

## CHAPTER XXXV

### EDUCATIONAL VENTURES IN LOUISVILLE

#### I. THE FRENCH JESUITS

Captain Thomas Hutchins of the British Engineers was a visitor in 1766 to the falls of the Ohio opposite the site of Louisville, Kentucky. The sight evidently impressed him, for he made it the subject of a sketch which appeared in his *Topographical Description of Virginia*. Twelve years later, May 27, 1778, George Rogers Clark landed with a party of immigrants from Virginia on an island amid the falls that had come under the notice of Hutchins. Thence, on an order issued by Clark after the Illinois country, or the part of it bordering on the Mississippi, had fallen into his hands, the immigrants moved in the autumn of 1778 to the mainland south of the falls where they proceeded to form a settlement. From the Virginia legislature came a gift of a thousand acres of land, confiscated from Dr. John Connolly, a British adherent during the Revolutionary War. On this tract was laid out in the spring of 1779 the projected town, to which the settlers gave the name of Louisville in honor of Louis XV of France, at the moment an active confederate of the Americans in the war against England. The founders of Louisville were all apparently native-born Americans from Virginia. Probably no Catholic, native or foreign-born, settled in the place earlier than 1790, the French, Irish and German emigrants coming at a later period.<sup>1</sup>

In 1811 the first Catholic church in Louisville, named for St. Louis, was built by Father Badin at Main and Tenth Streets, services being held in it for the first time on or about Christmas day of that year. This pioneer structure served the needs of the Catholic residents until 1830 when a second church of St. Louis was erected by Father Robert

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<sup>1</sup> Hutchins's sketch is reproduced in J. Stoddard Johnston, *Memorial History of Louisville, from its First Settlement to the Year 1896* (Chicago, 1896), vol. 1. Groups of French immigrants settled early in the nineteenth century at Portland and Shippingport, from one to two miles below Louisville on the south bank of the Ohio. Cf. Benjamin J. Webb, *The Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky* (Louisville, 1884), p. 289. Irish and German immigration began in the forties. For the best documented account of pioneer Catholicism in Louisville, cf. Mary Ramona Mattingly, *The Catholic Church on the Kentucky Frontier, 1785-1812* (Catholic University of America, Washington, 1936), p. 90 *et seq.*

Abell on a new site on Fifth Street between Green and Walnut. In 1841 the see of Bardstown, still occupied by its venerable first incumbent, Bishop Flaget, was removed to Louisville, which had grown to be the most important centre of Catholicity in Kentucky. Having lost the services of his first two coadjutors, Bishops David and Chabrat, by resignation, Flaget, as his last official public act, consecrated in September, 1848, his third coadjutor in the person of the Reverend Martin John Spalding. On August 15 of the following year, 1849, was laid the corner-stone of the Cathedral of the Assumption on the site of the second church of St. Louis, the affair being witnessed by Flaget from the porch of his residence, which overlooked the scene.<sup>2</sup>

The first Jesuits to make the acquaintance of Louisville were Van Quickenborne's group of twelve, who in their journey from Maryland to Missouri arrived at the city of the Falls in the May of 1823.<sup>3</sup> Father Theodore De Theux and Brother John O'Connor, while *en route* in 1825 from Maryland by the Ohio River route to reenforce the Jesuit colony at Florissant, also probably made a brief stop at Louisville. On October 16, 1831, arrived there a Jesuit party consisting of Fathers Peter Kenney, James Oliver Van de Velde and James McSherry, all of whom have already met with frequent mention in the pages of this history. The experiences of the travellers while in Louisville were detailed by Van de Velde in letters to friends in the East. Owing to the great number of strangers that happened to be in the city, hotel accommodations were at a premium. "People are pouring in from all sides to see the horse races which are to take place today at noon." The Jesuits put up at Union Hall, an hotel kept by a Mr. Langhorne.

We succeeded at last in finding two beds in one room, which was already occupied by others persons. Father Kenney fared even worse. There were only three beds in our room and we got two of them, but there were four or five beds in the room which was offered to him. After making these arrangements, Fr. McSherry and I went to take a walk to look for the Catholic church, which we found, and to which we returned after some time in order to offer the holy sacrifice of the Mass. It was the first time since our departure that I had that happiness. Father Kenney preached on the Gospel of the day, and after the last Mass we went with the Rev. Mr. Abell to dine at Mr. O'Brien's, an Irishman, who treated us very well. After dinner we went to see the interior of the Church, for we had said Mass in a room under the church, which room is destined for a school when the church shall have been completed. The church itself, which was commenced about a year ago, is a tolerably fine building, in Gothic style, with

<sup>2</sup> Webb, *op. cit.*, pp 289, 290, 302, 401, 478.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra*, Ch III Maes, *Life of Rev. Charles Nerinckx*, pp 445-464

a square tower in the same style. It is 95 feet long and 55 feet wide exclusive of the sanctuary, which is 16 feet long and 20 feet broad. They were working at the altars and at the pews, of which there will be six rows, each row will have twenty-two pews and each pew will be able to admit five persons. There is also a large gallery for the organ etc., so that the church will contain about one thousand persons or thereabouts. The city of Louisville increases almost as rapidly as that of Cincinnati. A kind of epidemic, which broke out here in 1822, served very much to stop the progress of this rising city. There existed then several marshes and ponds of stagnant water, which have since been filled. Now the atmosphere of the city is considered healthy. Buildings are springing up in every direction, and the population is already over 11,000. Last Sunday we took supper at Mr. John Carrell's, brother of my friend George, who is now pastor at Wilmington, Delaware. Mrs. Carrell is a very amiable lady and showed the greatest kindness to us.<sup>4</sup>

John Carrell, mentioned in the foregoing letter, was the brother of Father George Carrell, who became a Jesuit in 1835 and was subsequently the first Bishop of Covington. Other Catholic lay-folk of Louisville, Captain James Rudd and Mrs. Bullitt among them, opened their doors to entertain the visiting Jesuits, who at a dinner at their hotel, Union Hall, made the acquaintance also of ex-Secretary of War Eaton, Judge Rowan and Dr. De Clery. Others to greet the travellers were the two diocesan priests, Fathers Simon Fouché and Francis Xavier Evremond, who had just arrived in Louisville from Bardstown, the latter of the two being about to enter the Jesuit novitiate at White Marsh in Maryland. Eleven years later Evremond opened the first house of the Society of Jesus in Louisville.

A few months previous to the visit of Father Kenney and his companions to Louisville, two French Jesuits, Fathers Pierre Chazelle and Nicholas Petit, arrived in Kentucky in response to an appeal from Bishop Flaget to the province of France to assume direction of St. Joseph's College, Bardstown. A shift of circumstances brought it about that the Jesuits from France took over, not the Bardstown institution, but St. Mary's College, near Lebanon, Marion County, generously surrendered into their hands by its founder, the Reverend William Byrne.<sup>5</sup> Early in the forties came an invitation to the Jesuit Mission of Kentucky to extend its educational labors to Louisville. A letter of the period addressed by the Reverend Ignatius A. Reynolds, afterwards Bishop of Charleston, to Bishop Chabrat, Flaget's coadjutor, touches on the subject, the main part of the letter being concerned with the proposal previously made to the Jesuits that they assume charge of St.

<sup>4</sup> *WL*, 10 124-126

<sup>5</sup> Webb, *op cit.*, pp. 385-400.

Joseph's College, Bardstown. Father Reynolds was at this time vicar-general of the diocese of Louisville.

I also proposed that the establishment in Louisville should only be deferred, not relinquished, and I also proposed that they should be secured in their establishment in Louisville by compacting that during its postponement no other Catholic college should be opened in Louisville or Portland I beg your particular attention to the above statements, and I also beg you to let me know how far you authorize me to proceed in this business I consider it of the utmost importance that the Jesuits should take this institution. The interests and honour of Religion and also justice to its creditors require it I wish that I can come to some understanding with Mr Murphy on the subject, at least I will make a great effort, if you authorize me to do so. He wishes to write and get an answer to his letters by July, therefore no time is to be lost.<sup>6</sup>

In the sequel St. Joseph's College at Bardstown was to be taken over, not by the French Jesuits, but by their associates of the vice-province of Missouri. But the Louisville school projected by the former was to become a reality. An advertisement in the *Louisville Journal* in the spring of 1842 announced that "Messrs. Evremond, Larkin and Gockeln" proposed to commence a classical academy in that city for boys between the ages of ten and fourteen. In addition to the classical languages, English, French and German were to be taught. The *Journal* commented: "The reverend character of the teachers, the circumstance of their being respectively natives of the three countries whose language they proposed to teach and the high character of the seats of learning and piety at which they have graduated, all give earnest of zeal, ability and success in their enterprise, while the low price which they have fixed for tuition will, we doubt not, bring them a speedy and overflowing patronage."<sup>7</sup>

With Father Evremond as its first principal the St. Ignatius Literary Institution, as the new school was called, opened its doors in September, 1842, in a rented house at Seventh and Walnut Streets. The school promptly achieved popularity, a large proportion, if not the majority of the students in attendance being non-Catholics. Father Larkin, a man of great personal charm and recognized power as a

<sup>6</sup> Reynolds to Chabrat, January 14, 1842 Archives of the Sisters of Charity, Nazareth, Ky Father William Stack Murphy was at this time rector of St Mary's College, Lebanon, and superior of the Jesuit Mission of Kentucky

<sup>7</sup> *Catholic Advocate*, May 7, 1842 Evremond was a native of France, Larkin, of England, while Gockeln, then a scholastic twenty-two years old, was German-born (Westphalia) The tuition-fee was forty dollars per annum. A preparatory class for boys of nine (or under<sup>2</sup>), terms thirty dollars per annum, was also a feature of the institution.

preacher and public speaker later became principal, the growth of the institution being largely due to his efforts on its behalf. Property was bought by him from a Mr. Jacobs in the fall of 1845 and the new college building, one hundred and ninety-six feet in length, begun thereon was three feet above its foundation, when the French Jesuits withdrew from Louisville in March, 1846. To the edifice, thus left unfinished, College Avenue of today is said to owe its name. The teaching-staff of the school in the final session of its career (1845-1846) counted, besides the principal, Father Larkin, two other priests, Fathers Henry Dumerle and John Ryan, together with three scholastics.<sup>8</sup>

During their brief stay in the metropolis of Kentucky the Jesuits of the province of France were active not only in the field of education, but also, as far as their slender personnel permitted, in that of the ministry. In 1842-1843 Father Evremond had pastoral charge of the little congregation at Portland.<sup>9</sup> He returned in 1844 to his native France, whence at the instance of Flaget he had come as a young priest to labor in the diocese of Bardstown. By Benjamin Webb, the historian of Kentucky Catholicism, he is described as a man of learning and piety, exemplifying in his manner of life the characteristic virtues of the priesthood. He spoke with a strong French accent, but was well understood by his English-speaking hearers. "He was tall and spare, of an ascetic caste of features, and grave in both speech and manner. His addresses from the pulpit were distinguished by a deliberateness of delivery that would have been painful, but for the unction and earnestness by which they were also characterized."<sup>10</sup>

Two St. Patrick's Day sermons preached in the cathedral of Louisville, one by Father Hippolyte Charles De Luynes in 1843, the other by Father William Stack Murphy, probably the following year, "at candle-light," are noted in contemporary prints. In the same cathedral the Jubilee was preached in 1842 by Fathers De Luynes and Larkin. All three were striking personalities, of whom interesting accounts have

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<sup>8</sup> *Idem*, September 3, 1842, October 25, 1845. *Catholic Almanac*, 1843-1845. According to Webb (*op. cit.*, p. 398) Larkin purchased an acre of ground on First Street, the foundations of the academy or college building being laid in 1843 and the property resold in 1844. There would appear to be some confusion of dates here, unless (which is not likely) this be a purchase distinct from the one reported in the *Catholic Advocate*, October 25, 1845. "Rev. Father Larkin has commenced the erection of college buildings on the spacious lot which he purchased recently from Mr. Jacobs. The edifice will be 196 feet long and probably will be so far complete next summer as to be fit for the reception of pupils."

<sup>9</sup> *Catholic Advocate*, 1843.

<sup>10</sup> Webb, *op. cit.*, p. 391. Father Francis Xavier Evremond (originally Evremond Harissart), born in Paris, France, May 15, 1792, entered the Society of Jesus, December 2, 1831, died in Paris, April 13, 1859.

been preserved William Stack Murphy, born in Ireland and educated in France, was superior of the Kentucky Jesuits from 1839 to their withdrawal from the state in 1846. His later activities as superior of the middlewestern Jesuits for two terms are on record elsewhere in this history. Webb speaks in terms of eulogy of his mastery of English<sup>11</sup> Hippolyte De Luynes, born in France of Irish parents, his father having been an agent of the United Irishmen of 1798, labored for years as a diocesan priest in Kentucky, chiefly at Bardstown, the pastorate of which he gave up in 1841 to become a Jesuit "His advice, always judicious, was at the command of all who sought it, and the very tones of his voice, so indicative of the heart's sympathy, was full of encouragement. He was an interesting speaker always, and, at times, an eloquent one. As a writer, he was at once graceful and forcible. He appeared to have an intuitive knowledge of what was best to be said and his judgement was never at fault in respect to the most suitable manner of expressing it."<sup>12</sup> Father De Luynes was editor of the *Catholic Advocate* from 1838 up to the removal of the office of publication from Bardstown to Louisville. .

Of all the Jesuits of this period identified with Louisville, Father Larkin was the one most in the public eye. Superior gifts of mind and heart and an impressive personality won him the respect and confidence of great numbers of all religious denominations. He was an Englishman by birth, studied at Ushaw College, Dr. Lingard being at the time vice-president of the institution, and as a Sulpician priest held a professor's chair in Montreal From Montreal he passed to Kentucky, there to enter the Society of Jesus in St. Stanislaus Novitiate, Marion County, in the immediate vicinity of St. Mary's College. Father Walter Hill, S.J., a native son of Kentucky, and a student of St. Mary's College during the Jesuit régime, retained to his last days distinct recollections of Larkin as a Jesuit novice. "I remember seeing him push a heavily-loaded wheel-barrow, removing stone and rubbish from the yard, though his own person afforded him a heavy burden, as he was of portly stature"<sup>13</sup> While yet a novice, he was called upon by his superior to put to account his uncommon ability as a preacher in a series of re-

<sup>11</sup> Webb, *op cit*, p. 393 Father William Stack Murphy, born in Cork, Ireland, April 29, 1803, entered the Society of Jesus, August 27, 1823, died in New Orleans, October 23, 1875 Cf. *supra*, Chap. XVII, § 2

<sup>12</sup> *Idem*, p. 397 Father Charles Hippolyte De Luynes, born in Paris, France, July 29, 1805, entered the Society of Jesus, September 15, 1841, died in New York City, January 20, 1878

<sup>13</sup> Walter Hill, S.J., "Reminiscences of St. Mary's College, Ky" in *WL*, '20 33 Father John Larkin, born at Ravenworth, Durham County, England, February 2, 1801, entered the Society of Jesus, October 23, 1840, died in New York City, December 11, 1858.

treats and missions preached in Kentucky and neighboring states. It was in Louisville that he scored his chief oratorical successes, acquiring there a reputation that passed far beyond the limits of the city. The author of a tribute to him records that meeting on a journey an eminent member of the American hierarchy, he was addressed by the latter in the words, "Oh! so you are from Father Larkin's city."<sup>14</sup>

Two appearances of Father Larkin on the public platform were especially happy, one, July 4, 1843, when he addressed the Kentucky state militia on "True Liberty" in their encampment at Oakland, on the outskirts of Louisville, the other in December of the same year, when on a few hours' notice he delivered an eloquent address on "Genius" before the Mercantile Library Association of Louisville, supplying the place of ex-President John Quincy Adams, who had been announced as the speaker of the occasion. The address appears to have been entirely improvised, the speaker being unable afterwards to supply a written copy, which was eagerly sought for publication.

Father Larkin often occupied the pulpit of the church of St. Louis [Louisville], and no one ever filled it to better effect. If one were called upon to define wherein was his greatest strength as a preacher, he would have to say that it was in his mastery over the pathetic. In a greater degree even than either Bishop Flaget, or Rev. George A. M. Elder, Rev. Robert A. Abell or Dr. I. A. Reynolds, all of whom could at times excite their listeners to tears, was he recognized as a sympathetic expounder of the Divine Word. In depicting the scenes of the passion of our Lord, for instance, he appeared to lose sight of himself and his surroundings in the contemplation of his Saviour's sufferings. Nor was this mere acting. The tears he evoked by his pathetic delineations and pleadings had their primary fount in his own eyes.<sup>15</sup>

Father Larkin after his change of residence to the East filled various positions of trust in his order, including those of president of Fordham College and Visitor of the Jesuit province of Ireland. He was named by the Holy See Bishop of Toronto, but sought and with success to have the appointment withdrawn. He died suddenly, December 4, 1858, at the age of fifty-seven, after a day of strenuous ministry in his confessional in the Jesuit Church of St. Francis Xavier, West Sixteenth Street, New York.<sup>16</sup>

The retirement of the Jesuits of the province of France from their

<sup>14</sup> *Catholic Guardian*, January 8, 1859.

<sup>15</sup> *Louisville Journal* cited in *Catholic Advocate*, December 10, 1843, *Catholic Guardian*, December 25, 1858, Webb, *op cit*, p. 396.

<sup>16</sup> The *Catholic Guardian*, January 8, 1859, carried a three-column editorial on Father Larkin.

Kentucky field of labor, arranged by the Visitor, Father Boulanger, was effected in 1846. "The Fathers of the Society when questioned as to their reasons for giving up their establishment in Kentucky, contented themselves by saying that the proposition made to them by the Archbishop of New York, insuring to them, as it did, a much wider field of usefulness, was one which they were not in conscience at liberty to decline" <sup>17</sup> A letter written at the time by Father De Luynes to Edward Wilkinson of Yazoo City, Mississippi, touches on the subject

You have no doubt already learnt from the papers or in some other way that the monks of St Mary's, as you called us, are about to leave their solitude Your friend, Father Thebaud, accompanied by Father Murphy, is already gone, we shall soon follow him—and by the latter part of August or the beginning of September at the latest, all our Fathers and Brothers will be on their way to be comfortably and I hope permanently and usefully settled in New York Our occupations there will be, I believe, in perfect conformity with the spirit and letter of our Institute Bishop Hughes gives us the college of Rose Hill [Fordham] founded a few years ago by him and a month or two ago incorporated by act of the New York Legislature. I am told that the charter is as complete and liberal as could be desired The clerical seminary will also be placed under our charge—and within a short time we shall have in New York itself a church and a day-school Our hands, you perceive, will be full, and, if we be true to ourselves, if by a strict observance of all our rules, we deserve the blessing of God, we shall effectively, after many years of apparent inactivity and painful expectation, promote his glory and the good of souls Gentlemen of another order will succeed us here They will carry on a common English school, or as they say now, I believe, a primary school, also, most probably at least, the brothers attached to the establishment will teach various trades I am happy to think that the great outlay made by us here, in buildings, improvements, will be serviceable to something and somebody However, with these gentlemen succeeding us we are not properly concerned we have conveyed back to the Bishop of Louisville the farm on which our buildings are He has called these Gentlemen Our school in Louisville was closed last March—so the Sons of Loyola, whether right or wrong, will all leave Kentucky <sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Webb, *op cit*, 398 Some friction between the Jesuits and the diocesan authorities appears to have developed in connection with the Louisville school conducted by the former The Jesuits were expecting certain diocesan encouragement and support for the school, expectations which were not realized On the other hand they were being urged by Bishop Flaget to take over St Joseph's College, Bardstown, which was heavily in debt Bishop Chabrat, Flaget's coadjutor, was not, as a matter of fact, friendly to the Society, though this circumstance was not a decisive or important factor in the withdrawal of the Jesuits from Kentucky in 1846

<sup>18</sup> De Luynes to Wilkinson, May 23, 1846 Archives of the Sisters of Charity, Nazareth, Ky



Father Walter Hill, S J., then a student at St. Mary's College, witnessed to the chagrin felt by the student-body when they learned shortly before commencement day, July 21, 1846, that the Jesuits were to retire from the management of the college, while Benjamin Webb put on record the regret entertained by the Catholics of the state generally at the withdrawal from their midst of the sons of St. Ignatius. With an editorial, probably from the latter's pen, which appeared in the *Catholic Advocate* of February 7, 1846, this brief account of what may be called the French phase of Jesuit educational endeavor in Louisville may be brought to an end

We have now official authority for saying that they [the Jesuits] have not only determined to leave Louisville, but what is still more to be regretted, to leave Kentucky and remove to New York. Thus will the diocese be deprived of a body of learned priests and of two literary institutions which could have prospered and done good service to the cause of religion. It is natural to inquire what may be the reason for this move. The chief reason seems to be that their new destination presents a more advantageous field for their exertions with greater seeming facilities for usefulness and success. No doubt the Superiors who have decided upon this measure have considered the reasons for and against it and as their decision has been made and announced by the Bishop, it would be useless now to discuss the question whether or not they have acted wisely. Together with all the Catholics of the diocese we disapprove as well as regret the change and are sorry that the Reverend Fathers judged it proper, advisable or *ad majorem Dei gloriam*

## § 2. THE FREE SCHOOL

Only two years had passed since the departure of the French Jesuits from Kentucky when the Society of Jesus reentered the state, the new group of workers being supplied from St. Louis. St. Joseph's College, Bardstown, was taken over from the diocesan clergy and a beginning made of educational work in Louisville. When in the summer of 1848 negotiations for the transfer of St. Joseph's College to the Jesuits had been brought to a successful issue, Father Elet, Missouri vice-provincial, was warmly solicited by Bishop Flaget and Coadjutor-bishop-elect Spalding to undertake the management also of a "free school" opened the year before in Louisville. The vice-provincial at first declined the offer but the prelates insisted. To an inquiry as to how the school was to be supported, Bishop Spalding replied that he would himself maintain it the first year, after which other arrangements for its financing would be made. "Finally," so Elet explained to the Father General, "it was believed that the best possible way of making provision for it would be to join to the Free School a Pay School, which little by little would develop into a college, and thus to maintain one by the profits of the

other. But it was a new institution and your permission would be required! This [that permission would be required] was denied on the ground that it would be only a continuation of Father Larkin's school discontinued two years ago, unfortunately for the youth of Louisville."<sup>19</sup>

The stand taken by Father Roothaan when the circumstances of the opening of the Louisville house by Elet became known to him revealed that he did not by any means share the view of the vice-provincial that formal authorization from the General to take the step had been reasonably dispensed with. That such authorization had never been obtained was to be a circumstance among others which brought about the subsequent withdrawal of the middlewestern Jesuits from their Louisville field of labor. But to Elet, not finding it in his heart to resist the solicitations of the two Kentucky prelates and otherwise too ready, so some of his Jesuit colleagues felt, to make new ventures without adequate ways and means to see them through, it seemed that the opportunity to enter Louisville should not be allowed to go unseized. In January, 1850, he wrote to Father Roothaan: "Your Paternity can rest assured that I haven't the least desire to undertake new establishments with the slender personnel at my disposal. The Louisville affair for reasons detailed in one of my preceding letters had to be an exception. It is one of the big towns of the United States. It was important to get an entrance there—*magnas Ignatus urbes*." Father Elet's readiness to embark on fresh undertakings was manifestly a continued source of anxiety at Rome, in the closing period of his administration he was under an order of obedience, an exercise of authority rare in Jesuit government, not to open new houses without the explicit approval of the Father General.

In pursuance, then, of the arrangement thus made by the vice-provincial, Father John Emig and the scholastic, John Beckwith, arrived in the Kentucky metropolis in August, 1848, to take in hand the management of the so-called free school for boys. Father Emig, forty years old at the time, was a native of Bensheim, Hesse-Darmstadt, Germany, being the first novice of German birth to attach himself to the Jesuits of the Middle West. He was a resourceful and enterprising type of man as was evinced by the courage and directness with which he grappled with the difficult conditions that met him in Louisville. The arrangement in regard to the school which he was enabled to make on his arrival in the city would appear to have been at first a tentative one only, for in the following October Father Elet and his consultors took under consideration the question whether, in view of the conditions

<sup>19</sup> Elet à Roothaan, February 11, 1850 (AA)

under which it was offered, the vice-province should signify its acceptance of the Louisville free school, "which Father Emig with two of Ours are already in possession of" The decision was for acceptance under the conditions affecting the offer, no mention being made of what these conditions were The Catholic free school (in reality the cathedral parish school) was at this time the only Catholic elementary school in the city for the sons of English-speaking residents A Catholic free school for girls had been opened May 29, 1843, by the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth in the basement of the cathedral The Catholic free school for boys had been first opened September 15, 1847, with three brothers of St Francis from the archdiocese of Tuam in Ireland in charge. It was "for Catholic boys only or for those whose parents were willing to have them instructed in the Catholic faith" It occupied a new building erected for the purpose, which stood within four blocks of the cathedral and in the rear of the two-story structure of brick on Fourth Street between Chestnut and Broadway, which served as the dwelling-place of the Jesuits during their stay in Louisville The school-building was of modest proportions consisting in one story with a high basement. On September 8, 1848, a chapel was blessed, and the institution, on being taken over by the Jesuits, was named the St Aloysius Free School for Boys. Later, besides the free school, the Jesuits conducted in connection with it a select or pay school for children whose parents were able to meet the expenses of their education To this school most of the well-to-do Catholics of Louisville sent their sons The free and select schools were maintained by the Jesuits up to their withdrawal from Louisville in 1858<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> John Keenan, 11, son of Henry Keenan, was the first pupil entered in the free school, September 15, 1847 During the session 1848-1849 the registration ran to 364 In the session 1857-1858, the last under Jesuit management, it was only 129 *Register of the Catholic Free School* (A) *Catholic Almanac*, 1848, 1849 A contemporary account of the free school building speaks of it as apparently containing only one class-room but a spacious one, capable of accommodating two hundred and fifty boys At the western end was a small chapel so constructed that by throwing open large folding-doors between it and the class-room, all the pupils could see the altar and hear Mass "In front of the school and immediately adjoining it is the residence of the Brothers, a large two-story building with a basement, thirty ft front by twenty-eight deep and containing five rooms besides a large dormitory It is distinctly understood that this is strictly a Catholic school, that is, one intended for Catholic children or for such only as their parents are willing to have taught the Catholic religion A class of catechism will be taught every day and particular attention will be bestowed upon the religious and moral training of the children Every Catholic parent in our city should rejoice at the opportunity thus afforded of having his children taught that most important and essential element of education—religion Without this necessary element, all education is but too apt

At the time Father Emig embarked on his educational venture Louisville was a town counting probably somewhere between forty-five and fifty thousand inhabitants.<sup>21</sup> In 1841 Bishop Flaget reckoned the Catholic population at about four thousand. During the forties and fifties the relative proportion of the Catholic to the non-Catholic groups grew notably as a result of Irish and German immigration, so that in 1858 it was estimated, apparently on a legitimate basis of calculation, that the Catholics numbered one-half out of an approximate population of fifty-five thousand.<sup>22</sup> At the opening of St. Aloysius College in 1849 the ratio was no doubt much lower than this. Be this as it may, the Catholic youth of Louisville was numerous enough to justify the attempt now being made to bring within its reach the advantages of higher education.

The location chosen for the new school seemed a favorable one as regarded accessibility and surroundings. The trend of residential settlement in rapidly growing Louisville was in its direction, though before the end of the forties, there was practically no city south of Chestnut and but very little south of Walnut. Main Street was given over to wholesale business, Market to fashionable retail shops, Jefferson to smaller shops and residences, while Broadway, immediately south of the college, with its one hundred and twenty-five feet of width and twenty-five-foot sidewalks, though very sparsely built on, was aspiring to become the premier residential thoroughfare of the city. The passing of the years saw a steady tide of business creep southward up to and beyond Emig's little college of brick, which, until its demolition

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to become either a hollow and worthless or a dangerous thing" *Catholic Advocate*, August 14, 1847. The brothers', later the Jesuits' residence, was on the site of the south wing of the later St. Joseph's Infirmary. The site of the north wing was formerly occupied by the Xaverian Brothers' school. Connecting the wings, which projected beyond it to Fourth Street, was the original college building erected by Father Emig in 1849. At the time Emig arrived in Louisville and up to the building of the first St. Patrick's in 1854 the cathedral (on Fifth between Green and Walnut) was the only church in Louisville for English-speaking Catholics. St. Boniface's had been built for the German Catholics and another church for them, the Immaculate Conception, was in course of erection. It may be noted in this connection that the German Catholics had established schools for their children probably earlier than 1848. In the funeral procession for Bishop Flaget, January, 1850, the boys of the Catholic free school, led by Father Emig, were followed by the boys of the German schools.

<sup>21</sup> *Catholic Advocate*, January 1, 1842.

<sup>22</sup> *Catholic Guardian*, November 30, 1858. The exact figure for the Catholic population is given as 27,303. In 1858 the baptisms in the German parishes numbered 1,446, as compared with 680 for the English-speaking parishes, figures that throw light on the relative numerical strength of the two elements in the Catholic population of Louisville at this period.

in 1926, long stood completely isolated in the commercial heart of Louisville.<sup>23</sup>

To conduct the free school had thus been the primary purpose that lay behind the entrance of the Society of Jesus into Louisville in 1848.<sup>24</sup> To meet the problem of its support the idea of a select or pay school, to evolve by slow stages into a college, almost immediately presented itself, the hope being to maintain the free school out of the surplus funds of the other institution. But Father Emig, probably led by the enthusiasm of the moment beyond the letter of his instructions, was to announce in a prospectus for the public a rather ambitious plan of studies for the opening session, at the same time importuning Father Elet for the necessary staff of professors though he had been cautioned that not more than two would be available for the first two or three years. Everything was later to indicate that the evolution of the college had been unduly forced, but Emig in his enterprising, aggressive way, saw in the situation only an opportunity to be seized promptly and at every cost. Bishop Spalding was at one time to note and praise the father's ample fund of energy, and of the possession of this secret to achievement the latter was now to give obvious proof as he set about preparing the way for a Catholic college in Louisville.

The *Catholic Advocate* in its issue of August 26, 1848, informed the Catholics of Louisville that "Father Emig of the Society of Jesus had reached the city to take charge of the free school lately conducted by the Brothers of St. Francis." "We cannot be too grateful to the Rev. Father Elet, the Provincial of St. Louis for having so kindly consented to come to our assistance in the time of need and especially for having sent us a man of so much ability, etc. The school is our glory and our crown, it has already done much good and is calculated to do much more in future if properly encouraged and sustained, as we are confident it will be." At a meeting of the cathedral congregation held after Mass on Sunday, August 27, Benjamin Webb being secretary, a vote of thanks to Father Elet "for having consented to take charge of the Catholic Free School in this city" was unanimously adopted. Resolu-

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<sup>23</sup> "The city south of Jefferson street is very beautiful. The streets are lined on either side with large and elegant shade trees, the houses are provided with little green yards in front and are cleanly kept, presenting a graceful and home-like appearance. An impression of elegant ease everywhere characterizes this part of the city." From a description of Louisville in 1852 by Ben Cassedy. J. Stoddard Johnston (ed.), *Memorial History of Louisville from its First Settlement to the Year 1896*, I, 85, 97.

<sup>24</sup> "Meanwhile we shall continue to attend to the Academy and Free School, which was the original object of the college and which has not been affected by its being closed." Murphy to Spalding, April 14, 1855. (Letter indorsed "not sent") (A)

tions were also passed pledging the congregation to make up any deficit that might occur in the income from the tuition-money that was to go to the "suitable support of Father Emig and his associates." It was finally resolved to hold a fair "in order to provide additional means for rendering the school permanent by connecting with it a Collegiate Institute for higher education" <sup>25</sup>

### § 3. ST. ALOYSIUS COLLEGE

The free school began its career under Jesuit management on September 5, 1848. In November the *Advocate* reminded the Catholic laity that the conductors of the school depended entirely on their contributions for support. "We cannot expect the gentlemen who now conduct the school to remain unless we support them. They have been put to considerable expense in fitting up the house and they will also need something to provide for the coming winter" The following January the *Advocate* reported "Many fail to pay the small quarterly amounts agreed on for the purpose and Father Emig and his worthy associates have in consequence been seriously straitened for means during the last month or two. . . . We are rejoiced to learn that the Catholic ladies of Louisville are exerting themselves with commendable spirit towards getting up a Fair in the Spring for the purpose of enabling Father Emig to connect a Collegiate Institute with the Free School . . . Upon its results will mainly depend the permanency of the Free School." <sup>26</sup> The fair, which was held in the Easter week of 1849, netted some seventeen hundred dollars. The plan entertained at this juncture was to add one or more stories to the building of the free school and to hold the college classes in the new rooms thus made available until circumstances should permit the erection of a separate building. The plan was subsequently abandoned, Father Emig having determined to begin at once a separate college building. For this purpose a lot of one hundred feet, fifty of which was a gift from the Bishop, was acquired on the east side of Fourth Street between Chestnut and Broadway. This property immediately adjoined the lot of the free school, which continued to remain under Jesuit direction.

A correspondence of Father Emig's covering the period February-July, 1849, and addressed for the most part to Father Druyts, president of St. Louis University, reveals the travail of mind and body he underwent as he pushed the project of the college forward to a successful issue.

<sup>25</sup> *Catholic Advocate*, September 2, 1848

<sup>26</sup> *Catholic Advocate*, November 11, 1848, January 27, 1849. According to the *Register of the Catholic Free School* the tuition of practically all the boys was being paid for at the rate of a dollar or a dollar and a half quarterly (A)



John Baptist Emig, S J (1808-1889), builder and first rector of St Aloysius College, Louisville, Ky.



St Aloysius College, Louisville, Ky The middle section is the building erected by Father Emig in 1849, the wings being later additions.





The Ladies of Louisville have kindly volunteered their services to hold a fair during the ensuing Easter week in order to realize means that your Brother of the Society of Jesus may be enabled to raise suitable buildings for College purposes. During this fair there will daily be edited a paper called the Meteor, if a sum of \$225 for which the paper will be printed, can be raised by charitable pecuniary contributions. I would, therefore, kindly request your Reverence, to lend a helping hand to a poor Brother, who, in his humble petition, has no other object in view than the motto of our holy Founder, the Major Dei Gloria. Should he succeed in this humiliating, yet necessary request, he might in all probability realize about \$300 on the paper, as he is of opinion (the price of a set of the paper being \$1 00) that with very great exertion he might obtain 300 subscribers in Louisville and in the neighborhood.<sup>27</sup>

The Catholic Advocate has undoubtedly informed you of our exhibition on the 22nd ult [February]. Though the Exercises were only to begin at 2½ o'clock P M, at one the hall was already nearly filled. Never did I see a better pleased audience. Since that time my fair became the object of general exertion. The troubles with which I met at first, and the difficulties which presented themselves are almost beyond belief. A perfect stranger in the city, scarce acquainted with half a dozen persons, no friend to introduce me into any family, and yet to agitate the movement about a fair, appeared to be nothing but a rash undertaking and vain and fruitless attempt. Yet I had so many happy precursors, slander, calumny, persecution, interior trials and bodily wants, that, interpreting these omens by Father De Theux's infallible rule (R I P) there never entered a doubt about success into my mind. So far, judging from the great preparations, I have not been deceived in my expectations. Even the Meteor will be a rare phenomenon. Its brilliancy will rouse the slumbering muse of the University.<sup>28</sup>

The famous St Aloysius was commenced on the 24th inst [May], than which a better day could not have been found, being the feast Auxilium Christianorum. It is in her and our Patron, St Aloysius, that all my confidence is centered, to their intercession I look for means. And indeed some super-natural or heavenly agent must carry on the work, it would be preposterous on my part to undertake a gigantic task, as that of building a college, 70 feet front, 55 deep and 40 feet high (three stories) with a trifling amount of \$1700 which was the proceeds of the fair. The subscription-books were opened three days ago, I gave notice of it to Father Verhaegen, and the good man, as clever as ever, answered by return of

<sup>27</sup> Emig to Druyts, February 18, 1849 (A). A complete file of the *Meteor* issued during Father Emig's fair is in the library of St. Louis University.

<sup>28</sup> Emig to Druyts, March 13, 1849 (A). Father Duerinck of the Bardstown staff visited Louisville in December, 1848. "Father Emig is getting up in Louisville, he is ever true to himself, he works day and night and it would do one good to see him get some clever help. He is a perfect gentleman to lodge with, he is ever attentive to his guests." Duerinck to Druyts, December 17, 1848 (A).

next mail that his name shall not stand in my book with anything less than \$100.

The house when finished will cost no less than \$6500 and the extras, chairs, tables, well, railing, fixing up of playground, will raise the above amount by at least \$1000 The lot itself cost \$2000 so that St Aloysius College will come to nothing less than \$9500 The \$2000 on hand will lessen it to \$7500.<sup>29</sup>

Your favor of the 12th ult is hereby acknowledged. Gratitude should have dictated these lines long ago A full school, however, of nearly 300 children (and myself almost an isolated teacher) whom I had to prepare for Examination and Exhibition, snatched from me every leisure moment. The little time that offered itself on Sundays and in recreation hours was given to the collection of dimes and (dollars?) towards the new St Aloysius College The third story of the building has just been commenced and God willing the house will be under roof by the feast of St Ignatius It presents a front of 70 feet and is 55 feet deep. Money comes in rather slow

On Monday last we had our Exhibition A glorious day for our maturing institution At 6½ o'clock P M the scholars were formed into ranks, two and two, the glorious banner of liberty 12 feet long and 6½ wide, headed the procession, then moved on at regular intervals, the boys all in uniform, a band of twelve followed the children, and the whole procession closed with the Philomathion Society, from whose shoulders floated down the most beautiful scarfs The sight was imposing and something never seen before by the people of Louisville Whilst marching from the school-house, through the principal streets to the Apollo rooms, the side-walks were thronged with human beings The City-Marshall on horseback accompanied us from our door to the Exhibition room Had the hall been three times as large, it would have been filled to overflowing The children spoke well The repeated thunders of applause were indicative of the people's satisfaction and delight<sup>30</sup>

Saint Aloysius college was opened on the 10th of September under very favorable auspices if we consider but one side of the picture,—but if both, the drawing shows nothing of pleasing aspect . I have but two brothers, one teaches 5½ hours in the free school, the other is buyer and cook, refectorian and caller etc etc For two months already had I to hire a couple of men to do the housework, to level the playground in front of the college, to clean up a large house *et cet*. Whence I have to draw the means to defray these expenses, I have not yet learned.

During the first week of school, I started for Cin'ti on a teacher-hunt, leaving a small note with Mr. Beckwith, my prefect of studies, to go on as quietly as possible till I should return My intention was to engage Jeremiah Hackett Whilst half-way between Louisville and Cin'ti, the boat ran into

<sup>29</sup> Emig to Druyts, May 26, 1849 (A) Verhaegen, De Blicke and Druyts, rectors respectively of the Jesuit colleges of Bardstown, Cincinnati and St Louis subscribed each one hundred dollars to Emig's building-fund.

<sup>30</sup> Emig to Kernion, July 13, 1849. (A).

a sand-bar, from which she extricated herself after two and a half day's work. The idea of the confusion and trouble at home, and of being flat on a bar, made me feel miserable. After all, on reaching Cin'ti Hackett was unwilling to teach an elementary class, stating that he could obtain such a thing at any time and place. Well—*huc haeret aqua!* What was to be done? The college was neglected from its commencement,—a teacher is wanting and I in the bargain am from home . . . I keep 4½ hours study, teach two hours Latin and Greek and ½ hour history. I am Procurator and must collect the money subscribed towards the college, I am the only Confessor of nearly three hundred children and have to preach every Sunday. What next!

Our number of scholars is 91, with fine prospects of an increase. The college will be entirely finished the present month. The building will cost about \$8000 and the lot \$2000 . . . Last week I engaged a teacher for the college, and three weeks ago one for the free-school. Hurrah for St. Aloysius—to buy a lot without money, to build a college without means, and to have to engage teachers and pay them, whilst destitute of both money and means. From this you can infer what an act of charity you must have performed by subscribing \$100. A just God will give you your reward. One thing consoles me in all my afflictions, that the men of St. Aloysius are men of untiring exertions and of unprecedented willingness to do more. Though everyone teaches upwards of six hours, yet when they see that I might give out in strength they are at hand to perform part of my task. Pray for me that God in His mercy may give me strength and courage not to surrender the ship.<sup>31</sup>

St. Aloysius College draws nigh to its completion. It is the most substantial building in Louisville. If not in size, at least in beauty and strength it stands foremost of all our Western colleges. Thus far the patronage of our college exceeded our expectations, the more so as great Father Larkin, who was the idol in the city of the Falls, was rather an unauspicious precedent for me. Yet, *Deo dante*, we have almost twice the number of pay scholars of our predecessor's school. This is sufficient of success and glory for the first year, I might say for the first month. Till now we have not met with any opposition and the public prints have on all occasions shown nothing but kindness. Though religious prejudice may yet keep at a distance many a

<sup>31</sup> Emig to Druyts, October 2, 1849 (A). "This Literary Establishment is situated on Fourth Street, between Chestnut and Broadway. The site is one of the most beautiful, eligible and healthy of Louisville. The College buildings measure seventy feet front, fifty-five in depth and are three stories high. The schoolrooms, six in number, can compete with any of our Institutions in beauty, airiness and space. They are 28 feet by 17 3 and a little over 12 feet high. The floor of the rooms is six feet above ground. In front of the College there is a play-ground of one hundred feet square." *Prospectus of St. Aloysius College*, 1850. "In the month of May last, a stranger passing the corner of Fourth and Broadway, might have noticed a beautiful lot commanding a view of nearly the whole city, the ground then was bare. Four months only have elapsed, a splendid building has sprung up." *Catholic Advocate*, 1849.

scholar, nevertheless I have been assured that almost every Protestant calls St. Aloysius College the best school in Louisville. Of late we became even proverbial for keeping good order and maintaining discipline among the scholars. The use of tobacco is entirely banished from our premises and none of the students have yet been found to introduce any. The ferule has till now rendered no service and it is my determination not to use it at all. This, surely, speaks volumes for the boys of Louisville whom some busy souls were eager to describe as a set of rowdies. We have 104 enrolled on our catalogue and I shall not be astonished if the last day of the year would see the number increased to 125.

I have earnestly to beg your Reverence, should it be practicable at present, to do me the great favor of sending me your subscription towards the College. Were distress in all shapes not at its height, I would never have asked but permitted you spontaneously to come forward with your kind gift. But man is capable of anything when he has to enter the arena for life and death.<sup>32</sup>

The first year of St. Aloysius closed with commencement exercises July 8, 1850. The catalogue showed a registration of one hundred and fifty-four, a number that went far beyond reasonable expectation and must have been grateful recompense to Father Emig for the painful experiences through which he had passed. Associated with him on the college-staff this initial year of its history were Father Charles Messea, the scholastics, John Beckwith, James Halpin and George Watson, a coadjutor-brother, John Coveney and a lay teacher, Patrick O'Farrell.

The second session of St. Aloysius College began on September 3, 1850, with a registration of one hundred and twenty. In the course of that month Father Emig was relieved of his duties as rector of St. Aloysius and assigned to St. Joseph's College, Bardstown. Father Adrian Van Hulst was thereupon appointed to the rectorship of St. Aloysius College, taking up his duties in October, 1850. Sometime later, Bishop Spalding, always an admirer of Emig's overflowing energy, petitioned that he be instructed to return to Louisville. In the June following his retirement from St. Aloysius, Father Emig was installed as rector of St. Joseph's College, Bardstown. In 1862 he was transferred to the Jesuit province of Maryland, dying at Conewago, Pennsylvania, December 10, 1889, at the age of eighty-one.

The same month that witnessed a new rector at St. Aloysius witnessed Father Elet arrive in Louisville to make his official visitation of the college. The zeal and devotion to duty which he found to exist in the faculty impressed him as he set down in his memorial or report on the visitation:

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<sup>32</sup> Emig to Druyts, November 6, 1849 (A)

Father provincial in closing the visitation of St Aloysius College takes pleasure in bearing testimony to the unrelenting zeal of its members in promoting the spiritual and temporal welfare of those entrusted to their care, despite numberless difficulties inseparable from an institution just opened, without a competent number of professors, and without any other source of revenue than the very moderate tuition-fee paid by the scholars. The rapid increase of the pupils is a proof that the conduct of Ours at home and abroad is such as to entitle them to public esteem and the confidence of the public. Let all endeavor to encourage one another to the faithful discharge of their respective duties by word and example, and in the hour of trials and difficulties look up to God, our support in life and our reward in eternity<sup>33</sup>

A few specific instructions were left with the rector, among others, that a copy of the *Ratio Studiorum* be left in a place accessible to the professors, that the Memorial of Father Kenney, Visitor of the Missouri Mission in 1832, together with the decree *de Minervalibus* be copied and read at table at the proper times, that a fence be built between the respective playgrounds of the college and the free school, and that the scholastics be permitted to visit St. Louis during the summer vacation.

On March 3, 1851, the General Assembly of Kentucky approved an act incorporating St. Aloysius College as "a seminary of learning in the city of Louisville promoted and sustained by Roman Catholic clergymen of that city by means of their own resources, industry and intelligence . . . the seminary has been open and free for persons of every denomination since its establishment and will forever so continue to be and now contains one hundred and sixty students, the managers thereof requiring an observance of moral rectitude and a compliance with the established collegiate regulations by pupils upon their entry thereof and their continuance therein." The college was granted a liberal charter, being empowered to confer the "various degrees of A.M., A.B., D.D. and L.L.D." Further, it was to be "forever free from state and city taxation," provided the value of the college property did not exceed the sum of one hundred thousand dollars. The trustees named in the act of incorporation were Martin J. Spalding, Adrian Van Hulst, Ignatius Maes, Charles Messea, John F. Beckwith, James Halpin and George Watson, all with the exception of Bishop Spalding being Jesuit members of the faculty.

Though thus given a collegiate status, St. Aloysius as a matter of fact in its brief career of three years never rose in curriculum and actual scholastic achievement even to the level of a well-organized high school or academy. Probably no students had been brought beyond two or three years of classical study at the time the institution closed its doors.

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<sup>33</sup> De Smet Letter Book (1850) (A)

On May 19, 1851, Father Theobald Mathew, "the Apostle of Temperance," was tendered a reception by the faculty and students, addresses in English, Latin, Greek, French and German being delivered on the occasion. A few months before, Bishop Spalding, in a letter to the vice-provincial, had expressed his satisfaction with the college. "St. Aloysius College is flourishing with about 175 students. Father Van Hulst is liked the more he becomes known. Father Maes is doing remarkably well in the Free School. My heart rejoices at so much good being done A.M.D.G." <sup>34</sup>

Father Van Hulst directed the destinies of St. Aloysius College for less than a year, being eager to lay aside the dignity of college president for the career of an Indian missionary. Father De Smet sent him these lines in February, 1851:

I am indeed glad to hear that the prosperity of St. Aloysius College continues onwards, no doubt a great deal of good will be done in Louisville by means of the instruction of youth, which had been so long neglected in that city. In your position, difficulties, obstacles and miseries will at the same time surround you—St. Ignatius asked for them in his prayer to God (for him and his children)—and if we judge from appearances, the Lord has heard his prayer. "If any man will come etc. let him take up his cross," was the bargain the Lord made with his disciples, who must not be better off than their Master. Only patience, courage and perseverance and the work will progress. With regard to the Indian Missions, I believe there is a prospect for you—his Paternity has written to Father Miege that his Bulls will return to him and he must accept. In this case F. Miege has asked for you and I would not wonder if his petition were granted—knowing your dispositions in this regard, I have seconded him <sup>35</sup>

On June 29, 1851, Father Van Hulst was succeeded in the rectorship of St. Aloysius College by Father Francis Xavier d'Hoop.

On July 4 and 5 were held the exercises of the second commencement, including public examinations, at which a number of parents of the students were present. Bishop Spalding lent his presence to the occasion, congratulating the fathers on the success achieved by the college after only two years of life and announcing to the public the name of the new rector, Father d'Hoop. The outgoing superior was to have his desire for the Indian missions gratified, though not immediately. After serving a year as minister at Bardstown, Father Van Hulst was assigned to the Osage Mission to replace Father Bax, whose premature death had been a distressing blow to that important center of Catholic missionary effort in Kansas.

<sup>34</sup> *Litterae Annuae*, 1851 (A) Spalding to Elet, February 11, 1851. (AA).

<sup>35</sup> De Smet to Van Hulst, February 10, 1851. (A).

Francis Xavier d'Hoop, a Belgian, was in his thirty-ninth year at the time he took over the direction of St. Aloysius College. He had come to the United States in 1837 in company with Father De Smet and other candidates for the Society, all entering the Florissant novitiate together in November of that year. Contrary to expectation, the session 1851-1852, the first during Father d'Hoop's incumbency as rector, opened with a low registration, only seventy students reporting the first week. During the vacation season two lay professors of the college, who had been dropped from the faculty, made a house-to-house canvas of the students' homes in the endeavor to excite prejudice against the institution, each of them announcing at the same time that he intended starting a school of his own. A considerable number of boys were thus diverted from St. Aloysius, attendance at which, however, notably increased. It went from seventy to a hundred the second week of the session, rose to a hundred and twelve in October, and before the year was over reached as high as a hundred and fifty. Meantime, somewhere around Christmas the two opposition schools ceased to be, the pupils of one deserting the teacher, and the teacher of the other deserting the pupils.<sup>36</sup>

Besides Mr. John Beckwith (Van Wesenbeck), who had accompanied Father Emig to Louisville in 1848 to assist in the management of the free school, Jesuit professors attached to St. Aloysius during its brief career were Fathers Messea, De Coen, Maes and Isidore Boudreaux and the scholastics Halpin, Watson, Girsch and Heylen. The coadjutor-brothers serving the institution included Brothers Donahue, Plank, Coveney, Dohan, Patik, King and Schmidt.

#### § 4. PASSING OF THE COLLEGE

All through its brief career the Louisville college bore the character of an experiment, the issue of which was continually in doubt. Within a year of its inception Father Roothaan characterized it as a venture hasty and ill-advised.<sup>37</sup> Two years later he expressed himself again in the same sense, adding that he would gladly see the vice-province free itself of the incumbrance of Louisville.<sup>38</sup> Finally, to Bishop Spalding he expressed with frankness his disapproval of the manner in which the college had been begun.

The promise to keep the Free School must be kept absolutely nor may the latter be now given up merely because the college has been taken in hand so precipitately. I say, Bishop, that the College was started in too great

<sup>36</sup> *Litterae Annuae*, 1851

<sup>37</sup> Roothaan ad Elet, July 30, 1850 (A)

<sup>38</sup> Roothaan ad Murphy, January 26, 1852 (A).

a hurry. And, in truth, the great plague of the Society in your part of the world is this, that we undertake too many things and do not leave time for the training of subjects, as it is necessary to do. As a result, the latter cannot go through their studies properly and as a matter of fact many find themselves ruined in this regard. Father Emig himself is a case in point. Busily employed for so many years and thrown into work of various kinds, he has not found it possible to make his studies in due form. I understand quite well how urgent are the needs, but if things go on there at this pace, I cannot help entertaining very great fears for the future of that portion of the Society where the harvest is gathered before it is ripe and where one must look for grass instead of grain. This is my chief solicitude and I do not fail to preach on the subject continually in my letters. In view of all this, I should not have indorsed *a priori* the taking over even of the Free School in Louisville, though *post factum* and after hearing of the great good that is being done in it, I cannot do otherwise than give it praise. But as to the college I cannot approve of the exceeding hurry that has marked the whole affair.

I cannot fail to express my displeasure with both Fathers Emig and Elet, as they should not have entered into engagements of this kind without the previous and explicit consent of the General.

In conclusion, Bishop, the free school, so I repeat, will be continued, as having been promised. The college? I do not myself see how it will be possible to make it go forward with such precipitation.<sup>39</sup>

To Father Murphy, who succeeded Father Elet in the capacity of vice-provincial in the summer of 1851, the inexpediency of the Louisville venture was clear from the beginning. "I have always thought," so he wrote to the Father General, "that even though the college flourished, it would have been better to wait some years before beginning at Louisville. With this house less, the other houses would be more at their ease and some additional scholastics would go to join the colony of nine students sent to Georgetown." The following year he made bold to broach with Bishop Spalding the question of suppressing the college, at the same time bringing to the prelate's notice, as he had not previously ventured to do, that wherever the Jesuits had a college they also had a church in which the sacred ministry was exercised. "In a conversation which I had with him at Louisville he spoke to me at length of the agreements, of the documents signed on one side and the other, of the signatures of Ours 'in due form of law.' I answered him in Latin, *justa quidem, iniqua tamen*, and I added in English that he had showed himself a more skilful negotiator than the Jesuits with all their *savoir faire*. This made him laugh and he had the air of agreeing with what I said. As soon as the documents in question were sent by Father Elet, the Bishop's brother, the vicar-gen-

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<sup>39</sup> Undated. Original in Italian (AA)



eral, exclaimed 'We've got them, those Jesuits.' He is right. *Deus intersit*"<sup>40</sup>

The documents to which Bishop Spalding made appeal have not come to light and nothing precise may therefore be said regarding their contents. In December, 1849, the prelate informed Father Roothaan that the college property and the money to build on it had been given by himself and the people "on the express and accepted condition that the Free School be maintained by the Fathers of the College *in perpetuum*." The matter was explained somewhat differently by Father Elet in a letter of February 11, 1850, to the General. The vice-provincial declared that on asking the Bishop for the title to the property, which the Bishop himself had sold to the Jesuits as part site for the college, he was informed that they would first have to pledge themselves in writing to maintain the Free School in perpetuity. To this Elet replied that the income from the pay school being precarious, circumstances might arise which would render it impracticable to continue the free school, hence, he could not oblige himself to its maintenance absolutely and under all circumstances. However, should it be relinquished, the Jesuits would reimburse the Bishop for the financial aid lent them with a view to its support.<sup>41</sup> What were the precise terms under which Elet finally accepted the Free School are nowhere stated. For one thing, it appears he was to reimburse the Bishop to the extent of twenty-six hundred dollars in case the school were given up. At all events he evidently pledged himself and his successors in some way to maintain it as Father Roothaan's letter to Bishop Spalding clearly indicates.

Finally, in May, 1852, Father Roothaan, in response to a petition from Father Murphy and his consultors, signified his consent to the closing of the college. "I am not at all averse," he informed Murphy, "to the closing of the Louisville college, which was started without due consideration. It is certainly a matter of regret if the Province is thereby to assume a new burden of debt; but it would be more regrettable still if after the college had run into greater debt, we should have to abandon it at a more costly sacrifice. I do not see how the free school can be maintained once the college is suppressed. I give your Reverence full permission to do whatever you shall judge to be best in the Lord."<sup>42</sup>

With the circumstances which were thus to bring about the withdrawal of the Jesuits from the educational field in Louisville no man

<sup>40</sup> Murphy à Roothaan, October 8, 1851, April 23, 1852. (AA)

<sup>41</sup> Elet à Roothaan, February 11, 1850 (AA)

<sup>42</sup> Roothaan à Murphy, May 23, 1852 (AA)

was better conversant than the rector of St. Aloysius, Father d'Hoop. Letters of his to the Father General throw light on the situation

Leaving out of account the good which the college will sooner or later furnish us the occasion of doing through the exercise of the sacred ministry, it seems to me that a great mistake was made in establishing it. If it was necessary *per fas et nefas* to multiply the colleges of this Vice-Province, one might have done so in a place [state] where we did not have any and where we might have done more good for religion and humanity. Nowhere in the United States does one find so many Catholic establishments grouped together as in this vicinity. Poor Catholics had a Free School here, others in easier circumstances had St. Mary's College, the one-time college of our Fathers in this state, where rates for boarding are low, while Catholic parents favored by fortune could have sent their children to our colleges at Cincinnati or Bardstown, which latter place one can get to [from here] in half a day.

Father d'Hoop then sketches in brief the financial status of the college in December, 1851. Tuition-money fell far short of the running expenses of the institution. During the scholastic year 1851-1852 debts and interest dues totalling \$3,384 were to be met, while tuition-money for the same period would probably amount to thirty-six hundred dollars, leaving a surplus of only two hundred and sixteen dollars. Besides, current expenses for upkeep of school and faculty had yet to be discharged. Payments under this head amounting to two thousand dollars would fall due in February, 1852, and of this sum d'Hoop did not see his way to raising more than one hundred dollars. In his plight he had turned for help to the vice-provincial, Murphy, but the latter's resources were exhausted. He was now addressing himself to the General, imploring him with all the air of a man in the most distressing circumstances to come to his relief.<sup>43</sup>

Four months later Father d'Hoop announced to the General the impending suspension of the college:

Our college is at present highly prosperous. We have more pupils than ever before. No hope of making a single convert among our Protestant scholars. Our Catholic children, to the number of 77, are doing well. All who have made their first communion frequent the holy sacraments every month, one single pupil excepted.

Although the college, in the opinion of Ours finds itself just now at the highest degree of prosperity, there will nevertheless be a deficit of about 1000 dollars at the end of this scholastic year.

Such being our financial state, without a future any more auspicious before us, we have decided to follow the decision of your Paternity on the

<sup>43</sup> d'Hoop à Roothaan, December 5, 1851 (AA)

issue, namely, to give up the college. The grave difficulties which must naturally beset a step of this kind have occasioned us no little perplexity and reflection. After many prayers offered up for this intention the resolution was reached to give up this institution and we were anxious to speak about the matter directly with the Bishop. But several reasons, especially the publicity that would be given before the measure could be put through, determined us to postpone it to next vacation. Divine Providence has wished otherwise in the matter. Yesterday the Bishop wrote us a brief note advising us that he had a chance to dispose for ten years of the land of his which adjoins our college and that if we wished to buy it ourselves he should like to know so the following day Reverend Father Provincial [Murphy] accompanied by Father Minister [De Coen] and myself went to see him at once. We made known to him that, far from being able to purchase this property, we should be forced to relinquish the college, and chiefly for the two following reasons. The revenues of the college did not suffice to pay our living expenses and debts, moreover our young professors would have to proceed to their [divinity] studies. Notwithstanding our statement, as precise and detailed as we could make it, his Lordship showed that he could not understand such a financial condition with so many pupils. One would have, he said, to simplify and economize more. The second reason he admitted. We offered him the college property on condition that he assumed the debt upon it, giving him to understand too, that we would continue the Free School until such a time as his Lordship should be in a position to make other arrangements. At first blush, this proposition did not seem to be altogether displeasing to him, but in the end he refused to accept it. He repeated several times that he was and always would be strongly opposed to our project. It will produce, said he, a bad effect upon the public and will do harm to your Society. He took leave of us, promising to keep the secret both here and at the impending Council of Baltimore and saying he hoped we would remain.

It is evident, Very Reverend Father, that we have been bound hand and foot and delivered over by our predecessors. Without a great pecuniary sacrifice we cannot pull ourselves out of a position prejudicial at once to the finances and the personnel of the Vice-Province. In effect a dozen subjects are wearing themselves out only to put the Vice-Province into debt and to teach a hundred Protestants (without giving them the least religious instruction) together with a few Catholics who perhaps would be better off in the Free School. We count on continuing the latter until a new arrangement is made, the more so as the agreement made with the Bishop obliges the Vice-Province to pay him \$2500 in case we withdraw from the school, not to speak of half of the property on which the college is built, which would return to him in the same supposition. Our idea then is to close the college next July and to give to the public an account of the imperative reasons which make it a duty for us to do so. We believe that the cession of the entire property, land, building, furniture, books etc., a value of at least \$12000 against a debt of some \$9000, together with the continuance of the Free School, would set us perfectly right before the public. As to

rumors and reports we bother ourselves very little about them. There is only one difficulty and that is a debt of 8 or 9 thousand dollars with which the Province would be charged in case the above arrangement could not be effected with the public. To sell the property would be odious, even though one should find a purchaser, which is very doubtful, as everybody declares.<sup>44</sup>

The session 1851-1852 of St. Aloysius College closed with commencement exercises that extended over two days, July 4 and 5. In the course of that same month announcement was made to Bishop Spalding and the public that the institution would not be reopened. The *Annual Letters* for 1852 advert to the facts that Washington's Birthday and Independence Day of that year were celebrated by the college with an enthusiasm that gave no hint of its approaching dissolution, while the academic year came to an end with one hundred and seventy-four students in attendance. That in the face of such tokens of prosperity the college, at the instance of its managers, should cease to be, was due to reasons which, as detailed in the *Annual Letters*, are identical with those which Fathers De Smet and O'Loghlen subsequently presented to Bishop Spalding. The financial outlook of the institution was little short of desperate. Students were indeed flocking to it in ever-increasing numbers, but the growing registration added only to the discomfort of student-body and faculty as quarters for both were already taxed beyond capacity. Among the non-Catholic students, who appear to have been considerably in the majority, not a single conversion seems to have taken place, and adequate spiritual care of the Catholic students was rendered impracticable. The youth of Louisville, however, was not in consequence of the suspension of St. Aloysius College left deprived of all opportunity of a Catholic education. The Jesuit boarding-schools in Cincinnati and Bardstown, the latter distant only a few miles from Louisville, were open to the sons of such parents as could meet the expense. Moreover, observe the *Annual Letters*, the original intention of superiors in going into Louisville is now being realized. For the free school for boys is still being maintained, while attached to it is an academy or day school for the boys of families comfortably circumstanced. The former counts an attendance of two hundred, the latter of thirty-two boys. "Nor let anyone think it strange that more fruit for souls is now being gathered by our two men than was formerly gathered by ten. May Heaven grant that we may continue making the same progress as before."<sup>45</sup>

The reasons that necessitated the suspension of the college were formally laid before Bishop Spalding in August, 1852, by Fathers De

<sup>44</sup> d'Hoop à Roothaan, April 12, 1852 (AA)

<sup>45</sup> *Litterae Annuae*, 1852 (A)

Smet and O'Loghlen, who were sent from St. Louis to Louisville on this mission by Father Murphy.<sup>46</sup> They are detailed in a letter of De Smet's to the General.

1 The Father General's explicit consent to the opening of St. Aloysius had never been secured.

2 The Vice-Province was short of men. Recent deaths among the Fathers and scholastics had reduced its personnel, besides which many of the immigrant German Jesuits of 1848 had returned to their own Province.

3 The majority of the students of St. Aloysius were Protestants, who seemed to profit little in a religious way from their attendance at the institution, on the contrary, their presence was deemed harmful to the Catholic students.

4 The annual running expenses of the College were eight hundred dollars in excess of the revenue.

When his Lordship was made acquainted with the various motives that necessitated the suppression of the College of St. Aloysius, he seemed to enter into the views of Rev. Father Provincial. He spoke in favor of keeping up the Free School and showed us a letter of your Paternity as being agreed with him on this point. The following note was then presented to the Bishop: "The undersigned are authorized to offer to your Lordship the house and property known under the name of St. Aloysius [Louisville] provided that he assume all the liabilities of said establishment. The itemized list of liabilities which follows includes a debt in notes and loans amounting to \$8,155. If your Lordship agrees to accept this offer, arrangement will be immediately made to carry it into effect.

(Signed) F. O'Loghlen, S. J.  
P. J. De Smet, S. J."

The sum of \$800 subscribed by the Vice-Province towards the building of the college has been remitted. Remission has likewise been made of the \$1700 paid to the Bishop for a part of the property. The furniture, library and physical cabinet cover these two sums and have already been transported to Bardstown College, where they will be found useful and even necessary.

Catholics appear to be distressed at the departure of Ours from Louisville, but without attaching any blame to the Superior for taking the step. They build hopes on the future, in the persuasion that the Society will one day render great service to Louisville, when it will have there, as elsewhere, a church of its own.

Very Rev. Father Provincial has already advised your Paternity that the ground and buildings of the Louisville college were paid for in great part by contributions from the inhabitants and by the Bishop's gift of a portion of the property. We have thought it our duty to make the arrangement described, so as not to have the appearance of profiting by the suspension of the

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<sup>46</sup> Father Francis O'Loghlen, consultant of the vice-province, and professor of physics and mathematics in St. Louis University.

college We expect to see soon such a disposition of the affair as will leave the Diocese in possession of a fine property and the Society unburdened of a considerable load of debt This property, if put on the market, would bring at the present writing, from sixteen to eighteen thousand dollars The municipality of Louisville or else the School of Medicine would be glad to acquire it at this price,—in a word, we hope with the assistance of God to withdraw with honor and without loss So far heaven has blessed our efforts <sup>47</sup>

Before the end of September, 1852, the transfer of the college to the Bishop of Louisville had been effected on the terms, it would appear, which De Smet outlined in his report to Father Roothaan. On September 22, 1852, Murphy wrote to the Bishop signifying his satisfaction over the arrangement made

I telegraphed yesterday, "please make arrangements for the infirmary according to your deed" This day I forward the agreement as requested Thanks be to God and under heaven to you, R. Rev. Sir, for the settlement of this delicate business

Your truly episcopal offer of a church proves your regard for the Society of Jesus and your sincere desire to have some of its members near you permanently This I hope will be the case at a later date, but really our taking charge even of a chapel is utterly impossible Besides, Father Baltus is called to Europe and others will probably soon follow (three have been written for) Since the 15 July death has taken away Mr Girsch, F. F. [Fathers] Loretan and Bax, and Father Kalcher buried this very morning, so that it will be utterly out of our power for some time to undertake even a small mission Those of Ohio (Chillicothe etc.) have been given up I have begged of Archbishop Kenrick to take charge of the church and property of Washington, a day's journey from St. Louis, but there is no priest at his disposal New Westphalia and other places must follow before long The college and church of Milwaukee with the \$15000 bequeathed have been necessarily declined For my part I openly profess my preference for your generous

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<sup>47</sup> De Smet à Roothaan, September 6, 1852 (A) The terms of the transfer are stated somewhat differently by Father Murphy in a letter to Europe "The Right Reverend Bishop takes the college for three years He will pay the interest on the debt, fire insurance and \$150 to the free school This little subsidy, offerings, the tuition-money of forty Catholic pupils formerly in the college and other little resources enable the community to get along The Bishop's tenants indemnify him amply He is very well satisfied with the arrangement He would have wished us to build a church at once at a proper distance from the Cathedral The fact is that he desires the welfare of his people and that his people desire the Society to work among them The college property increases every day in value Everybody says the Bishop will take it on our terms, which while indemnifying the Vice-Province in every way cannot but edify the public" Murphy à Pierling, November 15, 1852 (AA) A letter of De Smet's cited below states that the final transfer of the property and buildings was made for a consideration of \$8000 to be paid by the Bishop of Louisville to the Jesuits

offer I cannot but regret my inability to accept it May the Lord send workmen for this harvest <sup>48</sup>

The building of the suppressed St Aloysius College, thus acquired by Bishop Spalding in September, 1852, was in turn rented and later sold by him to the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth, who began to use it as a hospital under the name of St Joseph's Infirmary This use it continued to serve up to its demolition in 1926, when the institution was housed in a new and spacious structure in another quarter of Louisville.

#### § 5 THE FREE SCHOOL RELINQUISHED

The attention of the two fathers stationed in Louisville from the closing of the college in 1852 up to the withdrawal of the Jesuits from the city in 1858 was devoted to the free school as also to the pay school or academy At no time did they have a church or parish in Louisville, though the hope of having one was never abandoned and in fact was the only thing that held them from giving up their work in the city altogether.

To their having a church in the city Bishop Spalding made no objection, provided it stood at a proper distance from the cathedral, "the great proximity of which to the suppressed house," so Father Murphy wrote in August, 1853, "prevented us from exercising the ministry and caused us a swarm of embarrassments" The Bishop on dining with the Jesuits at St Louis University in April, 1855, again tendered them leave to open a house and church anywhere in Louisville provided they would not locate too close to the cathedral and would not rely upon him for any of the expense. "Indeed the excellent prelate, in his desire to promote piety and goodness, is exceedingly anxious to make use of our services" With the passing of the college a period of delays and uncertainties set in with no successful attempt on the part of the Jesuits until 1858 to settle decisively the question of their permanent residence in the city In January, 1854, Father Murphy and his advisers were of the opinion that the exact status, present and to come, of the Jesuits in Louisville should be clearly defined by the Bishop, who had already expressed himself in favor of their having a church, presumably a parish one. In April of the same year it was decided to continue the free school even though circumstances did not allow of a church <sup>49</sup> In May it was determined to buy a church-site, which had been offered at a very moderate price, but for reasons not recorded the determination was not carried into effect Meantime, in the midst of these dis-

<sup>48</sup> De Smct Letter Book, 3 125 (A)

<sup>49</sup> *Liber Consultationum* (A)

cussions death overtook Father d'Hoop, March 23, 1855 Benjamin Webb, whose sons were educated at St Aloysius, has this tribute to his memory

My acquaintance with Father Francis d'Hoop began in 1851 when he became president of the college of St Aloysius, Louisville, and, in his death, four years later, I lost an esteemed friend He was a learned and able priest, and an impressive preacher, simple in his manners, warm-hearted and generous, and equally remarkable for his goodness and kindness towards the poor and afflicted While in Louisville, he was the confessor of many pious persons attached to the different congregations of the city, and also of members of the clergy He was a constant sufferer from a chronic complaint that finally caused his death, but so great was his fortitude and so naturally cheerful his disposition that even his most intimate friends were not cognizant of his true condition

The remains of Father d'Hoop were removed first to Bardstown, where they were buried near the old cathedral, and thence in 1868 to the cemetery of the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth, where with the remains of other Jesuit laborers in the Kentucky field they lie today.<sup>50</sup>

Shortly after the death of d'Hoop, whose place as superior in Louisville was taken by Father James Halpin, the inability or hesitancy of the Jesuits to formulate a definite plan regarding their future work in the city led Bishop Spalding to address Father Murphy the following letter

I rejoice that you will be saved the expense of rebuilding at present that old wing When I will come up, it will afford me great pleasure to assist at the transfer of the remains of F d'Hope [d'Hoop] I thought I had sufficiently indicated the spot and regret the mistake as to the location I trust that good F d'Hope is at rest and praying for us poor pilgrims on earth

At a meeting of my council last evening, three out of four members being present—I was unanimously advised to impress on your Reverence's attention the importance of an early decision of your Society in regard to the question of its *permanent* establishment in Louisville The uncertainty and hesitancy of the last two or three years have greatly embarrassed the episcopal administration, and at present until this matter is settled, I shall be much at a loss to decide on the arrangements which it will be necessary to make especially for Louisville And unless you decide the matter soon, duty may compel me to make such dispositions as will greatly impede if not prevent, your having such a permanent establishment here in future as you may desire As I fully concur in opinion with my advisers, I think it right to speak plainly

<sup>50</sup> Webb, *op cit*, 437 Jesuit graves in Nazareth cemetery are those of Fathers Francis O'Loughlen, James Graves, Francis d'Hoop, Messrs Henry Gossens, Nicholas Meyer, Christian Zealand (scholastics), and the coadjutor-brothers, Edmund Barry, James Morris and Samuel O'Connell



to you on the subject I hope that you will find it practicable to do something soon <sup>51</sup>

Father Murphy's answer, he was just then on a visit to Bardstown, is dated only one day later than the Bishop's communication

I thank you for "speaking plainly" to us, to use your own expressive words Understanding (from report in town) that you are about to leave the city, I hasten to express my regret for having occasioned you inconvenience by delay and uncertainty and to beg of you to make all your arrangements without any reference to us We should be sorry to stand in the way of present good It is our hope to be able sooner or later to purchase a lot, but this measure is quite immaterial as regards yours, since we neither could nor would locate on it without your permission In case of any difficulty it could be disposed of probably with advantage To go into debt and to build, as times are, would be more than rashness Let us but hope that it will always not be so Indeed *reposita est haec spes in sinu meo* but it is not ours, *nosse tempora et momenta* Meanwhile we shall attend to the Academy and Free School, subject, however, to your Lordship's directions <sup>52</sup>

Two months later than this interchange of letters between the Bishop of Louisville and the Jesuit vice-provincial the latter had acquired property on Walnut Street in Louisville on which to build a church at such time as circumstances should permit It was purchased from Bishop Spalding, who had himself bought it as a site for a church and who now deeded it over to the Jesuits at two-thirds the price of what it had cost him in consideration of their remitting the eight thousand dollars which he still owed them on the college property Only a few months subsequent to this transaction occurred the Know-Nothing riot of August, 1855 The editor of the *Louisville Journal*, George D Prentice, used the columns of his paper to fan public prejudice and passion against Catholics, especially those of foreign birth Threats were freely made that members of the Church of Rome would be forcibly kept from the polls on the approaching election-day, August 5 When the day arrived every Catholic and every alien who attempted to approach the polls was driven away The houses of Catholic citizens were burnt to the ground and scores of their occupants either perished in the flames or were shot down as they attempted to escape The Catholic churches of the city were saved from destruction only by the vigorous remonstrances of Bishop Spalding, who induced the mayor of the city to put a check on the rioters To Archbishop Kenrick of Philadelphia, Spalding wrote a few days after the outbreak of Bloody Monday as the day came to be known in Louisville history

<sup>51</sup> Spalding to Murphy, April 13, 1855 (A) De Smet Letter Book, 6 323

<sup>52</sup> Murphy to Spalding, April 14, 1855 (A)

We have just passed through a reign of terror surpassed only by the Philadelphia riots. Nearly a hundred poor Irish and Germans have been butchered or burned and some twenty houses have been fired and burned to the ground. The city authorities, all Know-Nothings, looked calmly on, and they are now endeavoring to lay the blame on the Catholics.<sup>53</sup>

Louisville business, as might have been foreseen, suffered serious harm in consequence of the riots, numerous Catholic residents closing up their affairs and moving out of the city to other localities. As to the property which the Jesuits had acquired for their future church, it was situated in the area most severely damaged during the outbreak and on that account as also owing to the moving away of Catholic families had become considerably less suited for its intended purpose.

Interesting glimpses of the fortunes of the little Jesuit residence in Louisville during these years are to be found in letters which De Smet in his capacity of consultor of the vice-province addressed at intervals to the Father General.

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<sup>53</sup> Webb, *op cit*, 484. The account in Johnston, *Memorial History of Louisville*, I, 99, 100, puts the casualties at a lower figure than that given in Bishop Spalding's letter. "Between seven and one o'clock at night twelve houses, known as Quinn's Row, were burned on the north side of Main, east of Elwens [?] and two on the south side of Main, opposite Patrick Quinn, the owner of the row bearing his name, was shot and his body partially consumed in the flames. A number of other houses were burned and more than twenty persons were killed or died from their wounds. For several hours the city was in possession of the mob and it required the united efforts of the prominent men of both parties to put an end to the riot. The Know Nothing ticket was elected by a large majority and it was a long time before the feeling aroused by the event subsided. The effect upon the State and city has been to repress foreign emigration, the last census (1890) showing that out of a total population in Kentucky of 1,858,635, only 59,356 were of foreign birth." The city of Louisville was required by the courts to indemnify property-owners for losses incurred on account of the riots. It is an interesting speculation just to what extent the percentage of Catholic residents in Louisville has been affected by the Know-Nothing riots of 1855. The influx of Catholic emigrants into the city, very considerable before that date, was no doubt checked by them. However, the Catholic population was put in 1858 as high as fifty per cent of the total (See *supra*, note 22). Again, in 1884 Webb estimated that "all of one half," of Louisville residents had been the "recipients of Catholic baptism," the same authority also declaring that "two-thirds of the Sunday church-goers of Louisville are undoubtedly Catholic" (Webb, *op cit*, p. 295). Allowing even for a considerable margin of error in these figures, there would seem to have been a notable decline in the relative Catholic population of Louisville, as a reliable estimate furnished the writer gives it at present only one-fourth or one-fifth of the total. At the same time, the U. S. government census of 1916 for Louisville (*Religious Bodies*, p. 125) gives the Catholics 53,474 or 41.3% out of a total church-going population of 129,529.

At Louisville Fathers d'Hoop and Maes conduct the school with admirable success—they teach more than two hundred Catholic children, rescued for the most part from Protestant schools. There are three assistant teachers in the school, each receiving a modest salary. The Fathers manage their little temporal affairs without aid from the Vice-Province <sup>54</sup>

While favoring Milwaukee by all means, we must not by any means lose sight of Louisville in Kentucky. We must try to retain our men in that place and have there a church and school. Louisville has forty thousand souls and will soon have a hundred thousand. Catholics are numerous there and in general devoted to the Society. Religion seems to languish there and the holy Sacraments are poorly frequented. The college of Bardstown could easily incur whatever preliminary expense would be needed to secure a suitable piece of property. Louisville is only a day's journey from St. Louis. In five hours you can cover the distance to Cincinnati. A Residence at Louisville would be of help to the College of Bardstown and even essential, I think, to the prosperity and well-being of that institution. The Fathers in Louisville find frequent occasion to recommend the College and to correct the bad impressions and refute the calumnies spread about by evil-minded persons and enemies of the Society <sup>55</sup>

Our Fathers do all the good that is possible in their position. They live in a shabby little house and have no church. The Society is respected in the city and leading Catholics have repeatedly expressed a desire to see our Fathers remain in the city and have a suitable church and establishment. The present Bishop recently made some highly favorable offers in this connection to Very Rev. Fr. Provincial. It is exceedingly to be desired for the Glory of God and the good of the Society that the plan be realized in some shape or another, religion, which appears to languish in Louisville, would be the gainer by it. As Louisville is the capital or principal city of Kentucky, this Residence would be of great advantage to St. Joseph's College, not to speak of it as a stopping-place for our travellers. The House or Residence of Louisville is without debts and without running into any, would have at its immediate disposition from 5 to 6 thousand dollars <sup>56</sup>

Rev. Fr. Provincial requests me to explain to your Paternity the new arrangement with the Bishop of Louisville of which he spoke in one of his letters. The Bishop owed us eight or nine thousand dollars in consequence of the cession of the property (buildings etc.) of the college suppressed by order of your predecessor. This sum became payable the 1st of January of this year [1856]. The Bishop has declared to Rev. Father Provincial that the Jesuits must come to some decision as to whether they intend to settle permanently in Louisville or not, and that if they wished to take over some property he had purchased as a site for a church, he would let them have it at two-thirds of the price of what it had cost him. In this way he would not be obliged to pay us the money due on January 1 of this year and we

<sup>54</sup> De Smet à Roothaan, January, 1853 (A)

<sup>55</sup> De Smet à Beckx, December 20, 1854 (A)

<sup>56</sup> De Smet à Beckx, January, 1855. (A).

should have at last a Church and House Rev Fr Provincial with the Louisville Consultors and others thought it incumbent on us to accept the Bishop's offer Following this new arrangement work was immediately begun on the steeple of the Cathedral and continued until the bloody riots of August His Lordship and ourselves are now awaiting the good season of the Lord, he, to finish the cathedral steeple and we to make a beginning The Residence and school of Louisville continue to prosper as before The Bishop shows himself more and more favorable to us

Since the recent riots, Louisville has lost a good number of Catholics, chiefly Irish & Germans, and for a long time to come, Catholic emigration from Europe will avoid this unfortunate and degraded town Even today a large number of corpses lie under the ruins of the houses that were burnt down, the instigators of the riots continue to rule the town and exercise a sort of reign of terror over the Catholics However, the opinion is that this state of affairs cannot last long and is now drawing to an end A religious establishment is certainly necessary for putting on a firmer basis the college of Bardstown, which could easily furnish financial help towards building the Residence <sup>57</sup>

As the property which Father Murphy had acquired as a site for a church and residence had become undesirable for such purpose in consequence of the Know-Nothing riot of August, 1855, it was determined not to build until a more suitable location could be secured That the Jesuits had as yet no intention of leaving Louisville appears from a report of De Smet to the Father General, dated the following year "For some years back, Rev Father Provincial and all his Consultors have been of one mind regarding the necessity of this establishment [Louisville]" <sup>58</sup> Within a year, however, of this report of Father De Smet an entirely different view was taken of the Louisville situa-

<sup>57</sup> De Smet à Beckx, January, 1856 (A) "I only add that in the course of time the College of Bardstown will probably be transferred to Louisville It is especially in a large town that a college with a good personnel can do most good in America —by its church, scholastic etc" De Smet à Beckx, August 4, 1856 (A)

<sup>58</sup> De Smet à Beckx, May 13, 1856 (A) Opinion on the Louisville affair among the vice-provincial consultors was not always unanimous In 1854 Gleizal and Druyts were both advising withdrawal from Louisville in favor of Milwaukee, to which Bishop Henni was then inviting the Jesuits But both Murphy and his assistant, De Smet, were always of one mind in believing that the Jesuits should retain a foothold in Louisville, the chief reasons for doing so which they alleged being identical, viz the great prospect of promoting the interests of religion in that field and the proximity of the Kentucky metropolis to Bardstown college "It will be a house in which Ours in their travels can be received and business affairs of Bardstown College attended to with convenience But these are little more than human considerations What is of prime importance, much will be done there *ad majorem Dei gloriam* Souls there are in a very miserable condition as many admit, there, as elsewhere where Ours have a church, a fountain of salvation will at last be opened up to many a man" Murphy ad Beckx, September 19, 1855 (AA)

tion In August, 1856, Father Murphy was succeeded in office as vice-provincial by Father Druyts, a former president of St. Louis University. Father Druyts, after a visitation of the Kentucky houses of the vice-province in January, 1857, took counsel with his advisers in St. Louis on the perplexing Louisville problem with the result that a decision was reached to withdraw definitely from the field in July, 1857. Permission to take this step had already been obtained from the General, who, however, gave his consent with some reluctance. "My own mind is," he wrote to Druyts, May 28, 1857, "that we ought to follow the plan of which I wrote to you in my letter of January 7 of this year"<sup>59</sup> However, if the plan is impracticable and if the Consultors of the Vice-Province agree unanimously that the Residence in question ought to be suppressed, I am not unwilling that measures be taken to that effect and I authorize you to close the Residence provided this can be done without offense to the people. I consent indeed with reluctance, for it may be that in the course of time, with a change of circumstances and persons, the situation there may develop more in accordance with our wishes and in such event it would be greatly to our advantage to have a foothold."<sup>60</sup>

At length, in June, 1857, Father Druyts notified Bishop Spalding of his set purpose to withdraw from Louisville. The fathers in charge of the free school were yet without adequate means of support though they had at their command the revenue of the pay school containing, in the Bishop's own words, "the children of the greater portion of the wealthier Catholics of Louisville." Nevertheless the attendance at the pay school was slender and the revenue therefrom proportionately small. At the same time, the Bishop was ready to pay one hundred and fifty or even two hundred dollars annually for the support of the fathers should the subsidy be required by them. In any event, he required six months previous notice of the Jesuits' withdrawal from Louisville, should this step be actually determined on. Druyts again informed the Bishop that the decision for withdrawal had been definitely taken but that, not to embarrass him in his administration of affairs, the measure would not be carried out before a year. In a final communication to Father Druyts the Bishop wrote

True, the site purchased by Father Murphy in consequence of the riots which supervened and what followed them—for which I am surely not responsible—is not so favorable now as it was then, and I am still of opinion

<sup>59</sup> The plan, as proposed by Father Druyts and approved by Father Beckx, was to station only one father and one brother in Louisville as sufficient for the needs of the place.

<sup>60</sup> Beckx ad Druyts, May 28, 1857 (A)

and I think time will prove that I am correct—that a very large Catholic congregation will, in less than five years, be established in the upper part of the city

The peculiar shape of Louisville, which is very long and very narrow, makes it impracticable and *impossible* that there should be more than one English church—the Cathedral—in a central position, and your two predecessors in office readily perceived and candidly admitted this. The only position which was practicable was towards one end of the city, where a church was, moreover, much needed. The principal difficulty was to reconcile the two—the church and the college—in the same location. All this was fully considered and calmly discussed and the result was Father Murphy's purchase

I write this on the feast of your holy Founder and with the best feelings towards his children, barely observing in conclusion that as I consider your withdrawal from Louisville after a year as *final*, I am not to be blamed in future for any arrangements predicated on this fact, which I may deem it necessary for the good of religion to make. I thank you for the signal service rendered by your Fathers in giving retreats.<sup>61</sup>

At the period of this correspondence Father Peter De Meester was at the head of the Jesuit residence of St. Aloysius in Louisville, assisted, in the direction of the schools, by Father John Beckwith and Brother Thomas O'Neill. The close of the session 1857-1858 found Father De Meester the only Jesuit priest at the residence, with Brother Robert Robinson assisting as teacher in the schools. When these reopened in the following September, they were under the management of Reverend H. J. Brady, one of the priests attached to the cathedral. The Jesuits had retired from Louisville in the summer of 1858, the work of the vice-province of Missouri in the chief city of Kentucky having lasted a decade.<sup>62</sup>

The Society of Jesus on its withdrawal from Louisville found itself in no unfriendly relations either with Bishop Spalding or the diocesan clergy. The Bishop in his communication of July 31, 1857, to Father Druyts, expressed his thanks, as was seen, for the "signal service" rendered by the fathers in giving retreats. This was a ministry which they were to continue to exercise in the diocese of Louisville even after the summer of 1858. The following September Father Ferdinand Coose-

<sup>61</sup> Spalding to Druyts, July 31, 1857 (A)

<sup>62</sup> The Louisville property purchased by Father Murphy was subdivided into lots and disposed of in 1859 through Judge M. B. Murphy of that city at a net return of \$6543, the purchasers paying one-fourth in cash and the remainder in time-notes running one, two or three years. The property had a frontage of 315 feet on Walnut Street. All the eleven purchasers bore German names, the property being probably in the vicinity of the present St. John's Church at Walnut and Clay Streets.

mans conducted a retreat for the clergy of the diocese at St Joseph's College, Bardstown. Bishop Spalding with thirty-one of his priests was in attendance. All the retreatants, so we are told in a contemporary account, "admired and felt the unction with which he [Coosemans] rendered the spiritual exercises believed to have been divinely taught to St. Ignatius in the solitude of Manresa. Simple and unaffected in his style and manner, he was solid in his matter, adhering closely to the method of St. Ignatius, planting in faith and trusting to God to give the increase. . . . The retreat has given a new impulse to piety and zeal in the diocese" <sup>63</sup> In October of the same year, 1858, Coosemans, assisted by Father Cornelius Smarius then a young pulpit orator rapidly rising to distinction, preached a mission in the Louisville cathedral. Great crowds were in attendance, the seven or eight confessionals being thronged with penitents from morning to night. Coosemans was also called upon to preach the jubilee in the new Church of St. John, which was solemnly blessed October 31, 1858 <sup>64</sup>

Nor did the Jesuits on leaving Louisville sever all connection as educators with Kentucky. They continued to hold the Bardstown college though they found it necessary to close it the first year of the Civil War, not subsequently reopening the institution, but restoring it with all its appurtenances to the diocese on December 15, 1868. Though the issue between the Society of Jesus and the diocesan authorities of Louisville over Bardstown originally concerned the title to the college property, which the Society held in trust only and not in fee-simple, this point of difference was in time more or less lost sight of, the decisive reason that ultimately led the Jesuits to decline reopening St. Joseph's College after the Civil War being the practical impossibility under the circumstances of supplying the necessary personnel. Meantime, Bishop Spalding's successor in the see of Louisville, Bishop Lavialle, had offered the Jesuits St. Patrick's Church in that city. Writing to Father Beckx on August 2, 1867, which was subsequent to the death of Bishop Lavialle, Father Coosemans, now the Missouri provincial, outlined a proposition that might be made to Bishop Lavialle's successor as a possible solution of the Bardstown problem.

I would suggest proposing to him, in case he should be unwilling to hear of our leaving the diocese, to transfer the Bardstown personnel to Louisville, with the object of beginning there a Residence and day-school of two or three classes, which, despite our lack of subjects, could be done by means of lay-professors. During the life-time of Mgr. Lavialle we were offered by him the church and Residence of St. Patrick, which would suit us well.

<sup>63</sup> *Catholic Guardian*, September 11, 1858

<sup>64</sup> *Idem*, October 30, 1858

enough for the present, though the house is very small. Thereby we should prove that it is Bardstown and not the diocese that we wish to quit, that it is because we are not in a position to reopen the boarding-school at Bardstown. By the adoption of this plan the province would suffer no harm and the diocese would gain by it since a greater number of Catholics than at Bardstown could enjoy the spiritual service of our Fathers, while the youth of the diocese and not a youth from outside of it, would be receiving the benefits of a Christian education.<sup>65</sup>

Father Coosemans's idea of a house in Louisville in lieu of the one in Bardstown met with the hearty indorsement of the Visitor, Father Sopranis, who with the Missouri provincial saw in it a means of relieving the Catholics of Kentucky of any suspicion they might have entertained that the Jesuits were not disposed to labor under any circumstances in their beloved state. "And so let our men," Sopranis wrote, "reside and gather spiritual fruit in Louisville, but by no manner of means in Bardstown."<sup>66</sup>

The Jesuits definitely withdrew from Kentucky in the December of 1868. In 1870 Bishop McCloskey was holding out inducements to them to return to Bardstown, making very liberal offers and proposing among other things to allow them to establish a church and college in Louisville. The answer from St. Louis was that the Society could not return to Bardstown but would accept a suitable site for a church and college in Louisville.<sup>67</sup> McCloskey thereupon offered the Jesuits a location at Twenty-fifth Street and Broadway, on the outskirts of the city and in the neighborhood of the Convent of the Good Shepherd. The location appeared to be a promising one for a church but not at all for a college, presumably as not being accessible enough to the prospective students. The Bishop's offer was accordingly declined and no further negotiations on this head appear to have passed between him and the Jesuits of St. Louis.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>65</sup> *De Negotio Bardensi* (Ms.) (A)

<sup>66</sup> *Idem* (A)

<sup>67</sup> *Liber Consultationum*, December 28, 1870 (A)

<sup>68</sup> *Idem*, March 7, 1871