

PART III (*Continued*)

JESUIT GROWTH IN THE MIDDLE WEST THE  
FIFTIES AND SIXTIES



## CHAPTER XIX

### THE RESIDENCES

#### § I PAROCHIAL RESIDENCES AND THEIR SCOPE

Colleges and Indian missions did not by any means circumscribe the field of labor of the Jesuits of the Middle West. No small measure of their zeal and energy went into the channel of the parochial ministry especially in the small establishments technically called residences. A residence in the Jesuit sense of the term is a house of the Society serving neither as seminary, college, nor novitiate, but as headquarters for a group of fathers engaged, in most instances, in the exercise of the sacred ministry. Residences should normally owe their origin to the generosity of a benefactor or founder, who provides in their behalf the necessary grounds and buildings. Modern conditions, however, have made this conception of a Jesuit residence impracticable, especially in the United States. As a matter of fact, the residences of the restored Society of Jesus have been generally built up on the slenderest of means and at the price of continued labor and sometimes great sacrifices on the part of the fathers. In return for sacrifices thus undergone the Society secures convenient bases of operation for a ministry very dear to it, the immediate care of souls. "The chief ministries of the Society," so the Jesuit rule declares, "are the following: with a view to the defense and propagation of the faith and the advancement of souls in the life and doctrine of Christ, to preach and lecture to the public and exercise any ministry whatsoever of God's word, to give the spiritual exercises, to instruct children and the ignorant in Christian doctrine, to hear the confessions of the faithful and administer to them the other sacraments, to practice works of charity according as God's greater glory and the common good shall dictate."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Epitome Institutii Societatis Jesu* (Rome, 1924), p. 17. The parochial ministry or the care of parishes is forbidden to Jesuits by the letter of their Constitutions. The normal Jesuit church is of the type known as "collegiate," which affords the fathers opportunity for preaching and administering the sacraments of penance and the Holy Eucharist, but involves no parochial obligations. But this type of church is now rare in English-speaking countries, in which the Jesuits, conforming to general practice, find it necessary to have parishes, if they are to engage in the sacred ministry at all.

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The extent to which the midwestern Jesuits sought to realize this ideal of many-sided apostolic endeavor thus set before them in their Institute may be gathered from an enumeration of the residences or quasi-residences, Indian missions apart, which they administered for a greater or less period of time. These include St Charles, Mo (1828), Florissant, Mo (1832), Portage des Sioux, Mo (1835), Westphalia, Mo (1838), Washington, Mo (1838), St Michel, La (1840), Westport, Mo (1840), Taos, Mo. (1844), Marshall, Mo (1845), St Francis Xavier on the Willamette, Oregon (1844), St Joseph's, St Louis, Mo (1846), Chillicothe, Ohio (1847), Cahokia, Ill. (1847), Newport, Ky (1848), Dardenne, Mo (1848), Browns Grove (White Oak), Ohio (1848), Green Bay, Wis (1849), Manitowoc Rapids, Wis. (1851), Milwaukee, Wis (1855), Normandy, Mo (1855), Chicago, Ill (1857). Of these residences, two of which, Milwaukee and Chicago, evolved into colleges, only five remain in possession of the midwestern Jesuits today (1938), the rest having passed into the hands of the diocesan clergy.

Though circumstances justified or seemed to justify the establishment of these various centers of ministerial activity, the multiplication of so many petty residences, many of them manned by only a single father, had disadvantages which did not escape the notice of the Father Generals. In the early forties Father Roothaan was urging the Maryland Province to disencumber itself of parishes and parochial residences, thereby setting men free for the colleges or for the urgently important work of "itinerant missions," very inadequately organized in the United States if at all. In 1849 he was advising Father Elet to give up Dardenne and Portage des Sioux and certain other stations if opportunity offered. The latter made bold to demur: "Your Paternity has told me to surrender [parochial] posts to the secular clergy whenever the Catholics (always the minority) ask for it. And what is to be done with the churches and presbyteries built at our expense?"<sup>2</sup> The reason here alleged for retaining the parishes had no weight with Father Roothaan. "What the Society did [in this regard]," he replied, "it did for the good of the faithful and for the Greater Glory of God."<sup>3</sup> In 1850 Elet did contrive to pass Dardenne over to the Archbishop of St. Louis. "Would to God," was Father Roothaan's comment on the transaction, "that you could rid yourself of so many [other] missions or parishes, which are causing the ruin of the Province."<sup>4</sup>

When Father Murphy arrived in St. Louis in the summer of 1851 in the capacity of successor to Father Elet, he brought with him explicit

<sup>2</sup> Elet à Roothaan, January 14, 1850 (AA)

<sup>3</sup> Roothaan à Elet, 1850 (AA)

<sup>4</sup> Roothaan à Elet, October 8, 1850 (AA)

instructions from the General on the subject of parochial residences "No steps are to be taken towards opening any new house or college or residence, and indeed this matter was recently safeguarded by a formal precept Parishes or stations are to be given up when and where the bishops can be induced to accept them Nor is it to be objected that these stations have been founded by the Society with great outlay of labor and money" Father Murphy began his administration as vice-provincial by withdrawing the Jesuit priests charged at the time with the parishes of Chillicothe and White Oak in Ohio and Newport in Kentucky Having learned that Archbishop Purcell of Cincinnati was displeased with the measure, he wrote to that prelate August 30, 1851

I regret exceedingly that circumstances did not admit of my having a private interview with Your Grace at New York, which would probably have rendered this letter unnecessary The dangerous state of R F [Reverend Father] Elet, already despaired of, obliged me to hasten on, instead of awaiting your arrival in Cincinnati It has pleased Heaven to spare him up to this time, and it is to be hoped that we shall soon have to thank God for his recovery Father Carrell having informed me by letter of Your Grace's displeasure at the arrangements in regard to *Chillicothe* and *Browns Grove*, [White Oak], from both of which places we are compelled to withdraw our missionaries, I communicated the matter to Father Elet, as being better able to afford the necessary explanation I learn from him that Father Gleizal, who performed the Provincial visitation in his stead, had apprised the V [icar] General Rev E Purcell of the removal from Chillicothe and that he had consented to it without difficulty As to Father Weber's leaving, Father Elet remembers having obtained Your Grace's personal approbation In truth, Most Reverend Sir, these disagreeable measures are unavoidable in our present circumstances, which I beg leave to state fully 1 Since your departure, nearly a dozen German and Swiss priests have been recalled to Europe or transferred to Maryland Missions in Missouri and Illinois have been necessarily given up, and as to the Indian Missions, we cannot find two Fathers for Bishop Miége 2 Positive orders have been repeatedly given to call home those who are *alone* in any station The General is very pressing on this head 3 He directs us to strain every nerve in order to enable our young men to complete their studies, and as a first move in this matter, we have been ordered to send several to Georgetown This obliges us to take wherever we can find them such of our priests as are fit for colleges, otherwise we cannot do justice to our students, nor to our professional obligations 4 I have been personally directed to press the execution of these points, as of vital importance, nay of conscientious exigence 5

In 1852 Father Murphy returned to Bishop Van de Velde of Chicago the parishes of Cahokia and French Village in St Clair County,

<sup>5</sup> Murphy to Purcell, August 30, 1851 Archives of the Sisters of Charity, Mount St Joseph-on-the-Ohio, Ohio.

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Illinois, which had been cared for by the Jesuits since 1847. Circumstances, however, were not to render it possible for him to carry out to the extent that he desired the program of suppressing the smaller parochial residences. But he came all along to be regarded as an open and avowed advocate of this policy in accordance with the instructions issued to him by Father Roothaan. Not, however, that he was out of sympathy with the parochial ministry or would deny it altogether to the men of his jurisdiction, but he saw the necessity of restricting it within the bounds prescribed by the rule and historical practice of the Society. "Residences are as much a need as colleges," he observes to Father Roothaan in 1853, "but if it is necessary to use so many precautions in America to maintain discipline in regularly organized religious communities, what unseemly things are not to be found among those little groups of two or three Fathers with a Brother or two, to say nothing of isolated missionaries. Soon the Jesuit becomes the good curé (*le bon curé*)" <sup>6</sup>

From the time of Father Elet a difference of opinion, more apparent, however, than real, had showed itself in regard to the relative importance of the colleges and the parishes. Favoring the colleges as a field of endeavor offering greater prospects for achieving the avowed purposes of the Society, were, among others, Fathers Murphy and Gleizal, while among the ardent advocates of the parochial ministry were to be found especially the pioneer members of the Jesuit group, as Fathers Elet, De Smet, Verhaegen, and with them Fathers Weninger and Damen. It was argued on the one hand that the fathers withdrawn from the parishes could be employed to better advantage in the colleges or in conducting missionary revivals up and down the country, that the hierarchy would be pleased with this surrender of the parishes, finally, that a life according to the demands of the Jesuit rule could not be adequately safeguarded in the minor residences. On the other hand it was urged that the bishops (for the lack of priests) were not in a position to take over the parishes that might be offered them, that a vast deal of spiritual good was being effected in the parishes, the good effected in the colleges being negligible in comparison, finally, that the parish churches and rectories had been built at the expense of the Society. What Father Roothaan thought of this last consideration has been seen above. As to complaints over the proposed surrender of the German residences in Missouri, he answered that they would be relinquished only if diocesan priests were found to take them in hand. This, he explained, was also Father Murphy's understanding of the matter. "I have urged that

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<sup>6</sup> Murphy à Roothaan, April 1, 1853 (AA)

the smaller residences be dropped only according as the bishops are willing to accept and provide for them" <sup>7</sup>

Under Father Beckx the still unsettled question of the smaller residences again came to the fore. His attitude in regard to it could not be expected to differ from that of his predecessor nor did it. In 1857 he expressed to the vice-provincial, Father Druyts, his surprise at seeing listed in the register of the vice-province three times as many petty residences as houses organized in keeping with the requirements of the Institute. "In small residences or parishes, as experience shows, it is very difficult to preserve for any length of time the religious spirit proper to our vocation" <sup>8</sup> The comment which these words evoked from Father Druyts, while not reflecting on the wisdom of the course now urged by the Father General, is significant as pointing to the spirit of apostolic zeal which had occasioned the excessive multiplication of parochial residences. "We are not unaware that the proper spirit of our vocation can be better preserved in houses organized according to the norm of our Institute. But who can look on indifferently and see such a rich harvest lost for lack of harvesters?" <sup>9</sup> In the event it was only at a much later period that the policy of reducing the number of residences could be effectually carried out. In Father Beckx's time by far the greater number of fathers at work in the Middle West were in favor of retaining these vantage points for the exercise of the sacred ministry, the cession of which to the diocesan authorities was advocated by only a few.

Conspicuous among the defenders of the residences was Father De Smet. The sympathies of this remarkable man were at all times with the workers in the parishes and with the missionaries, the Indian missionaries especially. Jesuit educational activities in the United States or elsewhere did not particularly appeal to him nor could he in any proper sense of the term be called a "college man." In January, 1855, he wrote to the General: "Our German and Belgian Fathers labor certainly with much fruit and zeal in these different Residences and Missions. Those who are engaged in them could not for the most part render greater services to religion in our Colleges. It would be a great misfortune for

<sup>7</sup> "Surrender of certain posts to the secular clergy. This is not to be understood of all the posts we occupy, but only of particular cases where, in making the cession, one would see an evident advantage from the standpoint of the good of souls, a case, for instance, such as that which has presented itself, so it has been told me, at St. Charles, where the faithful have asked for a secular priest, which the Archbishop was disposed to grant them." Roothaan à Elet, March 18, 1850 (AA). According to Elet the request made by the parishioners at St. Charles had come from a minority. Elet à Roothaan, January 14, 1850 (AA).

<sup>8</sup> Beckx ad Druyts, October 3, 1857 (AA).

<sup>9</sup> Druyts ad Beckx, November 16, 1857 (AA).

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our Society to abandon these Residences I add this last remark, as several of our Fathers speak about doing so” Again, in the same year, 1855, he wrote “Nothing of the little we possess in Missouri should be abandoned by us The good Fathers employed in those German missions do certainly an immense deal of good and could, very probably, not as well be employed in colleges to promote the glory of God Yesterday, Bishop Carrell, who confirmed hundreds of their parishioners, declared to me ‘that nowhere he had felt so much consolation, neither had he found better Catholics’” In January of the following year, 1856, when steps seemed about to be taken to close the residence of St Francis Borgia in Washington, Missouri, he expressed in a letter to Father Beckx the pain which “this measure would bring to most of the Fathers, especially such as had labored in those parts for more than thirty years.” Still again in the same year he made known to the Father General how deeply he disapproved of the surrender of the residences

Reverend Father Provincial [Murphy], ever since he has been in Missouri, has very often repeated and said openly that the Society in America needs only colleges with churches attached to them He even declared in presence of the Vicar-General of the Archbishop [of St Louis] his intention of suppressing all our residences, commencing with the German ones He avows that he has always had an invincible dislike for the residences and he has certainly done little, not to say nothing, for their success All his predecessors for the last thirty-five years have been of a very different opinion and would have increased the number had they possessed the necessary personnel The effect which this sort of opposition on his part (in which he stands alone or almost alone) has produced in the Vice-Province has been to discourage a considerable number who had very different desires, (namely) the spirit of the missions, when they left their native land to enter the Society in America In point of fact the residences and missions render and have always rendered the greatest service to religion in these parts They keep thousands of poor Catholic families in the Faith, while conversions among the Protestants are often very consoling On the other hand, the colleges are without doubt necessary and we should have to create them if they did not exist, yet such is the moral condition of the country that few young people who go forth from them persevere in the holy practices of religion I have heard this remark a number of times from the mouths of several bishops I think, before the Lord and for His glory, that it is absolutely necessary to keep and even increase in number, if the thing be possible, the Residences and Missions as also the itinerant missionaries [*Les missionnaires itnerants*] according to the spirit of our holy Rules and Constitutions<sup>10</sup>

As to Father De Smet’s unfavorable estimate of the results achieved by the colleges, there will be occasion to appraise its accuracy when the

<sup>10</sup> De Smet à Beckx, March 12, 1856 (A) As to Father Murphy’s real opinion on the residences, cf *supra*, p 4



topic of Jesuit education in the West presents itself for particular treatment. Here it will be enough to contrast the missionary's views regarding the parishes with those expressed on the same subject by a contemporary of his, Father Gleizal, master of novices and rector at Florissant, whose admirably written letters addressed in the capacity of consultor to the Father General are replete with illuminating detail. Under date of June 10, 1855, he suggested various measures looking towards a higher level of efficiency in the work of the midwestern Jesuits. One of these was the closing of certain parochial residences in central Missouri:

To abandon the three residences of St. Francis Xavier (Cole County), Saint Francis De [*sic*] Borgia (Washington, Franklin Co.) and New Westphalia (all in Missouri). At a stroke we should thus have at our disposition six or seven Fathers, who could help out elsewhere. Note that these country residences are nothing else but parishes like those in Europe, with succursal (churches), so that our Fathers live therein like good curés (*comme de bons curés*), exposed like them to the dangers of a non-community and secular life, as experience shows only too often. The idea of thus resigning these parishes into the hands of the Bishop had indeed occurred long ago to your predecessor of holy memory. He wrote at the time to the Provincial to proceed to this effect, I mean, to turn these parishes over to the Bishop, but slowly and in a way not to cause his Lordship any embarrassment. Now, far from displeasing the Bishop, I am persuaded that this measure would please him. "And let no one say," added Very Reverend Father Roothaan, "that the Vice-Province has incurred great expenses in these parishes, these expenses the Society always incurs A M D G." The fear besetting those who oppose the cession of these parishes is, that the Bishop having everything in his own hands, we shall soon be set aside and have nothing to do. A vain fear, it seems to me, since besides our colleges and urban residences, there is a demand on all sides for itinerant missionaries. Look at Father Weninger. Has he not more work than he can do? Suppose even that the Fathers resident in these parishes can make themselves of very little use elsewhere, at least, we should not have to replace them in case of death or infirmity.<sup>11</sup>

Eleven years later the first provincial of Missouri, Ferdinand Coosemans, was recurring to Father Gleizal's proposal that the German parishes in the interior of Missouri, which still remained in Jesuit hands, be given up. "In view of the fact that many bishops offer us German or Bohemian parishes, as in Chicago, Covington, Toledo, Cleveland, where the harvest would be much more abundant than in our little stations in Missouri, I proposed in the last consultation to offer to the Archbishop [of St. Louis], with the approbation of your Paternity, the German missions of Washington and Westphalia, with their stipendiaries [stipends or honoraria], in order to employ our Fathers in

<sup>11</sup> Gleizal à Beckx, June 10, 1855. (AA).

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the large towns *ad magnam Dei gloriam*. To this the consultors agreed, not excepting Father De Smet”<sup>12</sup> But it was not until about a quarter of a century later and more that Washington and Westphalia finally passed out of Jesuit hands, so difficult a matter was it to part with these historic and cherished centers of ministerial endeavor. With their passing closed the long chapter of the movement against the smaller residences inaugurated some forty years before by Father Roothaan with the sympathy and vigorous support of the Missouri superior, Father Murphy. That so many scattered petty parochial stations had come to be manned by the Jesuits of the West was an obvious testimony to the fulness of their apostolic zeal, but it was withal a development by no means conducive to the best interests of the body or to the efficacy in general of its endeavors. The familiar saying, “Ignatius loves the great cities” (*magnas Ignatius amat urbes*), expresses the fact that the Jesuit’s professional quest of the greater glory of God leads him to labor by preference amid the crowded haunts of men. Pioneer conditions in the United States might have made it desirable for him to burden himself for a period with the labors of the rural ministry, but with the passing of those conditions the role of country pastor became less suited to him, less in keeping with the specific tasks which the Society of Jesus, in accordance with the great principle of the differentiation in the Church of apostolic effort, feels itself called upon to undertake.

### § 2 WASHINGTON IN MISSOURI

The large influx of German immigrants into certain of the eastern counties of Missouri in the thirties of the nineteenth century was due in part to an alluring book of travel and description written by Gottfried Duden. Duden was a German prospector, who lived during the years 1824-1827 on a farm near the Missouri River in the present Warren County. He pictured life in Missouri as idyllic with the result that “*das Dudensche Idyll*” was effective in attracting numerous German settlers to that part of the United States<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Coosemans à Beckx, November 24, 1866 (AA). In a consultation held in St. Louis in 1860, the Visitor, Father Sopranis, being present, the general sentiment was in favor of giving up the German parishes in the interior of Missouri.

<sup>13</sup> *Berichte über eine Reise nach den westlichen Staaten Nordamerikas und einen mehrjährigen Aufenthalt am Missouri (in den Jahren 1824, 1825, 1826 und 1827) in Bezug auf Auswanderung und Uebervölkerung etc., etc.* (1829). Translation in *Missouri Historical Review*, XII. For an account of Duden’s book and its effect on German immigration to Missouri, cf. Allen B. Faust, *The German Element in the United States* (1909), 1 441 *et seq.* Duden’s farm of two hundred and seventy acres was above the Femme Osage River in Warren County, and in the immediate neighborhood of the land on which Daniel Boone lived from 1795 to 1804. It was only a few miles north of Washington, Mo.

At least one of the party of emigrants who left their homes in Oster-Kappeln and Belen in Hanover on July 25, 1833, festival of St James, the Apostle, was familiar with Duden's book. The party, consisting of twelve Catholic families and some Protestant ones, took ship together with the design of forming a settlement somewhere in the wilds of America. From New Orleans they ascended the Mississippi to St Louis, where they awaited a steamer that was to take them up the Illinois River. They had already boarded the boat when a Catholic member of the group, observing that the craft was overfreighted, with the travellers' baggage piled up on the open deck exposed to wind and rain, declined to remain on board. The other Catholics followed his example and disembarked. They found themselves, as a consequence, separated at a stroke from the Protestant section of the projected colony, which now put off without them. The Catholic emigrants waited in vain in St Louis for another boat bound for the Illinois. At length, impatient to be off, they took passage on a Missouri River steamer, apparently with no fixed destination in view, but strong in the hope that Providence would find some happy issue to their protracted travels. As they voyaged upstream, one of the party bethought himself of a town called Marthasville in Warren County, Missouri, of which he had read in Gottfried Duden's book. Thereupon they all agreed to go ashore at Marthasville. But, as the Latin chronicler of these incidents is at pains to comment, a kindly Providence intervened a second time in behalf of the exiles and diverted their course from this settlement, which was to acquire some unpleasant notoriety in subsequent years on the score of freemasonry and irreligion. The steamer was already at Marthasville when the captain advised the travellers to land on the opposite shore as night was fast coming on and they would be sure of shelter in a tavern that stood close to the river-bank. The keeper of the tavern was a German Protestant, Charles Iberius by name, the earliest recorded inhabitant of Washington, Missouri. Iberius, with his business partner, Bernard Fricke, welcomed the strangers and lodged them temporarily in a large out-building that had been used as a smoke-house. Here the twelve families spent the winter of 1833-1834. When spring came, they took up and began to cultivate small tracts of land, all within a radius of four or five miles<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> *Historia Residentiae Washingtonensis, 1833-1886* (A) A Latin year by year chronicle of the Washington residence, the earlier part compiled apparently by Father Seisl. This has been the chief source here drawn upon for the history of the Washington parish. The heads of the twelve pioneer Catholic families were Joseph Hustermann, Gerhard Trentmann, Henry Koerling or Koering, Adolph Schmertmann, Gerhard Uhlenbrock, Rudolph Uhlenbrock, John Buhr, Herman Schwegmann, Frederick Blockmann, Frederick Riegel, William Weber,

Washington, chief town of Franklin County, Missouri, spreads out on the south bank of the Missouri fifty-four miles west of St. Louis by rail and eighty-four by water. In 1836 a part of the town was plotted by George Morton and others and called Bassora. In 1837 it was laid out under its present name by Mrs. Lucinda Owens, whose husband had held the title to the entire town-site. Various additions having been made to Washington in later years, it was incorporated as a town in 1840 and as a city in 1873.<sup>15</sup>

The approach of the Easter of 1834 awakened in the German Catholic immigrants who had arrived in Franklin County the year before the desire to fulfill their customary religious duties. They appealed for help to St. Louis, but Father Joseph Lutz, then the only German-speaking diocesan priest in that city, was unable to lend them his services. Happily, the Jesuit fathers, Christian Hoecken and Felix Verreydt, while performing the missionary-circuit of the Missouri River towns, came to hear of these isolated Catholic settlers and of their anxiety to see a priest. Father Verreydt thereupon paid them a visit shortly after Easter, 1834, and conducted services for them in the Iberius tavern.<sup>16</sup> Mr. Owens, owner of the town-site of the future Washington, was impressed with the piety and industry of the newcomers and promptly offered them ground for a church on condition that they erected a substantial one. They promptly accepted the offer and at once picked out for the church-site the ground afterwards occupied by the town-hall of Washington. But Owens was fatally shot by another American resident of the place before his donation of land to the Catholics was legally recorded. The court at once assumed charge of all his property on behalf of his widow and children, the latter all minors, and in the end nothing came of Owens's generous offer of a site for a Catholic church.

In 1836, at Father Hoecken's suggestion, Father Verhaegen, superior of the Missouri Mission, visited the settlement. The following year he purchased, or rather obtained as a gift from Gerhard Uhlen-

and John Edelbrock. Cf. Goodspeed (publisher), *History of Franklin, Jefferson, Washington, Crawford and Gasconade Counties, Missouri* (Chicago, 1888).

<sup>15</sup> Conard (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the History of Missouri* (St. Louis, 1901). The name Washington appears as early as October, 1835, in Father Christian Hoecken's baptismal records (A).

<sup>16</sup> *Hist. Resid. Wash.* (A). The *Registre des Baptêmes pour la Mission du Missouri*, (A), contains no reference to Father Verreydt's ministry at Washington, but has the following baptismal entries by Father Christian Hoecken, the earliest recorded for that place: 1835, October 11, Eliza, daughter of John Henrich Klundrop, Frederick, son of Adolph Smertmann, John Henrich, son of John Henrich Boor(?), October 14, Marie Elizabeth, daughter of Matthew Hoster-mann, Anna Sophia, daughter of John Henrich Pardich.

brock, thirty-six acres of land in the immediate vicinity of Washington, with a view to providing the settlers with a suitable location for a church.<sup>17</sup> But the settlers for the moment made no attempt to build. Meanwhile Father Hoecken was withdrawn from the Missouri River missions and sent to the Kickapoo Indians. In 1837 Father Cornelius Walters began to visit Washington from St. Charles. He urged upon the Catholics, who then numbered about fifteen families, the propriety of putting up a structure, one at least of wood, in which to hold divine services. As a consequence of Father Walters's appeal, the spring of 1838 saw the erection of a small wooden church, thirty by twenty feet, on the ground which Verhaegen had acquired and which later served as the parish-cemetery. With the concurrence of Bishop Rosati of St. Louis, Father Verhaegen placed the little parish, which was named for the Jesuit saint, Francis Borgia, in charge of Father Henry Meinkmann, a diocesan priest, who had recently served the mission of New Westphalia near Jefferson City.<sup>18</sup> In October, 1839, Meinkmann was withdrawn from Washington by the Bishop, while Father James Buschots was summoned from New Westphalia to fill his place. Father Buschots arrived in St. Louis September 26, 1839, and on December 2, 1839, departed for Washington. He was the first resident Jesuit pastor of the town.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup> This property of thirty-six acres, about a mile south of Washington, was conveyed September 14, 1837, by Gerhard Uhlenbrock and Anna Maria, his wife, to Fathers Verhaegen, De Theux and Smedts for a consideration of five dollars. Another deed of conveyance of the same property, the principals being the same as those named above, bears date June 23, 1838. The land thus conveyed by Uhlenbrock was "congressional land," which had been purchased by him the year before at a dollar and a quarter an acre. A ms. list (1838) by Father Helias of the Catholic stations along the Missouri River indicates that Mass was said at Washington on "Uhlenbrock's place near the town" (A). "J'ai visité, il y a près de deux mois, les stations du Missouri. Celle de Washington contient à peu près 40 familles Catholiques (Allemands). Elles sont pauvres, mais en general tres ferventes. A Martha's Ville il y a 15 familles environ" Verhaegen à Rosati, November 17, 1837 (C).

<sup>18</sup> Father Meinkmann in his *Relatio ad Synodum S. Ludovici* dated New Washington, April 16, 1839, states that the Washington church had no title (A). According to this document the church, which was of wood and twenty by thirty feet in dimensions, was still unfinished and unblest. There was no bell nor baptistery, but there was a confessional and tabernacle. The parish-house, of wood, was unfinished. A cemetery was staked out, but was not fenced in or blessed. There had been 113 Easter Communions the preceding year and seven first communions. There was no school though the boys and girls of the parish numbered seventy.

<sup>19</sup> Father Buschots's first report from Washington to the chancery office of the diocese covers the period January 1, 1839—January 1, 1840. He gives the name of the church as St. Francis Borgia. The parish numbered two hundred and

Busschots's priestly virtues gained him the esteem of the parishioners "Father Busschots," Van de Velde wrote in a statement (1841) prepared for the General, "is much beloved by the people and preaches pretty well in the two languages [English and German]" "Nearly all the Germans are Catholics," Verhaegen reported of the Washington residence in 1841, "and show a better spirit than those Father Helias has charge of So Father Busschots does not complain of his parishioners nor they of him He is also acceptable to the Americans, nearly all of whom are non-Catholics He preaches to them not infrequently in our church, but so far I have not heard of any conversions" Yet some disagreeable experiences were to befall Father Busschots before his career at Washington was at an end The beginnings of the residence were marked by dire poverty "This residence, like the preceding one [Westphalia], is extremely poor," Van de Velde said of it in 1841, "and is supported in large part by the general funds of the Mission Probably the poverty and destitution of these two residences contribute to alienate the Americans from them, especially the Protestants, who have no idea of evangelical poverty" In the next decade, the fifties, the German parishes in Missouri were on a better economic basis "The German residences easily support themselves on their respective revenues and the alms sent them from Europe, especially from Germany" <sup>20</sup>

The course of events in the congregation of St Francis Borgia at Washington during its pioneer days was not an altogether smooth one Father Martin Seisl, its historian, observed regretfully that the size but not the peace of the little flock increased with the influx of immigrants from Germany Confession was often railed against as a gratuitous invention of the clergy and the older folk were hard put to it at times to keep the young generation from giving up entirely the practices of the Church As it was, despite the efforts of pastor and parents, there were many apostasies from the Faith These unhappy results were seemingly due to the activities of a rather free-thinking, anti-clerical element among the immigrants sometimes dubbed the Latinians on account of their having, so it was alleged, studied Latin in German gymnasia To the Latinians were also attributed the difficulties with his congregation that beset Father Helias in the first years of his ministry at Westphalia <sup>21</sup>

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sixty souls (The *Annual Letters* for 1837 gives the number as one hundred and eighteen) There were, besides, one hundred and thirty souls in and around Marthasville During the year indicated there had been fifteen baptisms and three deaths (C)

<sup>20</sup> De Smet à Beckx, January, 1855 (A)

<sup>21</sup> For an account of the persecution to which the German Catholic immigrants

In a communication addressed to the General, Father Busschots pictures some of the perils that entered into the life of a Missouri missionary

[The country] is mountainous [hilly] and is cut by the Missouri and by numberless creeks, which are sometimes so swollen by heavy rains and the high waters of this river that the missionary often finds himself stopped in his travels. Another danger there is that is not known in Europe, namely, one must cross the creeks and rivers in a canoe, holding on by the hands to the horse's bridle. If the nag is a bit skittish and a bad swimmer, he will try to upset the frail craft. Once my horse ran away with me into a dense forest. Another time I experienced such a dangerous fall that I had to stop on the way to have my aim attended to as I feared it was broken. Last summer my mission was visited by a sickness which carried off quite a number of people, on such occasions one is sometimes on horseback day and night. Your Paternity must not be astonished that such accidents befall us—it is the missionary's life. A happiness it is to suffer something when one is working. A M D G <sup>22</sup>

Again, in November of the same year, 1844, Father Busschots forwarded to the General a graphic account of his fatiguing ministry. In the wake of the great flood of the year, the highest in the history of the Missouri River, had followed a great epidemic of sickness. "Never in the memory of man has Missouri counted so many sick, fatal aftermath of the floods from the rivers, which have submerged thousands of acres of the richest land in this country and left numerous families entirely ruined. For a long time it was necessary to be on horse day and night." At this crisis Father Francis Xavier De Coen, still a novice, was sent from Florissant to the aid of Father Busschots. He knew no German, but managed to acquit himself well of his duties. "So is Providence, ever rich in its gifts," reflects Busschots, "pleased at times to bless the labors of men of the Society." Owing to the prevailing sickness the missionary had been delayed this year in making his usual round of the stations. Five counties were covered, the circuit taking three weeks. "This may appear incredible, but ordinarily he stops in each place only for the time that is absolutely necessary to relieve the spiritual needs of the faithful. In the first place the Catholics are too poor to keep us long and, besides, the missionary having sometimes to occupy the same room as the whole family, is glad to be off at the first opportunity." In these backwoods excursions Father Busschots en-

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in the United States were subjected by radical and freethinking countrymen, see F. P. Kenkel, "Subjected to an Acid Test," in *Central-Blatt and Social Justice* (St. Louis), 18 163.

<sup>22</sup> Busschots à Roothaan, March 19, 1844 (AA)

countered much coldness and indifference among the Catholics. For these conditions he assigns four reasons, the absence of churches, mixed marriages, bad books and papers and "heterodox" schools. The Catholics were surrounded by Protestants and people of no religion at all. The Methodists were making many proselytes among the Lutherans, but none at all among the Catholics "These latter are immovable (*mebranbables*) and remain loyal to the faith." The Catholic families, being too poor to buy them, were rarely found with objectionable books or papers, which, besides, circulated chiefly in the towns, scarcely ever "among the denizens of the woods" <sup>23</sup>

A further account of the difficulties of his mission was communicated by Father Busschots to the Leopoldine Foundation of Vienna

The parish to which I have been assigned as pastor by order of my Superiors extends over so large a district that five or six priests could very properly be employed in it, as it is, the spiritual care of a flock at once so considerable and so scattered rests upon me alone. Add to this that they are for the most part poor immigrants, who on their arrival here possess, at the most, only so much as enables them to buy a little piece of land, to cultivate it and from the resulting crops assure themselves a livelihood. Scattered about as they are in lonely forest stretches, there is no question of earnings, profit or trade in any large way and so they live from day to day on what kindly mother-earth brings forth for them. It is only the consolations of religion that strengthen their souls and keep their spirits erect. I can truly say, "I have pity on the people." Already has the thought many a time pursued me to ask my Superiors to recall me hence and place me in another sphere of activity, but the consciousness that after my departure the good people might for a long time be left without a spiritual guide, abandoned to the intrigues of the sectarian preachers to become only too early a prey to seduction and suffer loss of their souls, has overcome my despondency and moved me to bear with them still further the heat and burden of the day as long as it shall please the Supreme Pastor of all. But there is still one wish the gratification of which I have very much at heart. We have as yet no church and my own poverty and that of the whole congregation does not allow of our building one. The present wooden barracks in which we celebrate the holy mysteries is more like

<sup>23</sup> Busschots à Roothaan, November, 1844. "That the losses through defections from the Faith among German Catholic immigrants were comparatively insignificant must, to a great extent, be attributed to the watchfulness and activeness of the German pioneer priests and the leaders among the laity. The great majority of the German Catholics who had remained faithful to their religion in their native land preserved the faith in America. Well instructed and well fortified as most of the laity were, they became in reality what Rothacker called them because of their tenacious adherence to their faith, 'Incorrigibles.'" F. P. Kenkel in *Central Blatt and Social Justice*, 18:199. Compare Busschots's description of his parishioners as "immovable" (*mebranbables*). Still, as the *Hist. Resid. Wash.* records, there were many deplorable defections.



a miserable stable, as it is so poorly put together out of boards and logs as to admit freely rain, snow and hail through every joint <sup>24</sup>

Towards the close of the thirties immigration from Germany rose steadily higher Already in 1839 there were two additional German Catholic settlements in the neighborhood of Washington These were situated across the Missouri River in Warren County, one four miles above and the other four miles below Marthasville The settlement below Marthasville assumed the proportions of a town, to which was given the name of Dutzow Mass was said by the Washington pastor at these two points in Warren County, first in private houses, but after 1840 in the frame churches erected during that year in both settlements The church at Peers, above Marthasville, was named for St Ignatius Loyola, the Dutzow church for Saints Peter and Paul and later for St Vincent A tract of forty acres near Marthasville was purchased by Father Verhaegen in 1840 for the use of St Ignatius parish

Meanwhile the frame church on the outskirts of Washington no longer answered the needs of the growing congregation and a new one began to be projected Mrs Lucinda Owens, widow of the Owens who had offered the Catholics a church-site in 1834, having secured fifty acres from the guardians of her husband's property, attempted to start a real-estate boom in Washington With a view to furthering her design, she offered the Catholic parishioners four town-lots as a location for a new church But on the part of a certain group of parishioners there was stiff opposition to building the church within the town-limits, and so, taking the matter in their own hands, they began in 1842 to build a new and spacious church of brick on the old site Work had not proceeded far when the bricklayers and masons fell to quarrelling, giving vent to their feelings in language violent and profane Father Busschots, mild and sensitive man, withdrew forthwith from any share in the enterprise, being loath to begin a house of God under such unpromising auspices The town-party subsequently got the upper hand, especially when John F Mense, a one-time Catholic and a son-in-law of Mrs Owens, offered an eligible site within the town for a church <sup>25</sup> In 1844

<sup>24</sup> *Berichte der Leopoldinen Stiftung*, 18 31 (1845)

<sup>25</sup> September 23, 1844, John F Mense and wife conveyed to Father Van de Velde lots 3, 4, 5, and 6 in block 36 in the town of Washington Lots 7 and 8 in the same block were acquired June 12, 1852, from Frank H Free On these lots the present church and residence of St Francis Borgia are built On two occasions Father Busschots was cited before a local judge, "a thing," he observes to the General, "which you will think incredible" Father Verhaegen, vice-provincial at the time, convinced of the father's innocence and "shocked at such black ingratitude," ordered him to return with all his effects to St Louis This he did, but after some months was back in Washington "for the sake of the majority,"

a committee of parishioners visited St. Louis to solicit funds for the projected edifice. They collected only a small sum, but Father Van de Velde, Verhaegen's successor as vice-provincial, offered to contribute five hundred dollars. Broad foundations for the new church had been laid and one hundred thousand bricks purchased when the rural group put a check on operations by insisting that the church be built of stone. To restore peace between the parties, Father Van de Velde, with instructions from Archbishop Kenrick of St. Louis, visited Washington in August, 1845. He communicated to the congregation of St. Francis Borgia the prelate's explicit order that the new church was to be built inside the town of Washington. The only question left for decision was whether the congregation desired to build a second church. To this question the rural group answered in the affirmative. As no agreement could be reached on the further question where the second church was to be built, Father Van de Velde declared that it would have to be put to a vote and settled accordingly. One important result issued from the deliberation. As the congregation decided in favor of a second church, it became necessary to build the Washington edifice on a smaller scale than was at first contemplated. The foundations already laid were thereupon changed and reduced to smaller size. It was a regrettable alteration of plan, for in the event the second church was never built and as a consequence a new and larger town church had soon to be provided.

In 1845 Father Busschots was replaced at Washington by Father Anthony Eysvogels, on whom devolved the erection of the new church of brick. Before the end of that year architect and builders from St. Louis were at work on the structure, which was roofed in by the spring of 1846. It was blessed by Bishop Barron, Vicar-apostolic of the Two Guianas, on St. Francis Borgia day, October 10, 1846. Eysvogels thereupon discontinued services in the old church, which was at once taken down and put up again in Washington as a school-house. Under Busschots school had been conducted in various farmhouses by a hired teacher. Eysvogels himself taught the boys in the new church until the school-house was ready for use.

An account of the blessing of the new church in Washington was

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who remained faithful to him. Only two or three individuals, it appears, were responsible for the trouble fomented against the father, whose return did not, however, end the differences among the parishioners on the subject of the location of the new church. "The opposite [i.e. rural] party murmurs at the arrangement and wearies me with complaints and cavillings." In 1844 Father Busschots, as an escape from this unpleasant situation, had Father Van de Velde's authorization to leave Washington and settle on the north side of the river, where he proposed to build. The plan was never carried out.

forwarded by Father Van de Velde to the Leopoldine Association, Vienna

From Washington the Right Reverend Bishop in company with Father Eisvogel proceeded to the congregations of Dutzo[w] and Marthasville, a town in Warren County, to give confirmation. In these places there are merely two little churches of wood, in the first, 32 persons were confirmed, in the second, which is dedicated to St Ignatius, 30. I had promised to join the bishop again in Washington in order to be present at the solemn consecration of the newly built brick church, which was to take place the second Sunday of November. I accordingly left St. Louis the 31<sup>d</sup> of the month and arrived the next day in Washington, where the Right Rev. Bishop was together with Father Cotting, whom I had sent from St. Charles to help Father Eisvogel. On the following day almost the entire congregation gathered in the place where the missionary resides and which is more than a mile from Washington. There the Right Reverend Bishop and 2 Fathers were busily employed and there a great number of the faithful received the Holy Sacrament in the old church, which is regrettably near to collapse as it is made merely of big logs piled one atop the other, which are now rotten and readily admit wind, rain and snow. At 10 o'clock began the procession, the weather being very favorable. It moved towards the city while the Miserere, the Litany of the Saints and the Veni Creator were sung and this in German, the men and women forming two separate choirs. Having arrived at the church door the Right Reverend Bishop vested himself in his pontificals and solemnly dedicated the church in honor of St. Francis Borgia. Great crowds of people were in attendance, many of whom had come from a distance of 15 to 20 miles. The high Mass was sung by myself while Father Cotting preached in German, taking for his subject the [liturgical] feast of the dedication of a church. The following day we celebrated also in the same church, which is nearly finished, and, thanks be to God, has no debts. It has a wooden roof, is painted, measures 55 by 35 feet and has a stone floor. Before leaving the place I made a contract for the construction of a communion-rail and a little tower, which is to rise above the roof, and I promised in the contingency that the present dwelling of the missionary be too far from the new church (a thing that renders the discharge of ministerial duties extremely difficult, especially in winter), to contribute \$150 to the building of a new pastor's house close by <sup>25a</sup>

The number of stations and mission-churches served from the Washington residence went on increasing. The Church of St. John the Baptist, a fine building for its day but later supplanted by an edifice of brick, was erected in 1844-1845 at the present Gildehouse, eight miles distant from Washington. At a settlement originally called Pevelingville, from the name of the principal landowner of the locality, but later known as Neier, the Church of St. Joseph was built about 1848. The

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<sup>25a</sup> *Berichte*, 21 37-40 (1848-1849)

church property, sixteen acres in extent, was the joint gift of Peveling and another settler of the locality St Joseph's parish received large accessions of immigrants from Switzerland, Bavaria and Hanover, as many as forty families coming to it from abroad<sup>26</sup> Loutre Island and Hermann, both in Gasconade County, some miles up the Missouri River from Washington, were attended from the latter place until 1848, when the deeds for both churches were transferred to the Archbishop and diocesan priests placed in charge The next year, however, the Jesuit pastors were called on again to visit Hermann and Loutre Island, where grave difficulties prevailed At Hermann creditors wished to sell the church property and at the Island the priest recently in charge, but now suspended, attempted to organize a schismatic congregation Both scandals were happily averted<sup>27</sup> The question of a third parish church on the north side of the Missouri in Warren County gave rise to a difference of opinion There were two groups of settlers to be satisfied as to the location of the church, and as neither would yield to the other, the matter was referred for adjustment to the Archbishop, who decreed that each party should have its own church Only one church seems to have been built, that of the Immaculate Conception,

<sup>26</sup> The property was conveyed to the representatives of the Church, April 29, 1852, by Henry Peveling and Elizabeth, his wife, and Henry Piernick and Gertrude, his wife, for a consideration of five dollars to be held in trust for "the Roman Catholic Congregation near the Borbouse from about four to ten miles above Union, Franklin County, Missouri" "At this time also [1846-1848] was built the Church of St Joseph on 40 acres donated by a certain Peveling, whence they called the place Pevelingsville But as he was unwilling to transfer the ownership of the property either to the Bishop or to the Superior of the Order according to the law recently enacted in the Council, it was not possible to exercise the sacred ministry therein for any length of time But in 1848 he submitted A certain Schmid, a Bavarian, living there, wished to dispose of his estate according to the principle of majority [primogeniture], but could not do so owing to the laws of the country, so his sons afterwards divided the property between them and are now good farmers and also excellent members of the parish there, numerous families of which had come from Switzerland, Bavaria, and Hanover, almost 40 all told" *Hist Resid Wash* (A)

<sup>27</sup> A ms account in Latin of the parish of St George at Hermann for the period 1840-1870 compiled by Father William Hensen is in the Archdiocesan Archives, St Louis The first Catholic settlers came about 1840 Many among the early Catholics of Hermann appear to have had a slender hold on their faith, maintaining, for instance, that one religion was as good as another and wanting even to elect their pastors For a curious instance of the laxity in religious matters indulged in by some among the pioneer German Catholic settlers of Missouri cf Faust, *op cit*, I 445 Father Hensen says of the ministry of the Washington Jesuits at Hermann "So far spiritual comfort was afforded them [the Catholics of Hermann] by the Jesuit Fathers of Washington, who aflame with divine love and taken up with the salvation of souls spared no labor to spread the Kingdom of Christ—such among others were Fathers Eisvogels, Elias, Busschots and Seisl"

six miles below Dutzow and one and a half miles from Augusta in St. Charles County. Its erection in 1851 followed a controversy of three years, even in the eighties many traces of the trouble remained. In 1853 a frame church under the patronage of the Holy Family was built at Port Hudson about fifteen miles southwest of Washington while the year 1856 brought with it the erection of a frame church named for St. Gertrude at Krakow, five miles south of Washington.<sup>28</sup>

All these years the Washington parish itself was steadily growing. Father Eysvogels, on whom devolved all teaching duties in the parish school, was absent so frequently on his missionary trips that a teacher was engaged in the spring of 1850 to conduct the school. Two years later, in 1852, a new school-house of brick was erected, the old one of frame being converted into a residence for the teacher. The building of the Missouri Pacific Railroad in 1853 from St. Louis to Jefferson City added to the labors of the Washington pastors. The spiritual care of the Irish laborers along twenty-six miles of track in Franklin County fell to Father Eysvogels. The parish chronicle notes that they contributed liberally for an organ installed in the Washington church in 1854. Father Henry Van Mierlo, who came in 1849 from the Miami Mission to assist Eysvogels, attended most of the outlying stations, while Father Martin Seisl, who arrived in Washington in 1853 from St. Joseph's parish in St. Louis, attended to the town congregation.

Father Eysvogels's health having become impaired as a result of his wearing ministry on behalf of the laborers employed in the construction of the railroad, he was transferred in 1854 to the Westphalia residence where he died July 7, 1857. Ill-health likewise led to the removal of Father Van Mierlo, who was replaced at Washington in 1854 by Father Michael Haering. For seven years Father Haering remained attached to the residence until in 1861 he was relieved by Father Charles Benys of the province of Poland (Galicia), who had been serving as an assistant at St. Joseph's in St. Louis since his arrival in the United States about a year before. His acquaintance with Polish and Bohemian was the circumstance that chiefly induced Father Seisl to secure his services for Franklin County.

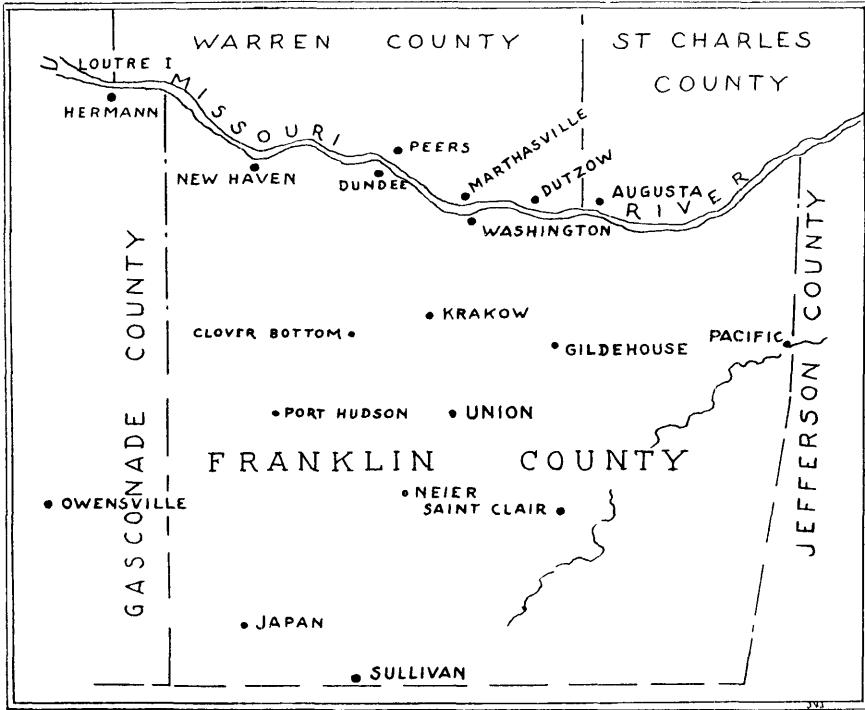
From his first arrival at Washington in 1853 Father Martin Seisl had been superior of the residence, an office he discharged with steady efficiency and zeal for seventeen years. He was a native of the Austrian Tyrol, entered the Society of Jesus in the Austro-Hungarian Province, and was forty when he began his strenuous ministry in Franklin County and beyond. He came to Washington from St. Joseph's in St. Louis where for six years he had exercised the ministry with notable result.

<sup>28</sup> The property (one acre) on which St. Gertrude's church, Krakow, is built, was acquired August 18, 1856, from W. Wilking and wife.

In Washington and the dependent parishes he was to see much accomplished for the expansion of the Church. By the beginning of 1855 six churches had been built by the Washington Jesuits since their arrival in Franklin County and were now being served by them. The six parishes, three north and three south of the Missouri, numbered one hundred and fifty families, or between six hundred and seven hundred souls. Five schools, averaging twenty pupils each, with a sixth about to be begun, had been erected. In 1864 a school was opened at Dutzow with a laywoman from Gildehouse in charge. The following year schools were set on foot at Port Hudson and Newport, the total number now reaching nine.

Nothing is more significant in the pioneer history of these German-language congregations in the interior of Missouri than the efforts made and the sacrifices incurred by them to provide elementary schools. Though the out-of-town Washington group had failed in 1846 to erect a church of their own, they succeeded in building in that year a school-house about five miles from the town, in which Mass was said for them once a month. At Gildehouse in 1855 a school was built, an excellent widow, competent for the task, teaching the few children in attendance. That same year a school which had been opened at Pevelingsville was closed, the parishioners having no means to support the teacher, whereupon a young man was taken as a guest into the residence at Washington and instructed by the fathers with a view to qualifying him to take in charge the school in question, though from what source a salary was to be provided for him is not disclosed by the chronicler. Unpleasant incidents are told in connection with these rural school-masters. This one turned out to be a corrupter of morals and must be dismissed. Another was addicted to drink and meddled with parish affairs, not to say with the private concerns of the pastors. In his differences with Father Seisl the parish took sides, one group supporting the teacher, another, the pastor, who to rid himself of the vexatious pedagogue was constrained to pay him the hundred and fifty dollars which he demanded on the basis of his unexpired three-year contract. To secure competent and reliable teachers was always a vexing problem. Sometimes the experiment was made of bringing them over from Europe. In 1867 two brothers, Andress by name, came from Germany on invitation, one to teach in Washington, the other in Krakow. The reason why Father Seisl opposed for a while the building of a new church at Washington, which the parishioners were eager to take in hand, was his desire first to bring the sisters' house to completion so that they might have needed facilities to train young girls as teachers in the rural schools.

The corner-stone of the sisters' residence was laid July 30, 1859. Then, on November 3 of the same year, came three School Sisters of



Parishes in Franklin and adjoining counties served from the Jesuit residence of St Francis Borgia, Washington, Mo, 1838-1894 Compiled by G J Garraghan, drawn by J V Jacobsen





Notre Dame with their superior, the nuns residing in the old church until the convent was ready for occupancy. A year later two additional sisters had arrived. On May 1, 1860, the convent was solemnly blessed, Father Smarius, noted missionary-preacher, delivering an English sermon on the occasion. The building cost only thirty-three hundred dollars, of which sum twenty-one hundred were contributed by the congregation, eight hundred by Catholics of other parishes and non-Catholics, and the rest by the pastor. Five years later, in 1865, a wing was added to the convent, the cost of which was covered largely by a legacy left for this specific purpose by Michael Lynch of Millers Landing. Almost immediately on arriving in Washington the sisters instituted a unit of the Society of the Holy Child for the saving of pagan children in foreign lands, and succeeded in collecting a hundred dollars on its behalf, a rather noteworthy result in view of the straitened circumstances of most of the Washington parishioners. The circumstance is significant as showing how alive the zealous sisters were to the missionary idea at this early day, when the United States was still dependent in a measure for the maintenance of the Faith among the people on pecuniary aid vouchsafed by eleemosynary societies in the Old World.

In 1856 the parishes on the north side of the Missouri were resigned into the hands of the Archbishop of St. Louis in accordance with Father Murphy's set policy of relieving his men of their excessive burden of parochial obligations. This measure made it possible to proceed to the erection of St. Gertrude's Church at Krakow. The first St. Gertrude's Church was dedicated November 23, 1856, by Very Reverend Joseph Melcher, vicar-general for the German-speaking parishes of the St. Louis archdiocese. Either on this or a subsequent occasion he made declaration that St. Gertrude's would not thereafter be taken from the Jesuits as long as they wished to retain it. The erection of a church at Krakow and the assurance given the congregation there that Mass would be said for them eighteen Sundays in the year were taken amiss by the Catholics of St. John's at Gildehouse, who, it would appear, saw in these measures some prejudice or other to the ministerial service to which they deemed themselves entitled. They therefore preferred in 1857 a petition to Father Melcher for a priest of their own, in which petition the vicar-general acquiesced. The parish of St. John was accordingly ceded by the Jesuits to the archdiocese, but the secular clergyman assigned to it arrived on the ground only in 1858. Meantime, pending his arrival, St. John's continued to be visited once a month from Washington. Later, in 1867, on the departure from St. John's of the diocesan priest, Father Vattmann, and up to the arrival seven months later of his successor, the parish was attended by Father de Haza.

Radlitz of Washington. As to the parishes on the north side of the river, Father Christian Wapelhorst, charged with them after their cession to the Archbishop, had to relinquish them in 1857 on account of ill-health with the result that care of these stations devolved again upon the Washington residence. Another diocesan priest, Father Bernard Seeling, was in charge for a while. But it was only in 1865, on the arrival of Father William Faerber, who had recently come from Germany, that the parishes north of the Missouri began to be provided for permanently by the Archbishop of St. Louis.<sup>29</sup>

To serve the Washington parish and the others affiliated thereto only two priests were in attendance at the beginning of 1862, Fathers Martin Seisl and Charles Benys. In April of that year Father Sopranis, the Visitor, referred to the General, Peter Beckx, a petition of the vice-provincial for a third father, to be stationed at Washington, one conversant not only with German but also with Polish and Bohemian, as large groups of immigrants speaking these latter languages had to be cared for. Accordingly, there arrived at Washington in November, 1862, from the province of Poland (Galicia) Father Ignatius Peuckert, described by Father Seisl as "very pious, humble, obedient, and warmly devoted to the salvation of souls and the promotion of God's glory." Writing in February, 1862, to the General, Father Benys portrays the existing situation at St. Gertrude's or Krakow, of which he had charge. The congregation, consisting of fifty-four families, seventeen of them Polish, should have Mass every Sunday, so he thought. If only Washington and St. Gertrude's had to be attended to, two priests would suffice, but services had also to be held at St. Joseph's and Port Hudson, each fifteen miles distant from Krakow, as also in the new Polish parish thirty-five miles away on the Gasconade and at other stations for groups of German, Bohemian or Irish settlers. "Alas, so many souls, so many communities, so many churches! Here we famish while in Europe there is superabundant bread. Here we have but two loaves which must perforce be distributed, and unless your Paternity increase the number of loaves, unhappy souls will perish of spiritual hunger and weakness. Alas! how many have already perished in these parts for lack of ministerial aid (I write thus because I am constrained so to do not only by the common necessities of the faithful, but by personal necessities as well. Some days I scarcely have time to say my breviary)." <sup>30</sup>

Of the sincerity of the zeal of Father Benys there could have been no question, but unfortunately it was not a zeal "according to knowledge." A certain arrangement which he wished to make in regard to the church property at Krakow led to brusque opposition on the part of

<sup>29</sup> *Catholic Directory*, 1861

<sup>30</sup> Benys ad Beckx, February 17, 1862 (AA)

many of the parishioners Moreover, certain assurances of ministerial attention which he gave to the congregation could not have been realized, so Father Seisl averred, without the disruption of the Washington residence Probably he had promised them Mass every Sunday, which arrangement he favored and was anxious to bring about Whatever his pledges, they were not confirmed by Father Murphy, who journeyed to Washington to inquire into the unpleasant situation that had developed at St Gertrude's in consequence of Father Benys's impetuous zeal On January 13, 1863, the latter left Washington for the East. "I blame nobody," he wrote to Father Beckx, "least of all the local superior [Father Seisl], certainly a holy man, but take all the blame on myself" <sup>31</sup> As a melancholy postscript to the career of Father Benys it may be recorded that shortly after his return to Europe he apostatized from the Faith in Vienna, becoming a Unitarian minister Whether or not he ever returned to the Church, the Faith of which he had one time worked with strenuous zeal to maintain among the Catholics of Franklin County, Missouri, cannot be said here in default of information

On the same day that Father Benys bade farewell to Washington, Father Seisl forwarded to the General an urgent petition that some one be sent from Europe to replace his erstwhile assistant With only two, himself and Father Peuckert, to serve the numerous parishes that looked to Washington for ministerial aid, the congregations across the river had temporarily to be abandoned A third priest on the staff would make it possible to give each of these congregations Mass at least once a month Meantime, as a makeshift until a more satisfactory arrangement could be effected, Father Weber of St Joseph's in St Louis was to be asked to come out to Washington once a month, Father Murphy engaging to take his place on these occasions at St Joseph's At the same time the latter enjoined on Father Seisl to appeal personally to the Father General for help "Very Reverend Father General sees how distressing our situation is on every side Therefore do I beseech him suppliantly to have pity on us and our seven congregations and send a third Father to our aid. In the seventh congregation, made up of Irish [settlers], I have just now built a pretty and substantial church and am hoping for a third Father to be here so I can visit the congregation once a month." Moreover, the forty Polish and ten Bohemian families, formerly looked after by Benys, "are now left to themselves Their faith is perishing, they will become as the Americans [i e, Protestants] unless relief be sent to them . May your Paternity pardon my impotunity, it has never been my way to be troublesome to my superiors"

<sup>31</sup> Benys ad Beckx, December 17, 1862 (AA)

Father Seisl concludes his appeal to the General by requesting that Father Francis X Schulak, of the province of Galicia, who had lately arrived in the country, be assigned to Washington<sup>32</sup> It was not until almost two years later, October 31, 1864, that a Polish-speaking assistant arrived at Washington in the person of another member of the province of Galicia, Father Alexander Mathauschek In the interval, the Belgian father, Ignatius Maes, who knew no Polish and but little German, had been stationed at Washington since February 14, 1863. With three fathers at the residence, the outlying parishes could be provided for reasonably well In 1867 Krakow was having Mass every Sunday, Neier every second Sunday and Millers Landing and Port Hudson one Sunday in the month. The more distant stations were visited of course at less frequent intervals At Durbin in Gasconade County in February, 1864, there were seventeen baptisms of children and adults Visits to the remote stations sometimes revealed unexpected conditions as when Seisl on the occasion of a trip to Durbin in the October of 1864 met in the vicinity of Mount Sterling a number of Catholic families who had not seen a priest for six or eight years

The project, long deferred, of a new church at Washington to replace the old one built by Father Eysvogels in 1846 and for years back quite inadequate to the needs of the congregation, was at length to be taken in hand At a meeting of the parishioners, St Stephen's day, December 26, 1865, the decision was made to proceed to build But it was not until April, 1867, that building operations actually began The carpentering was under the supervision of Brother Francis Heilers, who some years before had lent his skilful services to the erection of one of the outstanding houses of worship in the United States, the Jesuit Church of the Holy Family in Chicago By the fall of the same year construction was so far advanced as to allow the structure, which was of brick, to be roofed in Matthew Hastings, a painter of some contemporary note, undertook the interior decoration of the church Lumber purchased in St Louis for the pews perished in a fire, a loss which was made good by a collection of three hundred and seventy-two dollars generously offered by St Joseph's congregation of St Louis. Out-of-town collections had been previously made on behalf of the new edifice, netting over four hundred dollars at Gildehouse and over five hundred dollars at Krakow. The structure, the third Church of St Francis Borgia at Washington or its vicinity, was dedicated on Easter Monday, 1868, by the Jesuit provincial, Father Coosemans. Sermons were preached, in German by Father Francis Braun and in English by Father Frederick Garesché In the afternoon the Blessed

<sup>32</sup> Seisl ad Beckx, January 13, 1863 (AA)

Sacramento was removed in solemn procession from the old to the new church. The following day, Easter Tuesday, the new St. Joseph's Church at Neier was also blessed by Father Coosemans. At both places, Washington and Neier, the old church was immediately converted into a school. The new church at Washington represented an outlay of \$34,837 of which \$21,716 had been collected and \$13,121 borrowed. There still remained some five hundred dollars to be paid on the building so that the total cost of construction amounted to nearly forty thousand dollars. The tower was erected only later on.

The organization of new parishes in Franklin County by the Jesuit priests of the Washington residence continued down to the period when they relinquished altogether their ministry in that part of Missouri. Millers Landing, subsequently New Haven, on the Missouri twelve miles above Washington, saw a Catholic church begun in 1862 and blessed for divine service on Easter Monday of the following year. A school was opened in 1868 at Newport, afterwards Dundee, six miles upstream from Washington. Parishes organized in subsequent years included St. Ann's at Clover Bottom, St. Bridget's at Pacific, Martyrs of Japan at Japan, where a log church was built by Father Seisl, St. Anthony's at Sullivan, and the Immaculate Conception at Pacific, all within the limits of Franklin County. Moreover, stations were established at Durbin and Owensville, both in Gasconade County, and at Brazil Settlement and other points in Franklin County.

The Jesuit parishes attended from Washington were relinquished one after another into the hands of the diocesan clergy. Finally, with the transfer of the Washington residence in 1894 to the Franciscan fathers, the ministry of the Society of Jesus in Franklin County in Missouri, inaugurated in 1834 by the visit of Father Felix Verreydt to the recently arrived German immigrants, came definitely to an end. For the historian of the Catholic Church in the United States it is a chapter of interest, not to say, of importance, illustrating as it does the efforts made and the sacrifices undergone in the period of immigration to save and, as far as might be, to spread the Faith in the rural districts of the country.\*

### § 3 ST. JOSEPH'S RESIDENCE, ST. LOUIS

In the early forties the German Catholics of St. Louis numbered seven thousand of the city's total population of thirty thousand. The first house of worship reserved exclusively for their use was the building of brick on the west side of Second Street between Market and

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\* For additional data on the Franklin County parishes see *infra*, Chap. XLII, § 3

Walnut which had housed Bishop Du Bourg's St. Louis College up to the passing of that institution in 1827. On May 6, 1832, Father Verhaegen blessed the structure, to be known as St. Mary's Chapel, as a meeting place for the German Catholics of the city.<sup>31</sup> Fire having destroyed it in 1835, the worshippers were thereupon permitted to use the cathedral for an hour or two on Sunday mornings. As a convenience for such of their number as lived in what was known as the north end of the city, services also began to be held in the St. Louis University chapel named for St. Aloysius and situated on the north side of Washington Avenue between Ninth and Tenth Streets. What the Jesuits were now attempting to do on behalf of the German members of the Catholic flock of St. Louis is sketched by Father Van de Velde, the Missouri vice-provincial, in a letter to the Archbishop of Vienna, who was president of the Leopoldine Foundation (*Stiftung*) of Vienna, an organization modeled on the lines of the French Association of the Propagation of the Faith and having for its specific purpose the financing of German Catholic missions and parishes in foreign lands.

The worthy Bishop of our diocese, Dr. Rosati, in view of the fact that a great number of Germans in St. Louis were almost entirely deprived of the consolations of religion, as there was no preacher to instruct them in their own language, finally made the necessary arrangements to provide them with a German missionary who was to say Mass and preach for them on Sundays and holydays. Abbé Lutz was the first one assigned to the duty, but on his leaving for Europe in company with the Bishop, Abbé Fischer was appointed in his place. About the same time a similar measure for the welfare of the German faithful was taken by the Society [of Jesus]. A special service for them was introduced in the University Chapel and was very well attended. Fathers Aelen and Ferdinand Helias were successively commissioned to take care of the Germans. But on the appointment of Father Aelen to the Potawatomi Indian Mission of Sugar Creek and of Father Helias to the colony of Westphalians who had recently settled in the vicinity of Jefferson City, they were replaced by Fathers J. B. Emig and Verheyden, who filled this post up to the fall of last year, when Father Cotting was appointed to devote himself exclusively to the spiritual needs of the Germans. As Abbé Fischer's duties multiplied to such an extent that his health suffered as a result, Father Cotting had to substitute for him in the German sermon at the Cathedral. Last Lent he preached three or four times a week in the Cathedral without at the same time interrupting his ministry in the University Chapel. Moreover, in order to make it easier for the [German-speaking] faithful to hear the word of God, an arrangement was made whereby the sermon [in German] is delivered in these two churches at different times, namely, at 9 A. M. in the Cathedral and at 11 in the University Chapel. It is certainly an edifying

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<sup>31</sup> *SLCHR*, 4 7

sight to see with what zeal these simple and pious people besiege our confessionals and come to services in our church<sup>34</sup>

The first Jesuit to minister for any length of time to the spiritual needs of the German Catholics of St. Louis was the Belgian father, Ferdinand Helias. Arriving by steamer in St. Louis on Saturday, August 22, 1835, he had scarcely stepped ashore when he had the unexpected pleasure of meeting a companion of his school-days, Father Joseph Lutz, at that time the only native German priest in the diocese of St. Louis<sup>35</sup>. Father Lutz insisted on presenting his friend at once to Bishop Rosati at the cathedral rectory. Here the Jesuit remained as a guest of the Bishop until the following Monday morning, dividing his time between ministerial functions in the cathedral and conversation with his host on the needs of the German Catholics of the city, in whose behalf the prelate then and there sought to engage the father's services.

At St. Louis University, which he reached on the morning of August 24, Father Helias was assigned to various duties, including those of minister of the house, professor of Italian and quasi-pastor of the German Catholics then frequenting the University (St. Aloysius) Chapel. Here, for a period of three years, Father Helias conducted Sunday services and administered the sacraments of the Church on their behalf. After his departure from St. Louis in 1838 to take up his life-work among the German Catholics of central Missouri, the care of the German congregation of North St. Louis, then rapidly increasing in numbers, fell to various fathers of St. Louis University. From 1841 to 1845 Father James Cotting, a native of Fribourg in Switzerland, was in charge. In a letter of December 30, 1842, he drew an engaging picture of the piety of his flock:

Having now an eagerness and a holy desire to hear the word of God and share in their Church's treasure of graces, they come in crowds to our little college chapel to partake of spiritual remedies for the salvation of their souls. But these pious purposes of theirs meet with two great hindrances: [1] the narrow dimensions of our chapel, which cannot even hold the grown-up part of the faithful living in our vicinity, and (2) the circumstance that I have not yet received from the Right Reverend Bishop of the diocese all the authority necessary to provide for the needs and interests of the German congregation in accordance with its wishes. Hence it happens (a thing we cannot too much deplore) that very many of the German faithful, as a result of the overcrowding of our college chapel of St. Aloysius, cannot find room and in spite of the fact that on their way to church they have been exposed to every

<sup>34</sup> *Berichte*, 16 6 (1843)

<sup>35</sup> Lebrocqy, *Vie du P. Helias d'Huddeghem*, p. 160

inclemency of the weather, whether rain, storm or burning heat of the sun, they have to retrace their steps disconsolately to their distant homes without satisfying their burning thirst for the word of eternal life in the reception of the divine means of salvation. In this pressing need I know of no other relief than to build our Germans a church of their own. This the Right Rev. Bishop of the diocese in cooperation with the Fathers of our Society has already piously decided to do.<sup>36</sup>

For the necessary financial aid to enable them to provide for the German-speaking parishes committed to their care, the Jesuits, having no other source on which to draw, turned to the Leopoldine Foundation of Vienna. Help from this quarter was generously given. In 1841 an appropriation of sixteen hundred dollars was made to the Jesuits of North America. In April, 1843, a subsidy of two thousand dollars was granted the Jesuits of the St. Louis diocese, followed by a subsidy to them in May, 1844, of sixteen hundred dollars. Of the two thousand dollars that thus came into the hands of Father Van de Velde in 1843, four hundred went to Father Helias for his new church at Haarville, four hundred to Father Busschots for the church he was building at Washington, and two hundred to the purchase of a church-site in Dardenne. The remaining thousand dollars Van de Velde proposed to put into a new church for the Catholics of North St. Louis as he informed the Archbishop of Vienna, March 20, 1844.

The remaining five thousand francs are to serve for the purchase of a piece of property in a suitable location in St. Louis and the erection thereon of a brick church for the numerous Germans who, up to now, have been frequenting the little chapel of our University but have scarcely found room

<sup>36</sup> *Berichte*, 16 13 (1843) When in 1844 the University suffered a decline in consequence of a falling off in student registration, it was proposed to start a law department and to appropriate the so-called St. Aloysius Chapel for this purpose. This proposal met with protest from Father Cotting, in consequence of which Father Carrell, rector of the University, made the following explanation to the General: "The Hall used on Sunday by the Germans was not built for a chapel—it has two stories, the upper story is divided into four rooms—one used for the Cabinet—another for the class of Physics—a 3rd for the debating society, etc. The lower story, one long room fifteen feet high, has always been used for our theatrical exhibitions. At present it is used on Sundays and festivals by the Germans as a chapel. They have free use of it for Mass, confessions, instructions and on any extra occasion, if needed. When they do not use it, we make use of it for college purposes. This arrangement was approved by the Bishop who considers the use of the Hall for religious purposes as merely temporary. The Germans are well attended to—they have a priest exclusively devoted to them—every Sunday morning two Masses are said for them—they have the use of our Hall on Sundays and holidays, though the Blessed Sacrament is not kept in a room which is used for so many and such different purposes." Carrell to Roothaan, April 22, 1844 (AA)



therein for a third of their number Their pastor is Father Cotting A happy occurrence has helped along our plan A rich and charitable lady of the city to whom I appealed, has made me a present of a piece of ground for the good work and I have decided to start at once, with the five thousand francs, the building of the church so sorely needed by the Germans We have also made an appeal to them for contributions, but as they are poor for the most part, the subscriptions in cash were very meager and netted scarcely five hundred francs On the other hand, they promised their services for gratuitous labor, levelling the ground, excavating, laying the foundations, etc Now that we put hand to the work the 4th of the current month, they have eagerly performed their voluntary labor and faithfully complied with the engagements made According to plans the church will be 103 feet long and 60 feet wide and will cost at least from sixty thousand to seventy thousand francs to finish But my intention is to go on with the building only according to the measure of means now at my command or to be expected in the future Yet it is to be feared that the work, though already taken in hand, and though its completion is so imperatively demanded by the needs of the German faithful, may be brought to a standstill were I to fail in my hopes of further support I venture, therefore, to beg for this object from the Leopoldine Foundation I am of the opinion that forty to fifty thousand francs will suffice to bring the body of the church so far to completion that it can serve for use The addition of the façade and tower can be postponed to more propitious times I would also plan to put up a free school for the German children of both sexes and a small pastor's residence for Father Cotting<sup>37</sup>

The property, a hundred feet in length, donated to Father Van de Velde as a site for the church he was about to build lay at the northeast corner of Eleventh and Biddle Streets, in what was known as the Biddle Addition This was a forty-arpent tract originally owned by François Dunegant, founder of Florissant, who in 1805 disposed of it with another St. Louis tract of similar dimensions to John Mullanphy for one hundred and sixty dollars.<sup>38</sup> It was a daughter of John Mullanphy, Mrs. Ann Biddle, who now made a gift of the hundred feet in question She was the widow of Major Thomas Biddle, whose tragic death in a duel fought with Colonel Pettis on Bloody Island was a long remembered incident of early St. Louis history From the Missouri shore, John Mullanphy, mounted on his favorite roan horse, watched the gruesome encounter in which his son-in-law and the other principal fell victims to the fierce passions that ruled the politics of the day<sup>39</sup> The corner-stone of the first St. Joseph's Church, built on the property donated by Mrs. Biddle, was blessed on April 14, 1844, by Bishop Kenrick, assisted by

<sup>37</sup> *Berichte*, 17 38 (1844)

<sup>38</sup> Garraghan, *St. Ferdinand de Florissant*, p. 46, note 25

<sup>39</sup> J. F. Darby, *Personal Recollections* (St. Louis, 1880)

Father Van de Velde The occasion was a gala one for the Catholics of St. Louis. There was a procession of ecclesiastics, lay societies and parochial school-children from St. Francis Xavier's at Ninth Street and Christy Avenue to the site of the new church. A sermon was preached in German by Father Cotting, pastor of the congregation, whose hopes for a house of worship of their own were now to be realized.

The edifice, one hundred and seven by sixty feet in dimensions, faced west, its length being along the Biddle Street side of the property.<sup>40</sup> Built after plans furnished by an architect, George Purvis, it was Ionic in design, with a portico supported by four fluted columns and with an octagonal turret and a spire. Untoward circumstances, among them the throwing down of the north wall by a storm, delayed the work of construction. Moreover, money became scarce as building operations proceeded, for the parishioners, engaged most of them in the struggle for a livelihood, had scant means to draw upon. They organized, however, a building association (*Bauverein*), a monthly assessment of twenty-five cents for the men and fifteen cents for the women being levied on the members. As a result of some unreasonable demands made by certain members of the *Bauverein* it was found necessary by the pastors to reorganize the society and give it a new constitution. As a consequence of this step about one-half of the members of the *Bauverein* withdrew from that association and formed a new society, the Roman Catholic *Unterstützungsverein*. Finally, on the first Sunday of August, 1846, the church was solemnly dedicated to divine service by Father Van de Velde, who penned an account of the event for the Archbishop of Vienna.

All the members of the congregation, i. e. of the parish assigned to this church, assembled on Washington Street [Avenue], which runs in front of our college, and there formed a procession, which was headed by the children of both sexes with the banner of St. Aloysius, after the children came the women, then the men, two by two, next, a band of music which had offered its services for the occasion, at the end came the choir-boys and clergy, i. e. our scholastics in rochets and the priests in dalmatics and copes. The procession wound through three or four streets so as to come up in front of the church. The people were ranged around the church while the solemn ceremonies of consecration were being performed by myself as Provincial of the Society of Jesus. After the ceremonies were over solemn High Mass was celebrated. Father Joseph Patschowski preached in German before a large gathering. The solemn services having ended, the procession formed again to conduct the clergy back to the college. Since that time Mass has been said

<sup>40</sup> Most of the details which follow are from a Latin ms. narrative, *Brevis historia ecclesiae et congregationis ad St. Josephi, St. Louis, Mo., ab anno 1846-1853*, written apparently by Father Seisl (A).

daily and other services have been held in the church. Fathers Hofbauer and Patschowski of the Austrian Province have been sent here to take charge of this German parish and rejoice in the love and confidence of the faithful. A great part of the Catholics receive the holy sacrament pretty regularly, many of them once a month, others more frequently or at any rate rather often.<sup>41</sup>

Together with this account of the dedication ceremonies, Father Van de Velde conveyed to his Austrian benefactors his cordial appreciation of the substantial aid they had rendered him in the building of the church. This was not by any means completely finished. The ceiling, a part of the choir, and the presbytery were still to be added. The steeple rose only up to the roof and organ and bells were yet to be purchased. Moreover, the entire building had to be plastered and painted. The cost of the construction so far had been in excess of twelve thousand dollars, or more than thirty thousand Austrian gulden. To finish the church would require from twelve thousand to fifteen thousand gulden. Of the thirty thousand gulden already spent, ten thousand had come from the Leopoldine Foundation, five thousand had been contributed by the German and other Catholics of the city, while the remainder had been either borrowed at five and six per cent or was an interest-bearing debt due to the contractors, who, observed Father Van de Velde, "being good Catholics, do not cause me any embarrassment if their bill is not paid on time." The particulars recorded are not without significance as indicating the difficulties that almost everywhere beset the building of Catholic churches in the United States in the period of immigration.

On February 2, 1846, Fathers John Nepomucene Hofbauer, an Austrian, and Joseph Patschowski (or Patschowsky), a Silesian, both of the Jesuit province of Austria, had arrived in St. Louis. The former was at once named pastor of St. Joseph's, the latter being later assigned to him as assistant. Shortly after his arrival Father Hofbauer wrote to Europe:

Here in St. Louis I am so occupied with pastoral duties that I have to steal away an hour to write these lines. What I never wanted to be in my own archdiocese and to escape which was one of my reasons for entering the Society of Jesus, this I now have to be, namely a parish priest. God gives me strength and health. So far I have to do everything myself. On Sundays when I must preach three times I haven't a quarter of an hour to myself. A numerous, unsettled and in many respects divided parochial congregation (for the various districts of Germany do not send the best of their people over to us) surely gives much to do to a lone and feeble worker. May God strengthen me and preserve my health. I join my prayers to those of my very Reverend Father Provincial for help and support. The parish is very poor and we stand

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<sup>41</sup> *Berichte*, 21-35 (1848-1849). The letter is dated November 29, 1846.

so much in need of a chalice, a ciborium, some mass-vestments, and other things <sup>42</sup>

Father Hofbauer retained the charge of pastor until his return to Europe in 1851.<sup>43</sup> Father Patschowski was replaced as assistant, August 30, 1847, by Father Martin Seisl, but returned in 1851 as head pastor of St. Joseph's in succession to Hofbauer. Patschowski held this charge until his death in 1859, when after a short interval he was succeeded by Father Joseph Weber, under whom the second or present St. Joseph's Church was built.

At a date prior even to the opening of the first St. Joseph's Church for divine service the organization of parochial schools had been taken in hand. Early in 1846 Brother Peter Karleskind, S. J., was conducting a German school for boys in the basement of St. Francis Xavier's Church. On August 17 of the same year a school for girls was started by the Sisters of Charity in the orphan asylum conducted by them on Biddle Street between Tenth and Eleventh. Two years later a school-house for the girls was erected. Before the end of 1848 the boys also were occupying a school-house of their own, which adjoined the church on the north and served at the same time as a residence for the pastors. During the same year a night-school for adults desirous of learning English was started, the classes being conducted first by a salaried school-master and afterwards by Father Seisl.

On June 6, 1851, Archbishop Kenrick dedicated the German Orphan Asylum on Hogan Street, a few blocks west of St. Joseph's Church. It was built at a cost of fourteen thousand dollars on property provided for the purpose by the vice-provincial, Father Elet.

The pernicious influence exercised, especially through the press and other literary channels, by the German anti-Catholic group of St. Louis popularly known as the Forty-eighters made it incumbent on the early pastors of St. Joseph's to combat the evil with similar weapons. In 1848 a parish library of six hundred volumes was established with the aid of money furnished largely by the Leopoldine Foundation of Vienna. In the same year the first German Catholic paper of the city, the *St. Louis Zeitung*, was founded, with a Mr. Eickhof, a one-time instructor in St. Joseph's parochial school, as editor. It suspended publication at the end of six months. In 1850 Father Seisl, who had set up a printing press of his own, brought out the weekly *Sontag's Blatt*, which ran for

<sup>42</sup> *Berichte*, 21 (1848-1849)

<sup>43</sup> Father Hofbauer returned to Austria in 1851, dying there as a Jesuit October 27, 1878. He met with some difficulty in the management of his St. Louis parish, a curious incident in this connection being told in Seisl's Latin chronicle.

a year and a half. He also either wrote or edited a number of publications, among them *Katholisches Lesebuch für der Deutschen Schulen*, *Kleiner Katechismus*, a *Life of St. Peter Claver*, and an account of the conversion of M. Ratisbon. It may be added that Father Christopher Genelli wrote his scholarly *Life of St. Ignatius* while serving as assistant-pastor at St. Joseph's, 1848-1849.<sup>44</sup>

With the passing of the years and the growing improvement in the economic status of its members, St. Joseph's parish developed into a distinctly self-supporting and highly flourishing section of the Catholic population of St. Louis. An idea of the extent to which the organization of the parish was carried during the pastorate of Father Weber is furnished by a report which he forwarded to the Father General in 1862:

Our residence numbers three Fathers [Weber, Wipperrn, D. Niederkorn] with a Brother [Caspar Baumgartner] for the household work. It is scarcely possible to ascertain with certainty the number of souls committed to our care, but no one doubts that it exceeds 2000. Our church, though measuring 104 feet by 65 feet, is twice too small to hold all [the parishioners] even on ordinary Sundays of the year. Great fervor and piety especially as shown in the frequentation of the sacraments are in evidence and as a consequence the other parishes are much edified thereby. A great help in this regard are the different confraternities and pious societies introduced into our parish. Besides the confraternities of the Sacred Heart of Jesus and the Living Rosary, as it is called, which meet every month, on which occasion it is usual for as many as 350 members to approach the Holy Table to gain the indulgences, we have the Confraternity of the Holy Scapular of Mount Carmel as also the Society for the Propagation of the Faith for the adults and the Society of the Holy Child for the boys and girls of our school. Moreover, there is the Society for young workmen founded in Cologne some time ago by Rev. Mr. Kolping and now spread throughout all Germany. Another society which does a great amount of good and is a source of edification even to the non-Catholics is the Society of St. Vincent de Paul for the relief of the poor, especially those of our own people. Our conference is by far the largest in point of membership and the most fervent in the whole city, numbering over 230 members, nearly all poor themselves and possessing nothing else except what they earn every day in the sweat of their brow. It is a marvel how eagerly they are wont to observe the rules and statutes of the aforesaid Society and how fervently they try to gain the indulgences which the statutes allow to them. It is a custom in our Conference for all the members to go to Holy Communion in a body on indulgence days. It is a rare spectacle indeed to see as many as 200 men

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<sup>44</sup> "The *Herold des Glaubens* appeared for the first time on the first Sunday of January, 1850, under the editorship of P. Martin Seisl, then pastor of St. Joseph's Church. The publisher was P. Kessel, formerly employed in Saler's printing office." Rothensteiner, *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis* (St. Louis, 1928), 2: 173.

approaching the Eucharistic table with so much devotion and piety Finally, there has been introduced the Congregation or Sodality of the Blessed Virgin for young ladies, with the same rules and statutes as obtain in our colleges This Sodality numbers now over 145 young ladies, who are truly models of innocence and piety On the first Sunday of every month all of them go to Holy Communion together or in a body, as we are accustomed to say There are, besides, two other flourishing societies, one of men for the support of our schools and the other of women for procuring altar equipment To keep all these pious societies up to the mark is no small labor

Then there are our well-attended parish schools in which Christian Doctrine is explained twice a week The boys are under the direction of two school-masters, each of whom receives a salary of \$400 This money is supplied by the boys, each of whom pays fifty cents a month, the poor excepted, who attend our schools without charge The girls are under the direction and discipline of six nuns of the Congregation of the Blessed Virgin founded in Munich to conduct schools for the poor [School Sisters of Notre Dame] They have over 313 girls, to whom they give an excellent education in every respect

Again, there is incumbent on us the spiritual care of the German Orphan Asylum, which was built some years ago in our neighborhood by an association of leading Catholic gentlemen It counts at present some 103 boys and girls under the charge and management of the Sisters of St Joseph Every day one of Ours goes to celebrate Mass, to instruct the orphans and to hear their confessions as also those of the Sisters There are, besides, other convents of nuns committed to our care, in which confessions must be heard and exhortations given every week, and still other convents to which we go only four times a year as extraordinary confessors

So far I have said nothing about the public devotions introduced in our church We hold nine-day devotions [novenas] before Christmas Day, the feast of St Joseph, patron of our church, and the feast of the Sacred Heart We celebrate the month of May by an exhortation to the people every evening, and the six Sundays of St Aloysius by a sermon in the afternoon on the virtues of this holy patron of youth, about 400 devout men and women being present at the sermon Every Sunday, besides a sermon at High Mass, we have in the afternoon Catechism for the children and a catechetical instruction for adults, this last very well attended Moreover, during Lent the people have a sermon once and the Way of the Cross twice a week

Then we have a fair sized library of spiritual books for the parishioners Books are taken out on Sundays after the afternoon services

Moreover, we have made several excursions to near-by parishes where we preached and heard confessions One of our Fathers preached every week during Lent in the neighboring Church of Saints Peter and Paul Another helped our Fathers for a whole month in the Residence of St Francis [Washington, Mo] Still another lent help to the parish priest in Belleville, Illinois We twice gave the spiritual exercise to nuns

In the May of this year we began to renovate the church and paint it

throughout with suitable decoration at a cost of about \$1400, almost all of which sum was generously contributed by the people. We began, besides, to build a new school for our boys, as the old one was no longer able to hold them all. The building we began to construct is 75 feet long, 60 feet wide and 55 feet high and will cost \$12,000.

We heard during the course of the year about 21,000 confessions, of which 109 were general. We attended 159 dying. As to conversions there were not more than eight.

Our Residence serves as a stimulus to the other parishes of this city<sup>45</sup>

In the autumn of 1865 Archbishop Kenrick laid the corner-stone of a new St. Joseph's Church, a spacious and impressive structure of Romanesque design, which was dedicated on December 30, 1866, Father De Smet being the officiating priest in the ceremony. The church was in reality an addition to the old one, which was razed in 1880, to make way for an imposing façade in keeping with the style of the new structure.

#### § 4 CHILLICOTHE IN OHIO

From 1847 to 1851 the two Catholic parishes of Chillicothe, Ohio, St. Mary's for English- and St. Peter's for German-speaking worshippers, were in charge of Jesuit priests. Chillicothe, a hundred miles east of Cincinnati on the banks of the Scioto, was visited in its pioneer days by Father Stephen Badin, the first priest ordained in the United States, and by the Dominican friars, Fathers Alemany, Mazzuchelli and Young, all names of enduring record in the history of the Church in the Middle West. In June, 1837, came Father Henry D. Juncker, the future Bishop of Alton, Illinois, as first resident pastor. An old Episcopalian church on South Walnut Street, the first of that denomination so it has been asserted, erected west of the Alleghany Mountains, was purchased by the Catholics shortly after Father Juncker's arrival and named St. Mary's. Juncker, who remained in charge of the parish until July, 1845, was assisted at various times by Father Edward Purcell, brother of the Bishop of Cincinnati, Father Amadeus Rappe, afterwards Bishop of Cleveland, Father H. B. Butler, subsequently vicar-general of Covington, and Father J. B. Emig of the Society of Jesus.

In a few years the little brick church was found inadequate to the needs of the congregation, chiefly German and numbering in 1845 about fifteen hundred souls. Arrangements were first made to build a more spacious edifice for the common use of the English and German-speaking members of the congregation, but the plan was soon aban-

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<sup>45</sup> *Litterae Annuae Residentiae ad Sti. Josephi, St. Louis, Mo., July 1, 1861—July 1, 1862* (A)

done as impracticable. It was then determined that the entire congregation should contribute first to the erection of a church for the German-speaking group and afterwards to the erection of another church for the English-speaking members. By the time the new church for the Germans, to be called St. Peter's, would be under roof, the English-speaking part of the congregation were to begin a new Church of St. Mary's for themselves. A lot was purchased at the corner of Water and Church Streets and here June 30, 1845, the corner-stone of St. Peter's Church was laid. It was finished in the fall of 1846 with Father Casper Borgess as the pastor in charge. The new edifice of stone and brick was in Gothic style and measured one hundred feet long by fifty-five feet wide with a recess for the altar and sacristy and a tower in front, its entire length being one hundred and eighteen feet. The spire, finished with ball and cross, rose one hundred and forty-two feet above ground.<sup>46</sup>

In March, 1847, Bishop Purcell expressed a desire to Father Van de Velde that the Jesuits assume spiritual care of the Catholics of Chillicothe. "The Right Rev. Bishop of Cincinnati," Van de Velde wrote at once to the General, "has asked the vice-province to take care of Chillicothe . . . I have no doubt at all of your Paternity's consent, as the Right Rev. Bishop wishes to have his request complied with."<sup>47</sup> The superior's advisers in St. Louis were of the opinion that at least one father should be stationed there and the names of Fathers Kenny and d'Hoop were proposed for the mission. In the meantime Van de Velde, on occasion of a contemplated visit to Cincinnati, was to inspect the Chillicothe mission in person and then confer on the matter with Bishop Purcell. Father Roothaan, having been appealed to for a German-speaking father, answered under date of July 12, 1847, that he could not, in view of the great scarcity of German priests, think of accepting the new residence, except provisionally. "Not in Missouri alone but almost everywhere there is a demand for German priests." Fathers Kalcher and d'Hoop were eventually assigned to Chillicothe, the first for the German- and the second for the English-speaking congregation. The Cincinnati *Catholic Telegraph* for May 27, 1847, contained the announcement: "Rev. Fathers Kalcher and d'Hoop have been charged by the Bishop with the care of St. Peter's and St. Mary's congregations, Chillicothe. These Rev. Fathers intend to commence a school for boys immediately after their arrival in Chillicothe. We have no doubt of the success which will crown their useful undertaking, nor of its being furnished promptly with teachers and professors who will justify the confidence which we bespeak for them from the citizens generally."

<sup>46</sup> *Catholic Telegraph* (Cincinnati), June 26, 1845

<sup>47</sup> Van de Velde ad Roothaan, March 14, 1847 (AA)



In 1849 Father George Carrell, future first Bishop of Covington, was superior of the Chillicothe residence. Father Kalcher attended to the German portion of the congregation while Father Peter Tschieder was charged with the care of the mission-stations in the neighborhood. These included St. Joseph's in Circleville, St. Francis Xavier in Pleasant Valley, eight miles from Chillicothe, Frankfort, Williamsport, New Holland and Piketon, all of which places were visited once a month. Father Carrell, on his arrival in Chillicothe, began to organize the English-speaking Catholics into a separate congregation. About a dozen families of them now returned to the original St. Mary's Church on Walnut Street, which was still in possession of St. Peter's congregation. Among the laymen identified with the building up of the new St. Mary's parish were Marshall Anderson, Jacob Eichenlaub, James Scully, Roger and Charles Cull, Andrew Malone, Dr. T. McNally, Edward, Peter and James Carville, William B. Hanley, John Reily, John Poland and his two sons Patrick and William. "The rapid growth of the Church in Chillicothe," wrote a son of William Poland, "can be justly attributed to the untiring zeal of the Jesuit Fathers. Not content with working within the city, they began to seek for conversions in the country round about. On the Waverly Turnpike, below Massieville, stands St. Xavier's Mission Church, now almost in ruins, which they erected, and to which, while they remained in Chillicothe, a hundred souls went to worship. In Harrison Township, near Londonderry, another mission with a church named St. Mary's was established."<sup>48</sup>

In 1851 the two parishes of St. Mary's and St. Peter's were resigned into Bishop Purcell's hands and the Jesuits withdrew from Chillicothe. They had stipulated for only a temporary administration of the parishes, which were now assigned pastors from the diocesan clergy, Father Thomas Boulger going to St. Mary's and Father Edward Lieb to St. Peter's.<sup>49</sup>

#### § 5. TERRE HAUTE IN INDIANA

Although the Jesuits of the Middle West never established what could be properly called a residence in Terre Haute, the single parish of the town was administered by them through a space of three years, during which time negotiations for its permanent acceptance were carried on between the bishop of the diocese and the Jesuit superiors. In June, 1857, Bishop de St. Palais of Vincennes visited St. Louis to offer

<sup>48</sup> W. Poland, *Che-le-cothe Glances of Yesterday*, p. 220.

<sup>49</sup> For Father Murphy's letter to Archbishop Purcell on the occasion of the cession of Chillicothe, see *supra*, § 1. "The Bishop's brother [Rev. Edward Purcell], who is also Vicar General, readily agreed to it." Murphy à Roothaan, March 3, 1852. (AA)

to the vice-provincial the spiritual charge of Terre Haute. The terms of the offer appeared so favorable to the latter and his consultors that at a meeting of the board held on June 24, 1857, they resolved to accept it, provided the Society, in case the mission was subsequently relinquished, should be reimbursed for improvements made out of its private funds. Final arrangements, however, were not to be made before the mind of the Father General had been ascertained. A letter of Father De Smet addressed to Father Beckx enters into the details of the Bishop's offer.

Monsignor St. Palais, Bishop of Vincennes in the State of Indiana, came to spend a few days with us at the University. The object of his visit was his earnest desire to possess a house of the Society of Jesus in his extensive diocese. He offers a flourishing parish in the town of Terre Haute, which has a population of about 12,000, and proposes to give the Society of Jesus exclusive charge of the mission of Terre Haute on the following conditions:

1. As soon as convenient to the Society and as soon as permission shall have been obtained from the Very Rev. Father General, the Society will furnish the priests needed for the mission. In the interim, it will send a Father to take charge of the congregation. The understanding is that the number of priests is to be determined by the Fathers alone and not by the mission or congregation.

2. If the Society accepts the mission, the Bishop will give the Fathers immediate possession of the church and presbytery, free of all debt and with all their appurtenances. The house can easily accommodate two or three Fathers.

3. The Boys' school and the church revenues will be controlled by the Fathers and be subject to their disposition. The Bishop reserves to himself only the amount of two annual collections, one for the diocesan seminary and the other for the support of the orphan asylum, apart from the *cathedraticum* established by the diocesan statutes and saving any other regulation sanctioned by the Holy See.

4. The Bishop does not require the establishment of a college, he merely desires it and only in so far as the Society should judge it proper and useful.

In compliance with the pressing invitation of the Bishop and after mature deliberation on the part of Very Rev. Father Provincial and his Consultors, it was decided to send Father Di Maria to Terre Haute *pro tem*, and pending your Paternity's decision as to accepting or rejecting the terms laid down by the Bishop—in any case, however, the supposition being that the Vice-Province could spare Father Di Maria or some other Father for the needs of this mission. The report made by Father Di Maria to Rev. Father Provincial on present conditions in the mission is highly favorable. He gives assurance that a house of the Society in that quarter would be of the first importance and that the ministry of the Fathers would result in immense good, both for the town and its vicinity. I dare to hope that with the permission of your Paternity, the offer of the Bishop of Indiana will be accepted. I will add that the Bishop

is ready to accede to any proposition the Society may make, he earnestly desires to have Jesuits in his diocese <sup>50</sup>

Father Beckx's reply, addressed to the vice-provincial, Father Druyts, while not a refusal, emphasized the objections that might be raised to the acceptance of the mission of Terre Haute

1 In the first place, on looking over the catalogue of the Vice-Province, I notice that there are three times as many small residences as there are houses organized according to the requirements of the Institute

2 The Vice-Province is so overburdened beyond measure that up to the present it has been unable to give its members the formation which the Institute requires, both in letters and in a solid religious spirit, philosophical and theological studies are not as yet on a proper footing

3 The Vice-Province can scarcely provide for its houses, now multiplied to excess, including the ones quite recently opened in Milwaukee and Chicago, which in due time shall have to be enlarged Where, then, is it going to find men for the new residence of which there is question? To one who considers the present state of the Vice-Province, it ought to be clear that the need of the moment is to form our men properly in the first and second probation, in studies, and in the third probation rather than to assume new obligations At the same time, if your Reverence can without prejudice to the Vice-Province, take in hand the mission offered by the bishop of Vincennes, I shall not, absolutely speaking, withhold my consent <sup>51</sup>

In the end the vice-province did not take over Terre Haute, though in accordance with the stipulation made with the Bishop of Vincennes it supplied a father for the parish pending the final settlement of the question at issue When the Bishop returned from his visit to St. Louis in June, 1857, he had in his company Father Francis Di Maria, who was to assume charge of St. Joseph's parish in Terre Haute The Bishop declared himself ready to turn over both church and rectory permanently to the Jesuits, as also an adjoining piece of property which he purchased in their interest at a cost of thirty-five hundred dollars The parish, the only one in the city, had been served the previous year by Father Simon Lalumiere. In June, 1858, Father De Smet wrote to the Father General "In view of the lack of subjects in the vice-province, the Consultors are divided in regard to the importance of a Residence in this locality A residence of the Society would be desirable there, in consideration of the large number of Catholics in Indiana and the favorable disposition of the Bishop towards the Society, together with his great desire to have Jesuits in the diocese—he is disposed to wait one or more years to obtain this, provided that Father Di Maria be per-

<sup>50</sup> De Smet à Beckx, August 3, 1857 (A)

<sup>51</sup> Beckx ad Druyts, October 3, 1857 (A)

mitted to remain there during the interval. This good Father, however, has need of a companion. He does considerable good in Terre Haute."<sup>52</sup>

Father Di Maria's stay in Terre Haute continued from June, 1857, to August, 1859. Some necessary improvements on St. Joseph's Church and rectory which he carried through involved an outlay of some four thousand dollars. The German Catholics, organized into a sort of separate parish, also enjoyed his services. Besides attending to these two congregations, he was charged with the spiritual care of the mother-house of the Sisters of Providence situated a few miles outside of Terre Haute. He looked upon the city as a highly promising field of work and in March, 1859, after he had been engaged in it for twenty-one months, wrote to Father Beckx pleading for its definite acceptance.

Terre Haute is a very fine city of some twelve thousand inhabitants and goes on growing from day to day. There are railroads which go E[ast], W[est], N[orth], S[outh]. It is situated on a river called the Wabash, navigable by steamer and on a canal which extends from Lake Michigan to the Ohio River. The surrounding land is pretty rich and well cultivated. It is midway between St. Louis, Louisville and Cincinnati, hence would be a great convenience to Ours who have to pass from one college to another. There are in Terre Haute about three thousand Catholics among the Americans, Irish and Germans. These two congregations give about three thousand dollars a year. You see clearly that with such a sum three Fathers and two Brothers can be easily supported.

A residence of Ours in Terre Haute besides being of the greatest advantage to the city would also prove highly advantageous to the entire diocese of Vincennes. Retreats for priests, occasional missions, visits to the neighboring villages where the people are without assistance, would do considerable good, and certainly result A M D G. Everything here is in readiness to receive our men. I hope God will inspire you to send Jesuits to this city for his greater glory.<sup>53</sup>

In August, 1859, Father Di Maria was transferred by Father Druyts from Terre Haute to the scholasticate recently opened on the College Farm in North St. Louis, where he lectured on dogmatic theology and canon law, but for a year only, the scholasticate being suspended in 1860 and the Jesuit students sent to continue their studies in Boston. He was thereupon assigned to pastoral duty at the College Church in St. Louis, but after a year in this employment was transferred at his own request from the Missouri Vice-province to the Maryland Province of the Society.<sup>54</sup> He survived his transfer to the East eight

<sup>52</sup> De Smet à Beckx, June 1, 1858 (A)

<sup>53</sup> Di Maria à Beckx, March 21, 1859 (AA)

<sup>54</sup> Murphy ad Beckx, August 14, 1861 (AA)

years, dying in 1871 in Philadelphia, where he had been engaged in pastoral duties at old St Joseph's Church in Willing's Alley.<sup>55</sup>

At Terre Haute Father Di Maria was replaced by Father John Beckwith, who had the assistance of the coadjutor-brother, Clement Bocklage. Father Horstmann had care of the hundred and fifty German families in the parish, many of whom had almost lost the faith. The two fathers had been placed in Terre Haute in a final attempt to determine through their experience on the ground whether the station there should be retained or given up.<sup>56</sup> A year later Father Druyts with the approval of the Visitor, Father Sopranis, notified Bishop de St Palais that the two Jesuits in charge of St Joseph's parish could not remain beyond September 1, 1860. The Bishop still hoped to retain them, but, so Druyts informed the General, "in view of the circumstances in which this Vice-Province finds itself owing to neglect in the education of its young men, etc, it seems that this is scarcely possible."<sup>57</sup> Sometime before the end of 1860 the Jesuits withdrew definitely from Terre Haute, St Joseph's parish passing thereupon into the hands of the Benedictine fathers.<sup>58</sup>

#### § 6. MINOR RESIDENCES

Here and there at scattered points in the Middle West parishes were taken in hand provisionally in answer to urgent requests from bishops who were unable to provide for them from the ranks of their own clergy. Thus, in the course of 1847 Father Ignatius Maes, S. J., was stationed at Cahokia, St. Clair County, Illinois, as resident pastor of the Church of the Holy Family, Bishop Quarter of Chicago, to whose diocese Cahokia belonged, having asked the Jesuits to assume charge of the parish. The church building, of logs, was an eighteenth-century structure and is still standing, the parish, or rather the mission out of which it grew, was established in 1699 by Seminary priests of Quebec and not by Jesuits, as is sometimes stated. It is the oldest parish in the state of Illinois. In August, 1847, Father Van de Velde decided to allow Father Maes to remain at Cahokia, stipulation being made that in case of his sickness or death, no obligation should exist to supply another priest of the Society and that once a month and on the more important festivals of the Church he was to visit French Village.<sup>59</sup> This small settlement with its church of St. Philip was distant a few miles from Cahokia. Early in 1848 Father Van de Velde informed Father Elet,

<sup>55</sup> Cf *supra*, Chap XVIII, § 5

<sup>56</sup> Druyts à Beckx, August 28, 1859 (AA)

<sup>57</sup> Druyts à Beckx, August 1, 1860 (AA)

<sup>58</sup> *Catholic Directory*, 1861.

<sup>59</sup> *Liber Consultationum*, January 12, 1849 (A).

who was then in Rome attending a congregation of procurators, that his petition to the General for permission to accept Cahokia had elicited no response "I have not as yet received an answer regarding the congregations or missions of Cahokia and Kaskaskia, which the Bishop of Chicago offers us and which he says rightly belong to us since they were the first of all the missions founded by our Fathers in the western country before the year 1700 and were bedewed with their sweat and blood. Father Maes is now stationed in the former while the latter is 20 leagues distant from the city [St. Louis] and being very poor is frequently left to itself. Many of our ancient Fathers were buried there" <sup>60</sup> In 1849 Father Van de Velde, now become Bishop of Chicago, made efforts to have the Jesuits take over Cahokia and Kaskaskia permanently. Father Elet, the vice-provincial, and his consultors hesitated to do so and it was determined to refer the matter to the General. Despite his usual opposition to any expansion of the field of the middlewestern Jesuits, Father Roothaan's attitude was that these new obligations might be assumed provided Elet could spare the men necessary to meet them. But the latter, in view of his meagre personnel, took no definite action in the matter, while his successor, Father Murphy, turned Cahokia back in 1852 to the Bishop of Chicago. Father Maes on being called from the Illinois parish in 1849 to open a mission among the Winnebago of Minnesota had been succeeded there by Father John Schultz, who remained in charge until the parish was vacated by the Jesuits. At the beginning of 1849 Father Busschots was in residence at Nouveau Village, and the following year at Belleville, both places being in St. Clair County, Illinois. These missions were given up simultaneously with Cahokia. "Bishop Van de Velde writes to Father De Smet," so Father Murphy informed the General, "that heaven in taking so many men away from us [by death] wishes to punish us for having withdrawn from Illinois, his diocese, the Fathers he had placed there when Provincial, as though there were no good reasons for our doing so. However, so blind and callous are we that we have neither remorse or apprehension, and should like to do a similar thing in Missouri" <sup>61</sup>

The mission of Marshall, Saline County, Missouri, with neighbor-

<sup>60</sup> Van de Velde ad Flet, January 26, 1848 (AA). New channels cut by the Mississippi in 1892 and 1899 swept away most of historic Kaskaskia. The fullest and most accurate account of the old Jesuit mission of Kaskaskia is Sister Mary Borgias Palm, S.N.D., *The Jesuit Missions of the Illinois Country, 1673-1763* (Cleveland, 1934). For the beginnings of Cahokia cf. G. J. Garraghan, S.J., "New Light on Old Cahokia" in *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* (Chicago), 11: 99-146 (October, 1928).

<sup>61</sup> Murphy à Roothaan, November 15, 1852 (AA).

ing stations at Boonville, Middleton, Lexington and other points was served by Jesuit priests during the period 1846-1847. Father Di Maria and after him Father Dennis Kenny were pastors at Marshall, which appears to have been resigned into the hands of the Bishop of St. Louis about August, 1847.<sup>62</sup> When Father Di Maria arrived in the place, there was no church nor were there quarters anywhere for the proper celebration of Mass. At the earnest solicitations of the Catholics, who with the local Protestants contributed liberally for the purpose according to their means, Father Di Maria succeeded in putting up a little church. In March, 1846, he was begging Father Roothaan for the three hundred dollars necessary for its completion.<sup>63</sup>

For three years, 1853-1856, Father Di Maria, at the request of Bishop Carrell of Covington, was engaged in various parochial duties in that diocese. For a period he lived with the prelate in Covington and was subsequently resident pastor of St. Peter's Church, Lexington, Kentucky. In December, 1857, when Bishop Carrell was urging the Jesuits to take this Lexington parish in charge again, he was advised by the vice-provincial that no further help could be extended to him in that quarter.

In the fall of 1849 a father was temporarily stationed at Quincy, Illinois. In October of that year Father De Smet informed Bishop Van de Velde of Chicago: "Your request of [*sic*] not removing Father Schultz from Quincy came too late, as Father Provincial, upon his most earnest request, had already written to him to return immediately to St. Louis. It is indeed a great pity that we are so destitute in men. Quincy and Belleville certainly would be desirable places for beautiful missionary Residences. Besides, Rev. Father General insists on consolidating what is begun and in not allowing us to undertake anything without his special permission and approbation."<sup>64</sup> Notwithstanding the settlement indicated in this letter, there is on record a decision of the vice-provincial, Father Elet, to accept Quincy before the close of 1850, and Alton, also in Illinois, the following year. But the decision was never carried into effect and in March, 1851, Bishop Van de Velde was informed definitely that the Jesuits could not assume charge of Quincy.

The influx of a number of German-speaking priests into the vice-province in 1848 in consequence of disturbed conditions in Europe made it possible for the latter to undertake the care of German congregations at various points in the Middle West. Thus there were for a period Jesuit pastors in residence at St. Peter's, Chillicothe, Ohio, Corpus

<sup>62</sup> Father Di Maria was recalled from Marshall, his services as professor of theology being required in the scholasticate.

<sup>63</sup> Di Maria à Roothaan, March 23, 1846 (AA)

<sup>64</sup> De Smet to Van de Velde, October 18, 1849 (A)

Christi, Newport, Ky., St. Joseph's, St. Louis, Mo., St. Peter's, Dardenne, Mo., St. James, White Oak, Hamilton Co., Ohio, St. Francis Borgia's, Washington, Mo., St. Joseph's, Westphalia, Mo., St. Francis Xavier's, Taos, Mo. In Cincinnati Jesuit fathers were assistant-pastors at St. Mary's and St. Philomena's. All these parishes, with the exception of St. Joseph's, St. Louis, were one after another subsequently relinquished into the hands of the diocesan clergy, some of them in consequence of the recall of many of the German Jesuits to Europe. Father De Smet wrote to Father Elet in August, 1850: "Rev. Father Anderledy is about leaving for Europe. I doubt not but several others will soon follow him. The natural consequences of these changes are that we have to abandon missions, entirely settled by Germans, and give up to seculars several churches which we have built. Just now, the Dardennes, containing two German Congregations, have been given up to the Archbishop. By degrees, the hopes we had formed of being assisted in our arduous labors by our European brethren are quickly vanishing. Thousands of German Catholics living in the midst of dangers among the various Protestant sects are to be abandoned and to be left without priests or spiritual consolation and assistance, at least for a good while to come."<sup>65</sup>

An instance of the pressing need which existed at this period all through the West for German priests to minister to their immigrant countrymen is furnished by a letter of 1852 from Bishop Van de Velde to Father Verhaegen, pastor at this time at St. Charles, Mo.

The object of the present is to ask you a particular favor. There is a whole county [Calhoun], in my Diocese, the boundary of which on the Mississippi is only seven miles from St. Charles, which contains many Catholics, chiefly Germans, with a few Irish and French, and which, till under Father Elet's administration, was regularly attended by one of the German FF [Fathers] of St. Charles, once I think in two months [who] used to spend a week at a time among them. My intention was to procure them a resident priest this year. In the meantime I begged Father Verreydt to visit them occasionally—he has been there but once or twice this year. I entreat your Reverence to have pity on these poor people now quite abandoned and to send a priest among them, either to reside or to visit them regularly from St. Charles or Portage.<sup>66</sup>

The vice-province, always undermanned in every field of endeavor in which it found itself engaged, was doing what it could for the German Catholic immigrants of the Middle West. At times indeed in a spirit of *Cicero pro domo sua* Jesuit pastors in charge of German-

<sup>65</sup> De Smet to Elet, August 17, 1850 (A)

<sup>66</sup> Van de Velde to Verhaegen, January 11, 1852 (A)



speaking parishes were moved to protest that these were not receiving an adequate quota of the available staff of workers. And yet, as Father Gleizal pointed out to the General in 1853, practically all the midwestern Jesuits employed in the parochial ministry were attached to the so-called German residences. The ever-recurring and in a measure baffling problem for superiors was to make a satisfactory distribution of the men at their command. In the beginning of 1862 Father Goeldlin of Westphalia was explaining to headquarters how that pivotal parish and its dependent stations were suffering for lack of missionaries in proper number and of proper calibre. At the same time the people "generally well disposed" were putting up with the situation with commendable patience. "If the scarcity of priests in the Vice-province was not a well known fact, these parishes would indeed seem to be neglected by superiors."<sup>67</sup> Some years earlier Father Goeldlin's predecessor at Westphalia, Father Helias, was lamenting in his perfervid way to Father Beckx what he thought to be the inadequacy of the service rendered to the German parishes of central Missouri. At Jefferson City where two-thirds of the Catholics were Germans, the parish, organized by Father Helias himself, and later passed over by Father Van de Velde to the archdiocese, was now in charge of a priest totally unacquainted with the German language. The fact was that the Archbishop of St. Louis was in dire need at the moment of five German-speaking priests. To Father Helias it seemed that the most competent of the German Jesuits who had affiliated with the vice-province had been diverted from the German parishes to other fields of labor. He instanced Father Schultz among the Indians, Father Tschieder among the "Americans or French," and Fathers Emig, Horstmann and Keller in the colleges. "Speaking for myself and my companions, I can say that we left our Province and all other comforts with this one end in view, i.e., the salvation of souls especially in the most difficult missions." "Not in this manner did our Father Ignatius act when amid the utmost scarcity of men he assigned to the Germans the first priest of the Society—together with one of its first members and, in extreme poverty as he was, founded the German College in Rome. For the conversion of that northern nation he ordered Masses to be said and prayers to be recited throughout the whole Society and, if the great apostle of the Indians had not been impeded by sickness, he would have recalled him from India to make him Superior in Germany."<sup>68</sup> Of the fathers named by Helias as having been diverted from the German parishes, three were at one time or another set over colleges as rectors. Evidently their

<sup>67</sup> Goeldlin ad Beckx, January 7, 1862 (AA)

<sup>68</sup> Helias ad Beckx, June 21, 1855, June 29, 1858 (AA)

services in the educational field were deemed of more pressing need than the services they might render in the parishes

To provide the organized German parishes with pastors was only one side of the problem that was thus clamoring for solution, "itinerant" missionaries, as they were called, were also needed to bestir the parishes with occasional "missions" or religious revivals and carry spiritual first aid to rural and backwoods places beyond the reach of the regular parochial service. What was being accomplished in this respect by Father Weninger and for a brief period by Father Patschowski shall presently be told. For the moment it will be enough to cite a passage from a report made in 1853 by Father Patschowski on the religious situation of the German Catholics in the United States. The evils which beset the latter and which, the report declares, existed chiefly in the cities though to some extent in the county-districts also, are enumerated as follows:

1 Most of the German immigrants are of lowly origin and uneducated. Though as yet not even half-accustomed to American liberty and license, immediately on their arrival here they mix up in politics, judge wrongly on affairs of Church and State, etc. Hence the troubles which the Germans cause the bishops in many places. Moreover, many have brought with them from Europe a revolutionary spirit (*esprit revolutionnaire*), not all of them, however, for the greater part of them are still Catholics. 2 In the case of many a great danger is hunger for money, on which account they prefer temporal gain to their soul's salvation. 3 The abuse of "ardent liquors," an abuse indulged in even by many Germans. 4 Mixed marriages. 5 Not a few join secret societies for the sake of advancement. 6 The children are not well instructed in the elements of Christian doctrine.<sup>69</sup>

In the long run the steady persevering fight maintained by the German pastors and the better instructed German laity to preserve the faith of the immigrants in the face of difficulties such as Father Patschowski found to exist in 1853 was crowned with the most gratifying results. The great bulk of the German immigrants, who were loyal and church-going Catholics when they arrived in America, so a well-considered opinion declares, continued such the remainder of their lives.<sup>70</sup> Some comments of Father Murphy, when Missouri vice-superior, are of interest in this connection. "That the Germans are resolved," he observed in 1855, "to live together, to retain tenaciously their own language and purely domestic institutions and to have their own schools, gives offense to certain Catholics of other nationalities, yet in doing so, they have consulted in excellent fashion, so it would

<sup>69</sup> Patschowski and Pierling, February 22, 1853 (AA)

<sup>70</sup> *Central Blatt and Social Justice* (St. Louis), 18 199. See note 23

seem, their own interests and those of their posterity” “A general communion of the conferences of St Vincent de Paul took place on the 8th (December, 1861) among our Germans [of St Joseph’s] with wonderful fruit and to the lessening of that miserable spirit of nationality. The rest of the Germans have societies only for those of their own race. Father Wipperfurth preached in English and with the happiest effect.”<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Murphy ad Beckx, January, 1855, December 15, 1861. Data on the parochial ministry as exercised in churches attached to colleges will find their place in Part V in connection with the various colleges.