinatti took in hand the instruction of 5 scholastics, on the plan usually followed in Rome, Father Zerbinatti was first made Superior of the scholastics but, on his being assigned to the Rocky Mountains, Father Nota discharged with repute for efficiency and virtue the duties both of Minister and Professor of the Juniors and Socius to the Master of Novices. He was sent eventually to the residence at St. Charles." Ms memorandum. (A)

<sup>70</sup> Gleizal à Roothaan, September 1, 1849 (AA)

<sup>71</sup> Murphy à Roothaan, April 1, 1853 (AA) Murphy had written to the General a year before "The novices König (27 years), Noguez (29 years), Galvin (19), McGill (22 years), all very solid [in virtue] and fairly good humanists under Father Arnould's direction will finish their two years about the time classes resume. May I dispose of them [in the colleges] and in this way manage to have the same number of elderly scholastics [in the colleges] go on to their studies? I

might well entertain. When in 1856 the members of the Swiss province temporarily attached to Missouri were being recalled to Europe, Father Gleizal became fearful lest the loss of their services might bring with it the suspension of the juniorate. Then one would have to do with the scholastics "as was formerly done with the others, namely, throw them into teaching without making them pass through the juniorate. We neglect the juniorate after the novitiate as we do the last [third] probation."<sup>72</sup> As a matter of fact, from Father Murphy's time on the juniorate was steadily maintained except for the period 1858-60, though not a few scholastics were permitted to slip through from novitiate to the colleges without sharing its benefits. The Visitor, Father Sopranis, was insistent that so critical a stage of training be not neglected. "It is quite necessary," he declared in 1860, "that the young men on completing the noviceship be held for the study of literature and eloquence. I think this is a principle on which the very welfare of this vice-province depends." He expressed himself again on the subject in 1862. "The few who enter are generally so backward in their studies that not a few years are required if they wish to be trained according to the norm of the Institute."<sup>73</sup> The stimulus that came from the presence of Father Sopranis in the vice-province soon made itself felt. "The Juniorate of St. Stanislaus," Father Coosemans was happy to inform the General in August, 1863, "is in a flourishing state. Those engaged in it give us much hope for the future."<sup>74</sup> Examinations, in which all the juniors met with success, are recorded for July, 1864. Two years later Coosemans was again able to report favorably to the Father General. "The Juniorate proceeds very well under the direction of Father Coppens, who seems to possess all the qualities which his position calls for."<sup>75</sup>

When the juniorate started on its career in the scholastic year 1852-1853, it had as its only professor the Belgian, Father Peter Arnoudt, a man of refined literary taste, who had to his credit the authorship of the well-known classic of devotional literature, *The Imitation of the Sacred Heart*. He was a Greek scholar of merit, a distinction all the more noteworthy in a day when proficiency in the language of ancient Hellas was less common in the vice-province than it subsequently became. A minister of the novitiate at this period, Father Messea, paid him this tribute: "Father Arnoudt is a holy man, exceedingly exact in

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make this request as there was question of a juniorate after the novitiate." Murphy à Roothaan, April 13, 1852

<sup>72</sup> Gleizal à Beckx, October 25, 1856 (AA)

<sup>73</sup> Sopranis à Beckx, September 20, 1862 (AA).

<sup>74</sup> Coosemans à Beckx, August 18, 1863 (AA)

<sup>75</sup> Coosemans à Beckx, February 20, 1866 (AA) June 3, 1867, the provincial consultors voted that examinations be made a feature of the juniorate program.



regular observance and exemplary in conduct.”<sup>76</sup> But more or less persistent ill-health impaired his efficiency and he died at fifty-four. In 1856 Father Joseph Fastré succeeded him as professor of rhetoric at Florissant, the conventional label under which the bulk of juniorate studies was described. Like his predecessor Fastré had a flair for literature. As so many others of his Belgian countrymen in the vice-province, he came to write English with idiomatic propriety and ease. This mastery of the vernacular he put to account in an English rendering of Father Arnoudt’s devotional book, which first appeared in a Latin version. Following Fastré in the single professorship maintained on behalf of the juniors were Fathers Ignatius Panken, John F. Diels, Joseph Keller, and William Stack Murphy, the last-named being thus engaged immediately after his retirement from the office of vice-provincial in 1862. The scholastic year 1865-1866 saw Father Charles Coppens directing the juniorate, a post he retained for ten years. Under him the humanistic training of the scholastics at length took on something like permanence and proper organization. He was in a sense the creator of the juniorate. Alien though he was, for he was a native son of Flanders, he came to speak and write the language of his adopted country with obvious success. Of this mastery of English he gave evidence in the compilation of two excellent manuals, *An Introduction to English Rhetoric* and *Oratorical Composition*. The ideal of rhetoric which they embody is the aristocratic and now old-fashioned one of Hugh Blair and his school, which saw in this subject of the curriculum the art of refined and elegant expression. Our more democratic age conceives of rhetoric as a device or set of devices making for expression that is above everything else effective. Effectiveness, not elegance, is the watchword of the new rhetoric. Yet Father Coppens’s books, though they echo a departed tradition in the pedagogy of English, are still found by not a few teachers to be of excellent service in the class-room.<sup>77</sup>

The juniorate staff was later reenforced by additional professors and is at this writing (1937) organized as the Normal Department of St. Louis University.

#### § 5 THE SCHOLASTICATE

Like other elements in the Jesuit organization in the West the scholasticate developed slowly and by degrees. A Jesuit scholasticate, it may be explained here, is a seminary in which the younger members

<sup>76</sup> Messae à Beckx, February 17, 1854 (AA).

<sup>77</sup> Charles Coppens, S. J., *Practical Introduction to English Rhetoric* (New York, 1886), *Art of Oratorical Composition based upon the Precepts and Models of the Old Masters* (New York, 1886). There is a sketch of Father Coppens in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, 4:432.

of the order pursue their studies in philosophy and theology. The first appearance of such an institution in the West was at Florissant, where the novice group from White Marsh, after taking their first vows in the autumn of 1823, began at once the study of philosophy. A year later a class in theology was organized, with Messrs. Verhaegen and Elet, not yet ordained, as professors of dogma and Father Van Quickenborne as professor of moral theology. In the fall of 1825 Father De Theux arrived from the East to take in hand the class in dogma. This proto-scholasticate may be said to have been discontinued at the end of 1827 when the divinity students, all priests by that time, underwent their final examinations in theology. From 1829 to 1834 the mission registers make no mention of a professor of theology. Father Kenney's Memorial of 1832 has only this to say of the studies of the scholastics "The good of this mission imperatively demands that those who have not yet made their degree be not detained in any occupation that will prevent the necessary preparation. The completion of his theology is, however, conceived to be quite reconcilable with the office of minister, and perhaps (if such duty be absolutely necessary), with a class that will not occupy more than one hour a day and will require little previous study on his part."

For several years subsequent to 1827 there was not a sufficient number of scholastics in the West to warrant a class of philosophy or theology on their behalf. To afford the necessary guidance to the one or other of the group who chanced to be ready for the prosecution of his studies, as in the case of Mr. Van Sweevelt, whom Father Kenney mentions by name in his Memorial, one of the St. Louis University fathers, beginning with 1835, was named professor of moral and dogmatic theology. Thus, in that year Father Verhaegen, rector of the university, was lecturer on moral theology. On becoming superior of the mission in 1836 he was succeeded in his professorship by Father Van de Velde, who appears in the mission register for 1837 as professor of dogmatic and moral theology. Communicating with Father Verhaegen in 1836 Father Roothaan touched on the subject of the scholasticate:

I desire your Reverence not to take upon yourself any teaching duties whatever, for you have enough and more than enough to keep you busy. You will not be at a loss to find some who are competent to teach Ours Theology and Philosophy, e. g. Fathers Elet and Van de Velde. As to where the scholasticate ought to be fixed, I am at a loss to say, but if it be started in St. Louis College, your Reverence will see to it that neither professors nor students suffer annoyance in their studies. Be convinced that the welfare of the Mission is altogether bound up with the proper formation of its members. Only have patience and in a few years things will run in a smoother course and all the more so that we have taken pains to lay a solid foundation

I should gladly send a man to train your scholastics, but we are besieged on all hands by so many petitions, and so much needs to be done in the European provinces that I cannot think of any one to assign you.<sup>78</sup>

The question of a location for the scholasticate was finally settled in favor of St. Louis University, where in the session 1837-1838 a class in divinity was conducted for the first time. "Changes! Changes! Changes!" Father Verhaegen exclaims in a letter to a Jesuit friend. "I am at the noviceship and Father De Theux is stationed at the College. The change is owing to a letter which I recently received from head-quarters. The scholasticate must be formed and good Father De Theux presides over it and teaches Divinity. I feel that our Very Rev. Father is determined to go ahead and make us follow him. *Deo Gratias.*"<sup>79</sup> The faculty of this second scholasticate in the West included, in addition to Father De Theux, Father Carrell, lecturer on metaphysics, and Father Van Sweevelt, lecturer on physics and mathematics. The scholastics following the courses, namely, Emig, Druyts, Van den Eycken, Verheyden and Duerinck, were all at the same time engaged as teachers in the University. In the session 1838-1839 there was, besides a class of second-year theologians, a group of four making a first year in philosophy. In the session 1839-1840 Father Mignard from Grand Coteau College, Louisiana, replaced Father De Theux as prefect of higher studies in the University. That same year there was a class of theology of the third year and two of philosophy, each, however, of the classes having only two members. Thus, a group of scholastics had been brought through three years of theology.

On November 4, 1841, Father Stephen Parrondo of the province of Spain arrived at St. Louis University and a class in moral theology was thereupon begun.<sup>80</sup> As Missouri was poorly equipped with professors of the advanced studies, Father Roothaan had assigned to it in addition to Parrondo, Fathers Nota, Di Maria and Irisarri. With competent professors now at hand, an attempt was made in the session 1842-1843 to separate philosophers from theologians. Under Father Parrondo's direction, five scholastics studied moral theology at St. Louis University. The philosophers, six in number, were housed at the so-called College Farm on the northern outskirts of St. Louis, where Father John Schoenmakers was superior, Father Irisarri, professor of elementary mathematics and Greek, and Father Di Maria, of philosophy.<sup>81</sup> The school of philosophy at the College Farm was main-

<sup>78</sup> Roothaan ad Verhaegen, July 23, 1836. (A).

<sup>79</sup> Verhaegen to McSherry, October 17, 1837 (B)

<sup>80</sup> *Diarium Universitatis S. Ludovici.* (A)

<sup>81</sup> A tract of land approximately four hundred acres in extent, the estate of

tained but a year, being transferred in 1844 to St. Louis University. In October, 1843, a class of philosophy, taught by Father Nota, was started at the novitiate, but lasted only a year, the students continuing their course in St. Louis. In 1844 Father Parrondo was sent to Grand Coteau College as professor of moral theology and philosophy to the scholastics attached to the teaching-staff of that institution.

Such in brief outline was the story of the attempt made during twenty years and more to provide for the ecclesiastical studies of the Missouri scholastics. It may be of interest now to retrace our steps awhile and follow the same story anew as it is told with living detail in Jesuit correspondence of the day.

In July, 1835, the situation, as it then stood, was set before the General by Father Elet. The scholastics of the mission, all of them engaged in teaching in St. Louis University, numbered only five. Of these Mr. Van Sweevelt was being taught dogmatic theology by Father Verhaegen. Two of the number were studying metaphysics and two moral theology, but they made little progress as class-room duties stood in the way. Moreover, their professors could give them scant attention as they likewise had other business on their hands and so came to class unprepared or late or in some cases not at all. Father Elet made the urgent suggestion that some of the young men be taught mathematics before taking up theology. The only St. Louis Jesuit knowing mathematics and physics was Father Van de Velde. And yet "the Americans set great store by these sciences," which are taught at the University by lay-teachers, "a thing not to our credit."<sup>82</sup> Five years later Father Van de Velde recorded that among the scholastics, all now gathered in St. Louis under Father Mignard as superior, there was "a better organization and a new eagerness for study." But they were too much taken up with occupations of the class-room to apply themselves to study with anything like profit. There was accordingly a consensus of opinion that the scholasticate should be set up elsewhere than in St. Louis. Yet in the actual shortage of men it was impossible to find a remedy for "this unpleasant situation."<sup>83</sup>

Father Roothaan was thus not being left in the dark as to the difficulties that beset the Society in the West in its efforts to secure the proper education of its members. In the August of 1840 Father Elet,

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Lewis Meriwether Clark, son of General William Clark, was acquired by St. Louis University in 1836 with a view to making it the future site of the University, a plan that was never carried into effect. The property, located in what is now North St. Louis, became known familiarly as the College Farm. Cf. *infra*, Chap. XXXIV, § 3.

<sup>82</sup> Elet à Roothaan, July 14, 1835 (AA).

<sup>83</sup> Van de Velde ad Roothaan, August 22, 1840. (AA).

president at this time of St. Louis University, again brought the pressing subject of studies to his attention

There is talk now and then of starting a new college in Cincinnati and a residence in New Orleans. A very broad field presents itself in both places with promise of a most abundant yield. But workers are lacking and will be lacking in the future unless some thought is given to a Seminary for Ours entirely separate from the college [St. Louis]. The St. Francis Xavier farm or rather a fourth part of it would suit the purpose from every point of view. Unless this be done we shall never have men such as the Society desires. What happened to us lately shall happen to us again, namely that young men of talent will ask to be admitted not into our own but into some other Province and this precisely because no opportunity is given the scholastics here of perfecting themselves in such things as equip us for our ministry. Let some of the older Fathers as Gleizal, de Sautois, Van Sweevelt etc. be called back to the college and teach until the scholastics have finished their course of studies. All this can easily be put into effect provided your Paternity assign us two men of marked virtue and learning and provided nothing new be started. Believe me, Father, unless this be done, this Vice-Province, which promises such a fine harvest of good, will go to ruin and be a discredit to the Society.<sup>84</sup>

In the course of the scholastic year 1841-1842 the five teaching scholastics, Druyts, O'Loghlen, Maesseele, Arnoudt and Damen, after doing their philosophy in the compendious fashion of the day under Father Mignard, went on to moral theology, their instruction in this subject being limited to three one-hour lectures a week by Father Verhaegen. This duty was taken over by Father Parrondo on his arrival in St. Louis. "The five youths named," the words are those of Verhaegen written to the General in February, 1842, "have almost reached their thirtieth year and most of them have lived about eight years in the Society. Moreover, from the time they finished their novitiate they have been laboriously and steadily engaged in the instruction of youth. They cannot be taken out of their classes because there are no substitutes to replace them. So we think it necessary that they go through the whole of moral theology before beginning to study dogma." Father Verhaegen then went on to say that the five scholastics, on knowing enough of moral theology to take the step, were to be ordained, after which they would study dogma as long as necessary, meanwhile discharging their assigned duties in the class-room. Moreover, there was Mr. d'Hoop at Grand Coteau and Messrs. Van den Eycken and Duerinck in Cincinnati, all of whom had nearly finished their studies in moral and were shortly to be ordained. They were then to go to

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<sup>84</sup> Elet ad Roothaan, August 25, 1840 (AA).

St. Louis and join the five scholastics there in the study of dogma. "From what I have written above, your Paternity will see that there exists in the Vice-Province the nucleus of a scholasticate and if the novices, who in the main are highly promising youths, persevere in the Society, within two years everything touching the scholasticate will be duly organized according to the Institute."<sup>85</sup>

The College Farm scholasticate of the early forties proved to be only an experiment and an unsuccessful one at that. The account which Father Van de Velde gave of it to the General in August, 1843, after it had been in operation for a year, was not a flattering one. The maintenance of the scholastics entailed a debt on the farm of a thousand dollars, which the vice-provincial had no means of paying off. The proposal was made to transfer the scholasticate to the University, but the financial situation would not improve with the change. The revenue of the University was scarcely adequate to the support of the actual staff. How could it maintain the scholastics besides? Moreover, the location of the College Farm seemed to be an unhealthy one, as nearly all the young men studying there had fallen ill. The gravest stricture passed by Van de Velde on the scholasticate was that it was made up of only the least competent of the scholastics. In Cincinnati Father Elet, rector of St. Xavier's, was at a loss for substitutes to replace Father Pin, who had left the Society, and the Bishop's seminarians, who had formerly lent their services as teachers in the college. With authorization from the vice-provincial, Elet now took Mr. Kernion from the scholasticate and conscripted, besides, the novices Smarius and Fastré. "A scholasticate run in this fashion," concludes Van de Velde, "will become only a burden on the Vice-Province."<sup>86</sup>

Not more than a few weeks had slipped by since Father Van de Velde penned the above cited letter when he himself became vice-provincial and the problem of the scholasticate now looked to him for solution. The venture at the College Farm ended in failure, there were no scholastics studying there after the summer of 1843.<sup>87</sup> Seeing no hope of setting up the scholasticate again in the vice-province, Van de Velde decided to send at least the more promising of the young men

<sup>85</sup> Verhaegen ad Roothaan, February 12, 1842 (AA)

<sup>86</sup> Van de Velde à Roothaan, August 23, 1843 (AA)

<sup>87</sup> From a letter of Verhaegen's to the General (November 10, 1843) it would appear that an attempt was made to start a scholasticate, presumably in St. Louis. "At length a beginning has been made with our Scholasticate. And we are following in it, in almost every detail, practically the same program which Father Di Maria brought from the Roman Province. The affair began with only three students, but in a short time their number grew to six and before the end of the year it will grow to nine."

abroad for their studies. Accordingly in the August of 1846 the scholastics Thomas O'Neil and David Shepperd and the novices Frederick Garesché and Joseph Keller set out from Florissant for Rome, there to begin their philosophy in the venerable Jesuit institution known as the Roman College. "I hope," wrote Smedts, the novice-master, to the General, "that you will be pleased with them and that they will one day become the ornament of the Vice-Province."<sup>88</sup> Father Roothaan was in the event pleased with the young men "To judge by the 4 young Missourians whom we had in Rome, material is not wanting among you. Everything depends on the care we take to give it shape. Poor lads, who are treated so often as fruit which one shakes down and gathers in before it is ripe!"<sup>89</sup> The revolutionary troubles that ensued in 1848 cut short the Roman studies of the Missourians and in the June of that year they had returned to St. Louis.

Father Roothaan's first letter to Elet on his succeeding Van de Velde in the office of vice-provincial urged upon him the starting of a scholasticate. The difficulties that beset such a venture were set forth by Elet in the answer which he returned

I am expecting the Spanish Fathers and a few scholastics of the same nation with the utmost impatience. Whether or not they come, depends on your Paternity, and their coming is a matter that concerns so much the glory of God. Send good Fathers Irissari and Parrondo, who left America with such keen regret. When I think of the thousands of souls who have been lost here or are now being lost every day, of the apostasies without number among the emigrants from Europe because there is no one to break to them the bread of life and of the indifference to the missions which the Provincials and other Superiors in Europe have shown in my regard almost everywhere, I cannot help regarding the persecution against the Society in Europe as a just punishment *Quantum mutata ab illa*. The personnel of our Vice-Province discourages me. Father Van de Velde [now Bishop of Chicago] has left us. Father Nota has quit the Society. Father Cotting is in another Province. Father Arnoudt is *hors du combat*. Fathers Druyts and O'Loughlin are in broken health. Your Paternity tells me that I cannot count upon the Swiss Fathers, who so far are chiefly taken up with their scholastics and several of whom do not care to apply themselves to English. I have almost no trained subjects and if I cannot count on the Swiss for 3 or 4 years to replace some of Ours, I must give up the idea of having any later on. And yet, were I only supported, before the end of my provincialate I could put everything on a good footing as regards both material things and personnel.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>88</sup> Smedts à Roothaan, September 29, 1846 (AA).

<sup>89</sup> Roothaan à Gleizal, January 3, 1850 (AA).

<sup>90</sup> Elet à Roothaan, March 16, 1849 (AA). Father Elet's strictures on the European superiors for not answering his appeal for recruits were not well founded. The Jesuit provinces in Europe were themselves greatly short-handed in men.

By far the most ambitious attempt at a scholasticate yet seen in the West was made in the fall of 1848 when courses in philosophy and theology under competent professors were opened at St. Louis University. The circumstance that made the step possible was the arrival in St. Louis of the party of refugee Swiss and German Jesuits whose stirring experiences have been already chronicled. As a matter of fact, the scholasticate now opened in St. Louis was an enterprise rather of this group of exiled Jesuits than of the vice-province of Missouri. The newcomers furnished not only the students, almost without exception, but also the entire teaching-staff. Studies were under the direction of Father Francis Xavier Friedrich, who was also professor of dogmatic theology, while Father Joseph Aschwanden filled the chair of moral theology, Hebrew and sacred scripture. Among the students in attendance was Anthony Anderledy, a future General of the Society of Jesus, who was raised to the priesthood in the St. Louis cathedral by Archbishop Kenrick September 29, 1848. As conditions in St. Louis did not prove satisfactory, the scholasticate was transferred in the summer of 1849 to Florissant, where the new "rock building," begun as far back as 1839, was hurried forward to completion so as to provide quarters for the scholastics. It was reckoned that their health would improve with the opportunity for country walks now within reach, moreover, they would not be disturbed as they had been in St. Louis by the presence of noisy students on the University campus. At Florissant, Fathers John Baptist Miége, Christopher Genelli and Peter Spicher made up the faculty. But in September, 1850, the students of theology were brought back to St. Louis, those of philosophy and rhetoric remaining at Florissant. Finally, at the end of the academic year 1850-1851, this promising scholasticate, housed partly at St. Louis, partly at Florissant, passed from the scene as a result of the recall to their own province of the European scholastics who made up its classes.

Obviously the plan of having the scholastics teach in the colleges and do their divinity studies at the same time was only a makeshift, which nothing but the meagre handful of men available in the vice-province could serve to justify. Both Father Verhaegen and, to a certain extent, Father Elet, as was seen, sought to remedy the situation by setting up regularly organized seminaries, which, however, achieved only an ephemeral career. Father Van de Velde made no attempt at all, at least no successful one, to organize a scholasticate but contented himself with sending a few candidates for the priesthood to Rome. This was the first time the vice-province had sent any of its members outside of its own limits for study. But it was the obvious thing to do if the young Jesuits could not be properly educated at home. Shortly before his death in 1851 Father Elet adopted this plan, as Van de Velde had



done before him, by entering six fathers and three scholastics, all of them theologians, at Georgetown University, where the Maryland province was conducting a seminary for Jesuit students<sup>91</sup> In view of the prevailing acute shortage of professors in the colleges this was considered a courageous move on the part of Elet and as such elicited commendation from the Father General. It was not possible, however, to continue to send all the young Jesuits for their studies to a regularly organized scholasticate During the session 1852-1853 such of them as were doing moral theology were, the majority at least, in St. Louis, two were at Bardstown and others in Cincinnati.

A scholasticate conducted by French Jesuits at Fordham on the outskirts of New York was at this time in successful operation and ready to receive students from other parts of the country Some Missourians, but never more than three or four, were in residence there during the period 1852-1857, among them John Verdin, Cornelius Smarius, Frederick Garesche and Thomas O'Neil, all of whom were later to render eminent services to the Society in the West "I find," wrote Father Murphy in 1853, "that the course of study there [Fordham] is of a quality sufficient to make good theologians. Assertion is made that at Georgetown too much stress was laid on questions of slight utility." Father Murphy, as a member of the New York-Canada Mission, which conducted the Fordham seminary, was probably partial to it as a house of studies though in no reprehensible way. The scholastics on the other hand were said to favor Georgetown as they found the "good" French fathers of Fordham too French and with slight inclination to take on such American customs as might under the circumstances be desirable. But Father Murphy denied the prevalence at Fordham of what he called "Gallicism" and cited the experience of Father Verdin, American-born, who spent a year in the New York house without being aware of the presence of any such spirit about him Finally, in 1864 Father Sopranis was finding Fordham "a little too French" and Georgetown "too American"<sup>92</sup>

At the beginning of 1855 classes for the philosophers were opened in St. Louis, where, besides, one or other scholastic was instructed in dogma by Father Di Maria, whose classes were suspended in August, 1857, by his appointment to parochial duties in Terre Haute, Indiana. He was replaced by Father Verhaegen, who retained his post only a few months, being transferred at the beginning of 1858 to St. Charles, Missouri. His lectures in theology at the University had been followed

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<sup>91</sup> They were Fathers De Blicck, Oakley, Mearns, Verdin, Salari, Costa and Messrs Caredda, De Meester and Haering

<sup>92</sup> Coosemans à Beckx, April 6, 1864 (AA).

among others by the four scholastics recalled in August, 1857, from Fordham to St. Louis. The assignment of Missouri scholastics to eastern houses of studies had never been viewed with favor by certain fathers of the vice-province, especially by De Smet, who wrote to Father Beckx in May, 1856: "One may see the danger there is in Ours being sent either to Maryland or Fordham. The fine big towns of Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Boston, etc., offer great attractions and so our men there lose their attachment to their poor Vice-Province. This has been the case with several."<sup>93</sup> However justified Father De Smet's apprehensions on this score may have been, it is certain that no such undesirable result followed the education in later years of large numbers of western scholastics at the Maryland seminary of Woodstock.

All during his incumbency as vice-provincial Father Murphy made energetic efforts to promote the studies of the scholastics. In 1855, when he had been governing four years at St. Louis, Father Gleizal petitioned the General to prolong Murphy's term of office so that he might continue the efforts he had so happily begun to insure the proper "formation" of the younger members.<sup>94</sup> Father Murphy was ever a shrewd observer of conditions and the views he communicated to the General touching the educational needs of the American Jesuits are replete with insight. To Father Roothaan he expressed himself thus on the subject:

Unbelief and heresy are not erudite in this New World. Let Ours get their Perrone and Gury with what ecclesiastical history and New Testament study is necessary and they will find themselves in the first rank. In ecclesiastical and canonical questions the *Dictionnaire* of Ferraris is the oracle. Father Gury's work circulates more and more among the clergy. I believe it will become the universal *Vade Mecum*.<sup>95</sup>

He recurred to the same subject the following year:

And yet studies have made a step forward every year. Perhaps one has failed to consider that in this Vice-Province it was necessary to destroy before one could build and that it was impossible to build securely and permanently while accidents, (deaths, illnesses,) dismissals, unexpected departures, ill-timed obligations taken on, while such things, I say, came at every moment to interrupt the work, to throw it back, sometimes to stop it altogether. For two years now we have had a juniorate *en regle*, this year we count on beginning a scholasticate in philosophy. Three subjects are destined for the New York theologate [Fordham], six Fathers for Third Probation and three for the German Missions alone, and yet we do not flatter ourselves that we

<sup>93</sup> De Smet à Beckx, May 13, 1856 (AA)

<sup>94</sup> Gleizal à Beckx, June 10, 1855 (AA)

<sup>95</sup> Murphy à Roothaan, April 1, 1853 (AA)

shall be able to realize all our plans. Our Europeans [Swiss] can be recalled any day and in that case we are pushed back again, handicapped, disappointed. I admire the virtue and devotion of so many Fathers and scholastics who grow old with no hope of being able one day to study. They agree frankly that there is no remedy for this state of things. In effect the first and second generations have been sacrificed in this respect. Efforts must be made to have the third pass through the regular stages of the Institute. But while waiting for our studies to reach an absolutely superior level, I can assure your Paternity that your sons meet every demand in respect to theology and belles-lettres. It has been written [to you] that the ancient languages do not flourish in America. Controversy, such as you find it treated in good English books, is more than sufficient in our dealings with heresy. In England one stands more in need of patristic and biblical learning. American preachers scarcely venture into this field for very good reasons. The question only is how to justify religion from a social, political, progressive point of view, to prove its compatibility with true liberty and the real welfare of the people. God be thanked, Ours are not behindhand in this polemical arena. As to Moral Theology, it leaves nothing to be desired. We have the necessary men and books.<sup>96</sup>

Father Murphy, however, for all his interest in the adequate training of the Jesuits under him never succeeded in restoring the scholasticate, if indeed he ever attempted to do so.<sup>97</sup> His successor, Father Druyts, made the attempt and succeeded. In August, 1857, he recalled the four Missouri scholastics from Fordham to St. Louis where they continued their studies under Father Verhaegen. The following October he advised the General, Father Beckx. "It is our intention not to send our scholastics elsewhere but to educate them all at home. At least we shall make a strong effort to do so, unless your Paternity judge otherwise."<sup>98</sup> A month later he wrote "We confess once more that studies in philosophy and theology are not yet properly organized. This year out of eleven theologians and five philosophers of the first year living in St. Louis College there is scarcely one who is not employed in teaching the lower classes. I shall try so to arrange things next year that some of the scholastics will not be engaged in teaching and to make the thing a success I shall without fail take a certain number of them out of the colleges and begin the scholasticate (on a small scale) in the country house built lately by St. Louis College [University] in the environs of the city."<sup>99</sup> This arrangement, added Father Druyts, was the only

<sup>96</sup> Murphy à Beckx, July 8, 1854. (AA)

<sup>97</sup> De Smet informed the General, May 13, 1856, that Father Murphy had bought sixty acres of land two leagues from St. Louis for a scholasticate.

<sup>98</sup> Druyts ad Beckx, October 6, 1857. (AA)

<sup>99</sup> Druyts ad Beckx, November 16, 1857. (AA)

one that would safeguard studies effectively. Strangely enough, even the scholastics sent in 1856 to Belgium for their philosophy had classroom duties occasionally imposed upon them while they were pursuing their studies. A similar thing happened at Fordham where Fathers Smarius and Garesche, sent thither for courses in theology, were pressed into service as instructors respectively in rhetoric and drawing.

The scholasticate now projected by Father Druyts was to occupy the same suburban property of St. Louis University known as the College Farm which had witnessed Father Verhaegen's venture of a philosophate in 1842-1843. It opened its doors on September 10, 1858, with a faculty of three professors and an attendance of eight theologians and as many philosophers, all of whom, so Druyts informed the General, seemed "to be quite absorbed in their studies and to live in great contentment in the new house, fitted out very imperfectly though it be." Moreover, he thanked the Father General for requiring a certain mission to pay its debts to Missouri, which was sorely in need of money, especially for the scholasticate, which, very insignificant though it might be in the eyes of others, would "occasion no slight anxiety and difficulties not a few."<sup>100</sup> Father De Smet, procurator or treasurer of the vice-province, had calculated that between three and four thousand dollars were needed for the annual support of the scholastics.<sup>101</sup>

The superior of the seminary was Father Francis Xavier Wippern, who taught sacred scripture and philosophy. Associated with him on the faculty during the session 1858-1859 were Fathers Thomas O'Neil and Adrian Van Hulst, the former lecturing on dogmatic theology, the latter on physics, mathematics and canon law. The faculty for 1859-1860 consisted, in addition to Father Wippern, of Father Di Maria, professor of dogma, and Father Mearns, professor of moral, with Father Verreydt as spiritual director. In view of his office as superior of the scholasticate, Father Wippern was, at his own petition, advanced on February 2, 1862, from the grade of spiritual coadjutor to that of professed of the four vows. He had made his divinity studies in Switzerland and in his teaching of philosophy was said to follow the system of Father Rothenflue, a Swiss Jesuit, whose views, it was alleged, were not always in harmony with those of the recognized exponents of scholasticism. "I note," observed Father Beckx to Wippern in 1859, "that Father Rothenflue has pledged himself to be ready to teach

<sup>100</sup> Druyts ad Beckx, October 10, 1858 (AA)

<sup>101</sup> De Smet à Beckx, January 7, 1858 (A). The fund available for the support of the scholastics amounted annually to thirty-three hundred dollars, and was derived from fifteen hundred dollars interest on the fifteen thousand dollars loaned by the vice-province to Chicago, a tax of four hundred dollars levied on St. Louis and Cincinnati each, and an odd thousand dollars from other sources.

in such wise as not to implicate himself in any of the censured propositions”<sup>102</sup> As to Father D<sub>i</sub> Maria, he was apparently never at ease in a professor’s chair, for which he was eminently qualified, but preferred the duties of a pastor of souls, having been assured by Father Roothaan, so he maintained, that he was to be employed chiefly in this occupation. As a matter of fact, he was given charge of parishes successively in Marshall, Missouri, Bardstown, Kentucky, and Terre Haute, Indiana. Finally, at his own petition, he was allowed to attach himself to the province of Maryland, where as one of the attending pastors of old St. Joseph’s Church, Willing’s Alley, Philadelphia, he was greatly beloved by the congregation<sup>103</sup> In August, 1861, when he was about to leave the West, Father Murphy wrote of him to the General “Father D<sub>i</sub> Maria is about to pass over to Maryland. A first-class theologian and philosopher and one born to teach, but he yearns for the external ministry. Not very acceptable to our own folk, he pleases men of position amazingly by something or other in the way he deports himself, which is at once frank and forceful, and by his bodily bearing, which has something military about it and noble.”<sup>104</sup>

Among the scholastics studying at the College Farm was Father Walter Hill, who in a diary tells pleasantly of his experiences at this period

I began the study of philosophy, ethics, with Dmowski as text-book, Fr Wippern, teacher, and logic and metaphysics, Rothenflue as text-book, Fr Nussbaum, professor I thus made two years in one In 1857 I began moral and dogmatic theology with Father Verhaegen as professor, text-books, Busenbaum and Perrone Early in the spring of 1858 Fr Druyts resolved to establish a scholasticate In 1857 a brick house, narrow and high, was built at College Hill as a summer-resort for the college, we took possession of it in 1857, July, and the first night a frightful storm nearly blew it down In the following spring it was doubled in its width by a solid addition in order to fit it for the scholasticate The scholastics began their course there on September 11th, 1858, Father Wippern being Superior Father Thos O’Neil was professor of dogmatic theology and he selected and ordered from London an excellent collection of works There were seventeen scholastic students in all, the first year With plenty of good books, Father Wippern being very kind and fatherly, I spent the two happiest years of my life there Father Druyts often encouraged us with his presence and gave us excellent instructions now and then Early in the spring of 1859 we laid out the garden according to a plan which I proposed, it was fenced in, the walks, the mound

<sup>102</sup> Beckx ad Wippern, November 12, 1859 (AA)

<sup>103</sup> Father D<sub>i</sub> Maria’s Philadelphia career is sketched in Eleanor Cecilia Donnelly, *Memoir of Father Felix Joseph Barbelin, S.J.* (1886)

<sup>104</sup> Murphy ad Beckx, August 14, 1861 (AA)

at the centre were made and Father Druyts gave us a hundred dollars worth of shrubbery, the rest we got chiefly at the novitiate

We proposed to make a walk up the hill, but this proved too much for us and an engineer from Calvary cemetery had to do it

Our annual vacation was spent at College Hill with trips to the "Spanish Pond," to Mr Z Chambers' hospitable dwelling, to the college, etc

My chief difficulty in study was want of suitable books of philosophy, this I partially remedied by Billuart and Gott

When Father Druyts was laying plans in the spring of 1858 for housing the scholastics at the College Farm, the vice-province unexpectedly came into the possession of three hundred and twelve acres of land situated near Carlyle, Illinois, at a distance of forty-seven miles from St Louis A Mrs. Tighe of St. Louis was the generous donor. Father Druyts thought of this property as "a promising site" for the scholasticate and wrote without delay to the General to secure his approval Meantime, however, so he added, "we must begin our young and modest little scholasticate near the city of St. Louis, for we have no means to build and must incur no debts."<sup>105</sup> The College Farm, the property of St Louis University, was reported to be worth at this time some two thousand dollars an acre, while the valuation put on the Carlyle tract was between one hundred and two hundred dollars an acre It was not a seemly thing, commented Father Druyts, to ask the University to reserve twenty or thirty acres of its valuable property for the purposes of a scholasticate In the event the latter was not located at Carlyle, the property acquired there being later disposed of A description of it occurs in a letter of De Smet's

On the 30th [March, 1858] in company with Brother Martin [Hasler] I paid a flying visit and took a stealthy peep at Carlyle Mansion—the situation is beautiful—the land is very good—there is a beautiful orchard on the place—a very fine lane of Locust trees leads up to the house, which is situated on a high eminence from which you can see the country all around for ten or fifteen miles distance—there are about thirty acres of tolerable timber—there is a quarry and a coal mine on the place The house, I must say, is not much—it might answer for some little purposes, with some little repair, for it has been much neglected for these several years past, it certainly cannot answer for a scholasticate and it would be absolutely necessary to build should it be finally determined to place it at Carlyle Carlyle is a thriving little place, with a court-house, a stone jail and a Catholic Church—it is prospering The 140 acres are of course intended as a gift, sine onere—there remains about two hundred acres which Mrs T[ighe] will leave us, under very favorable conditions—all she desires is to liquidate her debts, amounting to about \$9,000, which she has three years to settle—by selling yearly a few

<sup>105</sup> Druyts à Beckx, April 18, 1858 (AA).

acies in town lots that sum, it is said, could easily be obtained. All this, of course, must require some further consideration, explanation and planning.<sup>106</sup>

### § 6 THE COMMON SCHOLASTICATE

Though the Jesuits of the Middle West had put their best foot forward in the College Farm scholasticate, this earnest attempt to solve the problem of the education of the scholastics can hardly be said to have issued in success. But the institution would in all probability have continued to exist beyond the two years that rounded out its career had it not been for the arrival in the United States of the Visitor, Father Sopranis, with instructions from the Father General to arrange for a common house of studies for the various divisions of the Society of Jesus in North America. On July 27, 1860, Father Coosemans wrote from St. Louis to the General: "I am very glad that Father Visitor, who arrived here last week, has taken the matter in hand and established [?] a common scholasticate where the young men of the Vice-Province may receive the education prescribed by the Institute."<sup>107</sup>

The idea of a general seminary as the only remedy for the unsatisfactory condition of things then prevailing in the ecclesiastical training of the scholastics of the Society was in the air at least a decade or two before circumstances gave it concrete shape. In 1850 Father Aschwandan, a Swiss refugee of 1848, who had been teaching theology in St. Louis University, communicated to Father Roothaan his opinion that it would be advisable for "the young men of the Province in question [Missouri] to make their entire course of studies in the same college with the young men of the Province of Maryland, as it would be also advisable for the young Fathers of both Provinces [to make their Tertianship] in the same house of Third Probation. For these things will never be done properly in either Province alone, especially in Missouri, for it is too small and the superiors there have taken in hand too many petty houses and missions."<sup>108</sup> In 1852 Father Murphy expressed his mind on the subject: "A general scholasticate for the Provinces and missions might be formed more easily here at home than elsewhere, for instance at Bardstown, where everything is on a good footing. We should need a few professors and a good Minister."<sup>109</sup> A year later he wrote again on the same subject: "If it be possible to have a scholasti-

<sup>106</sup> De Smet à Druyts, April 2, 1858 (A). The common scholasticate was to serve the needs of the Maryland Province, the Missouri Vice-Province (province in 1863), the New Orleans Mission, the California Mission, the Canada-New York Mission.

<sup>107</sup> Coosemans à Beckx, July 27, 1860 (AA).

<sup>108</sup> Aschwandan ad Roothaan, August 13, 1850 (AA).

<sup>109</sup> Murphy à Roothaan, November 15, 1852 (AA).

cate for all America, Frederick, Md., might suit, but in this case the Italian Fathers should be left there. They are said to be wedded to less essential matters as also to the customs of their own Province. This is perhaps a good defect in America where everything tends to independence and to *laissez-aller*, besides, these good Fathers will soon arrive at a proper mean both as regards local discipline and choice of studies.”<sup>110</sup>

The case for a common scholasticate was put with characteristic neatness by Father Isidore Boudreaux. “In my opinion one could do nothing more substantial or effective for the good of the Society in America than to establish a single scholasticate. It is the preferable plan both as regards the professors, of whom a better choice could be made, and as regards the students, who would show more emulation and be better disciplined and more effectually separated from the world.” But the decisive reason in favor of a common scholasticate, so Father Boudreaux judged, was that Missouri would never solve its educational problems without it. Different locations for it were suggested, Bardstown, also Frederick in Maryland, and Cincinnati, where the Jesuit property known as the Purcell Mansion seemed to Father Verhaegen excellently adapted to the purpose. But this last suggestion did not commend itself to Father Stonestreet, the Maryland provincial, who saw in the alleged unfriendly attitude towards the Jesuits of Father Edward Purcell, the Archbishop’s brother, an objection to the Jesuits’ locating a general house of studies in Cincinnati.<sup>111</sup> In the event the experiment of a common scholasticate was first to be made in Boston.

The one great evil which the plan of a common house of studies sought to remedy was the practice of requiring the scholastics to act as instructors in the colleges and at the same time get up the studies preparatory to ordination. This was surely no substitute for the normal course of Jesuit training.<sup>112</sup> Though the matter has already been dealt with, one or other further instance in point will not be out of place. “What profit could [the scholastics] half-asleep and fagged out after their long day spent in teaching possibly derive from lectures, however learned?” The query was put to Father French, the English assistant,

<sup>110</sup> Murphy à Roothaan, April 1, 1853 (AA)

<sup>111</sup> Murphy à Beckx, October 5, 1855 (AA) (?)

<sup>112</sup> Curiously enough, even in Father Murphy’s eyes the practice did not work on the whole to the serious prejudice of the scholastics. “As a result some have enough time at their disposal for study and in this way they combine the two things [study and teaching] as far as circumstances allow and for the most part with satisfactory results. Murphy à Roothaan, April 1, 1853 (AA). But other superiors, among them at a later period Murphy himself, regarded the practice in question as an evil justified only by unavoidable circumstances.



by Father Francis O'Loughlen of St Louis, who had himself been through the ordeal.<sup>113</sup> Father Kenney in his visitation of 1832 had ruled that not more than one hour a day of teaching should be required of scholastics or fathers still pursuing their studies, but under stress of circumstances the period had lengthened out to several hours daily. At Bardstown in 1852 the rector, Father Emig, proposed to limit the teaching hours of the scholastics on his staff to two and a half hours daily so as to allow them leisure for their divinity studies, an arrangement which he apparently thought an indulgent one in their regard. How the system worked out is illustrated in the case of Father Van de Velde. He had begun his theology at Georgetown in 1825. At St. Louis University, nine years later, he was absorbed in various occupations with theology still unfinished. He was at once minister, prefect of studies, professor of mathematics and Spanish, and for a period treasurer of the University. Obviously there was no leisure amid this formidable round of duties for dipping into books of theology. "What is to be done," he asks in a bewildered sort of way of Father Roothaan, "in this scarcity of personnel when every one has on his hands all that he can possibly do?" And so the situation persisted unchanged for some four or five years longer until finally, without having had time even to look at the examination-papers, as he declared, he presented himself before an examining-board and, it is pleasing to record, came through the test successfully.<sup>114</sup>

Father Cooseman's experiences in the matter of studies were set down by him in a letter to Father Beckx

All the time I have been in the Society I have been occupied with duties without having had a single year free for study. During the second year of my novitiate I repeated my Rhetoric. While still a novice I was sent to a college where, completely immersed in prefecting as also in teaching some four hours a day, I studied philosophy for the space of two years. This study amounted to little more than copying out Father Martin's notes, we had no printed text of philosophy. Fortunately I did not have much to forget when Father Martin's system was prohibited in the Society.<sup>115</sup> My study in moral was confined to Gury, which I studied for a year and a half without having time to consult other authors, I was at the same time prefect of the students and professors. For one year only did I study Dogma, but I failed in my examination partly for lack of talent, partly because of the distractions occasioned by my prefecting and teaching. I was ordained priest that same year.

<sup>113</sup> O'Loughlen à Ffrench, January, 1858 (AA).

<sup>114</sup> Van de Velde à Roothaan, 1834 (AA)

<sup>115</sup> Father Martin had apparently become involved in the erroneous system known as ontologism. Burnichon, *La Compagnie de Jésus en France, 1814-1914*, 3 140 161

Superiors no doubt did not foresee that I should one day find myself in my present position [of Provincial] <sup>116</sup>

Father Coosemans's experience was entirely typical. In 1859 Father George Watson was petitioning the General to be allowed to devote himself, free of other duties, to theology, alleging his previous inability to find adequate time for that important study. On this petition the vice-provincial, Father Druyts, commented

Your Paternity recalls how the philosophical and theological studies of a great number of the Fathers of this Vice-Province have been conducted as a matter of sheer necessity. Up to a certain time not very far distant from the present at least 30 Fathers (the Vice-Provincial among them), if they were to give an account of their studies in the Society, would be obliged to tell a story similar to the one Father Watson has told your Paternity. If they fail to do so, it is because they see the impossibility of gaining anything by it. The Vice-Province has taken charge of three colleges and a number of missions. The greater glory of God demands that we do not draw back, on the contrary that we go forward, a thing we might be able to do even with our little number if it were not for the double course of studies (classical and commercial) in our colleges, in consequence of which we are forced to employ a great number of professors <sup>117</sup>

On arriving in America early in 1860 Father Sopranis at once took up with the Maryland provincial and his consultors the pressing question of a general house of studies. Before March of that year the decision was reached by them to build for the purpose at Conewago in Pennsylvania at the common expense of all the American divisions of the Society <sup>118</sup>. Meanwhile a temporary general scholasticate was to be opened at Boston. In view of the circumstance that it had its own scholasticate already in operation at the College Farm, Missouri was not required to share in this arrangement. Yet Father Druyts hastened to inform the Father General "Before Father Visitor's arrival and notwithstanding the permission granted us to keep our scholastics where they are, I had written to Father Sopranis and to the Reverend Father Provincial of Maryland of my intention to send twelve scholastics to Boston to continue at the beginning of September the studies they had begun in Missouri." <sup>119</sup>

A report made to Father Beckx by the Visitor, May 13, 1860, discloses the fact that Missouri was at first disappointed that preference had been given to the Maryland province as the home of the projected

<sup>116</sup> Coosemans à Beckx, March 16, 1866 (AA).

<sup>117</sup> Druyts ad Beckx, January 1, 1860 (AA)

<sup>118</sup> Sopranis ad Beckx, March 8, 1860 (AA)

<sup>119</sup> Druyts à Beckx, August 1, 1860 (AA).

seminary in common Missouri had its own house of higher studies in fairly good running order. Moreover, a certain prejudice against sending the scholastics to the East for their studies continued to exist, on the ground, among others, that Missourians educated in the East appeared to lose, so it was said, their affection for the vice-province which claimed them as its own. This untoward outcome was verified, so it would seem, in one or other case, it was really negligible as far as the bulk of the scholastics was concerned. At all events, locating the scholasticate was an issue which Father Sopranis felt he would have to settle in somewhat peremptory fashion. "As the Maryland Province and the Canadian-New York Mission can be brought to send their scholastics to the Missouri Vice-Province by authority alone, so by authority alone can the Missouri Vice-Province be brought to send its scholastics to Maryland. Laying aside all partiality, so I think, I give it as my opinion that the latter course should be preferred." The Visitor's reasons for his opinion were twofold. First, the plan proposed would reduce travelling expenses to a minimum. It was more reasonable that Missouri should be inconvenienced than both Maryland and Canada-New York. Secondly, and Sopranis says this was the decisive reason for the choice he made, "the elements for organizing a good scholasticate do not exist in the Vice-Province of Missouri as they do in the Province of Maryland" <sup>120</sup> The Visitor concludes his report to the General by asking whether he should proceed to execute the ordination requiring the American superiors to support the common scholasticate to be opened temporarily in Boston. The ordination was eventually put into execution though, as already stated, Missouri was dispensed from its observance, a dispensation which it waived, sending twelve scholastics to Boston for the session 1860-1861.

The superior of the Boston scholasticate, which was installed in buildings adjoining the Jesuit Church of the Immaculate Conception in Harrison Street, was Father John Bapst, who had the unique experience of being one time tarred and feathered by a fanatical Puritan mob. The faculty comprised seven professors, including the rector, and the students numbered forty-nine, of whom four were priests <sup>121</sup> Owing to inadequate quarters, the alleged severity of the climate, which seems to have proved a hardship to some of the westerners, and other reasons, the issue of the new house of studies was not as favorable as had been hoped for. De Smet reported to the General that the sentiment of the Missouri fathers was in general against the Boston venture and he cited Archbishop Kenrick of St. Louis as saying that the New England metropolis was no likely place for a scholasticate. More than anything

<sup>120</sup> Sopranis ad Beckx, May 13, 1860 (AA).

<sup>121</sup> *WL*, 516

else, however, the difficulty of financing the institution, especially amid the economic difficulties precipitated by the Civil War, brought about its suspension in 1863. Although he greatly regretted the passing of an establishment so very necessary to the Society in North America, so Father Coosemans assured the General in August, 1863, still he could not but be glad that another home would now be found for Messrs Lesperance and Coppens, whose delicate health could not adjust itself to what he called "the rough climate of Boston"<sup>122</sup> However unfounded may have been the opinion thus entertained as to climatic conditions in the Massachusetts metropolis, it was an opinion shared by Father Sopranis himself as his report to the General indicates.

At the end of 1861 the Visitor had returned to Rome where he submitted to the General a report on the Boston scholasticate. For academic and disciplinary conditions in the house he had only words of praise. From a comparison with other scholasticates, as he had known them, in St. Louis, Georgetown, Montreal, he was led to conclude that the existing spirit at Boston was good nor was there any reason on this head why the provinces and missions should regret having sent their young men thither. "What I have said of the spirit must also be said and that very positively about the studies. The professors spare no labor and to their solicitude the scholastics on their part make every effort to respond." He had been present at scholastic disputations carried on by the philosophers and theologians. Both groups, but the first particularly, did notably well. Father Sopranis then proceeded to point out certain objections to continuing the scholasticate where it was, first among which came the excessive cost of maintenance.<sup>123</sup> Moreover, "the severity of this climate and the lack of a garden or yard of any kind in which the scholastics can move about in the open work to the prejudice of their health and make this house rather disagreeable and in the case of some very disagreeable indeed." Further, there were moral dangers occasioned by the urban environment but protection against them was assured by fresh precautions now in force. Father Paresce, the Maryland provincial, had been over the ground at Conewago in Pennsylvania, where the Jesuits had been established many years back. A scholasticate could be built there at no considerable outlay and the students supported at moderate expense. Sopranis was ready, as far as the matter depended on him, to start work at once. But the Maryland province should shoulder all the expense and in this view Father Paresce himself concurred. "For the rest, if it be done now, that is to say, if a start be made on the building without laying any burden on the other houses

<sup>122</sup> Coosemans à Beckx, August 18, 1863 (AA)

<sup>123</sup> The annual cost of maintenance was reported to be seventeen thousand dollars

or Missions, our people will rest easy in mind and the success of the enterprise will be assured. It is an enterprise which truly makes for the glory of God for *on it* the very life of our Society in this country depends”<sup>124</sup>

In the early fall of 1861 Father Beckx in conference with his assistants and Father Sopranis determined on certain points which he would embody in an ordination to be drawn up on the basis of the Visitor's report and communicated to major superiors in North America. One of these points regarded a common house of studies. This was to be maintained, where it had been provisionally commenced, at Boston, but only so long as the Civil War continued, and superiors were to send to it their students of philosophy and theology except such as were restricted to a compendious or three-year course of theology and such also as had finished their studies and needed only a short time for review. On his return to America in October 1861 Father Sopranis undertook to communicate to the American superiors Father Beckx's ideas and wishes concerning a common scholasticate and for this purpose he called a meeting which was attended by all major superiors in the United States with the exception of the head of the New Orleans Mission. At this meeting, which convened in Boston in July, 1862, the plan of a general house of studies met with unanimous support. Moreover, acceptance was also assured of an offer made by the provincial of Maryland to erect a building for this purpose on condition that the other American divisions of the Society send their scholastics to the East for a period of fifteen years. Meantime, the Boston scholasticate had closed its doors with the session 1862-1863, the minutes of the Missouri board of consultants recording that “the calamity of the War had made it impossible to provide means for its support.” The Missouri theologians were thereupon entered at Fordham and the philosophers, at Georgetown. Later, the philosophers were provided for at St. Louis University, Father Coosemans having petitioned the General to approve such arrangement. “I am happy to be able to inform you,” he says in a letter to Father General Beckx, “that our little scholasticate of eight philosophers is in successful operation. The religious spirit, domestic order, the separation prescribed by the Institute, studies, etc., proceed wonderfully well to the satisfaction of superiors, professors and pupils”<sup>125</sup>

<sup>124</sup> Sopranis ad Beckx, December 23, 1861 (AA). Father Druyts in a letter to Sopranis, May 16, 1860, gives the reason why a common seminary for the scholastics was necessary to the continued existence of the Society in America. “I hope this deficiency, the lack, namely, of adequately trained and well-informed teachers, which has been visible for many years back, will be corrected little by little through the scholasticate which your Paternity wishes to establish in the United States.”

<sup>125</sup> Coosemans à Beckx, February 18, 1865 (AA). Coosemans writes again to the General, March 9, 1865, expressing the hope that the St. Louis scholasticate

The months wore on but Father Paresce, the indefatigable provincial of Maryland, had not yet succeeded in finding a satisfactory location for the proposed scholasticate. Conewago, the first choice, had been rendered undesirable through developments of the war, though in what precise way does not appear. Antietam had been fought at no great distance away and Gettysburg was in the immediate vicinity of the little Pennsylvania village. A property at Mt Washington, seven miles north of Baltimore, came under consideration, but on inspection was deemed unsuited for the purpose. In the interim Father Paresce had been anxious to secure from Missouri formal and definite support in his plans for a common scholasticate. It does not appear that the western province was holding out at this stage against the idea of a common house of studies for American Jesuits. It had signified its indorsement of the plan at the Boston meeting of superiors and nothing indicates that it subsequently went back on the endorsement then given. But the details of the plan had not been submitted to it for approval and this step Father Paresce was now desirous to take. At Cincinnati he met Father Coosemans, to whom he presented a written proposition covering all important particulars of the arrangement to be entered into between Maryland and Missouri as to the education of the scholastics. On his return to St. Louis Father Coosemans laid the proposition before his consultors, May 15, 1865, with the result that it was found satisfactory in all particulars. Assurance was thereupon given Father Paresce that the Missouri scholastics or such of them at least as were to undergo the normal process of training in the Society would be sent to the new house of studies.

Heartened by the support now guaranteed from the West, the Maryland Provincial continued his search for a satisfactory site. Success soon met his efforts. At Woodstock in Maryland, twenty-five miles from Baltimore, a property of one hundred and thirty-nine acres was acquired January 24, 1866, for the modest sum of forty-five hundred dollars. An adjoining tract of one hundred and ten acres was purchased some three months later.<sup>126</sup> The ground ran up some two or three hundred feet from a diminutive stream, the Patapsco, topographical features were attractive and even picturesque, building-sites were available, and everything indicated that the choice was a happy one. Father Coosemans on the occasion of the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore in October, 1866, was a visitor at Woodstock where building operations were already in progress. "I hope it will be for many years the common scholasticate of North America. We were greatly pleased with the site.

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may continue at least until "such time as we shall enjoy anew the advantages of a common scholasticate for the Jesuits of North America."

<sup>126</sup> *WL*, 56 5

It offers every advantage desirable for our young scholastics and the building, which is already in course of erection, leaves nothing to be desired" <sup>127</sup>

On September 23, 1869, Coosemans with a contingent of Missouri scholastics was again at Woodstock, this time to participate in the solemn inauguration of the new seminary. "It was a day," he wrote, "full of happiness and hope for the future" <sup>128</sup> Another Missouri Jesuit, his erstwhile assistant, Father Joseph E. Keller, was also in attendance in the capacity of provincial of Maryland, which office he had taken over from Father Paresce on August 15 preceding. The distinction of preaching the inaugural sermon on Woodstock's birthday fell to Father Keller, who chose for his text the words of *Ecclesiastes*, "wisdom hath built herself a house." It was a neatly phrased and uplifting discourse, striking happily the keynote of the occasion and the impression it made was long treasured up by its Jesuit hearers of East and West. <sup>129</sup> Thus came about the happy culmination of long continued efforts on the part of the Society of Jesus in the United States to provide an institution adequate to the schooling of its younger members in ecclesiastical studies. No more decisive turning-point in the story of Jesuit development in America is chronicled than the opening-day of Woodstock College. And yet one sees in retrospect that the theological equipment of the pioneer western Jesuits, for all its shortcomings, had been on the whole adequate to the needs of time and place. This was a point made by Father Murphy, who, coming as a stranger among them in 1851, found them everywhere working in the sacred ministry and in the schools with excellent results and enjoying the esteem of the public "in respect both to virtue and learning"

#### § 7 THE TERTIANSHIP

The tertianship or third probation is a third year of novitiate which the Jesuit Constitutions require from the clerical as distinguished from the lay members of the order before they take what are known as their final vows and are finally admitted into its body. Like other normal stages in Jesuit training it yielded to the pressure of circumstances that beset the pioneer Society in the West and suffered neglect, being either curtailed or omitted altogether. In Florissant in 1828 Father Van Quickenborne had put his newly ordained priests through the exercises of the tertianship. Father Gleizal, as he looked about him in the vice-province in 1850, did not know, so he observed to Father Roothaan,

<sup>127</sup> Coosemans à Beckx, September 23, 1866 (AA)

<sup>128</sup> Coosemans à Beckx, October 5, 1869 (AA)

<sup>129</sup> Father Keller's Woodstock sermon was printed in pamphlet form in Baltimore

of a single father who had made the tertianship in due form. Meanwhile, the more mature and better organized Maryland province had opened "a house of third probation" in Frederick, Maryland, in which seven Missouri men were entered during the period 1852-1855.<sup>130</sup> Not until 1859 were fathers of the West again sent to Frederick for the "third year." In the interval some of them, as Fathers Damen, Smarius and Druyts, made an informal sort of tertianship at Florissant. In order to satisfy the wishes of the prelates of the ecclesiastical Province of Cincinnati for Jesuit preachers of missions, Father Druyts asked the General in 1858 to dispense with the normal period of the tertianship on behalf of Fathers Smarius, Damen, Driscoll and Goeldin. This would enable him to supply more readily the two or three missionaries he had promised "We are not ready as yet to give these missions, but who can look on idly and unsorrowing at the appalling loss of souls which is going on, as all the missionaries bear witness?" Other fathers besides the four mentioned cannot be assigned to the tertianship this year "unless with great inconvenience and loss, the harvest in this country is indeed great, but the laborers are few. I therefore ask your Paternity to have patience with me in this matter. I promise to give it every possible attention."<sup>131</sup> Again, in 1860, Father Druyts was petitioning Father Sopranis that in the case of some at least of the fathers "a monthly recollection made in the Novitiate under the direction of Father Boudreaux" be allowed as a substitute for a tertianship *en regle*.<sup>132</sup>

In the interim, at the instance of Father Sopranis Frederick in Maryland had begun to serve as a common house of third probation for all divisions of the Society of Jesus in the United States and Canada. The year 1859-1860 accordingly saw four Missouri tertians at Frederick. In 1862 the tertianship was transferred to Fordham, New York, but the next year was back again in Frederick, where six Missouri fathers were in attendance. In this manner the needs of the West for the formation of its men in the final stage of their spiritual training were supplied by Maryland until such time, many years distant, when it was to find itself in a position to open a tertianship of its own at Florissant. The result of this inability of the Missouri vice-province to provide its members in season with a year of tertianship as a prescribed stage in their process of training was that the final vows of the fathers were generally delayed long beyond the period when they are normally taken. A letter of Father De Smet in this connection contains pertinent details. It was

<sup>130</sup> These were Father De Bleick, Mearns, Salari, Haering, Emig, Verdin, and Maes.

<sup>131</sup> Druyts ad Beckx, May 19, 1858 (AA)

<sup>132</sup> Druyts ad Sopranis, December 24, 1860 (AA)



addressed to Father Anthony Levisse, a Hollander, then a member of the Bardstown college-staff Beginning with the remark that he hoped his correspondent would take his words in good part, De Smet continued

1st You complain of being kept twenty years from your last vows, but this, owing to circumstances, is the case with several others, viz F[athers] Roes (22 years), Horstman (22 years), Dumortier (22 years), Kernion (20 years), Roeloff (20 years), Beckwith (20 years), Ackmal (20 years), Watson (21 years), to say nothing of those who, like Father Truyens took their vows finally after twenty years or more, and yet they never complained

2nd As to your Tertianship, you ought to rely entirely upon your Superiors Moreover, I might add that your Rev<sup>ce</sup> has been favored in that respect like the lamented Fathers Druyts, Isidore Boudreaux, etc who had no other Tertianship than the office of Minister during a year in Florissant, while Fathers Damen, Roeloff, Smarius, Tschieder, Goeldlin, Driscoll etc have had but one month and yet they never complained

3rd As to studies you are not worse off than the vast majority of our Priests, as you well know. Owing to the circumstances of the Vice-Province like them you have acquired enough to preach usefully and exercise the ministry in general, with satisfaction and fruit <sup>133</sup>

Obviously Father Levisse's grievances rested on no very solid grounds. Later, in 1863, he was allowed for reasons of health to sever his connection with the Society. It was not till the closing decades of the century that an end was made of the abnormal delay which had long prevailed in bringing the members of the Society of Jesus in the West up to the period when they could take what are technically called their "final vows" and be admitted, in Jesuit language, "into the body of the Society"

#### § 8 RECRUITING THE WORKERS

A capital handicap under which the Catholic Church in the United States carried on its work during much of the nineteenth century was the great scarcity of American vocations to the priesthood and religious life. Time has worked a remarkable and even revolutionary change in this respect. The Church in America commands today an imposing army of well trained and efficient native-born auxiliaries both in the ranks of the diocesan clergy and in the religious communities of men and women devoted in various ways to humanitarian and social service. What did not exist a hundred, not even seventy-five years ago, namely, a wide-spread sentiment and tradition in favor of the religious life, exists today with the result that Catholic families are gratified to see themselves represented by one or other members in the ranks of the

<sup>133</sup> De Smet to Levisse, October 14, 1861 (AA)

devoted religious, male and female, of the country. In this impressive movement of American Catholic youth towards the life of renunciation embodied in the practice of the religious vows, the Society of Jesus has had and continues to have a proportionate share. In almost every section of the country its membership is yearly recruited with numerous earnest and high-minded youths, the majority of them fresh from the halls of Jesuit high-schools and colleges. The contrast between this situation and that which obtained among the midwestern Jesuits up to the last decades of the past century is striking. Formerly, recruits for the Society from the native-born youth of America were comparatively rare, practically all candidates came from Europe and in particular from Belgium and Holland. Why it was that so few novices were found coming from the youth of the country and especially from the student-body of Jesuit colleges where the Society could be seen, in a measure at least, at close range and something learned of the life pursued by its members, was naturally a matter of concern to Jesuit superiors. In 1843 Father Roothaan appealed to Father William Stack Murphy, when the latter was rector of St. Mary's College, Lebanon, Ky., for an explanation and was answered thus:

You ask me, Very Reverend Father, why there are so few vocations at St. Mary's. I think one can assign several reasons for this: 1. The small number of Catholic [students] 2. They are poor and scarcely remain more than one or two years except the Creoles, who are soft and sensual and are brought up at home without religion and in the midst of slaves.<sup>134</sup> 3. The Americans in general like independence too much and from the cradle the children do almost what they like, thinking [only] of making money and one day having a home in some far-away locality, the best among them want to make a trial of the world, of business, and of liberty before settling down. This year three or four pupils will leave here for the seminaries. I think they are all suited for the Society, but they dread a career of teaching and, besides, are still to be disillusioned of the liberty of the country and their earlier education, which is so much at variance with the religious life and even the ecclesiastical state.<sup>135</sup>

As to the view expressed by Father Murphy that American youths were too independent and for this and other reasons were poorly qualified for the religious life and the Jesuit life in particular, it was not, though shared by others besides himself, by any means general among Jesuits resident in the United States. The Frenchman, Father

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<sup>134</sup> The term "Creole" was generally applied to persons of French or Spanish blood born in the United States. Cf. Beckwith, *The Creoles of St. Louis*. The Creoles attending St. Mary's and Bardstown were mostly from the South.

<sup>135</sup> Murphy à Roothaan, July 10, 1843 (AA)

de Grivel, master of novices at White Marsh, Maryland, in the thirties, was of a different opinion as he informed Father Roothaan

Our novices are good They told me in Europe, and the English especially believe it, that the American character is not suited to the Society As I see it, they are deceived. It is more docile than the English as this is more docile than the French [character] I attribute this to two reasons (1) paternal authority is more respected, (2) the result of Political Liberty such as exists here and in England is to inspire more respect for the laws than in the absolute monarchies or even in such as are tempered as was France before 1789 It is a uniform fact What is the reason of it? Perhaps it is because the English and the Americans make or think they make their own laws However this may be, I have seen the pupils of Stonyhurst and Georgetown submit without the least difficulty to the rules of the college and the novices of Hodder and Whitemarsh to those of the Society They say, it is the law (the rule) and that settles it <sup>136</sup>

When Father Murphy assigned an economic reason, namely the poverty of the average American Catholic family of the day, to account for the prevailing lack of vocations to the priesthood and religious life, he went far towards explaining the phenomenon Other reasons there undoubtedly were, but unfavorable or distressing home conditions of an economic order must necessarily tend to discourage young people from devoting themselves to the service of the Church It is further to be noted that at the period of Father Murphy's letter the great tides of German and Irish immigration that were later to prove so decisive a factor in building up a native American clergy had not yet set in The bulk of Catholic students, apart from the Creoles, registered at St Mary's College were very probably of Maryland or Kentucky stock or similar American strains.

De Grivel's good opinion of the American novices was shared by another French novice-master, Gleizal, who had this to say to Father Beckx of the candidates at Florissant "In general, the American novices are talented and most of them are pious and docile, they owe it no doubt to the education they have received in our colleges" <sup>137</sup> On American youth in general as material for the Society he made this further comment. "It is idle to say that Americans educated in our colleges and entering the Society are as yielding as the young men of other nationalities On the contrary, in my opinion they have a fund of stability which you rarely find in our youth of Europe" <sup>138</sup> At the same time, as between European novices and those born in the United States of American stock, preference was given as late as the sixties to

<sup>136</sup> De Grivel à Roothaan, 1833[?] (AA)

<sup>137</sup> Gleizal à Roothaan, May 15, 1852 (AA)

<sup>138</sup> Gleizal à Beckx, February 6, 1856 (AA).

the former. "Experience proves," said Father Coosemans in 1864, "that these [Belgians and Hollanders] suit best and in many respects are preferable to candidates from this country" An explanation was attempted by Father Isidore Boudreaux, himself American-born "I find the Europeans, all things being otherwise equal, preferable to the Americans. The latter in general are little inclined to the interior life and have a fund of independence which accords poorly with the religious spirit. I mean to speak especially of Anglo-Americans But one finds noble exceptions. The Europeans have in general a livelier faith, a more tender piety and a more submissive spirit I find in general little difference between the Europeans and those born in America of European parents" <sup>139</sup>

As the candidates were coming neither from the colleges nor from any other quarter on the American side of the water, at least in adequate numbers, they had to be sought in Europe The result was that the majority of novices entering at Florissant down to the period of the seventies were of other than American stock "Heretofore the Missouri Province," wrote Father Rubillon in 1856, "has had a personnel made up largely of Europeans and every year it receives recruits [from abroad]" How the Missouri Jesuits were thus recruited almost entirely from Europe during the period preceding the mid-forties has been told at a preceding stage of this history <sup>140</sup> Subsequent steps in the process of securing reinforcements are recorded here

Father Elet's Memorial submitted to the General in Rome in 1848 has this paragraph

The novitiate in Missouri is about empty No one comes any more from Belgium where good Father Van de Velde spoiled things a little Subjects are wanting everywhere in our far-flung but feeble Vice-Province Let your Paternity then permit those who ask for it and who have the required qualities to leave for Missouri, among others, Father Van Derkes of Brussels, who speaks English, De Vos of Louvain, who speaks English, Ponziglione of Genoa, Baboz of Chambery, the coadjutor-brothers Beyens, Van Dumme of Brussels, and Van Houtvelt of Antwerp

That none of the individuals named except Father Ponziglione reached Missouri was due probably to the inability or reluctance of their provincials to part with them As a result, however, of the efforts of Fathers Elet and De Smet, while in Europe in 1848, to receive recruits, a party of five arrived that year in St. Louis, Father Charles Elet, brother of the vice-provincial, and four scholastic-novices, Louis Heylen, Charles Vertongen, Daniel Swagemakers, and William Niederkorn

<sup>139</sup> Boudreaux à Beckx, April 25, 1863. (AA)

<sup>140</sup> *Supra*, Chap. XI

Scarcely had Father Elet been announced as vice-provincial on his return to St. Louis in the June of 1848 when he was confronted with the problem of providing for almost fifty members of the province of Upper Germany, who sought refuge with their brethren of the Middle West after the revolutionary upheaval on the Continent some months before. Within two or three years most of these refugees had returned to Europe, but some of their number, as Fathers Schultz, Tschieder, Weber, and Wipperrn, attached themselves permanently to the Missouri vice-province, which they were to serve for many years with noteworthy efficiency and zeal. Some of these accessions were of German, others of Swiss or Alsatian stock, together they formed the most considerable group of German-speaking Jesuits that had yet lent their services to the Society in the Middle West. The presence in the vice-province of the refugees of 1848 eased considerably the disagreeable situation created by the lack of sufficient subjects and enabled superiors to withdraw a few at least of the scholastics and younger fathers from the colleges and set them to pursue belated studies in philosophy or theology. In view of arrangements made in the expectation that the services of these European Jesuits would continue to be available for several years at least, Fathers Elet and Murphy protested their recall to Europe, but this step had finally to be acquiesced in since the group in question belonged on every reasonable ground to Germany, where their aid in educational and other work was imperatively demanded.

To no one did the problem of recruiting give greater concern than to the novice-master, Father Gleizal, who touched upon it repeatedly in his correspondence with the Generals. He was especially insistent that some one be sent to Europe with a view to enlisting candidates. A communication of his to Father Roothaan reads:

A word now on our poor little Novitiate. It is composed of 12 scholastic-novices and 13 coadjutor-novices. Among the scholastic-novices are found 4 Americans, the oldest of whom is not yet 20. All 4 have good talent and virtue and are very agreeable characters. [There are, besides,] 2 Germans, 2 Frenchmen, 1 Hollander, and 3 Irishmen. So far I have every reason to believe that they have a true vocation to the Society and are corresponding to the grace of their vocation. But, after all, what is this handful of workers still in embryo in the face of needs of which Europe can form no idea? I tremble for these poor lads when I think that in view of the state of our humble Vice-Province it will probably be necessary to make them gallop through the studies and tests of the Society, while here more so even than elsewhere, they should be made to pass through all the stages of the Institute. I do not mean to say by this that we have no need of foreign subjects. I do not think that the United States can provide for the spiritual needs of a population such as ours without foreign auxiliaries, at least for some time to

come. And so I don't cease repeating to our Reverend Father Provincial that it is of the first necessity for us to send some one to Europe for the purpose of making choice of good subjects with a genuine vocation to the Society <sup>141</sup>

Four years later Gleizal expressed himself again on the same topic to Father Beckx

I have formed a judgment for some years back which everything I see and hear only goes to confirm and corroborate. It is evident that America is not yet self-supporting, it still needs a great many European subjects. The Society is in the same fix, it also needs Europeans. But how is it possible to draw these youths to America and in number sufficient for our needs if no one of Ours is brought into immediate contact with them. The Vicar-General of the Archbishop of St. Louis on returning from a visit to Germany assured our Fathers that if some one of Ours were to visit Europe, he would find a great number of subjects for this country, but for this it is necessary to see these young people and speak to them. It is idle to say that Europe has need of its own subjects, most of these young men would prefer America if the means of emigration were easier and were better known. This seems to me a point of the utmost importance and one which demands attention <sup>142</sup>

In the event Gleizal's oft-repeated recommendation was acted upon and that more than once, the outstanding figure in this movement being Father Peter De Smet.

Since 1847 no applicants for the American missions had presented themselves from the seminary of Bois-le-duc in North Brabant, which had previously furnished many vocations for this distant field. Complaint was made that numerous seminarians who had offered themselves for America had been detained by the provincials of Holland and Belgium. The result, as alleged, was that after 1847 seminarians who could not be diverted from their desire for the American missions either joined the Redemptorists or came over as diocesan priests <sup>143</sup>. But the stream of novices from the Low Countries, thus interrupted for some years, began to flow again in 1853, in which year Father De Smet personally conducted overseas a party of eight, the scholastic Joseph Van Leugenhaege and the novices Charles Coppens, John Schoensetters, James Miller, Polydore Moreau, Henry Goosens, Everhard Brandts, and Joseph Van Zeeland <sup>144</sup>. While the party was on its way, Father Murphy was writing to the General

<sup>141</sup> Gleizal à Roothaan, May 15, 1852 (AA)

<sup>142</sup> Gleizal à Roothaan, February 6, 1856 (AA)

<sup>143</sup> De Smet à Beckx, January 5, 1854 (AA)

<sup>144</sup> Miller, Brandts and Moreau severed their connection with the Society, the first two as novices, the last named as a scholastic.

We await with impatience the arrival of Father De Smet with his little troop, he was to embark on November 23 at Havre on the *Humboldt*. We have just learned that the ship foundered near Halifax, Nova Scotia, but without being wrecked. This reinforcement will later on put us very much at ease. If the new Belgians and Hollanders succeed as well as their predecessors, the Vice-Province will have good reason indeed to congratulate itself on the trip made by Father De Smet. This good Father is highly pleased with the treatment accorded him by our folk in the two Provinces which he traversed. We pray heaven and our Father St Ignatius to recompense them a hundredfold, we even flatter ourselves that they will adopt us anew and aid us in all sorts of ways as formerly.<sup>145</sup>

Father De Smet's visit to Belgium and Holland in 1853 had awakened, notably so, he declared, "the spirit of the Missions", the eight candidates he brought back with him were not the only indication of this result. Again, on a visit to the Low Countries in 1856-1857 he enlisted seven young men, all of them Belgians, for Missouri: Leopold Buyschaert (Bushart), Peter Leysen, Ignatius Panken, Aloysius Laignel, Francis X. Kuppens, Leopold Van Gorp and Angelus Pattou. They had all been admitted into the Society in Belgium and, accompanied overseas by De Smet, reached Florissant in the May of 1857. Of the number Buyschaert was a junior scholastic, having entered the Society in 1854. "Vocations continue to be rare in America," De Smet wrote in 1860, "we must pin our hopes on receiving accessions [from abroad], especially from Belgium and Holland."<sup>146</sup> In 1861 he returned from Europe with three candidates "of excellent promise," as he described them, Aloysius Lambeir (Lambert), Theophile Van der Moortel, and Theophile Servais.<sup>147</sup>

In April, 1863, the Civil War being just two years old, Father Isidore Boudreaux expressed his concern over the unpromising outlook for the novitiate.

But there is one thing which touches us very closely and which I attribute to the war, it is that no more novices are coming to us. We have only eleven scholastic-novices, four of whom will presently finish their novitiate. Of the others, one must leave shortly as he has an impediment [to admission]. Our colleges promise us very few subjects. They may perhaps send us two or three this year, but we are not sure of a single one. Our only hope is the trip to Europe which Father Smarius will soon undertake. I hope the number of

<sup>145</sup> Murphy à Beckx, December 8, 1853 (AA).

<sup>146</sup> De Smet à Beckx, February 4, 1860 (AA).

<sup>147</sup> Theophile Servais left the Society as a novice, May 12, 1861. Theophile Van der Moortel and Aloysius Lambeir (Lambert) became priests but subsequently withdrew from the Society, the former in 1879, the latter in 1899.

novices he will bring back will answer our needs May he succeed I am buoyed up by the hope of having a good number of European novices <sup>148</sup>

Father Smarius, who had gone to Europe in 1863, returned with only a single novice, though he left two other candidates behind him in Belgium where they were to continue their studies The following year Father De Smet crossed the Atlantic for the fourteenth time, landing at Liverpool in October and subsequently visiting England, Belgium, Holland, Luxemburg and Ireland. In August of the same year, 1864, Father Coosemans penned a letter to the General, having the day before admitted to the noviceship a student of St. Louis University, Ferdinand Weinman, a native son of Louisville, Kentucky

Vocations are rare, he [Weinman] is the only scholastic I have received since March For all the efforts we have made to interest St. Joseph in our favor, we have scarcely succeeded Heaven seems to be deaf to our prayers We console ourselves with the thought that we do not penetrate the future and that the Lord, from whom nothing is hidden, disposes all things for his greater glory and for our good Father De Smet might obtain some good subjects in Belgium and Holland <sup>149</sup>

Coosemans's hopes were not to be deceived. When De Smet returned to St. Louis from Europe June 30, 1865, he had with him eleven new members for Missouri. These were the scholastic James G. Walshe, and the scholastic-novices James J. O'Meara, Edward A. Murphy, Constantine Lagae, William Aerts, Francis J. Luytens, Peter Van Loco, John Van Krevel, Michael Van Agt, James F. De Young and Theodore W. Oldenhof.<sup>150</sup> Father Boudreaux was delighted and hastened, while the party was still on the way, to convey the news to Father Beckx "Father De Smet is now *en route* with 13 new novices, to wit, 4 Belgians, 4 Hollanders, and 5 Englishmen and Irishmen It is the largest number that ever came from Europe to Missouri May all be animated with the very best spirit and become useful workers for the Gospel" <sup>151</sup>

<sup>148</sup> Boudreaux à Beckx, April 25, 1863 (AA) "Still I do not doubt that his [Smarius's] visit to the various colleges and seminaries will do good and contribute to encourage the pupils to remain faithful to the vocation which the Lord may subsequently give them for the distant missions, nor do I doubt that some day we shall have the happiness of garnering a part at least of the fruits to be produced by the seed which he has just now planted" Coosemans à Beckx, August 16, 1863 (AA)

<sup>149</sup> Coosemans à Beckx, August 7(?), 1864 (AA)

<sup>150</sup> Grietens on De Smet's list is apparently for Luytens, in which form the name occurs in the official register Of the 1865 party Murphy, Aerts, Luytens and De Young separated from the Society as novices and Oldenhof as a scholastic O'Meara, the last Jesuit survivor of the group, died at Florissant, January 3, 1933

<sup>151</sup> Boudreaux à Beckx, July 1, 1865 (AA)



In 1867 Father Coosemans was summoned to Rome by Father Beckx to give information on the question at issue between the Society and the Bishop of Louisville over Bardstown. At the Jesuit novitiate of Roehampton in England he was permitted to appeal to the novices for volunteers to accompany him back to America. He depicted the scanty resources of the Missouri Province in men and the alluring field it presented for self-sacrificing apostolic work. Two of the young men of the novitiate presented themselves, Thomas Hughes and Thomas Knowles. The latter withdrew from the Society shortly after reaching Florissant, the former still lives (1937) at an advanced age, having achieved distinction as the scholarly historian of the Society of Jesus in North America. By 1868 the number of novices had dwindled again to the grave concern of the General, who advised Father Boudreaux that he was to use all the greater care in training the few he had. "I am glad to see that more have gone to you this year and these indeed of such a type that they seem truly called to the Society, but I regret that they are still too few to meet the very pressing needs of your province." In October, 1868, Father Coosemans was writing again on the subject to Father Beckx.

At St. Stanislaus the number of scholastic novices is very small. A candidate from St. Louis and another from Cincinnati and that is all. Father Damen promises only three or four from Holland. After all, when there is question of recruiting for the Novitiate it is Father De Smet who has always succeeded best in obtaining good subjects and these in numbers, as also money for the Province and missions. How grateful I should be to our Lord were He to inspire your Paternity to send him an order or else a permission to go again to Europe, where, especially now that his successful expedition to the Indians has become known, he might be useful to our Fathers in Belgium, at least indirectly, as also to our own little Province.<sup>152</sup>

Father Coosemans's wishes were realized. Father De Smet undertook a fresh journey overseas, crossing the ocean for the seventeenth time and arriving at Liverpool in December, 1868. When he returned in June of the following year he had with him two sons of the independent Duchy of Luxemburg, John Peter Frieden and Nicholas Schlechter, the former of whom was destined to render conspicuous administrative services to the Society, occupying in turn the posts of rector of Detroit College, provincial of Missouri, superior of the California Mission and rector of St. Louis University.

But now had come the long-expected turning-point in the fortunes

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<sup>152</sup> Coosemans à Beckx, October 2, 1868 (AA). Father Damen in company with Father Van Goch had gone to Holland in 1868 to try to secure a loan with which to finish the college he had begun in Chicago.

of the novitiate. It began to be recruited not so much by accessions from abroad as by vocations from the colleges. On November 1, 1869, Father Boudreaux, the novice-master, was happy to inform the General that sixteen candidates had been received for the scholastic year, 1868-1869, nearly all of them products of Jesuit education in St. Louis or Cincinnati. The last-named city had been especially liberal in supplying candidates, the novitiate counting no fewer than eleven Cincinnatians. Father Boudreaux expressed to the Father General his satisfaction with these numerous recruits and noted that some of them were equipped with talent above the ordinary.<sup>153</sup>

While the colleges up to this period had by no means met reasonable expectations in the number of candidates furnished by them to the novitiate, it must be pointed out that they were not entirely unproductive in this regard. Prior to 1860 some at least of the Florissant novices had come from Jesuit colleges of the Middle West. The list of such includes among other names those of Isidore and Florentine Boudreaux, Thomas O'Neil, Joseph Keller, Frederick Garesché, John Venneman, Henry SchAAPman, John Lesperance, Francis Stuntebeck, Thomas Miles, Joseph Kernion, Edward Higgins, Phillip Colleton, Thomas Chambers, Rudolph Meyer and Andrew O'Neill. What is to be noted about these names is that they represent a surprisingly large proportion of Jesuits of future distinction in administrative and other capacities.

Notwithstanding the gratifying proportion of American-born and Jesuit-educated novices received in 1869, the need of maintaining a steady influx of candidates still kept the hopes of the province authorities fixed in a measure on the Old World, which had been so generous in the past. In 1871 Father Coosemans was again petitioning the General for leave to dispatch a father to Europe to recruit for novices.<sup>154</sup> Father De Smet as usual was the choice for this commission, which he discharged successfully, returning to St. Louis in the spring of 1872 after having crossed the Atlantic for the nineteenth and last time. He brought with him a party of eight recruits: Father John Van Leent, already a Jesuit, Michael Kennedy, a scholastic, and six scholastic novices, Father John Condon and Ambrose D'Arcy, Hugo M. P. Finnegan, John De Schryver, Louis Jacquet and Theodore Schaak, the last named a Luxemburger.<sup>155</sup> Father Boudreaux had written to De Smet while he was still in Europe: "I learn with pleasure that you have two

<sup>153</sup> Of the novices at this time, two, Frieden and Fitzgerald, were subsequently provincials of Missouri, Michael Dowling and James Hoeffler, rectors of colleges, Father Frederick Hagemann, rector of the novitiate and master of novices, and Michael O'Neil, assistant-provincial.

<sup>154</sup> Coosemans à Beckx, May 31, 1871 (AA).

<sup>155</sup> A Guidi included in the De Smet list of recruits for 1872 does not figure

Luxemburgers for us. It has always been my opinion that even one good subject sufficiently repays a trip to Europe. Who would not cross the ocean for a Buyschaert, a Coppens, a Zealand and so many others that you have brought over."<sup>156</sup>

The only considerable contingent of foreign-born novices to be registered at Florissant after Father De Smet passed away arrived there in 1874. Of the twenty-two scholastic novices admitted in that year, fifteen came from Europe, most of them being Frenchmen or Belgians. In the late seventies and following years the percentage of American-born novices went on increasing until by the nineties a foreign-born novice was a rarity.<sup>157</sup> The United States had ceased to be a missionary country and the ranks of the clergy, secular and religious, were being recruited from the native born youth of the land. In this happy consummation the Catholic schools came to play a notable part, the Society of Jesus

in any of the official registers. Altogether Father De Smet had brought over on his various return-trips from Europe eighty-four accessions to the Society in the Middle West. Though his autograph list gives this total with names, it would appear that some of the candidates listed did not actually enter the novitiate. Under the caption "Memorandum of the contributions and expeditions made in Belgium and Holland in favor of our Mo. Province from 1832 till 1872 April 11," De Smet drew up an itemized account of all monies collected by him between 1832 and 1872 in the countries named, together with a list of all the recruits he secured in Europe for the American missions. The monies, which included a cash valuation set on material of various sorts obtained by De Smet in Europe, aggregated 1,225,536 41 francs, approximately \$245,107, the recruits numbered eighty-four. The current tradition that he brought over more than a hundred novices is not quite accurate.

<sup>156</sup> Boudreaux to De Smet, October 29, 1871. (A) Father De Smet's recruiting was confined to scholastic-novices or candidates for the priesthood. In his time lay or coadjutor-brothers could be obtained in the United States with comparative ease. During the period 1850-1862 forty per cent of all candidates received at Florissant were lay brothers, approximately half the number being of Irish birth. For the period just indicated, 1850-1862, the lay brothers were distributed as follows according to nationality: Irish, thirty-six, German, twenty-nine, Dutch, three, French, one, Austrian, one, American, one. Strangely enough no Belgian is found in the list. The first of that nationality to be admitted as a novice-brother after 1846 was Leo Sinner, July 8, 1862. So numerous were the coadjutor-brothers at one time that the advisability of admitting no more was seriously taken under consideration. But the percentage of this class in the total membership of the vice-province or province of Missouri has steadily declined. In 1847 it stood at 50%, falling to 44% in 1853, 30% in 1880 and 13% in 1928. A number of booklets explanatory of the life of the Jesuit lay brother are in print, e.g., William Mitchell, S.J., *Why Not I?* (1919), Matthew Gerding, S.J., *Go ye also into my Vineyard* (1924), *id*, *Shall I be a Jesuit?* (1924), Edward J. Meier, S.J., *Unknown Soldiers of Christ, How Jesuit Brothers Aid in Extending Christ's Kingdom* (c. 1930), *The Making of a Jesuit Lay Brother* (1932).

<sup>157</sup> Of the class of eighteen scholastic-novices admitted at Florissant in 1890 only two were foreign-born.

in America being now almost entirely reenforced with candidates from its own high-schools and colleges

Though various foreign racial strains had thus combined to make up the membership of the Jesuit body at work in the middlewestern states, there could be no doubt of the essential Americanism of the resulting amalgam. At St. Louis, Cincinnati, and Bardstown, Jesuit educators, seizing sympathetically the American point of view, were leading young men along the paths of civic loyalty while they sought to give them an academic training in keeping with the needs of time and place. As has been pointed out more than once in this narrative, the Dutch and Belgian groups were specially happy in their facile acquisition of English and their instinctive readiness to adjust themselves to the American *milieu*. At Florissant in 1856 Gleizal, the novice-master, marvelled at the linguistic cleverness of young Henry Schaapman. "Though born in Holland, (he was educated in St. Louis), he speaks English with the facility of an American." The single Belgian member of the novitiate at this moment was also quick to pick up the vernacular. "Even now he speaks English with a perfection that amazes us."<sup>158</sup> So it was that Gleizal when appealing in 1855 to Father Beckx to send reenforcements to Missouri could write "Would it be an indiscretion to ask you to look in the direction of Belgium, the children of which know so well how to adjust themselves to American customs and to the American character?"<sup>159</sup> Father De Smet had expressed the same idea the year before. "The Reverend Father Provincial of Belgium has just sent us a good novice [Henry Roest], a distinguished pupil of the college of Turnhout. We have great hopes that Belgium and Holland will procure some novices for us every year. The Belgians and Hollanders become used very quickly to the climate and ways of the country." The readiness with which these groups became Americanized explains much of the success they met with as well in the ministry as in the field of education. Father Walter Hill said of Father Van Assche, one of the Florissant pioneers of 1823. "He greatly admired the government, civil character and manners of the American people, he always spoke and felt as one of them and he judged this to be the true spirit of our rule."<sup>160</sup>

Belgium and Holland were not the only European countries to furnish recruits. In the forties a few Italians as Fathers Di Maria and Nota, as also one or other Spaniard, as Fathers Irisarri and Parrondo, were to be found in the West, but none of them remained there beyond a few years with the exception of Father Di Maria, who after several

<sup>158</sup> Gleizal à Beckx, February 6, 1856 (AA)

<sup>159</sup> Gleizal à Beckx, June 10, 1855 (AA)

<sup>160</sup> De Smet à Beckx, August 9, 1854 (AA) Diary of Walter Hill, S. J. (A)

years spent in the Missouri Vice-province passed at his own request to the Maryland Province. In 1848 Father Elet was petitioning the General to send him some Spanish fathers to aid the Mexican students then resident in numbers in the colleges or else to labor in the contemplated California mission, which he could not himself provide for out of his own meagre resources in men. The German or Swiss group of 1848 quartered for a space in Missouri houses remained practically detached from the vice-province and were subject at any time to recall by their superiors in Europe. In the sequel the majority of them were in effect recalled to their own province and sooner than the Missouri superiors were expecting with the result that the latter found themselves seriously embarrassed in the management of their affairs. But the Swiss Provincial, Father Minoux, had at no time given assurance to the Missouri superiors that his men were to remain for any considerable period and much less permanently in the vice-province.

A similar situation arose in 1854 when a contingent of four Piedmontese Jesuits from the province of Turin, Fathers Congiato, Messea, Caredda and Brother Nobili, who had been employed in the Middle West for some years previously, were rather unexpectedly summoned to California by their own superior "[The Piedmontese] with some of the Swiss Fathers," De Smet informed the General, "are the only ones who have known how to appreciate the position of the Society in America. Most of the others returned to Europe with great prejudices against the country, the people, the climate and several here lost their vocation, and, it is much to be feared, their faith. These arrivals from Europe and precipitate returns certainly worked harm to our Vice-Province"<sup>161</sup> To Father Accolti, superior of the Oregon Mission, De Smet wrote August 17, 1854 "It is useless to tell you what a feeling is created by the sudden departure or recall of several of our best men . . . Revd F[ather] Prov<sup>l</sup> (as F. Ponza states in his letter to F. Congiato) did indeed propose to you an exchange of subjects, that is, lay brothers, but soon after he wrote to F. General that it was not advisable to do so. We, of this Vice-Province are far from finding fault with the recall of subjects by their Superiors, we are thankful for the services rendered to us, we say in particular of the Italian Fathers that they have adapted themselves to circumstances and have given great satisfaction; but owing to the very great inconveniences and disappointment caused by the sudden departures of the last three years, F. General has been written to that it is by no means desirable to send European Jesuits to this country, unless to Missions belonging to their own Prov-

<sup>161</sup> De Smet à Beckx, August 9, 1854 (AA)

ince. I am sure your Rev<sup>ce</sup> will see things in the same light ”<sup>162</sup> Somewhat later the provincial of Turin, to which province California was attached, petitioned Father Murphy for men for California, offering to send him in exchange some professors for the colleges. The offer was not accepted. “Even though we had men to send meanwhile to California,” commented De Smet, “there is reason to fear these newcomers may not get along so well in Missouri, a thing which I regret to say is true of so many exiles ”<sup>163</sup> The truth of the matter, then, is that, apart from the Belgians and Hollanders who came to identify themselves with the country and to live in it permanently, most of the European Jesuits who lent their services at one time or another to the Jesuit body in the Middle West achieved only a passing connection with it. The situation was summed up by Father Boudreaux in 1861: “Ever since our Vice-Province has been in existence, we have had men from other provinces, very few of them took root among us. Most of them went away after having suffered much themselves and caused suffering to others.”<sup>164</sup> As the Church does not attain to mature growth without a native clergy, so the Society of Jesus in the United States was not to see its normal development until it could recruit its membership from American youth. And this day, long delayed, came at last with the eighteen-seventies.

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<sup>162</sup> De Smet to Accolti August 17, 1854 (AA)

<sup>163</sup> De Smet à Beckx, February 25, 1855 (AA)

<sup>164</sup> Boudreaux à Beckx, January 15, 1861 (AA)









