

CHAPTER IX

THE BEGINNINGS OF ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY

§ I BISHOP DU BOURG'S INVITATION

In a letter dated May 24, 1823, exactly one week before Father Van Quickenborne and his party crossed the Mississippi and entered St. Louis for the first time, Father Rosati, at that time superior of the Lazarist seminary at the Barrens in Perry County, Missouri, wrote of the little band of Jesuits who were just then toiling along the muddy roads of southern Illinois "We are expecting them every day. The colony will be a nursery of missionaries for the Indians and perhaps in the course of time a means of procuring for the youth of these parts a solid and Christian education"¹ Six years later the hope entertained by Rosati that the Jesuits would take up and promote the cause of Christian education in the West was realized.

It was felt no doubt from the beginning both by the superior of the Maryland Mission and by Bishop Du Bourg that the group of Jesuits settled at St Ferdinand were destined to exercise their zeal and energy before no long time in the field of education. The question of a college, it is safe to say, had been among the matters discussed between them at the time the Missouri Mission was formally set on foot. The Concordat, however, stipulates nothing in regard to education as it did in specific terms in regard to the Indian missions, though it does contain the sweeping declaration that "the Bishop of New Orleans cedes and surrenders to the Society of Jesus for ever, as soon and in proportion as its increase of members enables it to undertake the same . . . all . . . the colleges and seminaries of learning already erected and which shall hereafter be erected" on the Missouri River and its tributary streams. Already in 1819 Bishop Du Bourg had proposed to the Maryland Jesuits the opening of a college at Franklin in Missouri.² Now that the Society of Jesus was established in his diocese, he was quick to broach the subject of a school under its auspices in the chief city of Missouri.

¹ *Ann Prop* (Louvain ed), I 476. This chapter appeared in part in the *SLCHR*, I 85-102.

² Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Colonial and Federal*, Doc, 2 1013.

What appears to be the earliest utterance of the prelate on the matter in question is in a letter of November 27, 1823, addressed to the Maryland superior, Father Francis Neale

I would feel disposed to give your Society two beautiful squares of ground in the city of St. Louis and to help in the erection of a house for an academy as a preparation for a college, if you thought you could spare a couple of your Maryland brethren, even scholastics, to commence the establishment, in which case I will shut up the one that is now kept by some of my priests on the Bishop's premises.

The Bishop then proceeds to offer the furniture of his little college and all its appurtenances, as also three hundred dollars towards defraying the travelling expenses from Maryland of the necessary professors.³ At about the same time that he wrote to Neale, Du Bourg entered into communication with Van Quickenborne, repeating his offer and engaging himself to close his own college in St. Louis in case the Jesuits should open an institution of higher education in that city. Again, in a letter written on January 7, 1824, to Father Dzierozynski, after tendering him felicitations on his appointment as superior of Maryland, he assures him of his desire to give the Jesuits a piece of property in St. Louis with a view to their taking over the direction of the college "established in that city under my auspices"⁴

In a letter dated New Year's Day, 1824, in the very heart of the severe winter that followed his arrival at St. Ferdinand, Van Quickenborne informed Dzierozynski of the Bishop's offer, adding his own view of the proposition. Father Niel, rector of St. Louis College, was not able to support himself and his professors in the "Episcopal College," as it was sometimes called, and had placed the institution in the hands of a Protestant (?) layman. There were only nine boarders in attendance and no more were to be looked for. The erection of a new house or college would cost much as labor in St. Louis was dearer than in Maryland. "On the other hand," Van Quickenborne observes, "the city is the principal one of the State and near other rising towns in Illinois. If our men were there, many day-scholars would attend school, of these, some would enter the Society, especially if, according to the Institute, we teach gratis"⁵ In July, 1824, the Jesuit superior and

³ Hughes, *op cit*, Doc. 2 1026. Father Francis Neale was acting superior of the Maryland Jesuits for a brief period after the death of his brother, Father Charles Neale.

⁴ Van Quickenborne ad Dzierozynski, Florissant, January 1, 1824 (B). Du Bourg ad Dzierozynski, New Orleans, January 7, 1824 (G).

⁵ Van Quickenborne ad Dzierozynski, January 1, 1824 (B). The principle of gratuitous instruction embodied in the Jesuit rule became impracticable in the

his community had the pleasure of entertaining as a guest at St Ferdinand Father Charles Nerinckx, to whom the Society of Jesus was greatly indebted for his generous recruiting efforts on its behalf. "We are sorry," wrote Van Quickenborne to Bishop Rosati, "that our venerable guest cannot stay somewhat longer with us and entertain and edify us by his presence, which is so dear to us I have begged him to communicate to you, Monseigneur, my ideas on the establishment of a college in St Louis" ⁶

Only a few weeks before Rosati had, in fact, warmly commended to the Jesuit General the two projects which Van Quickenborne sought to take in hand, the Indian school and the college in St Louis. Regarding the latter he wrote

It would, moreover, be necessary to establish a college of the Society in St Louis There is already property there to be used for this purpose, a considerable number of scholars and prospects of success The city of St Louis is already one of importance and becomes more so every day A respectable body of scholarly religious is absolutely necessary there to maintain religion in good repute, to defend it against the attacks of heretics and to quicken the fervor of the Catholics A college at St Louis could be of great help to the establishment at St Ferdinand for the Indian agents reside there, and there, also, are held the councils of deputies from the various Indian nations who come to treat with the American Government To say all in a word, were I to have the good fortune to see a college of the Society established in that city, the interests of religion therein would be fully assured, so I believe Bishop Du Bourg is of the same opinion and has charged me to appeal to your Very Reverend Paternity in all earnestness, and in his name also, to be so good as to interest yourself in this Mission and send it subjects To this end I renew my plea for an undertaking which will certainly not fail to make for the Greater Glory of God In doing so I do nothing more than discharge the duty incumbent on me of procuring by all means in my power the welfare of the people committed to my care Kindly grant me the favor of a reply, which, I trust, will not be of a nature to disappoint my hopes I think it unnecessary, in conclusion, to assure you that on my part and that of Bishop Du Bourg, everything possible will be done to cooperate toward the success of the above-mentioned establishments, which I most earnestly desire to see brought about ⁷

The "Episcopal College" of which Father Van Quickenborne speaks as being in a precarious condition in 1824 owed its origin to Bishop Du Bourg The first year of the Bishop's residence in St. Louis, 1818, saw

United States owing to the fact that the Society's colleges there established, being with one or other exception unendowed, are dependent on tuition-money for their support See *infra*, § 5

⁶ Van Quickenborne à Rosati, Florissant, July 30, 1824 (C)

⁷ Rosati à Fortis, June 22, 1824 (AA) In Italian

the opening under his auspices of a Latin school for boys known as St Louis Academy Classes were begun on November 16 of that year in a stone house of one story with a gallery which belonged to Madame Alvarez and stood at the northwest corner of Third and Market Streets. The management of the Academy was entrusted to Father Francis Niel, assisted by three other priests, all members of the diocesan clergy and attached to the cathedral of St Louis. The academy prospering was soon transformed into a college, for which a site was found in the cathedral block on the west side of Second Street between Market and Walnut. Here, on or immediately alongside the ground once occupied by the first church in St Louis, a two-story brick building adjoining the cathedral on the south was erected by Bishop Du Bourg and in this building in the fall of 1820 St Louis College held its first session. Though it stood high in public regard, the inability of the diocesan clergy conducting the college to find time amid their pressing ministerial duties to give it due attention hampered its success. With the end of the session 1826-1827 the institution closed its doors. Its register included names rich in historical associations of early St Louis and the pioneer West, among them those of Joseph Robidoux, Chauvette Labeaume, Marcellin St. Vrain, Alexandre Bellesime, Charles Sanguinet, Vital Beaugenou, Louis Primeau, Francis Bosseron, Philip Rocheblave, Toussaint Hunaut, Francis Cabanné and Auguste Delassus.⁸

⁸ W. H. W. Fanning, "Historical Sketch of St Louis University" (St Louis University *Bulletin*, December, 1908), pp. 6-12. Elihu H. Shepard, professor of languages in St Louis College, 1823-1826, records some facts about the institution in his *Autobiography* (St Louis, 1869). As early as June 24, 1824, Bishop Du Bourg wrote concerning the western Jesuits to his brother at Bordeaux in France: "They will take over the College of St Louis, this is the means to assure its stability." *Ann Prop.*, 1:474. Du Bourg's repeated requests in this connection together with other circumstances, e.g. the identity of name attaching to the two institutions, point to an organic continuity of descent from the old to the new St Louis College, later St Louis University. Cf. St Louis University *Bulletin*, December, 1908. Numerous side-lights on the career of the old St Louis College on Second Street are to be found in the correspondence of Father Edmund Saulnier, preserved in the archdiocesan archives of St Louis. Cf. an article based on this correspondence, F. G. Holweck, "Vater Saulnier und seine Zeit," *Pastoral Blatt* (St Louis), April, 1918. Saulnier was pastor of the St Louis cathedral during the period 1825-1831 and virtual head of St Louis College from the departure from St. Louis of its first president, Father Francis Niel, March, 1825, to the close of the institution. He had been attached to the college as professor of French from December, 1819. In November, 1822, there were four priests on the staff, Fathers Niel, Michaud, Deys and Saulnier. But there were few students and great disorder prevailed, the lay professors being for the most part young and inexperienced. In November, 1825, the college had so run down that Saulnier feared it would go under. A layman, Mr. Brun (Le Brun), was the president and Elihu Shepard, a non-Catholic, was professor of languages, but the income of the

The difficulties that beset St. Louis College made Bishop Du Bourg all the more anxious to have the Jesuits enter the educational field. Reaching St. Michel, Côte d'Acadie, in November, 1825, on his way back to New Orleans from a visit to Natchitoches, he wrote to Van Quickenborne repeating his offer of two squares in St. Louis. At St.

school fell short of their meagre salaries (\$200 and \$400). In January, 1826, Father Saulnier took over the direction of the school, though Brun apparently remained as nominal president. Van Quickenborne wrote to Bishop Rosati January 17, 1826: "Mr. Saulnier is still weak and has fever from time to time. He told me that while placing Mr. Le Brun at the head of the College and paying a salary to him as also to [Rev.] Mr. Odizzi [Audizio], he has retained a sort of general superintendence. To Mr. Le Brun and Mr. De Thier [?] is joined Mr. Welsh, a worthy Irishman, who teaches English. There are students to keep the college going and I hope everything will proceed well." (C) At the end of May, 1826, Father Leo De Neckere, later Bishop of New Orleans, was sent to St. Louis by Bishop Rosati at Father Saulnier's earnest request to teach in the college and also preach English sermons in the cathedral. De Neckere had to leave St. Louis owing to ill-health a few months after his arrival. Bishop Du Bourg, on his last visit to St. Louis, May, 1826, was disappointed with the condition of the college, his own creation, and tried to have it closed. "Lastly, I think I have obtained the suppression of this sorry school so ridiculously called a college. The lay professors are all gladly quitting. There is only Mr. Brun who seems to be still kept [here] by certain considerations, but he will see himself constrained by the responsibility to procure teachers and this amalgam, which is to the Church's discredit, will disappear [ms?]. I don't think anybody in town will disapprove of this measure which is required as much by necessity as by the proprieties." Du Bourg to Rosati, May 11, 1826. Kenrick Seminary Archives. St. Louis College, however, was somehow kept up, though in February, 1827, it had practically ceased to exist. Only one professor, a Mr. Servari, with some ten or twelve students in attendance, was left. But Father Saulnier did not give up hope of seeing the college reopened. If only Bishop Rosati were to send him Father Chiaveroti, with the latter's services, Servari's and his own, he could keep up the college without difficulty. On July 23, 1827, he informed Bishop Rosati that the Jesuits were willing to reopen the college on Second Street, probably an unfounded report, as Father Van Quickenborne was already considering the Connor property at Washington Avenue and Ninth Street as the site of his future college. As late as June, 1828, Saulnier was still hoping to be able to reopen St. Louis College with himself, Servari and the cathedral clergy in charge. The session 1826-1827 would seem to have been the final one in the history of the institution. In September, 1828, Father Van Quickenborne reported to his superior in Maryland that St. Louis did not have a single Catholic school. By that time some of the former students of St. Louis College had registered at Florissant, where the Jesuits held classes for them pending the erection of the new college building on Washington Avenue. In 1832 Bishop Rosati converted the old college building on Second Street into a church (St. Mary's Chapel) for the Catholic Negroes of St. Louis. On May 6 of that year the chapel was blessed by Father Verhaegen. Later, in 1834, Father Anton Lutz began to hold services in it for the German Catholics of the city. Bishop DuBourg's college building thus ended its career by serving as the first house of worship for the Catholic Negroes and later for the German Catholics of St. Louis. *SLCHR*, 4 6

Michel he learned that Rosati, his Auxiliary, was ten leagues below, at St. Jean Baptiste, waiting for an up-river steamer. He hastened there-upon to meet Rosati to confer with him on the ordination of the Jesuit scholastics and the projected college in St. Louis, and sent through him from St. Jean Baptiste a second letter to Van Quickenborne, dated two days later than the one written from St. Michel

If Mr De Theux has arrived, I ask you to accompany your scholastics so that you may confer in person with Msgr , to whom I have communicated several matters of intimate concern to yourself

First in importance among these matters is your establishment of St. Louis To forward it and give it all desirable stability and independence, I offer you two fine squares in Connor's addition to the city on the same conditions on which they were given to me, to wit, that a college should be built upon one of them (it does not matter which) and that it should be in operation within seven years of the date of the bond of conveyance, which was made over to me in the year 1819 or 1820, I do not remember which, but as the bond is on record in St. Louis, you can easily verify its date On the less favorable supposition, there still remains sufficient time to put up a small house, either of log or frame, for as the dimensions and material of the building were not specified in the bond, any kind of structure suited to receive some thirty day-scholars or even fewer will meet the requirements I foresee two difficulties in the way of your acceptance, 1st the expenses and 2nd your rules As to the first, I am persuaded that you will receive aid from the inhabitants, if you make the rounds of the city for such purpose I will myself contribute one hundred dollars As to the rules of your Society or the difficulty of your taking in charge the direction of the school, there is nothing to prevent you, while these hindrances last, from putting the school in the hands of some master, to whom you can lease it or even lend it gratis I regard this property as too precious a thing, in view of the future interests of religion and of your Society, not to urge you to make every effort to assure yourself of its possession, moreover, as the time is approaching after which regrets will be useless, I am persuaded that you can go far in this matter on your own responsibility, with the understanding that, in view of the urgency of the case, you cannot fail to obtain subsequently the approval of your superior ⁹

⁹ "I forgot in my last, my Reverend and very dear Father to speak to you of two very fine *squares* which I hold in St. Louis under condition that within a year or two from now (the period can be ascertained) there shall be a college on one of the two, that is to say, a school erected and in full operation . For the rest, it would appear to me to be very important to your Society to secure possession of this property, which may one day enable you to establish yourselves in St. Louis on a very independent footing Mr Saulnier will be able to show it to you" Du Bourg à Van Quickenborne, St. Michel, Côte d'Acadie, November 7, 1825 (A) Du Bourg à Van Quickenborne, St. Jean Baptiste, La , November 9, 1825 (A)

Van Quickenborne's reply to the foregoing communication from Du Bourg is dated some weeks later

As to the establishment of a college in St. Louis, I wrote about the matter to Father General more than eighteen months ago. He gave me permission to buy out of my own patrimony one thousand arpents of land for the support of Ours who shall be sent there. I shall receive for myself very little or perhaps nothing at all from this patrimony. You did well to write about the offer to the Father Superior of Georgetown. You must let him decide on it as also on the parish you have offered me. It will require a miracle to give us a college at St. Louis, such as our institute demands, namely, one which is free for day-pupils and which for that reason must have an adequate revenue. Still I dare to hope it of the divine goodness.¹⁰

§ 2 BISHOP DU BOURG AND THE COLLEGE LOT

The two squares which Bishop Du Bourg offered to Father Van Quickenborne were a gift to him from Jeremiah Connor, a native of Ireland, who came to St. Louis in 1805 from Georgetown in the District of Columbia, where he had engaged in the business of auctioneer. He followed the same business in St. Louis where he quickly came into prominence, being appointed by Governor Wilkinson sheriff of the village within a year after his arrival. He has been described as a man of retiring and even eccentric habits, never marrying and living alone in the rear of his place of business on Second Street. He was one of the witnesses to the last will and testament drawn up by Meriwether Lewis, of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, on the eve of the latter's departure from St. Louis shortly before his tragic death. The Erin Benevolent Society, of which he became president, was organized at his house in 1818, while he was also the founder with John Mullanphy and others of the Irish Immigrant and Corresponding Society. He died September 23, 1823, aged about fifty, and his estate, coming under the sheriff's hammer, soon passed into various hands.¹¹

No other citizen after John Mullanphy was more actively interested in the promotion of Catholic interests in early St. Louis than Jeremiah Connor. He contributed a thousand dollars towards repairing the old cathedral presbytery and putting it in readiness for the arrival of Bishop Du Bourg in 1818.¹² Moreover, his name appears on a document

¹⁰ Van Quickenborne à Du Bourg *Ann Prop* (1827) By "patrimony" Van Quickenborne understood certain family property in Belgium to which he had fallen heir.

¹¹ Billon, *Annals of St. Louis in its Territorial Days*, pp. 67, 194, 379. "An intelligent, liberal gentleman," is Billon's estimate of Connor.

¹² *Memorial Sketch of Bishop William Louis Du Bourg and What his Coming Meant to St. Louis*. St. Louis, January, 1918. Of the \$4,271.75 collected in 1818.

signed by about one hundred and twenty of the French residents of St. Louis, with Auguste Chouteau at their head, which guaranteed Bishop Du Bourg the use, free from all molestation, of the cathedral presbytery yard as a building site for St. Louis Academy.¹³ But Jeremiah Connor was not content with this evidence of collective goodwill on the part of the Catholics of St. Louis towards the educational venture of their chief pastor. He resolved to do something personally for the cause of Christian education. Accordingly, on March 8, 1820, he signed an instrument binding himself, his heirs and assigns, to convey to the Rt. Rev. Louis William Du Bourg in fee simple "two squares in Connor's addition to St. Louis, the one bounded south by an eighty foot street, west by a sixty foot street, north by the land of William Christy, east by a sixty foot street, which separates the same from the half-square I sold this day to said L. William Du Bourg—the other lying south of the former, from which it is separated by said eighty-foot street, bounded as ditto east and west, and on the south by the St. Charles road, each of said squares containing two hundred and seventy feet counting from east to west, by one hundred and fifty from north to south, be the same more or less. The condition of the above obligation is that a college shall be built and used as such within seven years of this day on either of said squares, the deed, however, to be executed as soon as possible."¹⁴

for Bishop Du Bourg's brick cathedral, \$1,172 was collected by Jeremiah Connor, the rest by Thomas McGuire. *St. Louis Pastoral Blatt*, January, 1918

¹³ Billon, *op. cit.*, p. 422

¹⁴ The history of Connor's addition to St. Louis belongs to the romance of real estate development in that city. Before the date of the Louisiana Purchase and for some time after, the western boundary of the village ran along the line of the present Fourth Street, turning in towards the river at about Convent Street on the south and Morgan Street on the north. Fourth Street was not yet laid out and within the village there were three principal streets, all running north and south, Main Street or *Rue Royale* (also *Rue Principale*), Second Street or *Rue de l'Église* and Third Street or *Rue des Granges*. To the northwest of the village, which was encircled by pickets guarded at intervals by stone forts or bastions, were the Common Fields, while to the southwest were the Commons, two customary adjuncts of the Creole settlements of upper Louisiana. The Common Fields were divided off into oblong strips, forty arpents long and one arpent wide, which were assigned to the townsmen in numbers proportionate to their ability to cultivate them.

On August 12, 1766, only two years after the founding of St. Louis, the Spanish government granted to Julien Le Roy, one of Liguest-Laclede's associates, a forty-arpent strip in the Common Fields, lying between similar parallel strips, the one to the north being held by Joseph Tayon and the one to the south by François Bissonet. Le Roy soon lost his strip, which was again merged into the Common Fields, May 23, 1772, a fresh grant of it was made by the Spanish government, this time in favor of Gabriel Dodier, also one of Laclede's companions. Twenty-one years later, July 14, 1793, Dodier conveyed the strip for a consideration of eighty

Early in May, 1826, Bishop Du Bourg visited St Louis on his way to Europe, whither he was believed to be called by important business

dollars to Esther, a mulatto woman, who had been manumitted that same year by her owner, Jacques Clamorgan. The deed of conveyance described the property as being "one arpent in front by forty in depth, situated in the rear of the town on the adjoining prairie, bounded on the east by the fence set there to protect the wheat fields from the live-stock, on the west by his Majesty's domain, on the north by land hitherto and also now in the possession of Sr Tayon, *père*, on the south by the King's highway (Rue Royale), which leads to the villages of St Charles and St Ferdinand" (Dodier's deed of conveyance of July 14, 1793, is in French Cf *St Louis Republic*, April 23, 1911, p 10). Within a year after acquiring the arpent, Esther, the mulatto woman, transferred it September 2, 1794, to her quondam master, Jacques Clamorgan. The latter held it until July 8, 1808, when, to meet a judgment, it was put up and sold at public auction by Jeremiah Connor, sheriff of St Louis. The purchaser was Alexander McNair, subsequently the first governor of Missouri. McNair held the property a little over a month, conveying it on August 13 of the same year, for some unknown consideration, to Jeremiah Connor himself.

Meanwhile Esther had been advised that her transfer of the arpent to Clamorgan in 1794 was null and void. On the ground, therefore, that she was still legal owner of the property, she made over her rights and title to the same to William C Carr, June 15, 1809. Finally, April 28, 1812, Carr sold the property for six hundred dollars to Jeremiah Connor, who thus stood possessed of the forty-arpent strip by a double title derived from Esther through Clamorgan and from Esther through Carr (Abstract of title of College Lot in St Louis University Archives.) Though Dodier's deed to Esther describes the tract as having a frontage of only a single arpent, it actually measured three hundred and eighty feet from north to south, which would give it a frontage, according to United States government surveys of the period, of about two arpents, taking the latter unit as a linear measurement equivalent to one hundred and ninety-two and a half English feet. The arpent of Esther's deed was accordingly a double arpent of three hundred and eighty feet, and hence Connor's property was usually described as made up of two forty-arpent strips or lots. Beginning at Third Street it ran west to about the line of Jefferson Avenue, a distance of nearly a mile and a half, between the property of Maj William Christy on the north and that of Judge J B C Lucas on the south. Sometime before 1820 these enterprising citizens laid out their suburban tracts into so-called additions to St Louis and Connor did the same with his forty-arpent strip. Through the center of the property he laid out a street, eighty feet wide, which he relinquished to the public without consideration, thus leaving to himself only one hundred and fifty feet on either side. The eighty-foot street, named Washington Avenue as early as 1821, was destined to become the most important business thoroughfare of St Louis. The name of Jeremiah Connor, its donor, should be assured a place of distinction in the annals of the city (Billon, *Annals of St Louis in its Territorial Days*, p 195).

In Connor's bond of conveyance to Bishop Du Bourg, March 8, 1820, of two squares lying north and south of Washington Avenue between Ninth and Tenth Streets he intimates his intention to procure for the Bishop from William Christy a deed in fee simple to fractional pieces in Maj Christy's addition so as to complete two whole squares on the north side of Washington Avenue. Accordingly, on June 2, 1820, Christy conveyed to Bishop Du Bourg for seven hundred dollars

affairs connected with his diocese. As a matter of fact, he was going abroad for the purpose of laying his resignation before the Holy See. He imparted, however, to no one, not even to Bishop Rosati, his intention of resigning his episcopal charge in America, deeming it no doubt more prudent in the unsettled state of the diocese to observe absolute secrecy regarding the step he was about to take. In a letter addressed to the *Ami de la Religion* of Paris shortly after his arrival in France, after declaring that his resignation was not due to reasons of health, he writes

The motives, then, of my resignation are of a higher order, and they were presented to the Holy See, to which they appeared so just that his Holiness the Pope did not hesitate a moment, when they were submitted to him, to dissolve the sacred ties that bound me to that important but laborious mission. But in ceasing to be the head of it, I have not ceased to feel the most tender solicitude for it. What do I say? It is that solicitude which forced me to leave it, inasmuch that on the one hand it was evident my presence there would be more prejudicial than useful, and, on the other hand, I did flatter myself to be able from Europe to render that mission more important services.¹⁵

a tract seventy-five by two hundred and seventy feet, being the part of the square between Ninth and Tenth Streets bounded by Connor's line and Green Street. Moreover, on November 15, 1822, Christy also conveyed to the Bishop, for eight hundred dollars, a tract seventy-five by two hundred and seventy feet, being the part of the square between Tenth and Eleventh Streets limited by Connor's line and Green Street. Again, on September 5, 1820, Jeremiah Connor sold to the Bishop for a thousand dollars the western half of the square between Eighth and Ninth Streets on the north side of Washington Avenue. Finally, on October 15, 1821, Connor transferred to the Bishop for two thousand dollars, 1st the whole square in his addition between Tenth and Eleventh Streets (with the privilege of Tenth Street) and between Washington Avenue and Christy's (Connor's ?) line—and 2nd the eastern half of the square between Eighth and Ninth Streets, north of Washington Avenue. Bishop Du Bourg, as a result of these purchases, now held the two squares on Washington Avenue between Eighth and Ninth Streets and between Tenth and Eleventh Streets limited by Christy's line (Green Street), besides holding for educational purposes Connor's original donation of two squares lying respectively north and south of Washington Avenue between Ninth and Tenth Streets.

¹⁵ Clarke, *Lives of the Deceased Bishops of the Catholic Church in the United States*, I 235. *CHR*, 3 173. "The public prints are filled with news of Bishop Du Bourg's resignation from his bishopric and of the acceptance of the resignation. I am the more astonished at the news, as everything which Msgr said to me before his departure and everything he wrote to me since has led me to believe that he would return." Rosati à David, October 29, 1826. Letter-book of Bishop Rosati, II (C). "You know how the Right Rev. L. Du Bourg has left us. He deserved, no doubt, some peace and rest in his old age and his new flock of Montauban will appreciate his merit more than the one he has left." Rosati to Bishop Edward Fenwick, December 5, 1826. *Idem* (C).

During the few days that Bishop Du Bourg remained in St. Louis he endeavored to dispatch some business matters of importance, among them the tangled question of the college property. Unable for lack of time to visit Florissant, he wrote twice from the city to Father Van Quickenborne, reporting to him the results of a conference he had with Luke E. Lawless, a distinguished member of the St. Louis bar.¹⁶ The Bishop on reaching St. Louis was surprised to find that one of the two Connor squares donated for college purposes in 1820 had been sold to meet a judgment against the property and that possession of the other was now in jeopardy. Taking counsel with Lawless he was advised to have the remaining square, which lay on the north side of Washington Avenue, between Ninth and Tenth Streets, and had come to be known as the College Lot, sold by order of the court and with this end in view Lawless obtained a judgment of a hundred dollars against the Connor estate. Van Quickenborne was thereupon to buy the property in his own name in the expectation that no one would outbid him, as the danger of becoming involved in a lawsuit would, so it was presumed, preclude interference from other parties.¹⁷

Du Bourg left St. Louis for Louisville on the steamer *Ocean Wave*, May 10, 1826. The day of his departure he penned a brief note to Van Quickenborne at Florissant. "Just one word of remembrance, my dear Father. Msgr. Rosati will tell you the rest. You will see how much I am taken up with your affairs. I wish you to acquiesce in everything he may ask of you on behalf of St. Louis and religion. Circumstances demand that you make some sacrifice. I will on my part do all I possibly can for you." Again, writing from Louisville, May 15, 1826, to Father Saulnier in St. Louis, the Bishop adds in a postscript "Tell Father Van Quickenborne to write me often and in detail, if he wishes me to work effectively for him in Europe."¹⁸ From Cincinnati, Pittsburgh and

¹⁶ The Hon. Luke E. Lawless, Judge of the Circuit Court, was a native of Ireland, having come to the United States after the Irish rebellion of 1798 in which he was implicated. He was Thomas Benton's second in the duel in which Benton killed Charles Lucas, son of Judge J. B. C. Lucas. References to Lawless's career in St. Louis are in John F. Darby's *Personal Recollections*, St. Louis, 1880. "Ne manquez pas de voir de temps en temps le Col. Lawless. C'est un homme à ménager et dont vous feriez aisément un ami utile à votre établissement et à celui de nos Dames. Lui et sa femme et la mère de celle-ci m'ont témoigné le plus grand désir d'aller visiter ces deux maisons. Faites leur tout voir. Le Col. peut vous servir à Washington et en beaucoup d'autres occasions." Du Bourg à Van Quickenborne, May 10, 1826 (A).

¹⁷ O'Connor's bond of conveyance of 1820 was not put on record until July 22, 1824. This delay of four years, during which Connor died, may have caused the loss of the forfeited square.

¹⁸ Du Bourg à Van Quickenborne, St. Louis, May 10, 1826; Du Bourg à Saulnier, May 15, 1826 (A). "The Jesuit Fathers are delighted over my trip

finally from Havre at the end of his transatlantic voyage, he dispatched letters to the Maryland superior, Father Dzierzynski. He wrote from Cincinnati:

The important interests of my diocese call me to Rome. Among them is your dear Society. I hope to make a number of arrangements with a view to extend its means of usefulness. It would give me great pleasure to be made the bearer of a letter from you to your Rev. Fr. General. Finding myself unable to solicit it in person, I ask you to address it to me at Bordeaux. I come from St. Louis and Florissant. Your Fathers and Brothers there have quite surpassed all my expectations. There is nothing I am not ready to do to second the zeal and devotion of such cooperators. I hope that God will bless my efforts. Pray that He may do so.¹⁹

The plan proposed by Col. Lawless for saving the College Lot does not appear to have succeeded if indeed it was ever tried. "Tell him [Van Quickenborne]," Bishop Du Bourg had advised Father Saulnier from Louisville five days after his departure from St. Louis, "to see Col. Lawless so as to press the sale of the property called College Lot. I have written to him. If he does not see the matter clearly, the Colonel will explain it to him."²⁰

Within a year after the Bishop's withdrawal from his diocese, Jeremiah Connor's entire estate came under the sheriff's hammer, March 21, 1827. Robert Simpson, sheriff of St. Louis, announced his intention to sell the property of Jeremiah Connor, deceased, viz "a tract of two arpents from eastwardly 40 feet, bounded south by the St. Charles road, west by land of John O'Fallon, north by William Christy and east by Third street, to be sold for cash on Thursday, 12th of April between the hours of nine and five to satisfy etc." The purchaser was to be Col. John O'Fallon, who by sheriff's deed dated April 16, 1827, acquired possession of the Connor estate. On April 28 of the same year, O'Fallon, now owner of the College Lot, sold it for two hundred and ten dollars to Jesse G. Lindell.²¹ As a consequence, this property, Jere-

to Europe. They augur on the head of it good things for the future of the diocese and their Society. The step being thus approved by all whom I had a duty to consult, I am leaving with confidence." Du Bourg à Rosati, May 11, 1826. Souvay Coll., Kenrick Seminary Archives.

¹⁹ Du Bourg à Dzierzynski, Cincinnati, May 18, 1826, Pittsburgh, May 24, 1826, Havre, July 2, 1826 (B). With his Havre letter Du Bourg sent a letter which Van Quickenborne had entrusted to him for Dzierzynski and which, "*in festinatione itineris*" he forgot to post from Wheeling or Pittsburgh.

²⁰ Du Bourg à Saulnier, Louisville, May 15, 1826 (A).

²¹ Abstract of title of College Lot (D). On May 8, 1849, Col. John O'Fallon gave a quit-claim deed to St. Louis University for any interest he might have had in the University property on Washington Avenue. The Colonel's one-time ownership of the College Lot together with the fact of a quit-claim having been

miah Connor's gift to Catholic education in St. Louis, seemed to have been diverted forever from its intended use. "I regret exceedingly the College Lot," wrote Du Bourg from his episcopal see of Montauban in France to Van Quickenborne in Florissant, "not for its own sake but because of the importance I attach to your having an establishment in St. Louis. Try by all means to secure a site as central and as spacious as possible."²²

Scarcely a year had passed since Jeremiah Connor's estate had been disposed of at public auction, when Father Van Quickenborne, by an exchange sale with Jesse Lindell, owner of the College Lot, was at length enabled to recover that property and reserve it for its original use. The lot had a frontage of two hundred and seventy feet on Washington Avenue, running from Ninth to the east line of Tenth Street. As attorney for Bishop Du Bourg, Van Quickenborne now conveyed to Lindell in exchange for the lot the same number of feet on Washington Avenue, but in two sections, one section being the unsold portion of the Bishop's square between Eighth and Ninth Streets, and another section of equal size being the portion (limited by Eleventh Street) of the Bishop's square between Tenth and Eleventh Streets²³

To Dzierzynski in Maryland Van Quickenborne now reported with something of elation this final adjustment of the question of the College Lot, quickly dropping from Latin, in which he begins his letter, into English "*In Sti Ludovici [sic] obtinui* College Lot [I got the College Lot in St. Louis] The agreement is written and signed by both parties, Mr. Lindell and myself. The title will be delivered next week and then I, as agent of Bishop Du Bourg, and conformably to his private

delivered by him in connection with it probably gave rise to the erroneous statement to be met with in some accounts (e.g. Conard, *Cyclopedia of the City of St. Louis*, art. "John O'Fallon") that he and not Jeremiah Connor was the donor of the College Lot

²² Du Bourg à Van Quickenborne, Montauban, January 26, 1828 (A)

²³ Abstract of title of College Lot (D) The deed of transfer of the College Lot from Lindell to Van Quickenborne is dated August 29, 1828 "Our house is very well built and they say it is one of the most imposing edifices in St. Louis. For its foundation your lordship gave me all the land belonging to you in Connor's addition to St. Louis." Van Quickenborne à Du Bourg, November 20, 1829 *Ann Prop.*, 1831, p. 590 "To arrange the matter for the lots for a college in St. Louis the Bishop Du Bourg gave me a power of attorney for all his estate, which consists only of two lots more—all the rest I may, with his given permission, make over to Rev. Father De Theux. R. F. De Theux thought I could not refuse the power of attorney. One of these two college lots belongs now to us absolutely without any obligation except that of gratitude to the donor (Bp. D. B.) The title is one of the surest that can be. It contains 250 ft. by nearly 300. To secure it to us the Bishop has sacrificed when here \$550." Van Quickenborne to Dzierzynski, Florissant, August 10, 1826 (B)

directions will make the deed to your Reverence I pay nothing but give the same quantity of land to Mr Lindell and that quantity I take from lots belonging to Bishop Du Bourg, but placed at my disposal Your Reverence will find a sketch on the back of a piece of paper. When I was at the Barrens two years ago, Bishop Rosati told me that in case he should be titular bishop of St. Louis, he would be glad that we should have on that College Lot, a college with a parochial church. When he was here, he adhered to the same resolution I wish from my heart we had it and you have only to say, have it."²⁴

§ 3 THE NEW ST LOUIS COLLEGE

The beginnings of St. Louis University as a Jesuit institution may be dated from the period at which white students were first received into the seminary at Florissant. As early as the second half of 1825, Father Van Quickenborne had four white boys in residence there, two of the number receiving board and lodging free in consideration of domestic services rendered to the house and two paying each fifty dollars a year.²⁵ The two boys for whom payment was being made were Hubert and Charles Tayon of St. Charles, Mo., admitted at Florissant November 6, 1825.²⁶ It seems to have been the superior's purpose in the beginning to receive only such youths as gave promise of a religious vocation, for thus in his sanguine way did he hope to solve the vexed problem of recruiting the novitiate.²⁷ Father De Theux, shortly after his arrival at Florissant, in October, 1825, gave it as his opinion that no more white pupils ought to be received, and indeed, with an Indian school on their hands, theological studies to get up and the painfully cramped accommodations of the log buildings to hamper them, the young men of the Jesuit community were scarcely in a position to give anything like frequent or systematic instruction to the handful of white boys that registered. After the Tayons came Pierre Bellau, admitted August 27, 1826. No more white students seem to have registered until June 12, 1828, when Charles Pierre Chouteau, a grandson of Pierre Chouteau, Senior, was admitted to the school. Five additional students registered in the course of the same year, Francis Cabanné (July 10), Edward Paul (July 22), Julius Cabanné (August 7), Du Thil Cabanné (August 12), Thomas Forsyth (August 16), Francis Bosseron (September 3), and John Shannon (October 16). On January 7, 1829, Bryan Mullanphy, a future mayor of St. Louis and founder of the

²⁴ Van Quickenborne to Dzierzynski, February 12, 1828 (B). Van Quickenborne's certificate of power of attorney for Bishop Du Bourg is dated May 5, 1826.

²⁵ Van Quickenborne to Dzierzynski, December 19, 1825 (B).

²⁶ Van Quickenborne account book (A).

²⁷ *Infra*, Chap. XI, § 1.

Mullanphy Emigrant Fund, was enrolled, followed in the course of the same year by Paul Etienne Fremont De Bouffay, Alexander La Force, Charles Capdeville, Edward Chouteau, Julius Clark (son of General William Clark), and Howard Christy. The last name was enrolled July 25. The charge for board and tuition was twenty-five dollars a quarter, raised in the course of 1829 to thirty-five dollars. It was therefore only during the session 1828-1829 that what could properly be called a school for white boys was conducted at Florissant, and the school was, it is plain, nothing more than a make-shift or accommodation pending the opening of a Jesuit college in St. Louis.²⁸

From the first moment that the project of a college at St. Louis was taken up Van Quickenborne was at pains to secure for it the explicit approval of his superiors. As early as January 6, 1824, he informed Father Fortis, the General, of Bishop Du Bourg's insistent desire that the Jesuits open a school in the Missouri metropolis, for which the prelate was ready to provide a site besides pledging a personal subscription of a hundred dollars. A few weeks later Father Dzierozynski was also reporting Du Bourg's wishes to the Father General, at the same time petitioning that Van Quickenborne be allowed to purchase a thousand acres of land for the support of the future college. But in December, 1827, the Maryland superior advised the General that the idea of a college in St. Louis was altogether premature. Van Quickenborne was without money to purchase "even the first stone," Dzierozynski wrote, as he was also without the men to staff the college and therefore had been instructed to make no further move before obtaining the approbation of the Father General. The preceding February Van Quickenborne had written to Father Fortis: "I should like to be able to make preparations to open a college [in St. Louis] in which we should teach gratuitously, and to make announcement to our friends to this effect." No response to this petition was to come from Rome.²⁹

At length, to an inquiry made by Van Quickenborne to the Maryland superior in 1828 as to whether he might seriously set to work preparing for the new college, the latter replied that the tertianship, in which all the Jesuit priests at Florissant were then engaged, was to be brought to an end on July 31, 1828, and that Van Quickenborne

²⁸ Van Quickenborne account book (A). Charles P. Chouteau in his testimony in the suit "The City of St. Louis vs. The St. Louis University" (October, 1881) over the attempted opening of Tenth Street through the University property claimed to be the first student registered at Florissant (1828). The claim was open to dispute as the Tayons and Pierre Bellau had preceded him, the former by almost three years. However, these three were admitted before the opening of the school proper in 1828.

²⁹ Van Quickenborne ad Fortis, January 6, 1824, February 6, 1827, Dzierozynski ad Fortis, February 6, 1824, December 15 (?), 1827 (AA).

might assign the priests in view of the coming scholastic year whatever duties he saw fit. This answer was interpreted by Van Quickenborne and all his advisers but one as a virtual authorization to begin at St. Louis if funds for the purpose were available. Announcement was accordingly made to the public that the work would be promptly taken in hand. To a subsequent request made to Father Dzierozynski that he declare his mind more explicitly, the latter replied that he had not indeed granted permission "in clear terms" to begin at St. Louis, but neither had he restricted the Missouri superior from so doing if the necessary means were within reach. "For Very Reverend Father General had previously given you permission to acquire land for a college in St. Louis. If, therefore, you have the means at hand, you may make the necessary arrangements, not on my authority but on that of Father General." As late as December, 1828, Van Quickenborne was still petitioning the General to put the formal seal of his approval on the new St. Louis College. "After we began, Reverend Father Superior injected some sort of doubt though he ordered us to go ahead . . . We thought that the Superior was thus giving permission to begin at St. Louis and that he did so under instructions from Very Reverend Father General . . . In fine, we thought ourselves acting clearly according to obedience throughout the whole affair." It is likely that Van Quickenborne's final petition never came into the hands of Father Fortis, for the latter died January 27, 1829. But his successor, Father Roothaan, gave the approval so long and anxiously solicited. He wrote to Van Quickenborne November 21, 1829: "I approve of the incipient college in St. Louis . . . but beware of taking more in your hands than you can well attend to." As to the superior in Maryland, there could be no doubt of his sincere sympathy with the venture. Already in November, 1828, he had noted in a communication to Father Fortis that the college was in process of erection, adding that the "eight Jesuit priests in Missouri were doing the work of double their number and that God was extending to them His singular protection."³⁰

A statement in detail of the circumstances under which Van Quickenborne was led to commit himself by public announcement to the project of a college in St. Louis is contained in a letter written in English which he addressed September 1, 1828, to Father Dzierozynski:

I Several years ago I stated to your Reverence as also to our Rev. Father General the reasons why we should have a college in St. Louis. Father General approved of them by allowing me to buy 1000 acres for the future support of Ours in St. Louis.

³⁰ Dzierozynski ad Van Quickenborne, August 27, 1828, Van Quickenborne ad Fortis, December 3, 1828, Dzierozynski ad Fortis, November 28, 1828 (AA).

2 Your Reverence when here [1827] was willing to receive the deeds of the lots left by the Bishop for a college. Of course you were willing to assume the obligation of opening a college when convenient.

3 Some months after your Reverence leaving here, all the consultors thought it advisable to secure a college in St. Louis and were of opinion that except that were done soon, we would be kept out of it forever. They deemed an establishment there almost of absolute necessity, because when a religious body has in a country the worst and most difficult posts, the poorest and least populated places, its members are apt to become discouraged, disgusted. No candidates almost will offer for such places and almost none of talents. Hence, the members of the body would seek for changes and the body deprived of the possibility of propagating itself, yea of maintaining itself. At that time I wrote to your Reverence about it. Your Reverence answered "For the present finish the third year of probation. We shall return to your inquiry later."

4 Many complaints were made to me by the inhabitants of St. Louis about not having a single Catholic school and many solicitations I received to open a school with promise of a liberal support. These complaints and solicitations were also made to the Bishop this summer whilst he was in St. Louis. He saw a numerous and promising youth abandoned to Protestant masters, several of whom made their pupils learn by heart the Protestant catechism. The Bishop answered that he would endeavor to open a school and with that view sent a Rev. Mr. Dusaussois, but still his Lordship told me that he would stick to his word given to me about the college and church.³¹ He wanted our resolution which I could not give. Again, all the consultors, I may say, urged the matter with me, I wrote to your Reverence stating how it was now the time to say yes or no, stating how it could be done, what persons could be employed, that provided we made known to the public our determination to open a college, we would raise a subscription and have the building completed this winter to begin at the end of our 3rd year, observing at the same time that the plan required that some of Ours should go occasionally to St. Louis.

5 Your Reverence in answer to this letter says "*In nomine Domini* finish the third probation on the feast of St. Ignatius. Let your Reverence make out the appointments for Florissant for the coming year, only let me know to what office and where each one is assigned." At the first reading of this answer, I had no doubt in my mind but your Reverence wanted me to begin at St. Louis for what other reason, finish the third year before its time? I had proposed the disposition of offices and persons to your Reverence, for what purpose leave it to me but to signify that your Reverence approved it, by saying *quid officii et ubi*, indicating several places. Your Reverence sees us eager and in good earnest asking permission to begin at St. Louis and grants power to place in any office and where I shall think proper, how

³¹ Father Dusaussoy was first stationed at the St. Louis cathedral in August, 1828. He left St. Louis the following year for France.

could St Louis be excluded, since particular mention was made of it in our demand? and could your Reverence think that we should not begin, if your Reverence left it to us to place where we should think proper? If St Louis is to be excluded, this should have been explicitly mentioned. When I wrote to your Reverence last, I had doubts for this only reason, that I should not assume any power unless it were evidently given me. But the Consultors answer that nothing more explicit could be said and that if a Superior could not proceed upon such answers, there could be no longer any safe transmission of business by letters. Only Fr De Theux had some doubts.³²

Your Reverence sees that we must now go on. I have a beautiful square 270 ft by 215 [225] ft belonging to me of which I shall send the deed to your Reverence. The Bishop must and does approve it, I have no doubt but a fine church will be built also for us in process of time. Mr Saulnier, Dusaussois, Loisel, priests at St Louis, also approve it. The people demand it and are willing to subscribe for the building. They highly cry for a church where sermons in English are preached. The French want the present church for themselves.³³ The Bishop is willing, i.e. has given me his word that not only is he pleased that we should have a church but also a parochial school for the Americans. The Bishop has waited now for two years. If we do not do it, the people will expect it from him and he should and would do it. St Louis (that is, an establishment there) is necessary for our Indian mission. 1 There we can easily and with all possible advantage see and treat with the chiefs of every nation. 2 There we can easily know every event of importance concerning affairs connected with the Indian mission. 3 There reside the Superintendent of Indian Affairs and all the agents and traders whose good will we must cultivate. 4 There we must transact most all our affairs to begin, continue and support our establishment in the Indian country. 5 By opening a free school we oblige those very men whose assistance in the Indian country we want and gain a good share of popularity. 6 St Louis' fate is decided as to its becoming a large and very important city in the West. From this place we may expect a succession, as the classical education of a child will not be expensive to the parent and as there are many families truly pious who would be glad to see their children embracing a religious life. 7 The choice of a proper place for our establishment is of the highest importance. About St Louis being the proper place there can be no doubt, and the time of making the choice is now and precisely and only now.

As to the means of supporting Ours, let me, Rev Superior, bring to your recollection the poor state in which we came out. Great improvements we are making on our farm in conformity with (not further than) your Reverence's instructions and when they will be finished, I will give an accurate account of them. We have a fine new church in St Charles, a fine

³² Van Quickenborne to Dzierzozynski, September 1, 1828 (B)

³³ Father Edward Saulnier, rector of the St Louis cathedral, 1825-1831. Father Regis Loisel, an assistant at the cathedral, was the first native St Louisian raised to the priesthood. As to efforts made by the English-speaking Catholics of St Louis to have some English preaching at the cathedral, cf. Holweck, "The Language Question at the Old St Louis Cathedral," *SLCHR*, 2 4-17

house, the whole worth \$10,000 and with no debts Ours in St Louis will be supported in the following way From our farm which will be fully competent to support eight persons in St Louis and twelve novices in Florissant, moreover, forty Indian boys, for their support we have received and will receive from the charity of the faithful whatever is necessary Having a negro family there, the produce of our farm will sell much higher, as we would be enabled to attend market to our advantage Our farm has given now a surplus of \$1000 yearly, and we hope that it will continue to do so and that the Almighty will not diminish his liberality We have now a very fine and large crop of corn, wheat and potatoes

Twelve boarders could be and I dare say almost should be kept, paying for board and tuition \$100 This would put us on the advance and help towards paying for the future church This once built, the pew-rent would give from four to five hundred dollars a year The intentions of Masses and alms which we get now regularly from St Louis and which amount to \$120 a year would surely not be diminished

At present two Fathers would do at St Louis to begin and two would remain for the Indian mission I would place at St Louis Frs Verhaegen, Elet and De Smet with Rev Fr De Theux, whom, however, I would not fix at St Louis, in my absence among the Indians, he should be at Florissant At any rate I would not fix more than two Fathers to teach at the college so as to have one or two to spare for emergencies Some offer [themselves] for lay brothers who seem to be pretty well calculated to teach after their noviceship, spelling, reading, writing, arithmetic, and in that case we would gain a father The main point will be to have one who would give a reputation to the college, would maintain strict religious discipline among Ours and have things in the school go on with great regularity Of the two, Frs De Theux and Verhaegen, I would give the preference to Fr Verhaegen For my part, if I cannot go to the Indians, I would be very willing and satisfied to teach for the remainder of my days a grammar class³⁴

On September 1, 1828, Father Van Quickenborne announced to Bishop Rosati his intention of opening a college in St Louis

In response to your solicitations as well as those of Msgr Du Bourg, we have decided to do the same thing here, namely, to open as soon as possible a college in which day-scholars will be taught free of charge I have made an exchange for the College Lot, donated by Mr Connor and it is there that I propose to erect a building such as the subscriptions will allow By order of our Superior the 3d year of probation came to an end on the feast of St Ignatius, so that now we are entirely free³⁵

³⁴ Van Quickenborne to Dzierozynski, undated, but belonging to the summer or fall of 1828 (B)

³⁵ Van Quickenborne à Rosati, September 1, 1828 (C) The St Louis *Republican*, September 2, 1828, published the following notice "College in St Louis, Mo Having been for several years earnestly solicited by the Right Rev Dr Du Bourg, late Bishop of the Diocese, and the Right Rev Dr Rosati, his

The people of St. Louis had pledged Van Quickenborne their aid in the building of the new college, and it was chiefly his reliance on their pledges that determined him to go ahead³⁶ He was not to be disappointed. By the middle of November, 1828, the subscriptions amounted to three thousand and forty-nine dollars, about three-fourths of the calculated cost of the structure.³⁷ Before that date the contracts had been

successor, and his other respectable friends of all denominations, to open a college in this city, the Rev Mr Charles F Van Quickenborne deems it his duty to inform the *public at large* that he will soon have it in his power to comply with the repeated entreaties that were made to him" This was followed by another announcement in the *Republican* dated the 28th of the same month "College at St Louis In a former publication I have acquainted the public with my desire of opening soon a college in this city The expression of this desire, I am assured, has met with the satisfaction and approbation of friends The branches of literature that will be taught in the institution may be reduced to the following general heads the Greek, Latin, English and French languages, philosophy, mathematics and the use of the globes, to which will be added reading, writing, book-keeping, etc, and should it be desired by any parents, lessons in music and drawing will be given The education of youth being essentially linked with the study of religion, which is to form their hearts to virtue, while their minds are polished to arts and sciences, the learning of profane history will be interwoven with the study of sacred and divine objects In religious opinions, no undue influence shall be exercised on the mind of any pupil A certain number of boarders will be received, these will have to pay a pension and conform to the rules and conditions that will be specified in the prospectus But as the primary view of the institution is to extend the benefit of a polite education as far as possible, day-scholars will have a free access to the classes and none shall be excluded but upon the reasonable grounds of a blemished character The spot which has been pitched upon for the described establishment is known by the name of College lot, situated in Connor's addition to St Louis" "I stayed overnight with the Jesuit Fathers and told them about the 6,325 francs which they are shortly to receive I learned from the Father Superior that the Jesuits will soon build a college in St Louis They have received subscriptions to the amount of three thousand silver pieces [dollars]" Rosati's Diary, Florissant, November 22, 1828 Souvay Collection, Kenrick Seminary Archives As indicated by the letter in the text Van Quickenborne had earlier, September 1, 1828, brought the project of the college to Rosati's notice

³⁶ Van Quickenborne ad Dzierzozynski, Florissant, November 17, 1828 (B)

³⁷ "The list of subscribers has unfortunately been lost—but the names of Pierre Chouteau, Sr, Bernard Pratte, Maj Thomas Biddle, John Mullanphy and Col John O'Fallon were afterwards mentioned as having contributed most generously" (Ms memorandum) (A) An incident connected with Van Quickenborne's efforts to collect money for the new college is told by John F Darby, mayor of St Louis during the years 1835-1837, in his *Personal Recollections*, p 258 "A dinner party was given by Maj Thomas Biddle, at which I had the honor of being a guest The dinner was over and the company were sitting at the table in pleasant conversation when a servant announced to Maj Biddle that a gentleman in the parlor desired to see him The major desired the company to keep their seats and excused himself for a moment, and soon returned to the table,

given out.³⁸ The building, fifty by forty feet and three stories in height above the basement, was to stand on the College Lot, "the place I showed your Reverence," Van Quickenborne informed Dzierzynski and, "in the opinion of the inhabitants, no more suitable spot for a college" Everything, except flooring and plastering, was to be done for forty-three hundred dollars, and the building was to be delivered August 1, 1829. Payments of a thousand dollars each were to be made before January, April and June, 1829, and the balance on completion of the building Besides the money obtained through subscriptions, there were prospects of aid from other quarters. Father De Smet came forward with an offer, subject to the General's approval, of his inheritance money, amounting to three thousand dollars, while Father Van Quickenborne was ready to contribute his own patrimony, which he estimated at four or five thousand dollars. Bishop De Bourg had engaged at one time to provide a foundation for the permanent support of a faculty of eight, but was subsequently unable to realize his good intentions.³⁹

It was at this juncture, while preparations were being made to open the new St. Louis College, that the name of Senator Benton appears for the first time in connection with the institution.⁴⁰ When Bishop Flaget visited St. Louis in 1817, Thomas Hart Benton was among the citizens to welcome him on the occasion.⁴¹ Twelve years later he became interested in the projected Jesuit college in St. Louis as we learn from a communication of Father Van Quickenborne to his superior "Col. Benton, our Senator, of his own motion has offered his services to me to petition Congress to allow our College in St. Louis, 48,000 [23,040] acres of land which is called a whole township He says he will get them General Clarke tells me the same. The land would have to be

bringing with him Father Van Quickenborne, who was introduced to the company and took his seat at the table The reverend father soon made known his business, which was that of asking subscriptions to build the 'college' as it was first called He promised that any gentleman who subscribed should not be called upon for the amount of his subscription until the proposed edifice should have reached the second story Some gentlemen good-humoredly remarked, 'On these terms we can all subscribe, for I think it doubtful whether the proposed structure will ever reach that height' The gentlemen all laughed, the reverend solicitor of funds joining in, and presently said that he would very readily take the subscriptions on those conditions"

³⁸ The firm of Morton and Lavielle were the contractors of the college They also did the construction work on the St. Louis cathedral, finished in 1834

³⁹ Van Quickenborne ad Dzierzynski, August, 1824 (B)

⁴⁰ Thomas Hart Benton was personally known to Fathers Verhaegen and De Smet The latter received his son, Randolph, into the Catholic Church Cf De Smet, *Western Missions and Missionaries*

⁴¹ Spalding, *Flaget*, p. 171

sold and the product of the sales would be applied to the College. The fund so raised would have to be managed by a Board of Trustees, but the Colonel assured me that these could be taken exclusively from among ourselves and the petition we would have to carry to the inhabitants to put their names to, which they would do. All the Consultors are in favor of it I do not know what to say, but an answer must be returned to Col. Benton. Please do not lose time”⁴²

Writing from Georgetown College not quite three weeks later, Father Dzierzynski signified his approval of Senator Benton's plan on the ground that “whether it succeeds or not, we run no risk” At the same time certain directions were furnished Van Quickenborne for negotiating the affair, the superior being insistent that the petition, if presented at all to Congress, should be presented in the name of Senator Benton and the signers of the petition, and not in the name of the Jesuit proprietors of the college.⁴³ In November, 1829, Van Quickenborne sought an interview with the Senator at his residence in St. Louis, but did not find him at home. Benton had requested him to obtain signatures to the petition from the French residents of St. Louis, Florissant and other towns in the locality, while he himself engaged to secure names in the “township,” as Van Quickenborne expressed it, though the significance of the term is not clear⁴⁴ Almost a year later, the whole affair was dropped and nothing further is heard of it until some years later when it was finally brought to a vote in the United States Senate⁴⁵

Meanwhile, work on the new building had proceeded far enough to permit the housing of the students Accordingly, on November 2, 1829, the college was formally opened with an enrollment of ten boarders and thirty externs or day-scholars Within a few weeks the boarders increased to thirty and the day-scholars to one hundred and twenty, or one hundred and fifty students in all With an unfinished building and a cramped, inadequate one at that, many discomforts were encountered in the beginning For the first few months the faculty and student-body dined in a common refectory and as late as February 27, 1830, on which day Peter Poursine, the first student from Louisiana, entered the college, communication between the different floors was made by ladders⁴⁶

⁴² Van Quickenborne to Dzierzynski, Florissant, August 22, 1829 (B) A township is 23,040 acres

⁴³ Dzierzynski ad Van Quickenborne, September 9, 1829 (B)

⁴⁴ Van Quickenborne to Dzierzynski, Florissant, November 13, 1829 (B)

⁴⁵ For the final issue of Senator Benton's measure, cf *infra*, Chap XXXIV, § 1

⁴⁶ Hill, *Historical Sketch of the St. Louis University*, p 41 The rate charged the boarders was one hundred and twenty dollars a year Father Verhaegen thought this excessive and so informed the superior in the East The Bishop's seminary was charging only eighty dollars This difference, so Verhaegen maintained, was an

At the head of the institution, when it opened its doors, was Father Peter Verhaegen, whose learning, administrative capacity and social gifts eminently fitted him for the position. But as a matter of fact the institution was practically under the management of Father Van Quickenborne himself, as he publicly explained to the assembled faculty, he had appointed Verhaegen neither rector nor president, but merely his representative to preside over the college until the Maryland superior should have made a permanent appointment. Van Quickenborne thought it a more prudent course to retain for a while control over the institution which he had set on foot, for there were creditors to be paid and these might at any moment urge the payment of their claims and thus jeopardize the very existence of the infant college. He accordingly travelled once a week from his residence in Florissant to St. Louis, there to confer with his official advisers on the affairs of the college. Father Elet was named procurator or treasurer. "Still," Van Quickenborne wrote, "since there is no one else [besides Elet] to act as Prefect of the boys and since the two offices are incompatible, I would take upon myself all the external duties of Procurator and even the keeping of the books." Father Peter Walsh, who had entered the Society in Maryland and had been promised to Van Quickenborne two or three years before the opening of the college, was made prefect of studies, and, besides, gave instruction in English, geography and history. Father De Theux, as minister, was in charge of the domestic affairs of the establishment, he was, moreover, professor of French and spiritual director of the students. The lay brothers John O'Connor, James Yates and George Fitzgerald were assigned to various domestic duties. Brother Yates later conducted an English class with much success. The services of three boys were also employed, Beauchemin, an orphan, as sacristan, Charles Tayon as porter, and a third as an assistant in the dormitory. "Three excellent boys," Van Quickenborne describes them. Finally, two Negro slaves transferred from the Florissant farm, Ned and Thomas, were employed, the first as cook and the second, whom Van Quickenborne calls "an intelligent and trustworthy Negro," as buyer and superintendent of the hired help.⁴⁷

obstacle to success. Missouri was too poor to send many boys at this price. But Van Quickenborne was of another opinion. Verhaegen to Dzierzynski, St. Louis, January 18, 1830 (B).

⁴⁷ Van Quickenborne to Dzierzynski, November 13, 1829 (B). "We have a fine dormitory—the cots are placed at a proper distance—there are no curtains—we can place in our study-room 120 desks. We dine (the community) at the same hours with the boarders, but in different refectories. However, for these few days we are together—All the fathers have thought that we could and should make the boys sing vespers on Sundays and holidays. Of course in the beginning we have to help them."

A staff of four professors at the most was not a very numerous one with which to man a college. Van Quickenborne realized this from the beginning and before the publication of the prospectus was for opening an elementary school only without any announcement being made of a classical course. But he deferred to the judgment of his advisers, who were agreed that the institution, at its outset, should come before the public as a college offering the traditional classical course. In the event, however, St. Louis College during the session 1829-1830 hardly rose to the level of a well-equipped grammar school. Latin was not taught at all. There were in reality but two classes, Higher and Lower English. Higher English, taught by Father Walsh, was open to boys who had learned to read and could study grammar. Lower English, taught by Father Verhaegen, was for those who, as Van Quickenborne himself expressed it, "have never studied English grammar, are learning their A B C and reading." Among the text-books used during the first session were Webster's *Spelling Book*, Murray's *English Reader*, Murray's *Small Grammar*, Murray's *Large Grammar*, Pike's *Arithmetic*, Hutton's *Mathematics*, Smiley's *Geography*, Reeve's *History of the Bible*, Goldsmith's *Greece and Rome*, and Levizac's *French Grammar*.⁴⁸

Latin was first taught in the session 1830-1831 and Greek in the session 1832-1833. Father De Theux was the pioneer professor of Latin

⁴⁸ Van Quickenborne to Dzierozynski, November 13, 1829 (B). There is extant a set of regulations which Van Quickenborne forwarded to Dzierozynski for approval. The document is in Van Quickenborne's handwriting, who probably himself drew it up. Some extracts follow.

- 1 Studies are held in the Common Hall. One of the Professors presides and one or more tribunes according to the number of students.
- 2 The Tribunes are charged with what regards good order and discipline in the Study-hall and the same obedience is to be paid to them, in whatsoever has reference to their office, as to the Professor. This post is filled by the most exact and diligent.
- 3 The first studies of the day are commenced by morning prayers, the others by *Veni Sancte Spiritus* and *Ave Maria* and close with *sub tuum*, etc.
- 4 After prayer, each student takes from his desk whatsoever he may want during studies. At the expiration of three minutes the first Tribune will give the signal to shut them. During the time of school it will be permitted to open them once or twice at a given signal, but independently of those occasions it will not be allowed and every infringement will be noted by the Tribune unless permission for so doing has been granted.
- 5 Profound silence must reign during the time of studies. The 1st tribune has an elevated and a distinguished place, having a sheet of paper divided into several columns before him. In one are inserted the names of those who talk or are noisy, the second will contain the names of such as are idle, the 3d of those who move from their place or open their desks, the 4th of such as having been three times marked as idlers, or talkers or noisy continue to merit the same reproach. In the last place the tribune

and, though proclaimed superior of the Missouri Mission in February, 1831, continued to teach his class until the end of the session. He was superseded in October, 1831, by Van Quickenborne. "I thank you for the Greek books," wrote Father De Theux to his mother, the Countess De Theux of Liège in Belgium. "They will begin to teach this branch in St. Louis College at Easter or the following October [1832]. Father Van Quickenborne replaces me at St. Louis in Latin . . . He has a good class of almost fifteen. Last year I sometimes had only two or three pupils."⁴⁹

A document forwarded to the Father General in January, 1832, presents a carefully prepared survey of academic and other conditions in St. Louis College at this period.

The school began November 2, 1829. The pupils at present [January, 1832] are boarders, 29, half-boarders, 6, day-scholars, 117. Total, 152. The first pay \$120 a year and \$10 for entrance, the second, \$60 a year and \$5 for entrance. Of the boarders 25 are Catholics, of the half-boarders, 5, of the day-scholars, 71. Total number of Catholics, 101. Protestants boarders, 4, half-boarders, 11, day-scholars, 46. Total number of Protestants, 51.

Besides morning and evening prayers the boarders have Mass every day, spiritual reading for a quarter of an hour, rosary, and (in the lower classes) Christian Doctrine daily. On Sundays they have an exhortation in the chapel and after dinner Christian Doctrine in common. The Protestant boarders are always present at religious exercises and listen to Christian Doctrine when it is given to the Catholics though they do not learn it. Questions are sometimes proposed to them and this even in the case of the Protestant day-scholars. The Protestants, however, are not admitted to Mass and exhortation unless the parents expressly ask for it. The Catholic day-scholars are present at Mass every day according to rule, on Sunday they

shall go to the place of the delinquent and place thereon these words, *Signum pignitae*, to which he affixes the delinquent's name. The culprit is to present this note to the Rector at the end of evening studies.

6. They must attend to the lectures [i. e. reading] during meals, which is performed in turn by the best readers and they are to be prepared to give an account of it when the presiding person shall require it.

The students walk three by three and talk in a moderate tone of voice until they arrive in the country. Then they are allowed to confound their ranks when the Prefect gives the sign. They resume their ranks when they draw near the city and no one shall take or admit of any other companions than those appointed. At the head of the band is a conductor, ordinarily one of those who have the crosses of diligence. No one can precede him nor must they have a great interval between the ranks.

To go to grog-shops is forbidden under pain of dismissal" (B)

⁴⁹ De Theux à sa mère, October 12, 1831 (A)

must be present at Mass, exhortation and Christian Doctrine. However, in winter few come on Sundays and fewer on the other days

In the preparatory Class there are 50 pupils, in the Third English Grammar, 30, in Second, 29, in First, 30, in Rhetoric, 13, Total, 152 The course of studies aims to give the youths a good knowledge of English, as far as required for commercial pursuits There are 5 classes, each having its own teacher One of these is a layman of the world The classes are so many not by reason of diversity of studies but by reason of the number of pupils

The boys are taught to spell, that is to say, to form words from the letters of the alphabet, and to read, also they are taught some geography. In the three higher classes they are exercised in composition, e.g. they write letters, stories, etc The highest class, called Rhetoric, studies Jameson's *Precepts of Rhetoric*, also a compendium of Blair Three times a week they write amplifications or else compositions on an assigned theme There are 13 pupils in this class Father Vice-Rector [Verhaegen] teaches a class in French an hour every day and also a class in natural philosophy in the afternoon of recreation days and on Sundays Of the total number of pupils, both boarders and day-scholars, only eight take Latin Two hours daily are given to the study of this language except on Tuesdays and Thursdays, when only one hour is given The students read Cornelius Nepos, are practiced in grammar and translate simple sentences from Latin into English and vice-versa Nothing is so far given in Greek There is no immediate hope of introducing a course of studies according to standards obtaining in the colleges of our Society Time devoted to study three hours in the morning, including the time for penmanship, taught by three masters, and three hours in the afternoon Moreover, lectures in natural philosophy are given three times a week, as noted above In natural philosophy the various phenomena of Nature are explained without any application of algebra or calculus⁵⁰

§ 4 EARLY STRUGGLES

The meagre staff with which the college started was soon reenforced by accessions from the East On October 12, 1831, Father John Van Lommel and Mr Judocus Van Sweevelt arrived from Georgetown. They were followed twelve days later, October 24, by Father James Oliver Van de Velde, who had made the journey from the East in company with Father Peter Kenney, Visitor of the Missouri Mission, and the latter's socius or assistant, Father William McSherry Father Van

⁵⁰ *Descriptio et status Collegii Sti Ludovici, mense Januario, 1832* (AA) The student-body, classified according to occupation of parents, numbered as follows (January, 1832) farmer, 14, carpenter, 24, store-keeper, 22, hunter, 13, blacksmith, 7, Indian trader, 6, tavern-keeper, 6, leather-dealer and shoemaker, 4, inn-keeper, 4, confectioner, 3, mason and brick-layer, 3, soap-maker, 2, baker, 4, butcher, 2, surveyor, 1, physician, 1, lawyer, 1, miller, 1, gentleman, 1, saddle-maker, 1, day-laborer, 7, dress-maker, 9, laundrywoman, 1

Lommel was better equipped to take up the duties of a missionary priest than those of a college instructor, but circumstances made it necessary for him to fill a gap for a while in the college faculty. Shortly after his arrival in St. Louis he wrote to Father Dzierzynski in the East: "Father Superior told me I was not for the College. However, as Father Van de Velde had not yet arrived and Bro. Yates was sick, he sent me back till further order, the next day, i. e. Friday, I began to schoolmaster and was at it seven hours a day."⁵¹ Van Lommel, after a few weeks of class room experience, was assigned to missionary duties in the neighborhood of St. Louis.

"You recollect the old proverb, *Incidit in Scyllam* etc.," wrote Van de Velde to Father George Fenwick at Georgetown. "It is applicable to me in its fullest extent. When at Georgetown I was only up to the waist in schoolmaster's business, I could throw my arms about a little, but here I am in it up to the ears. All I can do is to keep my head half above water. It is all but drowning. Father Van Lommel is by this time galloping on an old bare-bone nag through St. Charles and its vicinity." In the same letter written to the East Van de Velde details some typical scenes of the day on the western frontier.

The Missouri (which I have not yet seen) is said to be still more impetuous. To give you an example of it. There was, but a few years ago, whilst all Ours lived at Florissant together, an island in the neighborhood of that place—at least a mile long and $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile wide, in which it was supposed there grew about 12,000 large trees and on which there were two dwelling houses—the whole of this disappeared in less than two days—all was swept away. Another object of curiosity to us three wise men from the East at least [Fathers Kenney, McSherry, Van de Velde], is the almost continual influx of strangers from other States, the public road which leads to the interior of this State passes before our College and along it you may see every day, men, women and children on foot or in wagons and other vehicles, cows, horses, wagons, carts, emigrating westward and forming a complete procession. Whole bands have to wait at the ferry-boat, which is a pretty large steam-boat and is almost always crowded. Others to arrive from Pittsburg, Wheeling and other places on the Ohio, especially Louisville, in steam-boats and flat-boats. Even this morning, 17th of November, a part of an Indian tribe has arrived here from the limits of Canada via Pittsburg and the remainder of the tribe is soon expected—they are all civilized, dress like white men and are going to form a settlement in the Arkansas Territory. I would suppose that they are Catholics. Tell Father Dzierzynski that his friend, the Rev. Mr. Saulnier has just packed up to go and establish himself somewhere [Post Arkansas] among the Indians in that territory. One of the recently ordained priests [Father Beauprez] is to accompany him. Mr. Chouteau [Pierre Chouteau, Jr., Cadet], the most respected gentleman of

⁵¹ Van Lommel to Dzierzynski, St. Louis, December 2, 1831 (B)

our whole city is on his way to Georgetown with his lady—he has a daughter at the Academy—they left here last Monday—it was Mr Chouteau who placed the two Jarrots at the College and his younger brother Louis Pharamond, who died last spring I have given him an introductory letter to Father Mulledy He is a very great friend of Ours—his son [Charles P Chouteau] was the first boarder at this college The Hon Mr Benton too will leave in a few days He is a special friend of Father Verhaegen and of the institution ⁵²

In 1832 and again 1833 St Louis was visited by the Asiatic cholera. When the plague was at its height, the boarders were removed from St Louis University to the novitiate at Florissant. No member either of the faculty or student body fell a victim to the disease, though the death rate throughout the city ran high ⁵³ “The cholera is still at St Louis,” Verhaegen wrote to the East, June 23, 1833 “Almost four or five persons die of it every day The disease, however, causes no longer any alarm among the citizens As every case of sickness is an attack of cholera at present, people seem to have come to the determination not to mind whether they are exposed to the danger of dying of cholera or of bilious fever as they formerly were. We had no case of the epidemic at the institution but we have all felt (and do sometimes yet feel) some unusual oppression in the breast or some other premonitory symptom We are continually on the alert. A few days ago one of the boarders seemed to be taken with the disease I undertook to cure him as the doctor could not be had immediately and by rubbing him hard with camphor dissolved in brandy and wrapping him in six or seven blankets,

⁵² Van de Velde to George Fenwick, St Louis, November 16, 1831. (B)

⁵³ *Ann Prop*, 7 174 “Under my own eyes, at St Louis, while, out of a population of some six thousand inhabitants about two hundred individuals succumbed in the short space of three or four weeks, St Louis University, which contained at the time about one hundred and twenty persons, and the Convent of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart with their boarding-school of young ladies [on South Broadway near French Market] . . . did not within their enclosures present a single one of those lugubrious scenes which without and up to their very doors spread desolation and alarm” De Smet à Madame de Theux, February 18, 1834 “Of all the members of the Society, none appears to have been attacked by cholera, although all the Fathers made it their duty to attend the cholera patients entrusted to their care, Catholics as also Protestants when they desired it, during the whole duration of the epidemic, that is, for three months and throughout night and day Many non-Catholics, at least ninety, adults and children, entered the Church’s fold, a happiness they owe principally to Fathers Smedts and Van Quickenborne” Letter of De Theux in *Ann Prop*, 7 173 In July, 1833, a destructive tornado lasting four or five minutes visited St Louis and its environs At the University a panic which seemed imminent among the students in the dormitory was averted by the presence of mind of Father Verhaegen, the rector, who quickly rushed among them and allayed their fears

succeeded in removing the apparent signs of the sickness" In August of the same year Father Verhaegen wrote again "We have a great deal of sickness at St. Louis. The cholera left the city but the bilious fever sweeps our citizens off as fast as the cholera could do. We have had as many as twenty burials a day, and regularly almost twelve die of the fever every twenty-four hours. From the letter received from Louisiana it appears that New Orleans is quite healthy at present, but the interior of the country is still sickly and this circumstance continues to check the growth of our house" ⁵⁴

The original building had been found inadequate from the first days of the institution and additions to it were soon made. An east wing, forty by forty, was begun in the spring of 1832, and a west wing, forty-two by forty, was constructed in the summer of 1833. The same year saw the construction of an infirmary, a two-story brick building with basement for kitchen, and of a brick house for the servants ⁵⁵

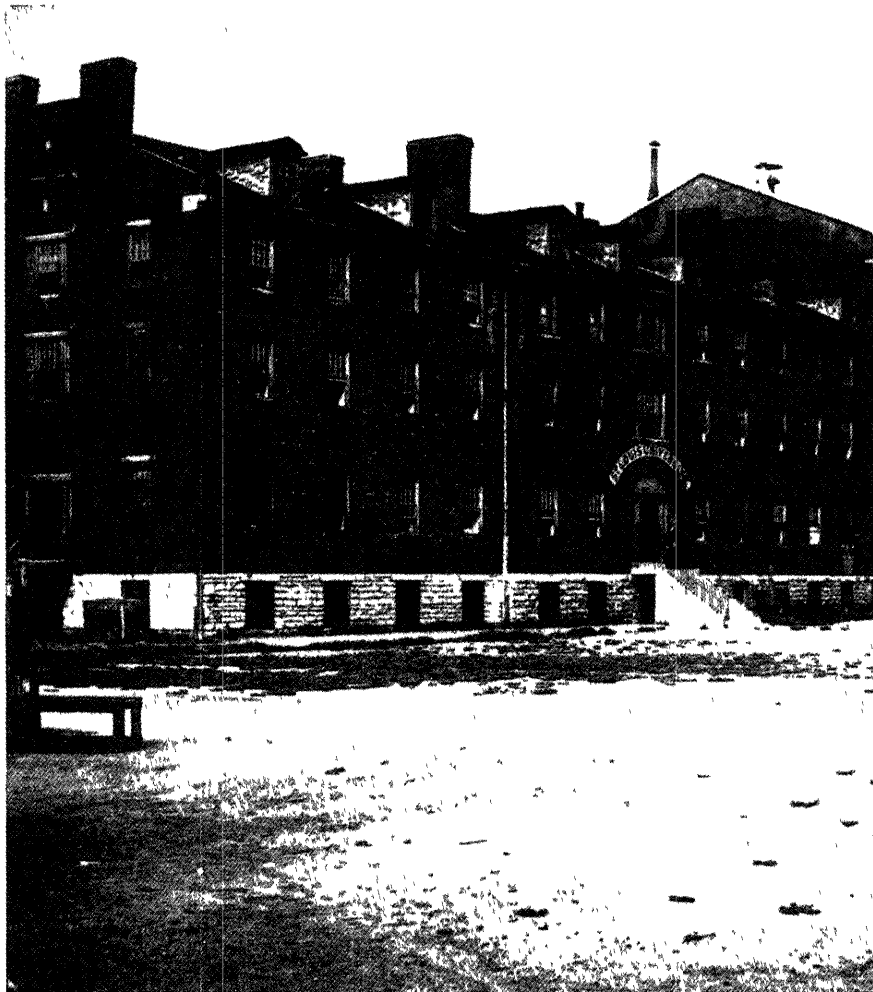
The very slender proportions of the teaching-staff of St. Louis College during the first few years of its career had the inevitable result that the professors were overwhelmed with scholastic duties. In 1833 Father Verhaegen, the rector, was spending four and a half hours daily in the class-room. Brother James Yates was teaching an elementary English class six hours a day, besides discharging the important duties of infirmarian. The strain proved too great for his feeble constitution and he succumbed to consumption, dying February 1, 1833, at the age of twenty-six. The strenuous service of a life absorbingly devoted to the ministry of teaching was crowned with the peace and resignation of a holy death. His place in the class-room could not be supplied and twenty of the students were thereupon dismissed. If Verhaegen had not feared

⁵⁴ Verhaegen to McSherry, St. Louis, June 23, August 23, 1833 (B). Father Roothaan wrote to St. Louis that none of the numerous Jesuits engaged in attending the cholera-stricken in Austria, France, Belgium, England, and elsewhere in Europe had succumbed to the disease. He also noted that drinks of sugared water, hot or cold, taken until perspiration was induced had been found to be a remedy for the cholera. Roothaan ad Van Quickenborne, Oct. 23, 1832 (AA). For details of the cholera epidemic of 1833 in St. Louis, cf. Stella M. Drumm (ed.), *Glimpses of the Past* (Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis), 3-45 *et seq* (1936).

⁵⁵ Verhaegen to McSherry, August 17, 1833 (B). "We commenced building the infirmary, it will be a 3 story building 25 x 20. I agreed with Mr. Darst also for the addition of the other wing. Both buildings must be up on the 1st of next September. This wing will be 42 feet long. Hence the buildings of the new wing will be 131 ft. long on the 1st of the above month. What do you say of that? But, my friend, we are in debt and you know what it is to be in that situation. We rely on Providence and hope that the Lord will again provide for us." Verhaegen to McSherry, St. Louis, June 23, 1833 (B).

to offend the patrons of the institution, a larger number would have been sent away. Father Roothaan urged the college authorities to hire lay professors and servants and thus relieve the strain on their own men, but lay help was expensive and the low state of the college treasury forbade much outlay in this direction.⁵⁶ Moreover, it was difficult to secure satisfactory laymen for the class-room. In February, 1833, three young men were teaching English in the lower classes, but Father Verhaegen was unable to say how long they would remain at their posts. "If there is any place in the world," he laments to the Father

⁵⁶ Father De Smet, appointed procurator or treasurer of St. Louis College in 1830, became alarmed over the financial outlook for the institution. "What troubles me most is a heavy debt of upwards of 300 dollars to the bank of St. Louis to be paid within two months and about the same sum to individuals in St. Louis. Considering our scanty means and a general want of almost everything, it will be almost impossible to cancel them without succour from other quarters." De Smet to Dzierozynski, October 4, 1830 (B). The following year an inviting prospect of relief seemed to be held out by an endowment-fund of five thousand dollars offered by John Mullanphy. The gift, however, was subject to onerous conditions: (1) Five boys were to be educated at the college on the annual interest of the fund; (2) They were to be provided with everything necessary to keep them on a level with the other boarders of the institution; (3) They were to be selected by the rector of the college from the orphans attending the orphan asylum to be opened in St. Louis under the superintendence of the Sisters of Charity; (4) The college was not to be obliged to keep them should they prove immoral or unfit to receive a classical education; (5) When of age to learn a trade, the rector was to be authorized to bind them to some mechanic for the purpose of having them learn a trade. On first consideration (November 28, 1831) the college board of consulters unanimously recommended the acceptance of the Mullanphy offer provided the obligation to be assumed under number 5 could be modified. On the occasion of a visit which he paid in company with Father Kenney, the Visitor, to Mr. Mullanphy, Father Verhaegen, so he thought, had convinced the philanthropist that three was the maximum number of orphans which the endowment would support. However, when the latter died in 1833, his will revealed that the original number, five, had been retained. Even then Verhaegen was for accepting the bequest on the ground that, with a large number of boarders, the expenses for five additional ones would be negligible. Moreover, the trust could be surrendered any time it was found too burdensome. Verhaegen ad Roothaan, November 12, 1833 (AA). On the other hand, Father De Theux opposed acceptance of the trust, as the expenses of each orphan, so he declared, would come to eighty dollars annually. Further, in case the Jesuits declined the bequest, it was to go to St. Mary's College at the Barrrens, the president of which was reported to be willing to accept it, so that the education and support of the orphans would in any case be provided for. In the end neither institution accepted the Mullanphy trust. For St. Louis College the matter was definitely settled by Father Roothaan. "Mr. Mullanphy's legacy cannot by any means be accepted with that condition. To take care of orphans in this number would be an excessive burden not only financially, but from the standpoint of conscience. Going off at twelve years of age to learn a trade, as they would, what advantage would these boys derive from education at our hands?" Roothaan ad De Theux, February 15, 1834 (AA).



St. Louis University Original structure, Washington Avenue and Ninth Street, St. Louis Middle section erected, 1829, east wing, 1832, west wing, 1833 Photograph taken by Father Charles Churropin, S.J., shortly before the building was razed

General, "where fickleness lords it over the souls of the young, it is America" ⁵⁷

The great majority of the day-scholars came from poor or moderately circumstanced families. They greatly outnumbered the boarders the first two or three years, counting about eighty per cent of the registration in January, 1832. Somewhat two years later, in May, 1834, the proportions were decidedly reversed, the day-scholars numbering only twenty and the boarders one hundred and forty or nearly ninety per cent of the registration. This rise in the number of boarders was due mainly to two causes, the increased capacity of the college for this class of registrants through the addition of two wings to the original building and the yearly practice, begun in 1832, of sending a father to the southern states for the purpose, though not exclusively so, of canvassing for new students. On the other hand, the falling-off in the number of day-scholars appears to have been due, among other causes, to the opening of new day-schools in St. Louis and the circumstance that the course of studies in St. Louis College was arranged chiefly with a view to the boarders ⁵⁸. Moreover, fusion between boarders and day-students in the class-room and on the play grounds, as had been the custom since the college was opened, was thought to result in a lower moral tone among the boarders, always reputed the more select body of the two. A professor reported that while morals were running at a low ebb in St. Louis, letters, objectionable books and town-talk reached the boarders through the medium of the city boys, with whom they were associated daily. The one remedy for the evil seemed to be a separate class-building for the city boys and also separate play grounds.

Commenting on the situation in a letter of May, 1834, to the General, Father Verhaegen noted that the number of day-scholars had been reduced to twenty, all of them under twelve years of age and diverting themselves less than an hour a day in the college yard. This was too small in area to allow of division. As to separating the two groups of students, this might have been done successfully by Van Quickenborne in the beginning. Now it could not be attempted without being misinterpreted by the public and giving rise to protest on the part of St. Louis citizens who had subscribed for the original building and were now sending their sons to college. That the boarders were favored in everything regarding instruction at the expense of the day-scholars had never been the case, so Verhaegen declared, though he admitted that complaint on this score was a partial reason at least why numerous day-scholars had been withdrawn ⁵⁹. In 1838 a day-school

⁵⁷ Verhaegen ad Roothaan, St. Louis, February 14, 1831 (AA)

⁵⁸ Hill, *op cit*, p. 42

⁵⁹ Verhaegen ad Roothaan, St. Louis, May 9, 1834 (AA)

was opened in a separate building, but it was only in the middle forties that the courses for the day-students were placed on a satisfactory footing.⁶⁰ Both for material upkeep and prestige the institution had always to place its chief reliance on the boarders, a circumstance that militated for many years against the building up of a strong day-department. In this connection, Father George Carrell, a future rector of St. Louis University, protesting against the practice of sending a father to the South to canvas for students, was to express himself as follows: "Father Van de Velde, who is now on his tour, is to extend his visit to Havana, so that we traverse Louisiana and even go outside of the United States to look for scholars, whilst we are living in the suburbs of one of the most thriving and public spirited cities of our noble republic and yet do nothing to advance her children in science and virtue. We have scarcely 12 day-scholars and these among the poorest and most ragged of the town."⁶¹

The initial years of the educational work of the Society of Jesus in St. Louis were naturally beset with the difficulties that attend pioneering of any sort. One would not therefore expect its members to consider seriously the opening of another college when they were so hard put to it in men and means to maintain the institution actually in hand. And yet such proved to be the case. An invitation from Bishop De Neckere of New Orleans to the Jesuits to extend their educational activities to his diocese was received with eagerness at St. Louis. Early in 1831 Father Verhaegen was seeing little prospect of any notable increase of students in St. Louis. "We live," he wrote to the General, "in the youngest of the United States. Year by year there is a great inpouring of settlers from all sides. All things in the State seem to take on a character of infancy and change and instability. On this account we cannot hope for that solid zeal for letters which is elsewhere in evidence and only when this flow of things material subsides will solid love for the sciences spring up in the youth of Missouri. Such, however, is the situation of our college that in my opinion it will not soon, if at any time, have a large number of boarders. Our only hope of increase is in Lower Louisiana."⁶²

Verhaegen's apprehensions as to a chronic meagre registration of boarders at St. Louis proved groundless within the space of two or three years, but he still cherished the hope of an affiliated Jesuit school, as he called it, in Louisiana. In August, 1832, he was writing to Rome

⁶⁰ "We opened a day-school in a separate building. Thus far we have but 15 pupils in it. They pay at the rate of 50 Dls a year." Verhaegen ad McSherry, St. Louis, October 20, 1838 (B)

⁶¹ Carrell to Roothaan, St. Louis, February 15, 1838(?) (AA)

⁶² Verhaegen ad Roothaan, January 15, 1831 (AA)

that, were the General to send him three men capable of teaching Latin and French, he could, with some shifting about of the St. Louis personnel, set up a school in Louisiana. On the other hand, Father Walsh, of the St. Louis faculty, was advising Father Roothaan that it seemed to him quite impossible for the Jesuits to begin a new institution. "We can scarcely and, not even as much as that, supply all the needs of this college of St. Louis"⁶³ Walsh's view of the situation was no doubt the correct one. Accordingly, when Van de Velde pleaded with the General that the Mission of Missouri be authorized to seize what seemed an exceptional opportunity to advance the cause of the Church in Louisiana by establishing a college in that state, the latter sounded a timely note of warning. "For the rest I cannot too earnestly recommend that if you must at all costs hasten, you hasten slowly, lest by undertaking too many things you be unable to carry on and, in fine, succeed in building nothing but ruins. And let us never forget that it is better for us to do a few things well than many things badly. There are pressing needs, I admit. But God does not require us to do what cannot be done properly, and after those most holy aspirations 'hallowed be thy name, thy kingdom come,' we are taught to add immediately, 'thy will be done,' the Divine Will being therefore the last and surest rule of everything that is good."⁶⁴

Side-lights of interest on St. Louis College in its opening years are to be found in letters written by Father Verhaegen to Father McSherry of Georgetown College. Verhaegen had been installed as rector of St. Louis College on September 1, 1831.

There is no possibility, dear Father, that this institution will ever be able to cope with your far celebrated establishment. The East has too many advantages over the West, and as you have perceived, education is not much attended to here. Should our Very Rev. Father General enable us to open a college in Louisiana, and should this be, as it were, the Mother house, then the two places might in process of time be both very flourishing. Our exhibition succeeded very well. As we had not a room large enough to accommodate our visitors on that day, we constructed a spacious tent in our yard. This afforded much gratification to the people, the weather being extremely hot. Gen'l Atkinson sent us ten of the best musicians of his band and these gave a great deal of life to the performances. Mr. Fremon delivered a long oration at the court house, and Mr. Thomas Taylor, your cousin, addressed the audience on the Declaration of our Independence, which he read. St. Louis was enraptured by our students.⁶⁵

⁶³ Walsh ad Roothaan, February 15, 1833 (AA)

⁶⁴ Roothaan ad Van de Velde, June 18, 1833 (AA)

⁶⁵ Verhaegen to McSherry, St. Louis, August 17, 1833 (B).

Our new wing is now ready to receive the roof. Our workmen in Missouri are mighty slow. They always promise, they never refuse, but without any ceremony on their part, they let us wait. We have now come to the resolution of stopping improving our place till we get out of debt. Hence, when I will have *erected, constructed, raised, put up* and *completed* a smoke house, the expense of which may not reach \$150, I must consign all my other plans to the darkness of one of the drawers of my desk, there to lie, till they shall be called into action again ⁶⁶

We had lately a little fray here but it did not last long. Owing to different weighty reasons, I dismissed Mr. Eaton, one of our lay-professors. Four of his favorite pets could not bear the step I took with him, it was quite unceremonious. They started with him and attempted to draw several other students with them. They went down to Louisiana and strove to prejudice several parents against us. Happily, they are firm and go hand in hand with me and far from losing ground by this occurrence we increased the confidence of those who have their children with us. ⁶⁷

You are not unacquainted with the severe trials we experienced here and certain it is that they have been the means used by Providence to crown our labors with a success which five years ago we did not anticipate. Father Elet started for Louisiana on the 14th inst. He will spend the winter in the South and try to collect what is due to the institution. Times are hard at St. Louis, and money is scarce. . . . Before next April we shall have our full number, 150 boarders. This is the *ne plus ultra*. Our buildings cannot accommodate more. Thank God I have at present very able and edifying secular professors. They assist at Mass with the students every day and they regularly frequent the sacraments. . . . ⁶⁸

The number of boarders somewhat decreased owing to a circumstance which we anticipated and which we can control. No Father was sent to Louisiana last fall and parents do not like to send their children up the river unless accompanied by a trusty person. *Quod differtur non aufertur*. We have at present 126 boarders, several half-boarders, and more day-scholars than we can accommodate, forty or fifty. We are obliged to refuse some every week. We have commenced a building 80 ft by 30. The basement will be a storeroom, the second story an exhibition hall and study hall, and the third story a dormitory. When ready, I will be ready to lodge more boarders and then it will be time for one of us to make an excursion to Louisiana. ⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Same to same, October 16, 1833 (B)

⁶⁷ Same to same, November 5, 1834 (B)

⁶⁸ Same to same, 1834(?) (B)

⁶⁹ Same to same, May 14, 1836 (B). Father Van de Velde, who was usually designated to canvass the Louisiana field for students, received his first appointment to this duty with great diffidence. "Father Verhaegen has intimated to me that I have been appointed by the higher powers at Florissant to perform the expedition to Louisiana." Van de Velde to McSherry, St. Louis, February 12, 1832 (B). "We have some prospects from that quarter. He [Van de Velde] has [?] boys engaged, but he mentions in his last letter that Georgetown College enjoys every-

§ 5. THE QUESTION OF TUITION-MONEY

According to the letter of its rule the Society of Jesus may not assume the management of a college unless it be provided with an endowment adequate enough to meet all current expenses and so make it unnecessary to require tuition-fees from the students. In this manner St Ignatius sought to realize the principle of free instruction in all institutions under Jesuit control "All that are under the obedience of the Society must remember that they are to give freely what they have freely received, neither demanding nor admitting any reward or alms," whereby any of the Society's ministries "may seem to be recompensed."⁷⁰ In the Society of the pre-Suppression period, with adequate endowments at hand bestowed by princes and other individuals of wealth, the principle was successfully applied, but the new or restored Society of Jesus, at least in English-speaking countries, found itself facing an entirely different situation. The ample material means of the former age were no longer available. The endowed or founded college was the exception. The financing of Jesuit schools became therefore a pressing problem, to be solved only by the obvious expedient of requiring the students to pay for their education or, more correctly, for the current expenses of the institution which they attend. The problem touched the day-schools principally, there being obviously no objection to the boarding-schools exacting payment for the support of their inmates. Tuition-money became eventually a recognized means for the maintenance of Jesuit schools in English-speaking lands, but the Generals held out long against the innovation and it was permitted only after all other means of solving the problem had been put to the test and failed.

In the United States the issue became acute with the establishment of the Washington Seminary. This institution, opened in the national capital September 29, 1820, primarily for the education of Jesuit theological students, was so hampered by lack of means to ensure its upkeep that on September 8 of the following year a day-school, "with classes up to syntax," was opened in connection with it, the theological students being employed as teachers and so deriving their support from the tuition-fees of the students. The day-school seemed to be a happy expedient to enable the Jesuit scholastics at once to pursue their studies and meet the expenses of livelihood. But Father Fortis, the General, stood

where in L^{na} the highest respect, which it is not only our duty, but also our intention to sustain, because they are kind enough to associate us in some measure with the Georgetown institution, both colleges being conducted by members of the same Society." Van Lommel to Dzierozynski, April 30, 1832 (B)

⁷⁰ *Rules of the Society of Jesus* (Roehampton, England, 1863), p. 11

firmly against the acceptance of tuition-fees, declaring that he could not in conscience tolerate the practice as being openly at variance with the religious poverty enjoined by the Jesuit rule. It was his mind that the institution be either continued as a free school or closed. In vain Father Kohlmann, the Maryland superior, represented that in the United States the support of Catholic pastors and teachers could be guaranteed in no other way than by fees or stipends, and that, moreover, so strong was the prejudice against free schools that people with social pretensions refused to patronize them for the education of their children.⁷¹ A plan to use the revenues of the White Marsh plantation for the upkeep of the Washington school seemed to promise the necessary relief, but this plan not being carried out, resort was had to another measure, namely, the transfer of the institution to the Reverend William Matthews, pastor of St. Patrick's Church, Washington, who conducted it in his own name, the Jesuit teachers being provided by him with board, lodging and clothing. This plan, however, does not appear to have been successful, and Father Fortis, not being minded to rescind his prohibition against the charging of tuition-fees, the Washington day-school was definitely closed September 25, 1827. Three years later Father Kenney, the Visitor, under instruction to see that the regulations of Father Fortis were rigorously carried out, reported from Georgetown to Father Roothaan that the alleged prejudices against free schools did not exist or if they had existed were no longer in evidence, and he expressed the opinion that the existing legislation in regard to tuition-money should not be modified.⁷²

At St. Louis Father Kenney found the Jesuits charging the day-scholars five dollars a year, "which," so he reported, "though a mere pittance, is still real tuition-money [*Mimervale*] deriving from a legal contract and is far in excess of the expenses incurred on their [the day-scholars] behalf, if the teachers be left out of account." But the Visitor deprecated any interference with this arrangement on the part of the Father General until further information reached him.⁷³ That the income from tuition-money did not cover the living expenses of the teachers becomes evident from the financial statement of St. Louis College submitted by the Visitor to the General. According to this statement the total receipts from tuition-money from the opening of the college, November 4, 1829, to February 25, 1832, was only \$777.25. This sum, however, curious to say, sufficed "not only to keep the house clean, whitewash it, paint doors, windows, etc., but also to provide the

⁷¹ Kohlmann ad Fortis, February 19, 1826 (AA)

⁷² Kenney ad Roothaan, July 3, 1830 (AA). For Kenney's visitation of the Missouri Mission cf. *infra*, Chap. X.

⁷³ Kenney ad Roothaan, April 25, 1832 (AA)

class-rooms and some of the living-rooms with stoves and fire-wood for the same, all during a space of nearly three years. Moreover, these expenses being met, there remained a surplus of \$67 62½”⁷⁴

In Father Van Quickenborne the principle of free instruction had always found an ardent supporter. He had been at Florissant but a few months when, the project of a college in St. Louis beginning to occupy his attention, he wrote to his superior in Maryland that a school in the city would probably draw recruits to the order, especially if “according to the Institute” the Jesuits taught “gratis”⁷⁵ Again, in August of the same year, 1824, he expressed to his superior his sentiments on the same subject. “I must say that I rejoice at the resolution your Reverence has taken not to permit money to be received for teaching boys at Washington. The more we shall stick to the orders of St. Ignatius, inspired by God in writing them, the more we shall draw down the blessing of God on our undertakings. If your Reverence sees anything that we do here against holy poverty, let me know and I will change it immediately.”⁷⁶ Yet despite his commendable zeal for the system of gratuitous education to which the Society was committed by historical precedent and rule, Van Quickenborne, as he prepared to open the new college in St. Louis, found himself facing a perplexing situation. Some pertinent inquiries were addressed by him to the superior:

Allow me to propose a few questions

1. Is it lawful to require from parents who send their boys to school in St. Louis or St. Charles a fee in money with which to meet the cost of the building? In St. Louis many subscribe on condition that they pay for the education of their children. I answered—if they wish, they may—I should receive the money as a donation or alms. You certainly cannot live, if you receive nothing, and if you labor for us, it is our duty to support you.

2. Is it lawful to receive such donation or alms? All the consultors answered *affirmative* to both.

3. Since in these parts there is need of a fire in school, is it lawful to demand something in payment for the wood?

4. Also for the making and use of the benches?

Van Quickenborne was clearly at cross-purposes between some very insistent conditions and his conscientious regard for religious poverty. He rounds off his list of inquiries with the significant reflection, “*desideramus puritatem paupertatis*,” “we desire poverty in all its genuineness”⁷⁷ In the event St. Louis College opened with a nominal charge

⁷⁴ *Descriptio et status Collegii S. Ludovici, mense Januario, 1832* (AA)

⁷⁵ Van Quickenborne ad Dzierzynski, January 1, 1824 (B)

⁷⁶ Van Quickenborne ad Dzierzynski, August, 1824 (B)

⁷⁷ Van Quickenborne ad Dzierzynski, November 17, 1828 (B)

required from the day-scholars. "We began on November 4th [1829]. Have 11 boarders and 30 day-scholars, who pay \$5 a year for fuel and servants."⁷⁸

The attempt to maintain the college on what was practically a basis of gratuitous instruction was soon found to be impracticable. The rector, Father Verhaegen, pointed out to the General early in 1833 that five hundred dollars, the annual salary of a single lay-professor, absorbed the tuition-fees of a hundred students.⁷⁹ Moreover, Catholic parents were not rare who preferred to send their sons even to non-Catholic institutions rather than have them attend a free school with its alleged note of social inferiority. The Jesuit law of free instruction was therefore working against the very intention of the lawgiver by denying in effect the advantages of Christian education to the children of the well-to-do. The situation thus brought about became necessarily a matter of grave concern, not to the Jesuits only, but to Bishop Rosati of St. Louis, who was interested in seeing a flourishing Catholic college grow up in his diocese. It is altogether likely that the matter was seriously discussed between the Bishop and the St. Louis Jesuits, including the Visitor, Father Kenney, but there is no direct evidence pointing to this fact in the correspondence of the day. At all events, it was the head of the St. Louis diocese and not members of the order who finally petitioned the Holy See for a dispensation from that point of the Jesuit rule which forbade them to receive money or be otherwise compensated in a material way for the instruction they imparted. Two letters of Bishop Rosati dealing with the affair, one of date May 10, 1832, addressed to Father Roothaan, the other dated three days later and addressed to the Congregation of the Propaganda, were brought by a diocesan priest of New Orleans, Father Jeanjean, to Rome, where they appear to have arrived only late in the same year.

Early in January, 1833, the Secretary of the Propaganda, Msgr. Castracane, requested from the Jesuit General an expression of opinion on the question at issue. Father Roothaan replied by communicating to the secretary a copy of the letter which he had received from Bishop Rosati and which contained a fuller statement of the case than was to be found in the letter addressed by the prelate to the Propaganda. Moreover, he petitioned that his Holiness, Gregory XVI, declare what course, in view of the circumstances, the Jesuits were to pursue. In other words, Father Roothaan did not ask for the dispensation in question or express the opinion that it ought to be granted. To ask for such dispensation was, as a matter of fact, forbidden to him, as he expressly declared, in virtue of the special vow taken by all professed members

⁷⁸ Van Quickenborne to Dziurozynski, November 13, 1829 (B)

⁷⁹ Verhaegen ad Roothaan, February 4, 1833 (AA)

of the Society of Jesus according to which they are not to permit any mitigation of the rule in matters regarding poverty. But the answer of the Holy Father was decisive. In an audience of January 13, 1833, he granted the dispensation as being absolutely necessary under the circumstances and he commissioned the Father General to determine the precise terms under which it was to be applied. The grounds on which this departure from Jesuit law was authorized were two-fold: inability of Jesuit schools to support themselves without tuition-fees and prevailing prejudices, at least among certain classes of people, against free schools. Bishop Rosati, so Father Roothaan promptly informed the Missouri superior, "wrote to his Holiness asking that the Society be allowed to receive school-money [*Mimervale*] in view of the peculiar circumstances obtaining among you as also in Ireland and England, to which petition his Holiness has graciously assented. As a consequence there is no longer any difficulty on this score and it is well, indeed, that the petition did not come from the Society."⁸⁰ And to Bishop Rosati the General wrote at length announcing the issue of his affair with the Holy See and concluding with the wish that "St. Ignatius may not take it amiss that in a matter which he had so much at heart and recommended to us so warmly, we turn aside for the time being [from the straight path] May he protect his sons from any evil consequences that may possibly result from the change."⁸¹

Father Roothaan's *Ordinatio de Mimervale*, a body of practical directions for putting the concession of the Holy See into effect, is dated February 1, 1833. It enjoins that the tuition-rates are to be adjusted to those obtaining in other reputable day-schools of the country, that poor boys are not to be turned away or in any way neglected through inability to pay, that lawsuits are never to be instituted to recover tuition-fees, and that the income derived from tuition-fees is to be spent on the support of the Jesuit teachers and on school equipment, including furniture and libraries, and that no part of said income may

⁸⁰ Roothaan ad De Theux, January 22, 1833 (AA)

⁸¹ Roothaan a Rosati, February 21, 1833 (AA). In Italian. In January, 1836, Father Roothaan expressed to Father Verhaegen his serious doubt as to the validity of the dispensation *de Mimervale*, seeing that the principal plea alleged to obtain it was the refusal of parents or many of them to send their children to free schools. This condition, so the General learns, does not actually exist, as is proved by Father McElroy's free school at Frederick, Md. Verhaegen in his reply maintains that there is no parity between the Maryland school and St. Louis College. Moreover, "the number of boarders falling off, the college may have to depend on day-students and then we shall see whether decent boys (*pueri decentes*) will come to a free-school." Verhaegen ad Roothaan, May 8, 1836 (AA). The present practice of Jesuit schools in accepting tuition-fees is based mainly on the circumstance that these schools are, with rare exceptions, without adequate endowment and therefore may accept tuition-fees, which are a *virtual* endowment.

be lawfully expended for the subsistence of the Jesuit teachers in the contingency that expenses under this head can be adequately met from other sources. Since the issue of Father Roothaan's *Ordinatio* of 1833, whatever prejudices against free schools may have then existed in the United States have practically disappeared, except, it may be, in narrow circles of the socially exclusive, but the financial position of Jesuit schools still makes it necessary for them to rely as a rule upon tuition-money as their ordinary means of support. The endowed or founded institution continues to be the Jesuit ideal, but the pay school represents with an exception here and there the type of Jesuit school actually in operation today.