

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE ORIGINS OF MARQUETTE COLLEGE, MILWAUKEE

§ I. ECCLESIASTICAL BEGINNINGS IN MILWAUKEE

For three days, from the twenty-third to the twenty-seventh of November, 1674, Father Marquette, while pursuing his journey from Green Bay to the land of the Kaskaskia, camped at the mouth of the Milwaukee River. It was the first recorded visit of a white man to the site of the metropolis of Wisconsin. A few touches in the missionary's journal emphasize the bleakness of the scene that met his gaze on the occasion. It was bitter cold, a foot of snow was on the ground, and as he strained his gaze over the blue waters of Lake Michigan he noted that there were "great shoals over which the waves broke continually." Having thus lifted the site of Milwaukee out of prehistoric darkness into the light of written record, Marquette pressed on in the eventful quest for souls that was to bring him to his grave. During his three days' stay at the mouth of the Milwaukee River civilization and that locality had met for the first time in mutual embrace.¹

Twenty-four years later than Marquette's voyage down the west shore of Lake Michigan a party of Canadian missionaries arrived at the Indian village of "Milouakik."² Of Fathers de Montigny, Davion and St. Cosme, priests of the seminary of Quebec, much of fascinating interest could here be written were this the place for it, so remarkable was the trail they blazed through early western history as they made their way from Canada to the lower Mississippi. In October, 1698, they were at "Milouakik," as St. Cosme tells us in his *Relation*, the next

¹ Louise Phelps Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest, 1634-1699* (New York, 1917), p. 264.

² "We left on the 5th and after being windbound for two days, we started and after two days of heavy wind we reached Milouakik on the 9th. This is a river where there is a village which has been a large one, consisting of Mascoutins, of Renards and also of some Poux. We stayed here two days partly on account of the wind and partly to recruit our men a little because there is an abundance of duck and teal in the river." Kellogg, *op. cit.*, p. 345. Claude Allouez, veteran Jesuit missionary, canoed down the west shore of Lake Michigan in the spring of 1677, passing the Milwaukee River, though there is no evidence of his having landed there. But his party probably went ashore at Whitefish Bay, a few miles north of Milwaukee. Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 60-155, 320.

white visitors after Marquette known to have set foot on the site of the future city, unless La Salle's party of 1679 were visitors there, which is uncertain

Approximately a century after the passing of the seminary priests across the marshes where Milwaukee was to rise in later years arrived Jean Baptiste Mirandea, the locality's reputed first white inhabitant Solomon Juneau came in 1818 and in 1835, with his partners, Morgan L. Martin and Michael Dousman of Green Bay, laid out the village of Milwaukee on a government land-claim that lay between the Milwaukee River and the lake. In a clearing made in the dense tamarack-swamps that overlay much of the claim the first houses were built, somewhere along the line of the present Chestnut Street. Immediately west of the river, Byron Kilbourn, a New Englander, entered in 1835 three hundred acres of land, on which was platted the village of Kilbourn town, while south of the river George H. Walker, an Indian trader, erected a trading-post on land that became known as Walker's Point. The three settlements coalesced in time to form a single community, the names of Juneau, Kilbourn and Walker being sometimes linked together as co-founders of the city of Milwaukee. But to Solomon Juneau belongs by common accord the distinction of being Milwaukee's "first pioneer citizen." "It was he who made the first survey of the village, who became its first president, was the first postmaster, donated the first public square and later on, when the village had grown to a city, was its first mayor" ³

As the civic, so the ecclesiastical beginnings of Milwaukee centre around the name of Solomon Juneau. Father Bernard Schaeffer, a priest of Alsatian birth resident in Chicago, was the first clergyman known with certainty to have visited Juneau's settlement ⁴. He baptized there, April 27, 1837, Matilda, a daughter of Juneau by the latter's wife, Josette Vieau. In August of the same year, the Reverend Fleurimont Bonduel, a missionary from Green Bay, said Mass one Sunday in Juneau's home on East Water Street where the Mitchell Building was later erected. The following autumn Father Patrick Kelly, under instructions from the Bishop of Detroit, arrived in Milwaukee to become its first resident priest. Before that same year, 1837, had run its course, Solomon Juneau had offered a property on Martin Street, near Jackson, on which was to be built the first church, St. Peter's, finished in 1839 ⁵

³ *Memors of Milwaukee County* (Western Historical Association, Madison, 1909), I 239

⁴ Garraghan, *Catholic Church in Chicago, 1673-1871*, p. 98, Peter Leo Johnson, "Milwaukee's First Mass," in *The Salesianum*, 31 74-81 (1936)

⁵ *Memors of Milwaukee County*, I 331

It remained the only Catholic church in Milwaukee until the building of St Mary's in 1847 and for some years after the arrival of Bishop Henni served as his cathedral. Of Catholicism in Milwaukee, as he found it in 1842, the Reverend Martin Kundig left this pleasant account:

The Milwaukee parish (German and English), services for both classes, as I have already informed you. The French have now united with the English. The Boys' and Girls' Schools, the Church-building Society, the Sunday-School, the Temperance Union as well as the Men's and Women's Unions, witness to a zeal and self-sacrifice the superior of which you will find nowhere else. Oh, that you had been here on Christmas morning and seen the lighting-up of the church and the throngs of people. Everybody is longing for a new church as the old one can hold only a fifth of the congregation.⁶

Meantime a great tide of immigration, chiefly from Ireland and Germany, was gradually peopling the middlewestern states with Catholic settlers. Wisconsin Territory, attached to the diocese of Detroit on the erection of the latter in 1833, was now to be organized into a separate ecclesiastical unit. Together with those of Chicago, Hartford and Little Rock, the diocese of Milwaukee was erected November 28, 1843, and the Reverend John Martin Henni, vicar-general to Bishop Purcell of Cincinnati, named as its first incumbent. He received consecration in St Peter's Cathedral, Cincinnati, at the hands of Bishop Purcell on March 19, 1844, there being in attendance at the ceremony the venerable Bishop Flaget, the "patriarch of the West" and the oldest living member of the Catholic hierarchy in the United States.

When Bishop Henni arrived in Milwaukee, May 4, 1844, there were but four priests in the entire range of his diocese, which counted about twenty thousand Catholics out of a population of seventy thousand for the state. St Peter's was enlarged in the summer of 1844 to a length of ninety-two feet and its interior remodeled and renovated with such effect that, on the testimony of Father Heiss, the Bishop's secretary, the application to it of the term "cathedral" was not as incongruous as one might be tempted to believe. But a more seemly edifice for the most important church of the diocese soon became a necessity, and so, on December 5, 1847, Bishop Henni laid the foundation-stone of a new cathedral, to be erected under the title of St John on property facing the court-house square. As planned, the structure was to be one

⁶ Dr. J. Marty, O.S.B., Dr. *Johann Martin Henni, erster Bischof und Erzbischof von Milwaukee*, p. 151.

hundred and fifty-five feet long, seventy-five wide and fifty high, with a tower of two hundred and ten feet. It was useless to look to the struggling and for the most part poverty-pinched Catholics of his diocese to meet even a moderate part of the cost of this elaborate house of worship. The Bishop accordingly determined to avail himself of a projected visit to Rome to appeal to the generosity of the Catholics of Europe in behalf of his cathedral and the other needs of his diocese. Crossing the Atlantic, he reached Southampton in England, March 4, 1848. He found Europe ablaze with revolution. Louis Philippe was in exile, the republic had been proclaimed in Paris, Berlin and Vienna were in the throes of revolution and clouds hung menacingly over the entire continent.⁷

In the wake of the revolutionary disorders which had thus broken out and spread like wild-fire over continental Europe, numerous Jesuit houses were suddenly closed and their communities dispersed. The province of upper Germany, the houses of which were located on Swiss soil, was for the moment swept away. Forced on a sudden to make a summary disposition of his men, Father Anthony Minoux, the provincial, conceived the plan of sending his theological students with their professors to America, there to open a temporary house of studies. The episode of the flight of these Jesuit exiles to the hospitable shores of the New World, followed by the temporary sojourn of the majority of them in the Missouri Vice-province, has already been told (Chap. XVI, § 4). Suffice it to say that the first attempt, an abortive one, of the Society of Jesus to establish itself in Milwaukee was made by some of their number. Though mostly of German birth, the members of the province of upper Germany were often conventionally referred to as the "Swiss fathers" from the circumstance that most if not all of their houses at the time of the dispersion were located in Switzerland.

§ 2 THE DE BOEY DONATION

Meantime, despite the disturbed state of Europe that confronted him on his arrival there in 1848, Bishop Henni of Milwaukee was moving about on the continent in his efforts to enlist clerical workers and gather funds for his poverty-stricken diocese. Having met Father Minoux, the Jesuit provincial of upper Germany, the prelate proposed to him the starting of a college in his diocese, but the latter declined the proposal as he lacked the necessary means for such a venture. Some time later a liberal financial offer to Henni from an unexpected quarter put a new color on the project of a college in Wisconsin. In the

⁷ Marty, *op cit*, p. 187

mid-January of 1849 Father Minoux wrote from Munich to Father Elet in St. Louis

Bishop Henni of Milwaukee has just announced to Father Muller, the chaplain, the good news that he has obtained at Antwerp from the Baron de Boey the sum of 70 to 75,000 francs with which to found a college in his diocese and that he is to return here to confer with me on the measures to be taken for realizing this important plan and to ask of me the men necessary for the purpose

I have just now written to the Bishop that since I have entrusted my subjects to your Reverence as well as to Rev. Father Brocard, and since the establishment in prospect lies in your territory, it is to you that I must ask him to apply for a definite settlement of the affair in hand, and hence any interview between us (the Bishop and myself) for the purpose of discussing it, would be useless.⁸

I accordingly leave this affair, which appears to me providential, fully and entirely in your hands. It is yours to judge whether it be proper for me to undertake this new establishment, which, non-existent as yet, would leave me time to form my subjects in a way to enable them to begin work perhaps with their own resources and without calling on you for aid. You cannot fail to see how helpful it would be for me to have a temporary foothold for my province. I shall earnestly pray that the holy will of God be perfectly accomplished.⁹

The project of a college in Wisconsin, first conceived in the mind of Bishop Henni, had now found a material basis on which to rest. M. Guillaume Joseph De Boey, whose gift of seventy-five thousand francs was destined to become the starting-point on its material side of the future Marquette University, was born at Antwerp in 1769 of parents belonging to the "*petite bourgeoisie*"¹⁰. He was an instance of that typically modern product, the "self-made" man. A violin which he played with some skill earned him his first money. His love of the instrument was lifelong and when he was no longer young he continued to lend his services as violinist to the orchestra of the Antwerp cathedral. From the vantage point of a successful career in the world of business he was one day to look back with satisfaction at the experiences of an earlier day when he resolutely made his way forward as organist in churches and violin-player in theatres. But music was never more than a diversion for M. De Boey. Business in various forms became his normal occupation. He was successively clerk, insurance agent, and *receveur* for certain wealthy Antwerp houses, among others those of

⁸ Father Ignatius Brocard was superior of the Jesuit province of Maryland.

⁹ Minoux à Elet, January 18, 1849 (A).

¹⁰ In contemporary letters he is styled variously as chevalier, count, and baron, but in most cases as plain monsieur.

Baron Van de Werve and Madame Van der Borgt The successful handling at Paris of a delicate transaction involving the De Baillet estate gave him prestige and his services as an executor of wills were often in requisition As the result of steady industry, successful speculations and some legacies of value that fell to him, he amassed a respectable fortune, appraised at his death at 588,653 francs or \$117,730 Modest in manner and simple in tastes, this successful man of affairs taught by example the proper use to be made of superfluous wealth The promotion of charitable and religious causes became a major interest with him Both the secular and religious clergy were recipients of his bounty (*utriusque cleri fautor*) while generous aid was also extended by him to the Association of the Propagation of the Faith Finally, a form of benevolence inspired by his life-long taste for music, Antwerp churches were often provided with musical equipment at the expense of M De Boey While thus giving lavishly of his means to the charities and religious enterprises of his day, he did not neglect to show himself generous also to his immediate kin Ten relatives, including all his nephews and nieces except one of the number, Benoit de Buck, were each remembered in his will by a legacy of thirty-five thousand francs He died as he had lived, unmarried, and was survived by two sisters, Mesdames Van Alsenoy and Crabeels De Boey's benefactions to the Church did not go unnoticed by the Holy See, which in 1838 admitted him to the Order of the Knights of St Gregory It was from this source and not from aristocratic birth that he derived the title of count, as he is often referred to in correspondence of the day¹¹

With the Trappists of West Moll as also with the Belgian Jesuits M De Boey was in intimate relations Even before its reestablishment in Belgium in 1814 the Society of Jesus, so Father De Smet avers, was among his beneficiaries The eminent missionary held a high place in his esteem On a hillside in the gardens of De Boey's country estate at Moll, where De Smet was entertained on one occasion by his munificent friend, the latter had a little chapel built *in rei memoriam* To his Jesuit countrymen of the Mission of Missouri De Boey gave with liberal hand, interested as he was in the various activities, especially educational, in which they were engaged in America on behalf of white and Indian alike In a word, his benefactions in their regard were outstanding, of which circumstance De Smet made grateful acknowledg-

¹¹ *Procès De Buck contre Valentyns Plaidoirie de M^e Victor Jacobs avocat à la cour d' appel de Bruxelles, membre de la Chambre des représentants Comptendu du Journal D' Anvers* (Antwerp) [no date] *Quelle est la Vérité? ou Les Jésuites et Benoit De Buck* (Bruxelles, 1864) A suit (1864) involving the Belgian Jesuits and Benoit De Buck, nephew of M De Boey, became a *cause*

ment when he gave the name Lake De Boey to a fine inland body of water in the Pacific Northwest¹²

As to the pledge of financial assistance made by M De Boey to Bishop Henni to enable the prelate to build a college in his diocese, the earliest steps that led to the realization of this educational project are here set down Minoux, provincial of upper Germany, had written to Elet announcing Bishop Henni's offer and leaving to the vice-provincial of Missouri the decision as to its acceptance The latter answered him

I think it my duty to observe to you 1 That we doubt very much whether the prelate in question is a friend of the Society¹³ 2 That the sum of 70,000 francs [\$15,000] would scarcely suffice to build a house for the

célèbre in Belgium M De Boey, who died February 25, 1850, was buried in his private chapel at Moll His tomb bears the following epitaph

Hic jacet in pace Christi
 Gulielmus Josephus De Boey
 Civis Antuerpiensis
 Gregoriani ordinis eques
 Torquatus
 Integritate fidei in Deum
 Conspicuus
 Qui in omne opus bonum
 Effusus
 Templis ornatibus, pauperes
 Alimentis, infirmos
 Hospitio
 Missiones longinquas
 Precibus et liberalitate
 Sospitavit
 Utriusque cleri fautor
 Munificus
 Obiit Antuerpiæ anno actatis LXXXI
 Die V Kal Martias M D C C C L
 Locum quem vivens dilexit
 Incoluit, pauperibus
 Destinavit, in Sepulchrum
 Sibi delegit
 Hacres ex testamento
 P C
 R I P

¹² De Smet à De Staercke, May 7, 1849 (A) In 1842 Father Van de Velde negotiated on behalf of the Missouri vice-province a loan of 100,000 francs Dying in 1850 the lender in his last will and testament transferred his claim to Father Roothaan, who in turn remitted the debt in favor of the Missouri Vice-Province For some of De Boey's benefactions to the Missouri Jesuits, cf *supra*, Chap XI, § 5

¹³ An unfounded impression, as the event proved

professors 3 That the country is one where everything is still in its infancy, where the inhabitants in general are poor and where as a result a college without other pecuniary resource than tuition-money would have no means of subsistence Twenty-seven years of experience have taught me that there are few establishments of this kind in the United States which do not begin without running into debt Bishop Henni has found it necessary to go to Europe to obtain means to satisfy his creditors During his absence we have advanced \$1,700 [?] to his Vicar-General [Kundig] to prevent the sale of one of his churches If you are bent on getting a foothold in the United States, with permission of Very Reverend Father General, I will cede to you the college of Bardstown where there are at present eighty boarders and sixty day-scholars, and the Louisville day-school within the state of Kentucky There you will have more work than enough to do in the beginning Very Reverend Father Van de Velde has just been consecrated Bishop of Chicago in Illinois and will offer us his college now directed by secular priests as soon as we shall have the professors to send This would be preferable by far to Bishop Henni's offer ¹⁴

Meantime Father Roothaan had written to Elet urging him to make every effort to enable the Swiss Jesuits to settle in Milwaukee

The object of my letter of today is this Even before Father Minoux had sent off his subjects to America, Bishop Henni of Milwaukee had asked him for men with whom to start a college at Milwaukee The plan, however, could not be put into execution because the Bishop was without sufficient funds for the support of the personnel But now, according to a letter just received from Father Minoux, Bishop Henni has recently informed him of his having found a benefactor who promised the sum of 75,000 francs to carry out the project of the college in question Fifteen thousand francs of this are already at hand to put up the necessary buildings

As this place happens to lie within the limits of your province, Father Minoux will conclude nothing with Mgr without your consent and even without your intervention Moreover, as he cannot be present on the ground to examine sites and other things which prudence requires us to know before taking an establishment in hand, he will ask you to be so good as to negotiate this affair in his name.

Two things, therefore, it is expected you will be obliging enough to do 1, to permit the province of upper Germany to acquire this new establishment and to hold it as its own, 2, kindly to lend your services to negotiate the affair in question

In consequence of all this I must tell you, my dear Father, that my view

¹⁴ Elet à Minoux, March 1, 1849 Archives of the Province of Lower Germany Van de Velde before leaving St. Louis to occupy his see in Chicago, requested Elet to inform the General that there were more Germans in his diocese than in Henni's Van de Velde was evidently anxious to secure the German Jesuits for his diocese "*Cela vaut mieux que l'offre de Monseigneur Henni*" Elet à Roothaan, March 16, 1849 (AA)

[of the matter] and indeed my formal desire is that you put no obstacle in the way of the aforesaid acquisition in favor of the Province of Upper Germany, which has not a particle of ground left to it on the whole globe. The consideration of charity which engages you to make this concession is a very pressing one. I think I may dispense myself from enlarging upon it. You have only to put yourself in the place of Father Minoux with his ship wrecked and tossed about. Then, too, it must be borne in mind that almost the entire diocese of Bishop Henni is settled by Germans. Where will you find among your own subjects German workers for this business? For you are not unaware that the exiles, even though in the meantime they work under your authority, cannot be considered as properly belonging to your Province and as a consequence you cannot make use of them indefinitely and in such a manner as to render their recall impossible. Finally, you have a passable number of establishments for the small number of trained workers at your disposal, while the size of your Province is large enough to make it a matter of some trouble to you to visit and keep proper watch over your different houses, then, too, this trouble, which perhaps is the very thing that seriously compromises the welfare of the houses, would be increased by the house in Milwaukee, which is situated a great distance from the center of your Province.¹⁵

Father Elet's answer to this earnest communication from the Father General followed promptly.

I commence by assuring your Paternity that I shall do everything in my power to comply with your wishes and assure to the dispersed Swiss province a home of its own in the United States. I have already done more than was expected of me by offering to Father Minoux the Louisville day-school and the college of Bardstown, two establishments that prosper beyond all expectation and where they might by economizing provide for the support of a novitiate and scholasticate. As for professors of English, I would procure them some and, (provided they wished it) would take the same interest in these establishments after the cession as I take in them at present. In the proposition I have just made relative to our establishments in Kentucky, I have two things in mind: 1, to assist the Swiss Province generously, 2, to be in a position to send some of our men to the scholasticate at the end of this year.

In the course of this letter Father Elet laid before Father Roothaan the same difficulties besetting the acceptance of Bishop Henni's offer which he had already made known to Father Minoux. However, while deprecating all thought of a college in Milwaukee, for which he saw no immediate prospect whatever, especially on account of economic conditions among the people and Henni's inability to furnish financial aid, he suggested the opening by the Swiss Jesuits in the chief city of Wis-

¹⁵ Roothaan à Elet, January 27, 1849 (AA)

consin of a residence to be served by two fathers "with good eyes and ears." Meantime he expected to meet Henni at the impending Council of Baltimore and would accompany him thence to Milwaukee with a view to investigating conditions there at first hand.¹⁶

To Elet's communication of March 1 on the Milwaukee project Minoux made reply

I am infinitely grateful to you for the details which you had the kindness to communicate to me in regard to the Milwaukee affair and I congratulate myself that I did not enter at once into negotiations with Mgr Henni, despite the most pressing invitation I am entirely free in this matter as you are, for in my letters to his Lordship I constantly referred him to you I thank you at the same time for the generous offer you make me of two houses in Kentucky and for the hopes held out to us by the new Bishop of Chicago I have acquainted Rev. Father General with your proposals and shall await the expression of his will in the case, which I shall make known to you as soon as communicated to me. What do you think of the health of good Father Friedrich? Will he stand the hot climate of St. Louis? Might it not be best to try a change of climate or perhaps to send him back to Europe? I also commend to your fatherly care the excellent Father Anderledy, whom I had to recall from Rome on account of the excessive heat, which he found insupportable.¹⁷

The proposal made by Father Elet that the exiled Jesuits from Switzerland take over the Bardstown and Louisville institutions was looked at askance by Father Roothaan. To the Missouri superior he wrote that "the Bardstown offer might be considered, but not the Louisville one," while to Minoux he pointed out that in accepting Bardstown he should at the same time have to assume its debts and other obligations.¹⁸ Moreover, the mind of the Bishop of Louisville and his clergy as to the transfer would have to be ascertained, while "one comes back again to the difficulty there will always be in having enough subjects who know English well enough to preach and to teach letters."¹⁹ Among the Jesuits of Minoux's jurisdiction who were then temporarily resident in St. Louis, Milwaukee was still preferred to Kentucky as a location for the projected college and seminary in view of the large German population of the Wisconsin city and Father Friedrich, one of their number, so advised the Father General.²⁰

Carrying out the intention which he had announced some weeks before to the Father General, Father Elet was in Milwaukee in June,

¹⁶ Elet à Roothaan, March 16, 1849 (AA)

¹⁷ Minoux à Elet, April 28, 1849 (A) Anderledy's return to Europe was delayed until 1850

¹⁸ Roothaan à Elet, April 28, 1849 (AA)

¹⁹ Roothaan à Minoux, May 2, 1849 (AA)

²⁰ Friedrich à Roothaan, March 21, 1849 (AA)

1849, to study the problem at close range. The result of his visit was a complete reversal of mind on the question of a college in that city, the expediency of which he now hastened to urge upon the Swiss provincial

In regard to the Milwaukee affair, to which town I proceeded after the Council of Baltimore, I must confess to you that I deceived myself or rather was deceived by others both as to the dispositions of Bishop Henni and the circumstances of the place. The Bishop gave me the best possible reception and showed himself disposed to do everything in favor of the Society in his diocese. 1 He offers his present cathedral as a quasi-parochial church, as soon as the new one shall have been finished.²¹ 2 He offers his seminary if we should care to undertake its direction. 3 He will buy an entire square with a pretty large brick house of recent and very satisfactory construction and with the possibility of enlargement. The house is situated very close to the church which he destines for us, only an eighty-foot street separating the two, and it overlooks Lake Michigan. It would do very well for a day-school.²² 4 He proposes buying some acres a short distance out of town, where a boarding-school might be placed later on. The tuition-money of the day-scholars would suffice for the support of the professors and later, say in two years, you would have the pew-rent from the church, the *jura stolae* [free-will offerings for ministerial services], etc., in a word, everything necessary for board and clothing. As to the climate, I think it pretty much the same as that of Belgium. Of all your Fathers that I am acquainted with, Father Anderledy would be the best fitted to manage an American college. This consideration as also the conviction that his health would pick up in a climate that resembles so nearly that of his own native country, have induced me to send him to Milwaukee, the more so as Father Brunner, whom Very Reverend Father General had appointed Superior, is so seriously indisposed that grave doubts are entertained of his recovery. Father Hubner has been named Procurator and must take his departure as soon as I find some one to replace him in the parish which he is attending to at present. Not to disarrange the studies of the scholastics, it will be better that one year be spent in making preparations. In this way several will be in a position to be able to teach English, which in all colleges of the United States must be the language of communication. There are 8000 Catholics in Milwaukee and as many Germans as of other nationalities, but there, as elsewhere in the United States, the children of German extraction speak English. The arrangement made with Bishop Henni is as yet only verbal, but everything will be put in writing. If you have the men to send to the dioceses of Milwaukee and Chicago, which embrace the two states of Wisconsin and Illinois, you will have in a few years one of the finest provinces in the Society. I have just

²¹ Old St. Peter's on Martin St. near Jackson.

²² This is apparently the property subsequently (August 5, 1849) purchased by Henni for a college. It consisted of eight lots with a substantial brick building on Van Buren Street about four blocks from St. Peter's Church.

told good Father Friedrich, with whom America, so it seems, does not agree, and whom for this reason you ask me to send back to Europe in company with Brother Perroud, to travel to New York by way of the Lakes and stop a few days in Milwaukee and Chicago so as to examine everything for himself and be able to give fuller details to your Reverence ²³

§ 3 FATHER ANDERLEDY IN MILWAUKEE

To break ground in the new field of Jesuit educational enterprise that thus lay open in Wisconsin, the Missouri superior was relying chiefly on Father Anthony Anderledy, then only thirty, but mature beyond his years. Giving every token of superior attainments of mind and heart, he was to advance through various positions of administrative trust in the Society of Jesus until he reached the generalate, which post he filled for many years with distinction. He was a native of Beresol, Canton Wallis, Switzerland, where he was born June 3, 1819. Not yet ordained when he reached St. Louis with his fellow-refugees in 1848, he was on September 27 of that year raised to the priesthood in the St. Louis cathedral by Archbishop Kenrick, after which he continued his theological studies at St. Louis University, discharging at the same time the duties of catechist and confessor to the students. While the cholera was raging in St. Louis in 1849, Father Anderley was daily at the service of the stricken people. "Scarcely had I put foot on the street, to visit one of the unfortunates," he wrote to his family, "than I was at once surrounded by a number of persons all pressing me to bring the holy sacraments as quickly as possible to their sick. Very often on entering a house I had almost to stumble over the dead who lay stretched out on the floor while others were waiting for death and still others were being attacked by the disease. I myself fell sick twice, but recovered so as again to be of service to the victims. I was assigned to the Spaniards [Creoles?] in particular. They often called for me from miles away. On one occasion I had to ride to a negro, who was near to death. I became heated to such a degree as a result that I contracted a fever which lasted six weeks. During my illness word came that my Superiors in Europe would like me to return." ²⁴

The Swiss and German refugees residing for the moment at St. Louis and other points in the Middle West were, as far as was compatible with the jurisdiction temporarily exercised over them by Father Elet, under the superiorship of Father Joseph Brunner, who had come to America with a commission to that effect from the Father General

²³ Elet à Minoux, July 15, 1849. Archives of the Province of Lower Germany.

²⁴ P. Anderledy an seine Eltern, Strassburg, October 14, 1850, in *Mittheilungen aus der Deutschen Provinz*, 2, 424.

He was the logical person to take in hand the enterprise in Milwaukee, but illness was detaining him in St. Charles, Missouri, and, besides, Elet deemed him less competent than Anderledy to transact the impending business with Bishop Henri.²⁵ He was accordingly to reach Milwaukee at a later date than Father Anderledy and his companion, Father Frederick Hubner, who left St. Louis for the northern city on the evening of August 18. They carried with them a set of instructions drawn up and signed by Father Elet under date of the preceding day, August 17, 1849.

A memorandum for Fathers Hubner and Anderledy on the eve of their journey to Wisconsin.

1 M. de Boey has pledged himself to give 75,000 francs for the future college in Milwaukee. This college is to belong to the Province of Upper Germany.

2 Rev. Father Brunner has been appointed Superior and Rev. Father Hubner, Procurator of the house by Very Rev. Father General. For the first-named I substitute, for the present, Rev. Father Anderledy in everything regarding studies.

3 With the sanction of Very Rev. Father General and Rev. Father Minoux, I authorize Father Anderledy to summon from the Georgetown scholasticate as many scholastics, the choice to be left to himself, of the number of those who have finished their Philosophy, as he shall judge necessary to carry on the work required of him in Milwaukee.

4 Care must be taken in selling the property lately acquired by Bishop Henri for the Province of Upper Germany, that the act of sale be not illegal and void on whatsoever account. In many states of this Union only American citizens can hold real estate.

5 Bishop Henri has promised, on the completion of the new Cathedral, to turn over the old one *in perpetuity* to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus as a parochial church.

6 Pending the opening of the College, Bishop Henri provides for the support of Ours in Milwaukee, and will be at liberty to employ their services either in the Seminary or elsewhere in the ministry.

7 I think a beginning should be made with a day and not with a boarding school. The first must be in the city itself, the other outside of the city, but at no great distance (Walker's Point).

8 Let the *Minervalia* which in virtue of a dispensation we may licitly accept, be fixed by local circumstances, etc.

9 It will be necessary, on arriving at your destination, to write at once

²⁵ The General cautioned Elet, February 28, 1849, that Brunner was not to be made master of novices as he "destined him to be Superior of the establishment of Milwaukee." "Of all the Swiss Fathers in Missouri Father Anderledy was the only one capable of making a success of the college in Milwaukee." Elet à Roothaan, January 14, 1850 (AA).

to Rev. Father Minoux and to M. de Boey, or to Rev. Father Hessels, Rector of the College of Notre Dame at Antwerp.²⁶

In Milwaukee Fathers Anderledy and Hubner were joined in September by Father Brunner, who was to be superior of the projected college. Hubner's arrival in the city was followed in a few days by his sickness and death. News of it was sent at once by Anderledy to Elet.

I sent your Reverence by a telegraphic dispatch the very sad news of the death of Father Frederick Hubner. On the 8th of September, immediately after preaching in the church of the Blessed Virgin, I went to see him. He told me that besides fever he was now troubled with dysentery. The physicians declared there was no immediate danger. He requested me, however, to hear a general confession of his whole life. This being finished, he earnestly besought me to administer to him the sacrament of Extreme Unction, the Viaticum and the general absolution before he should be deprived of the use of his senses. He also begged me not to leave him unless it was absolutely necessary. Accordingly I remained with him until he gave up his soul to God on the 10th of September, at 6 45 P. M.

I was extremely anxious to spend that night in writing, but the Most Reverend Bishop and Father Brunner obliged me to take some rest as I had not slept for three days and two nights and had scarcely taken any food. This was very distressing to me as I earnestly desired to send you the news in order that the Father whom I loved so much might be aided as soon as possible by the prayers which are due to him. On the following day I sent your Reverence a dispatch which I trust has reached you.²⁷

In a letter written from Green Bay, Wisconsin, to Father Minoux, his superior, Father Anderledy, after giving a brief account of his companion's death, details the negotiations carried on with Bishop Henni on the subject of the college.

I have no doubt that your Reverence has been informed of the very grave illness of Father Brunner. Owing to this circumstance I have been substituted for him in the Milwaukee affair in everything pertaining to studies, but having been laid up six weeks with an illness, I was unable to start off before the evening of August 18. We arrived, Father Hubner and myself, at Milwaukee on August 22. The next day the Bishop received us cordially and wished the college begun at once. This we could not do at all, as we were unaware what the conditions were to be and whether they were ratified by your Reverence. Moreover, we had no teachers who knew

²⁶ (A) *Minervalia*, plural form of *Minervale*, conventional Latin term for tuition-money. In view of particular circumstances obtaining in the United States and other English speaking countries, a dispensation from that point of the Jesuit rule which requires that instruction be given gratis was granted by Gregory XVI. Cf. *supra*, Chap. IX, § 5.

²⁷ Anderledy à Elet, September 11, 1849 (A).

English There was nothing left to do but accept the mission in Green Bay, which step the Bishop approved with the understanding that we might withdraw from the mission after a year's time, if your Reverence so desired. But all negotiations were held up when good Father Hubner fell sick on August 28. The doctors saw so little in the case that they said he was in no danger whatever. On September 8 he was even entirely free from fever, however, diarrhea had come on mixed with blood. He now eagerly desired to be fortified with the holy sacraments and to hear of nothing but God until he gave up his soul at a quarter to seven on the evening of September 10.

The reason I had to write to Father Hessels, [rector of the College of Notre Dame, Antwerp], was that the Bishop is in need of money to pay for the house which he purchased for us. Scarcely had I written when he received from Father Hessels a letter of very serious tenor in which he was informed that M. De Boey had taken it amiss that he [Henni] should have asked again for the money (he had previously written another letter, before the conditions were approved and accepted by both parties). At length, at a loss what to do to see the matter through, the Bishop condescended to do what Father Hessels had invited him to do, namely, reveal his mind frankly and confirm again, but in writing, what had already been agreed to between himself and M. De Boey. I was delighted at this turn. For whenever, while Father Hubner was still alive, we wished to discuss the conditions, he never could be brought to speak out just what he thought. We asked him politely whether the college was to belong to the Society and whether we should be allowed to teach in it according to the method of the Institute. But he would never make his mind known on these matters. Now, however, so ready did he show himself for this very thing that he begged me most earnestly to put down at once in writing whatever things he had promised, saying he wished to guarantee them all under his name and seal. I drew up in the following order the points he suggested: "John Martin—by the Divine Mercy and the Favor of the Apostolic See—Bishop of Milwaukee. By these presents we renew and confirm all the particulars concerning which we made agreement with the illustrious De Boey, to wit, 1. That we shall have Mass said either by myself or by someone else for the illustrious Founder twice a week in perpetuity. 2. That as soon as the death of the same Founder is made known to us three Masses shall be celebrated, of which one shall be a Solemn High Mass, the same to be done every year on the day when the Founder shall have passed to a better life. 3. That the college shall belong to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, the administration of it to be therefore in the hands of the Fathers of said Society. 4. That the chapel or church of said college be dedicated to St. Joseph in pious memory of the same distinguished Founder. All of which things, as having been previously promised by us, we now ratify and guarantee with our seal and our secretary's hand." It is to be noted in this connection that the Right Rev. Bishop did not include a certain point which he also has in mind, namely, the provision that the college revert to the Bishop in the contingency of Ours being driven out of this country.

We thought it necessary, accordingly, to warn Father Hessels to have inserted in the agreement, "that no successor of the Bishop, whosoever he be, can send us hence" This was done by Father Brunner in a second letter to Father Hessels, for he wrote two, the first having seemed to me perhaps too optimistic, it promised perhaps too much That very good Father calls the area adjacent to the purchased house *spacious*, I would say the same if the portion [of land] which borders on the north and which can be easily purchased now, also belonged to us If that is not taken in, I do not consider the ground large enough on which to set up a boarding-school At the same time, if the boarding-school be elsewhere, e g., outside the city, double the number of professors would be required or at least there would be two houses and two Superiors A boarding-school therefore requires playgrounds and these of such extent that the students cannot afterwards complain At least two such playgrounds, I think, are required, though the number of boarders should not exceed 100 There is, besides, a custom here of admitting into the colleges what are called day-scholars These spend the daytime only in the boarding-school, they are a great aid to the finances, but they disturb order very considerably if they are mixed up with the other students Hence it results that there must be at least three playgrounds Besides, there must be a garden both for domestic purposes and for the recreation of Ours Finally, a thing which I know the Bishop has at heart, if a suitable place for the scholastics is being sought, it will be found here, if I mistake not, and this both on account of the climate, which is pretty healthy, and because the Bishop has said he would entrust us with his seminary, in which case the seminarians would have the same professors that teach our scholastics Still, the objection is raised that a high price will have to be paid for the piece of ground in question But this circumstance does not render it unnecessary Nay, if it is not bought now, it will cost at least twice as much later on For it happened in St. Louis that property bought by our Fathers for \$800 could have been sold for \$100,000 ten years after Father Elet told me as I was leaving that he regretted keenly they had not bought more land in the early days For by buying land at that time for \$6000 they could have had an income now of \$20,000

As regards the house itself, I ask that it not be made so small It can be begun, so it seems to me, in such way that the whole building is put up not at once, but by degrees, according as the money from the boarders will allow Thus an addition can be made every year during the vacations, for very large buildings can be erected here in three months

From Father Anderledy's letter it would appear that some rough plan at least of a college building at Milwaukee had been drawn up and submitted for approval to Father Minoux in Europe A three-story E-shaped structure which he had seen somewhere in Italy was recalled by Anderledy as realizing his own idea of what a satisfactory college building ought to be All class-rooms were on the lowest floor and a single prefect, taking his stand some distance away from the building,

could easily keep an eye on the various groups of students as they emerged from the class-rooms. As to the difficulty of securing competent professors for the college, in case it were started, Anderledy was under no illusions. In his own presence Father Brunner had assured Bishop Henni that the following year would see available a corps of "brilliant professors," an optimistic outlook which Anderledy himself by no means shared.²⁸

§ 4 GREEN BAY AND MANITOWOC

As to what passed between the Jesuits and Bishop Henni at the interviews between them regarding the projected college nothing more is known than what Father Anderledy recorded in the letter just set before the reader. At any rate, all plans for the venture had momentarily miscarried and Fathers Brunner and Anderledy, following out Father Elet's instructions, thereupon placed their ministerial services at the disposal of the Bishop, who assigned them Green Bay towards the northern limit of his diocese. They left Milwaukee for their destination September 14, 1849. At Green Bay, an historic locality hallowed by the memories of Allouez, Marquette and others of the earlier Jesuit missionaries, they took in charge the church and parish of St. John the Evangelist, with the outlying stations, which included Duck Creek, New Franken (St. Kilian's), Rapides des Peres, now De Pere, and Bay Settlement, which boasted its own little church. These stations, consisting chiefly of French and German-speaking Catholics, were visited once a month. At St. John's in Green Bay there were instructions in English, French and German. The natural aptitude of Father Anderledy for languages now stood him in good stead as he had to preach to the Irish, Germans and French Canadians that made up his little congregation. An incident of his stay in northern Wisconsin which has been preserved brings into relief the forceful character and energetic zeal of the young priest. One Sunday morning as he was preparing to say Mass he found that the chalice had been placed on the top of a high cupboard. Mounting a chair to reach it, he fell, fracturing one or two ribs. He performed, however, the customary services only to be informed at the end that there was a sick call at a great distance from the church. Though in great bodily pain he nevertheless answered the summons with the result that it was evening before he could give to his serious injury the attention it required.

In a letter written to his parents on his return to Europe, Father Anderledy pictured some of the hardships of his ministry.

²⁸ Anderledy à Minoux, September 17, 1849. Archives of the Province of Lower Germany.

In accordance, therefore, with the Bishop's wish I went to Green Bay, where there are Indians, English, Americans, French and Germans I spent last year with these people, from September 17, 1849, to August 27, 1850 I had five places to take care of, which made a circuit of about eight hours, so that I had to wander over a district almost as far as from Brig to Liders, in order to say Mass, preach and attend the sick I was called on January 7 [to a person] who lay sick in a forest fifteen hours from Green Bay I started off in all haste and arrived about noon, I was back at the house towards midnight I had to make almost the whole distance on Lake Michigan, which was entirely frozen over In this country one is often forced in the winter time to cross over frozen lakes and rivers Almost every year men meet with accident On that very day, and often also at other times, the ice broke beneath my horse, but the kind providence of God protected me so effectively that I returned safe and sound from every journey The danger is all the greater as one has to make all trips on horseback and cannot easily obtain anything else but little Indian ponies, which are very handsome, but also very wild The roads are in such bad condition that in the woods you have to ride with hat in hand and head leaning on the horse's mane, so as not to be left hanging on the branches Not infrequently the horses fall into swamps from which you can scarcely get them out This happened to me more than once On August 10, 1850, I lay for a long time beneath my horse While I was going over a bridge, the animal shied and sprang into the water, which was indeed not so very deep, but the bottom was so soft that I sank in up to my shoulders and could only with the greatest trouble get from under my horse When I told the whole story the next day to a Canadian, he couldn't wonder enough how I had come out of that place with my horse, as the swamp, so he said, was ten feet deep Moreover, the place was so lonely that there was no human help to hope for The day before I was on horseback from 4 30 o'clock in the morning to 11 00 o'clock at night and dismounted only to snatch a little to eat while they saddled another horse for me at the various stations At 8 00 o'clock at night I was overtaken by a storm which lasted two hours I rode straight through a woods in a neighborhood which I had never seen and had to cross two rivers that had no bridges, having all the time a strange horse which three times that very day tried to throw me off, moreover, it was so dark that I could see neither the horse nor my hand before my eyes Notwithstanding all this I arrived safe about 11 00 o'clock at night I surely have every reason to thank the dear God for His kind providence which saved me in Switzerland from war and prison, at sea from storms, of which I encountered at least six, and in America from cholera and other perils ²⁹

It is said, whether truly or not, that Father Anderledy met with opposition in his ministry from the trustees of St John's, the Green Bay church which he served At all events his stay at this difficult post was

²⁹ Anderledy an seinen eltern, Strassburg, October 14, 1850, in *Mittheilungen aus der Deutschen Provinz*, 2, 424

not to last beyond eleven months, the reason for his departure thence being a summons from his superior to return to Europe. Father Minoux had been greatly exercised all along over the condition of Anderledy's health. "Father Friedrich ought to be removed on account of his health," he wrote to the Missouri vice-provincial in May, 1849, "Father Anderledy, for the same reason. The heat experienced in your locality will render him unfit for work." At Green Bay Father Anderledy, it is safe to say, did not often encounter the oppressive heat which appears to have been a trial to him in Missouri.³⁰ But Minoux was insistent that this highly promising subject be returned to his own province, especially as the Father General had expressed a desire that he be employed in teaching. Elet in the end reluctantly acquiesced in his release. In pursuance of instructions reaching him from St. Louis, Father Anderledy on August 27, 1850, took leave of Green Bay to begin his return journey to Europe.

Shortly after the young priest's departure from Green Bay Father Brunner, who had been superior of that temporary mission from the arrival there of the two Jesuits, resigned his charge with Bishop Henni's consent and took up his residence at Manitowoc Rapids in Manitowoc County, Wisconsin, sixty miles north of Milwaukee. The first white settlements in Manitowoc County were made in the thirties, when saw-mills were built along the streams, drawing for material on the abundant timber of the neighborhood. The timber, however, soon disappeared and farming became the chief occupation in the county. Not long after Anderledy and Brunner arrived at Green Bay they were visited by a committee of Manitowoc Catholics, who petitioned the favor of a visit from the missionaries. Bishop Henni having signified his consent, Brunner paid his first visit to Manitowoc Rapids, in June, 1850. He found the Catholics here and at other points in the county in acute spiritual distress. For two months the missionary went from one settlement to another instructing and administering the holy sacraments. His efforts bore fruit. Six hundred communions were distributed, thirty baptisms of infants administered and many marriages blessed. Father Brunner returned to Green Bay after this apostolic excursion, but, in view of Father Anderledy's recall to Europe, finally requested Bishop Henni to relieve him of the Green Bay charge altogether and assign him to Manitowoc. To this the Bishop agreed, as has been said, and towards the end of 1850 Father Brunner took up his residence at the latter post. Within a year and a half five churches had been built. At the Holy Maternity, the parish-church of Manitowoc, instructions

³⁰ "As his sickness is caused in great part by the heat, I thought I did well to send him further North." Elet à Roothaan, January 14, 1849 (AA)

were given in English, French and German. Out in the county, St. Luke's at Two Rivers was visited every month, as was also St. Anne's on French (Francis) Creek and St. Dennis's and the Holy Family Altogether there were five Catholic churches or chapels in Manitowoc County, each served by Father Brunner The field soon became too extensive to be cultivated effectively by a single hand, so that in the autumn of 1852 he felt justified in asking Bishop Henni to send him an assistant This the Bishop did in 1853, when Father Brunner was relieved of the care of three of the churches and a station Later in the same year he was withdrawn altogether from the Manitowoc mission, which was thereupon taken over with all its dependent churches and stations by the Reverend W. Nuyts, O S C The ministry of the Jesuits in northeastern Wisconsin thus came to an end and was not afterwards resumed.³¹

§ 5 RETIREMENT OF THE SWISS JESUITS

Though the first attempt to establish a college in Milwaukee had proved abortive, Bishop Henni never relinquished his hope of seeing the project some day realized On August 5, 1849, he had purchased, with a view to the proposed institution, eight lots on Van Buren Street, with a substantial brick building, the property being in the immediate neighborhood of the old or St. Peter's Cathedral Moreover, on September 16 of the same year, two days after Fathers Anderledy and Brunner left Milwaukee for Green Bay, he had put his signature to a document, cited above, which stated the precise terms of the agreement between himself and M. De Boey An important letter bearing on this document was received by Father Brunner at Green Bay from Father Franckeville, provincial of the Belgian Jesuits, who was M. De Boey's intermediary in the negotiations regarding the college

I have written to Mgr. Henni in the name of M. De Boey, to inform him that all difficulties are now smoothed away and that the enterprise may therefore be taken in hand Your letters of September 15 and 16 have contributed not a little to this result by removing whatever doubt may have arisen in consequence of certain malicious reports and of the haste with which the first note of 15,000 francs was presented for payment I enclose herewith a copy of the contract entered into between the Bishop and M. De Boey, an authentic act which we preserve here I wrote the Bishop that M. De Boey indorses this act and subscribes to it, and I asked him to have a copy of it deposited in the diocesan archives Moreover, I wrote him in the

³¹ *Origo et Progressus Missionis Manitowocensis in statu Wisconsin Americae Septentrionalis* Two Rivers, Wis., March, 1853, Joseph Brunner (A) Father Brunner later devoted himself to missionary work in British India, dying at Bombay, November 30, 1884 Cf. also *Catholic Almanac*, 1853, 1854

name of De Boey that the desire of this gentleman is that the college, or at least the free and independent administration of it, belong to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, so long as they shall not abandon it of their own accord or under pressure from some superior power, in which case the college will be at the free disposition of the Bishop or his Chapter, always, however, under condition that it remain a college. On these terms, therefore, M. De Boey engages to pay by way of foundation the sum total of 75,000 francs, in annuities of fifteen thousand francs each year, to wit, 15,000 in 1849, 15,000 in 1850, 15,000 in 1851, 15,000 in 1852, 15,000 in 1853, notice to be given at least thirty days in advance and no allowance to be made for the cost of exchange or other costs.

As to the clause that the college will belong to the Society, nothing to this effect was stipulated when the Bishop was in the country. M. De Boey's primary intention having been to provide foundations for Masses in rather large number, this somewhat burdensome charge was judged to be scarcely compatible with our Constitutions. This is why they were content to express a desire that the college be conducted by members of our Order and in particular by our Swiss exiles.³²

Bishop Henni expressed to M. De Boey his satisfaction over the arrangement that had been made touching the final payment of the promised money.

To the Chevalier J. De Boey,
Antwerp, Belgium
Very Respectable Sir and Signal Benefactor

Health and Benediction

I hasten to express to you the lively sentiments of gratitude with which I am inspired in your regard for the new favor which my poor diocese has just received of your generosity through an arrangement which will enable me to realize annually the sum of fifteen thousand francs up to the full payment of the promised sum, 75,000 francs. Now shall I be able, so I hope, to meet the contracts I have made for the site and buildings of the future college, and I venture to expect that all preparations will have been happily completed by 1852. I have been greatly consoled to learn from Reverend Father Franckville that you are thoroughly convinced that circumstances quite unforeseen and not any want of exactness on my part in adhering to the conditions laid down by you was the reason why my draft was presented before maturity. I have lost 280 dollars by its being protested, but it is not so much this loss that I regret as the annoyance the matter has occasioned you.

I shall be at pains, Sir, to keep you informed on all that shall be done towards the realization of the project you have so much at heart, the college of Milwaukee. Be assured that all the stipulations agreed to will be faithfully carried out.

³² Franckville à Brunner, Brussels, October 12, 1849 (A).

Deign to accept the homage of profound respect with which I have the honor to be,

Very Respectable Sir and Benefactor,
Your very humble and devoted servant,
J M Henni ³³

On January 27, 1849, Father Roothaan addressed to Father Elet the letter reproduced above, which reveals the direct personal interest he was taking in the contemplated college at Milwaukee "His Paternity earnestly desires the success of the Milwaukee college," the General wrote at the same time to Father Minoux, "and wishes that it be conceded to the Province of Upper Germany . . . care must be taken that the support provided for Ours who are to go to Milwaukee be at least respectable and such as can be relied upon Later on, if he has the means, Father Minoux will be able to set up a scholasticate" ³⁴ Again, in February, 1849, the General pointed out Father Hubner "as an efficient executive," who was accordingly "to be charged with the erection of the new house in Milwaukee" "Though belonging to the Swiss Province, [it] will bring a blessing on the Province of Missouri It is an occasion that will enable me to know the heart of Father Elet and of his associates" ³⁵ How earnestly the Missouri superior sought to carry out the pressing instructions of the Father General has appeared from the correspondence set out above "I have treated this affair," he could write to Father Roothaan, January 14, 1850, "as my own in a spirit of obedience to your Paternity and I believe I have discharged it in the best possible manner." In the event, however, nothing was to come of this attempt to establish the Swiss Jesuits in Milwaukee The first circumstance accounting for this result was that Father Minoux now began to recall his men from America to work the new fields recently opened up to the Jesuits in Germany "Fathers Anderledy and Hubner," Elet informed the General, "have left for Milwaukee where with perseverance everything will go on marvellously well But behold! After arranging everything with Bishop Henni, and after a purchase [of property] made for the day-school, good Father Minoux writes to me under date of July 24 that he doesn't wish a college in Milwaukee and he begins now to recall his men, as Fathers Friedrich, Anderledy, Ehrensberger, and all others who cannot get used to the climate" ³⁶

The one most intimately concerned in the affair, the Swiss provincial, had thus definitely withdrawn from the project of a college in

³³ (A) The original of this letter, which is undated, is in French

³⁴ Roothaan à Minoux, January 26, 1849 (AA)

³⁵ Roothaan à Elet, February 28, 1849 (AA)

³⁶ Elet à Roothaan, August 17, 1849 (AA)

Milwaukee Furthermore, the conditions for its acceptance stipulated by Bishop Henni and drawn up at his instance in documentary form by Anderledy did not entirely meet with the approval of the Father General In a letter addressed by the General to Anderledy and Brunner jointly under date of July 23, 1850, he wrote "From a letter written by Father Assistant to Father Anderledy, December 27, 1849, you have understood that we do not indorse all the conditions of the contract which was entered into without my knowledge or that of the Superior of Upper Germany. The college could not be undertaken at the time by the members of Upper Germany for the reason that teachers sufficiently well acquainted with English were not available We see indeed that the hope of doing some good [in Milwaukee] is still held out, but when it is impossible to take everything in hand, preference should be given to enterprises which offer hope of more substantial fruit and can be handled by us with more success" The ministry undertaken by the two fathers at Green Bay is then commended by Father Roothaan as promising an abundant spiritual harvest. "Not rarely a small Residence is the beginning of greater activities Time perhaps will teach us more" ³⁷ In December of the preceding year Father Roothaan had also signified to Father Minoux that nothing was to be attempted for the moment at Milwaukee "The Milwaukee affair was rushed a bit, yet in the best faith in the world. I have written Father Elet that I do not indorse the agreement made and that in regard to it and the Milwaukee affair in general I reserve the decision to myself, according as circumstances will suggest later on" ³⁸ But Minoux had himself reached the conclusion not to attempt a college in America under any circumstances at all. "A residence in Wisconsin might be a good thing, but without any engagement to accept a college" In June, 1850, he was still of the same mind. "I can readily believe that the Milwaukee enterprise is postponed indefinitely. By this time you know my subjects in America, you must realize accordingly that we shall not be in a position at once to place ourselves at the head of a college and direct it" ³⁹ With the recall of most of his men to Europe during the period, 1850-1852, any hope Father Minoux may have entertained of taking up educational work in Milwaukee at some future date was definitely abandoned Thus ended the first, or, as it may be called, the German phase in the attempt to start a Catholic college in Milwaukee

³⁷ Roothaan à Brunner, Anderledy, July 23, 1850 (AA)

³⁸ Roothaan à Minoux, December 5, 1849 (AA)

³⁹ Minoux à Elet, June 11, 1850 (A) Otto Pfulf, *Die Anfänge der deutschen Provinz der neu erstandenen Gesellschaft Jesu und ihr Wirken in der Schweiz, 1805-1847* (Freiburg in Breisgau, 1922), p 511

§ 6 BISHOP HENNI AND THE JESUITS OF ST LOUIS

The hopes of the Bishop of Milwaukee now turned towards the Jesuits of St Louis. New establishments, however, were a risky venture for that slender group who were practically without resources in men or money to count upon, hence, as early as September, 1850, Elet decided not to accept the invitations of Bishops Van de Velde and Henni to open colleges in their respective cities. In June of that year he had written to Father Roothaan: "The Bishop of Milwaukee begins to be impatient over our indecision, he would prefer either to give the thing up entirely or to fix a date when the college must be opened. This Vice-Province will not be able to do anything in the matter before September, 1853."⁴⁰ In August of the same year, 1850, Bishop Van de Velde, after a visit to Milwaukee, informed Elet: "Bishop Henni is quite uneasy and will probably write to your Reverence tomorrow. He is now very sorry that he did not follow my advice and keep the Fathers here and begin at once."⁴¹ Towards the end of 1850 Henni was making efforts, which proved unsuccessful, to bring to Milwaukee some refugee German or Austrian Jesuits who were settled at the time in Canada. The following year he was a visitor at St Louis University: "Bishop Henni dined with us yesterday. He spoke much of the future college which he will have sooner or later if he has to go to Rome to get it. In the meantime he will be satisfied with a small-sized school conducted by hired teachers. His cathedral will be finished in the autumn. His present church [St Peter's] is at our disposal for a French parish [*cure*]. The property bought for the college increases in value every day. If it is found to be too near the cathedral, the sum realized from its sale will procure a suitable property and site elsewhere."⁴²

The death of M. De Boey, February 25, 1850, had made available the balance of the seventy-thousand francs which he had promised to send to Bishop Henni in annual installments extending over four or five years. His executors allowed the legacy, paying the money to the procurator of the Jesuit Belgian province, who transferred it to the procurator of the vice-province of Missouri. By the latter it was in turn paid over to Bishop Henni, who on receiving the money, wrote December 12, 1850, to Father Druyts, president of St Louis University: "I thank you and the Provincial sincerely for the kindness with which you tendered me this favor. My prayers are now only that the day may

⁴⁰ Elet à Roothaan, June 14, 1850 (A)

⁴¹ Van de Velde to Elet, August 26, 1850 (A)

⁴² Elet à Roothaan, February 22, 1851 (?) (AA)

soon come on which I may greet the good Fathers of Marquette College" ⁴³

Bishop Henni's reference to Marquette College is significant. The official register of the Missouri Vice-province for 1850 lists among its houses, *Collegium Marquettense brevi inchoandum*, "Marquette College, which is to be started soon." This is apparently the earliest designation of Milwaukee's future college by the name of the Jesuit missionary-explorer to be found. The title seems to have been Bishop Henni's own selection. In his frequent visits to the Jesuits after their arrival in Milwaukee in 1855, he often expressed the wish that the college be named for Marquette and signified his intention of procuring for it a statue of the famous Jesuit, who was to be represented as standing beside a terrestrial globe and with extended hands pointing majestically to the West.⁴⁴

Dying prematurely at fifty, October 1, 1851, Father Elet was succeeded in the office of vice-provincial by Father William Stack Murphy. Bishop Henni took up at once with the new superior his project of a college in Milwaukee.

It is only a few days since I learned of your appointment to the Provincialship of the Vice-Province of Missouri. I beg of you on this occasion to be pleased to accept my sincerest good wishes as also the prayer I offer to bring down the blessings of heaven on your administration, in which I cannot fail to see the hand of a special Providence, full of wisdom, at the same time that I lament with you the loss which your Society has just sustained of one of its best priests and most capable members in the person of Father Elet. May God deign to receive his soul into the eternal tabernacles!

As regards Marquette College, how do things stand? Is there any appearance of success? I am very anxious to see you and deal with you on so very

⁴³ The transfer of the De Boey money to Bishop Henni was negotiated through Bishop Van de Velde of Chicago who went to Milwaukee for the purpose. The note of Father Druyts, president of St. Louis University, to Bishop Van de Velde, dated August 7, 1850, directs that the money or as much of it as remained uncollected (\$7,533) be paid to Bishop Henni six months after the date mentioned. "The above being in full payment of all dues arising from a legacy made by the Chevalier G. J. De Boey of Antwerp for the foundation of a college to be opened in the city of Milwaukee and to be entrusted to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, unless the said Fathers should decline accepting it for themselves, in which case the V. Provincial of the Society of Jesus of the V. Province of Missouri has been empowered by the executor of said Chevalier de Boey to make such arrangements as will carry out the intentions of the donor." At Milwaukee, December 12, 1850, Henni signed a receipt for the money, "being the balance (in full) of the grant made by Monsieur Chevalier G. J. De Boey of Antwerp in behalf of Marquette College at Milwaukee in the State of Wisconsin."

⁴⁴ Ms. account by Father Stanislaus Lalumiere (Lalumiere à O'Neil, March 4, 1873) (A)

important a matter My sentiments are always the same and will not change I have asked for Jesuits very openly and sincerely at Rome, in France, and in America To them belongs the fine property which I have bought for a college, to them will be paid to the last penny what I have received for such an institution My only desire and prayer is to see the college in operation as quickly as possible Be so kind as to acquaint me with your views and intentions on this subject ⁴⁵

The appeal from the Milwaukee prelate was communicated at once by Father Murphy to Father Roothaan, who expressed himself in no uncertain terms on the issue in question

In writing to you on the 20th inst , I failed, through an oversight, to say anything about the petition of Bishop Henni, a copy of whose letter you forwarded to me I make up for the omission today, sending you at the same time a letter from Bishop Miége

As to *Marquette College*, here is the information you ask for Bishop Henni, while soliciting alms in Europe, met Father Minoux, who at that time had planned to open a house of his dispersed Province in America In Belgium the Bishop met M De Boey, (R I P) who offered 70,000 francs, payable in 10 [*sic*] years, for a college projected by the Bishop on condition that it belong to the Jesuits As a matter of fact, however, the Swiss Fathers, after being on the ground, judged the project of a college to be impracticable and thereupon withdrew The project therefore proved an absolute failure

Now, my dear Father, it is you who are invited What can you say? You have only one answer to make—*hominem non habeo* If the *temptation* to do good without having the means to do it had been steadily rejected by this Province, as it should have been, such a deal of excellent good will and devotion would not have been sacrificed at an utter loss There is therefore absolutely nothing to be done, nothing to be promised for this college of Milwaukee It seems to me that the Bishop ought to be content, with the means he has at his disposal, to establish elementary schools But the Society attempts nothing and engages to do nothing in this regard ⁴⁶

After these peremptory instructions to Father Murphy from general headquarters no hope would seem to have been left for a Jesuit college in Milwaukee Yet Bishop Henni on his part persisted in the attempt to bring it about In August, 1853, the Jesuits, Fathers John Gleizal and Isidore Boudreaux, preached a mission at the Milwaukee cathedral, after which Gleizal conducted a retreat for the clergy of the diocese. The Bishop took occasion of the presence of the fathers to bring up once more his cherished project of a college Gleizal, after communicating with the vice-provincial, answered in his name that a college

⁴⁵ Henni à Murphy, October 21, 1851 (AA)

⁴⁶ Roothaan à Murphy (A)

could not be attempted, alleging among other reasons for this decision the lack of fathers to undertake the work, and the small prospect of a sufficient number of students in Milwaukee to justify a college. Father Gleizal and his companion, after their missionary work in Milwaukee, proceeded to Racine, where they preached a mission to the English-speaking Catholics of that town. While in Racine Gleizal received a communication from Bishop Henni urging still again his petition for a Jesuit college in Milwaukee and at the same time making it clear that this was to be a final appeal made to the Society. The Bishop offered the Jesuits, besides the property he had purchased for a college-site, the parish of St. Gall's, the dividing line between which and the cathedral parish was to be the Milwaukee River.⁴⁷ When in December, 1853, Bishop Henni's offer came before Father Murphy and his council in St. Louis for consideration, it was decided to defer decision until the return from Europe of Father De Smet, whose opinion in the matter was deemed of particular importance. In January, 1854, at which time De Smet was again in St. Louis, a decision was reached to accept the Bishop's offer, provided men could be spared to take the work in hand. Men were not found, though a step attended with important results was taken when towards the close of 1854 Father Murphy requested his consultors to communicate their individual opinions on the Milwaukee affair directly to the General, Peter Beckx, successor in this office of John Roothaan, who died in 1853.

Ever since Father Roothaan's uncompromising letter had come into his hands, Father Murphy had consistently set himself against the vice-province's extending its activities to Milwaukee. On the other hand, his four consultors, De Smet, Druyts, O'Loughlen and Gleizal, expressed themselves unanimously in favor of the step, and in the end their opinion was to prevail with the Father General. As Druyts pointed out, the situation in the vice-province had altered in many important respects since the time Father Roothaan's drastic instructions were received. The Cincinnati boarding-school and the Louisville day-college had been discontinued, leaving the vice-province much less straitened in

⁴⁷ Lalumiere, ms. account (A). The Bishop's offer was declined, as Father Gleizal informed Bishop Henni: "Despite the good will of all to oblige you, we find ourselves at present more than ever in the impossibility even of taking charge merely of St. Gall's church. Since I was with you, Reverend Carrell has been taken away from us, and two of our most efficient fathers are recalled to Europe. Thus the number of our working men is diminished instead of being increased. Impossibility alone compels us to decline the fine offers you made to us, and although we cannot realize your expectation in this regard, yet we are ready at any time to assist you in any way which is in our power." Gleizal to Henni, January 5, 1854. Milwaukee Archdiocesan Archives.

available personnel than had formerly been the case⁴⁸ That at least a few men could be spared without difficulty for making a start at Milwaukee was likewise the opinion expressed by De Smet He wrote to Father Beckx

Rev Father Provincial has instructed me to give your Paternity my opinion on the acceptance of a residence and church in Milwaukee The question has been under consideration for several years I have always been in favor of accepting the offer of the worthy Bishop Henni Last year his Lordship, in a letter to us, expressed the desire that we come and take possession in his episcopal city of a fine piece of property, a house and a church The Bishop does not insist on the establishment of a regular college (which would be a thing impossible for us at the present moment), he leaves this idea to the good will of Superiors, in case circumstances should permit them to realize it, it would be enough at present to send two or three Fathers and open a school (large or small, according to our means) for day-scholars He desires, as far as depends on him, that the money given by M de Boey be applied to an establishment of the Society in his diocese I am of opinion that the Vice-Province could, without serious inconvenience, accept the Bishop's offer From all I have heard of the place, the Society could do an immense amount of good Milwaukee is already a very important city, every year there is a notable increase in the population Wisconsin, of which Milwaukee is the capital, enjoys great prosperity The states of Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa and Minnesota border on and surround it Catholics from Europe, especially Germany and Ireland, flock there every year by thousands In all these states the soil in general is highly fertile and the climate healthy, while communication between them by lakes and railways is very easy A few zealous missionaries of the Society would achieve immense good throughout all this region, of which Milwaukee appears to be the focal point⁴⁹

Father Gleizal's letter to the General was likewise an unequivocal plea for the acceptance of Milwaukee

Suppose now that, when opportunities such as the Milwaukee one present themselves, we do not know how to profit by them or do not care to do so, well, a day will come when we shall have subjects to dispose of, but the most important places will not be ours and will probably be refused us Moreover, even though we could assure ourselves of the approbation of the Bishops, it would be necessary for us in order to set up an establishment, to procure funds 1 for the purchase of property, a very difficult matter now in our cities where the price of land is enormous, 2 for a building, 3 for its equipment Now all this is found in combination in Bishop Henni's offer

Why persist in remaining in Louisville and employing three of our men

⁴⁸ Druyts à Roothaan, November 13, 1854 (AA)

⁴⁹ De Smet à Roothaan, December 20, 1854 (AA)

as school-masters [in a parish-school] when three of our members would be more than sufficient for the Milwaukee residence, at least, for the present? In thus rejecting offhand offers of the very greatest advantage, Reverend Father Provincial is looking to the education of our young people and the training of our men generally. My own designs are not any different, but the consultors, while not overlooking so essential a point, are of opinion that three subjects are available for Milwaukee, especially since the changing of the boarding-school at Cincinnati into a day-school. We have now, one might say, only two colleges in the Vice-Province, both cluttered up with professors, the number of whom surprises people outside, especially the bishops and secular priests, who cannot understand why we employ the services of so many subjects for the education of 150 or 200 pupils while so many souls remain without the succour of religion for lack of priests. Besides, the number of our novices has increased greatly. What shall we do with all our men if we have not in advance a few places already prepared and furnished with the necessary means to receive them?

To sum up, here is what I advise for Milwaukee. I would accept Bishop Henni's offer and would promise to send two Fathers to serve St. Gall's church and open a free school for the poor children of the town. I would give his Lordship to understand clearly that there is no question whatever of a college, that later on, when the Vice-Province has more subjects and when a college at Milwaukee is possible and feasible, the Fathers will open a day-school there, everything, withal, being left to the judgment of the Provincial. With this I am sure Bishop Henni will be satisfied, while we shall be assured of a fine residence in Milwaukee, no prejudice will be done to the education of our young men and the formation of Ours and everything will turn out A M D G ⁵⁰

While the Missouri consultors were thus expressing themselves frankly to the Father General on the Milwaukee problem, the vice-provincial himself was pleading the negative side of the issue with equal honesty. "Unless I am mistaken, all the Father Consultors agree that a beginning of some kind ought to be made at Milwaukee. An examination of their opinion with the reasons supporting it may lead your Paternity to prefer it to my own, which outcome would undoubtedly be for me a clear expression of the divine will." The vice-provincial then alleges that the two or three fathers assigned to Milwaukee would have to be of more than middling capacity and that substitutes would have to be found for them in the colleges. In fine, the proposed house would be entirely premature. "We are already burdened and distracted and more than enough." As to Louisville, he admitted that the situation there was not satisfactory. But he judged the Jesuits should retain their position in the Kentucky metropolis and not imperil Catholic interests by their departure. "What, if by delaying, by persevering, by insisting,

⁵⁰ Gleizal à Roothaan, November 10, 1854 (AA)

we gain our point and finally have a church of our own with every facility for ministerial work!"⁵¹

To restrict the activities of his men within the narrowest practicable range, thereby making it possible for the scholastics to be put in due course through the traditional studies of the Society was the cardinal point in the policy which Father Murphy pursued as vice-provincial. He entered into office at a time when a different policy, one of expansion and too hasty grasping of opportunities had for many years prevailed in the vice-province, to the detriment, so it was felt, of the future academic standing of its members. A conservative by temperament and much more by conviction as he studied the situation before him, Father Murphy made every effort to insure to the individual Jesuits under his obedience the complete apparatus of learning, human and divine, with which the Society of Jesus seeks to equip its members. But now his zeal for the scholastic training of his personnel was in open conflict with what seemed to his consultors an opportunity for future educational activity that should by no manner of means be allowed to slip by. The decisive factor in the affair was to be the voice of Father Beckx. He wrote to Father Murphy

I have received the opinions of the Father Consultors whom I take occasion to thank for their diligence. All advise that Bishop Henni's proposition be accepted. Father Weninger had written to me before in the same sense and with great detail. In opposition to their opinion, your Reverence enumerates various difficulties. All these have been gone over carefully with the Father Assistants. I highly praise and approve your Reverence's zeal for the proper training of our men, and I have no desire to stand in the way of it. At the same time the offer made in Milwaukee appears to merit every consideration.

Hence the decision has been reached to propose to your Reverence to see whether you cannot reduce the number of subjects in Louisville, since we are not by any means meeting there with the success we should like, and furthermore, whether you cannot suppress one or other isolated residences and by this or similar means find two or three men to send to Milwaukee to begin a house, to which we can add in time and according to our means.

I communicate this decision to your Reverence, not by any means as an order, but as a counsel.⁵²

Father Beckx's counsel was promptly acted on by Father Murphy. Shortly after receiving the General's letter, he took the matter up with the Bishop of Milwaukee.

⁵¹ Murphy à Roothaan, December 20, 1854 (AA)

⁵² Beckx ad Murphy, February 10, 1855 (A)

This is rather a late hour to address you in reference to the College project, nay, my communication may not prove acceptable owing to the antecedents I beg however to say that I have been directed to use every possible endeavor to undertake something at Milwaukee, should your Lordship, as F Weninger states, continue to entertain that project My desire would be to commence with a numerous faculty at once, but the *death* of some and the *departure* within the year, of about seven or eight priests, have crippled me sadly I find it possible to offer a couple of Fathers at least, to make a beginning in September Should this proposition be approved of by you, I would further ask your approval of my going to see your Lordship at Milwaukee, directly after the Provincial Council of Cincinnati at which B [Bishop] Spalding says I should attend I presume all will be over by the 21st May, and before the 1st of June I could hope to present my respects in person with good F De Smet

In August Father Murphy was repeating to Bishop Henni the offer he had made in April

I presume the letter of Father De Smet, written last June, was received by your Lordship In it there was mention of two Fathers being at your disposal for St Gall's in September should you approve of the arrangement This would be a beginning, the schools, I hope, would follow May Heaven bless the undertaking! I would respectfully ask the favor of a line in reply to give me further directions ⁵³

§ 7. THE JESUITS AT ST GALL'S

On September 1, 1855, Father Murphy announced to the General that the Milwaukee offer had been definitely accepted "The administration of the church will be easy But I don't see where we are to look for a force of men to start the college with I have above all insisted that nothing be promised or undertaken out of due season and that we proceed step by step. I scarcely hope in this manner to satisfy the Bishop, who is eagerly bent on realizing his plan That the entire Vice-Province is under a strain is certain beyond all question God alone can relieve the situation" Fathers De Smet and De Coen arrived in Milwaukee on September 13 and on the following day, feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, took formal possession of St Gall's Church As the parochial residence was not quite ready for occupancy, they lodged a few days at the Bishop's house, where they were kindly received and entertained On the following Sunday, September 16, the Bishop preached at High Mass at St. Gall's and formally introduced the

⁵³ Murphy to Henni, April 27, 1855, August 10, 1855 Milwaukee Archdiocesan Archives "We shall act soon in the Milwaukee affair Meanwhile let us pray and *beati* being not properly judged at headquarters" Murphy to O'Loughlin, April 6, 1855 (A)

fathers He spoke in commendation of the Society of Jesus and expressed the great satisfaction he felt at its entrance into his diocese. On September 27 Father Dennis Kenny with the lay brother, John Murphy, arrived from St Louis to assist De Coen while De Smet, who had only been awaiting the coming of Kenny, left Milwaukee for St Louis on the same day ^{53a}

St Gall's Church, a frame building, ninety-four feet by forty-six and twenty-four feet high, stood at the southwest corner of Second and Sycamore Streets. It had been dedicated December 8, 1849, Father Beauprez, its first pastor, and Fathers Callanan, Putnam and McFaul participating in the ceremony. Conspicuous among the decorations of the church on the occasion was an oil-painting of St Gall portrayed in the act of announcing the Gospel to the heathen Allemani It was the work of a Miss Pearsall and came as a gift to the parish from Bishop Meier of St. Gall in Switzerland, Bishop Henni's early tutor and life-long friend Henni's biographer notes that the prelate, in providing a church for the Irish Catholics of Milwaukee under the patronage of the Irish missionary-saint, St Gall, one of the apostles of the Faith in Switzerland, was especially gratified to be able thus to acknowledge the debt of gratitude which his native Switzerland owed to the early Celtic missionaries.⁵⁴

The parish territory of St Gall's was limited on the east by the Milwaukee River, north and south it extended some four miles into the county while to the west it included the town of Wauwatosa, about five miles from the city Father Beauprez, dying of the cholera in 1850, was succeeded as pastor by Father Bradley, who had for assistant Father Thomas Keenan During the few months between June, 1855, and the arrival of the Jesuits in September of that year, Father Martin Kundig was in charge of the parish ⁵⁵

On taking over St Gall's the Jesuits found the church greatly out of repair, while the rectory, a one-story cottage of two rooms with basement situated in the rear of the church, was in similar case Being built on an unusually low spot of the marshy ground that was characteristic of the entire neighborhood, the rectory became flooded after every shower of rain "Snakes, toads and lizards," exclaims the diarist of St Gall's, "have their dwelling there," this section of the West Side retaining at the time much of its primitive condition as a wild-rice swamp Between the Menominee River on the south, the Milwaukee

^{53a} *History of St Gall's Residence, Milwaukee* (Ms) Archives of Marquette University

⁵⁴ Marty, *Dr John Martin Henni*, p 202

⁵⁵ [Robert S Johnston, S J], *Marquette College A Quarter Century, 1881-1906* (Milwaukee, 1906), p 5

River on the east and up to between Fourth and Fifth Streets, where the hills began, the Fourth Ward was low, marshy ground, covered in most places with several feet of water. As a consequence the locality was unhealthy to a degree, the records of the day commenting on the great amount of sickness to be found among the parishioners of St. Gall's. But the evil did not continue long. During the period 1855-1857 the low-lying and miasma-breeding blocks in the Fourth Ward were filled in to an average of twenty-two feet, the filling being brought from the hills or bluffs which were cut away to an almost equal depth. Thereupon the parish became, as was noted in 1857, one of the healthiest sections of the city. A new St. Gall's rectory, forty-eight feet by thirty-eight, built of brick on the site of the old one, was finished in the remarkably short space of four months and was occupied by the Jesuit pastors shortly before the Christmas of 1856.⁵⁶ "We have finally entered into our new house," wrote Father De Coen to St. Louis. "I can hardly get used to it, after having been tossed about without home for five months."

The condition of the parish when Father De Coen took it in charge in 1855 could not be described as satisfactory. Since its inception about six years before some ten clergymen had served it in turn and these frequent changes of personnel had scarcely made for efficiency of administration. The parishioners, some thousand in number and mostly of the laboring class, were in the words of the parish chronicler "in a rather distracted state of mind." There had been on occasion misunderstandings and disagreements between them and their pastors and even between them and the Bishop. Saturday confessions numbered not more than from fifteen to twenty-five, except before some major ecclesiastical feast, when they would mount to forty, which was considered a quite unusual figure. Parish societies had indeed been organized, a Ladies' Altar Society, Confraternities of the Sacred Heart of Jesus and of the Rosary, and a Sunday-school library, the children paying each five cents

⁵⁶ *History of St. Gall's Residence* (Ms.) De Coen to Druyts, December 30, 1856 (A). "All that portion of the Fourth Ward bounded by the Menominee on the south, the Milwaukee on the east, Spring Street on the north and to a point about midway between Fourth and Fifth Streets on the West where the hills commenced, was a wild rice-swamp covered with water from two to six feet in depth, in fact, an impassable marsh. The amount of filling that has been done upon the tract is immense, averaging twenty-two feet over the entire tract. There was a small island near the corner of Second and Clybourne Streets, upon which was a large elm tree. All else was a watery waste. At Spring Street the ground commenced to harden and from there to Chestnut, with the exception of West Water from Spring to Third (which was also marsh) the whole was a swamp, upon which grew tamarack, black ash, bog alder and cedar in abundance." *Memoirs of Milwaukee County*, p. 262.

a month for the use of the books. But these organizations had for the most part declined and were in a languishing condition. Under its new pastors the morale of the parish steadily improved. New devotions and associations of a pious or philanthropic nature were introduced in 1856, as the Forty Hours Adoration, the Way of the Cross, May Devotions, an Orphans' Society and the Archconfraternity of the Immaculate Heart of Mary for the Conversion of Sinners. A spiritual revival or mission begun at St. Gall's March 2, 1856, and, attended also by members of the cathedral parish, had to be continued for three weeks to accommodate the great number of penitents that presented themselves at the confessionals. The conclusion of the exercises was made impressive by the presence of Bishop Henni, who preached on the occasion. Meantime, efforts were being made to supply very pressing needs in church equipment. Stations for the Way of the Cross were obtained from St. Louis and, through the medium of Father De Smet, candlesticks from Ghent in Belgium, while properly made confessionals were installed, a perforated side-board having previously been the only device available for that purpose. Moreover, gifts for the decoration of the church began to come in, a life-size painting of St. Ignatius Loyola from Bishop Henni, a painting of the Annunciation from Father Verhaegen of St. Charles, Missouri, and a much needed tabernacle for the altar from the master of novices, Father Gleizal.

From the very first the fathers looked after the Catholic inmates in the poor house at Wauwatosa. Sometimes their ministry carried them a great distance away from Milwaukee, as in an instance recorded in 1859 by Father De Coen, which no doubt occurred under exceptional circumstances, as the limits of the parish ran only a few miles beyond the city boundaries. Father De Coen was writing to relatives in Belgium

My occupations in the ministry are almost as regular as those of a curé in Belgium, only that a few weeks ago I had to make a little trip such as, I suppose, doesn't happen often among you. I was called to a sick person seventy leagues [175 miles²] away from here. I set out at once, for the case was an urgent one, the sick man was dying. Happily a kind providence watched over him so as to keep him alive till I arrived. I found him in effect in the last extremity, but with strength enough to make his confession and receive the last Sacraments. I started the same day back to my mission. I learned since that the man died a few days after.⁵⁷

The sinking in Lake Michigan in 1860 of the steamer *Lady Elgin* with great loss of life finds mention in a letter of De Coen's to his

⁵⁷ De Coen à ———, December 8, 1859. Archives of the North Belgian Province. Probably Father De Coen meant "miles" for "leagues."

family. "What makes this catastrophe doubly afflicting, is that almost without exception, they were Catholics and of the first families of the town Scarcely a Catholic family but mourns over one of its members or a near relative In token of general grief the town is draped in black for three months" ⁵⁸

By 1868 services at St Gall's were drawing such throngs that it was felt a new and more capacious church should be built at once for the congregation But the question where to build was a perplexing one The "Hill," where at State and Tenth Streets the Bishop had purchased lots for the contemplated college, was considered too far away, moreover, he was thought not to be in favor of building on the old site Still, to a committee of parishioners who waited upon him, he replied that they might build the new church either on the Hill or on the old site A considerable group was in favor of going midway between the two locations, but the Bishop persisted in his decision that the new church was to be erected either on the site of the old one or on the Hill, as he was fond of calling the property on the bluff Efforts subsequently made to find a site on higher ground and in the direction of the Hill were without success, principally because suitable property in that direction would have involved an outlay of some fifteen or twenty thousand dollars Finally but with reluctance choice was made of the ground immediately adjoining the existing church Here was built the new edifice, which was of brick.

§ 8 MARQUETTE COLLEGE IN THE MAKING

To establish a college had been the ulterior motive that drew the Society of Jesus to Milwaukee Within two years of its arrival in the city the first steps towards realizing this objective had been taken through the opening of St Aloysius Academy. A three-year lease having been secured on the ground immediately adjoining the church on the west, the old rectory was moved to this site and there raised ten feet so as to admit of new foundations and a ground-story built thereon Thus enlarged and its interior fitted up anew, it was to furnish quarters for a classical and commercial school to be known as St. Aloysius Academy The expense incurred was met by subscriptions from the congregation, by donations from other sources and by money borrowed at interest In August, 1857, Father Stanislaus Lalumiere and a scholastic, Mr Cornelius O'Brien, arrived from St Louis to take in hand the management of the new academy Father Lalumiere, a native of Vincennes, Indiana, thirty-five years old at this juncture, was destined to be the central figure in all Jesuit activities in Milwaukee up to the

⁵⁸ De Coen à ———, October 4, 1860 Archives of the North Belgian Province, S J

foundation of the college and beyond. An exaggerated newspaper account of the new institution, which announced teaching in all the branches of a "commercial, classical and philosophical education," embarrassed him greatly. "This notice mortified me, as the place, buildings, furniture and corps of teachers could not come up to such expectations" ⁵⁹

The diarist of St Gall's, having chronicled the preparations made to set St Aloysius Academy on foot, expressed the fervent hope, "may it prove, under the blessing of heaven, to be the root and foundation of a flourishing college." In the event, the new institution was not to develop into a college, but it struggled through many years, not without a measure of success, to realize its ideals of higher academic training and many of the leading citizens of Milwaukee found instruction within its humble walls. At the opening of the academy in September, 1857, there registered about fifty students, ranging in age between six and twenty-one. In August, 1858, the faculty was reenforced by the arrival of Father John Coveney and Mr Joseph Van Zealand, both of the Society of Jesus. Though the number of students in attendance during the year ending July, 1859, had risen to ninety-two, the managers of the school felt disappointment over the progress made. At the end of this second year of the school Father Lalumiere with the other Jesuit instructors was accordingly withdrawn, the teaching-staff being thereupon recruited with laymen. Among these were Messrs Graves, Menger, and Rimmele, of whom the last named subsequently became a Jesuit. On July 2, 1861, Father Lalumiere returned from St Louis, where he had been minister for a year, to succeed Father De Coen as pastor of St Gall's, while in August Father Kenny followed Father De Coen to other fields of labor. On September 9 St Aloysius Academy began its third year with about forty boys in attendance. In 1864 a new school-building of brick was erected. Father John T Kuhlman was

⁵⁹ Lalumiere ms account (A). The advertisement objected to by Father Lalumiere was probably the following, which appeared in a Milwaukee newspaper: "St Aloysius Academy—under the direction of the members of the Society of Jesus, situated on Third Street between Sycamore and Clybourne Streets, Milwaukee, Wisconsin,—The classes in this institution will be opened the first Monday of September. The course of studies will comprise all the branches of a thorough classical and commercial education, and classes will be organized to suit students of every grade of proficiency. Greek, Latin, English and French will be taught by experienced and competent professors. The classes of Rhetoric, Mathematics, Astronomy, Chemistry and Natural Philosophy will afford the more advanced portion of the students every opportunity of successfully following the scientific course, while the younger students will be carefully instructed in Orthography, Reading, Grammar, History, Geography, Arithmetic and other branches suited to their age and capacity. Penmanship and Book-keeping will receive special attention and will be taught on the most approved plan."

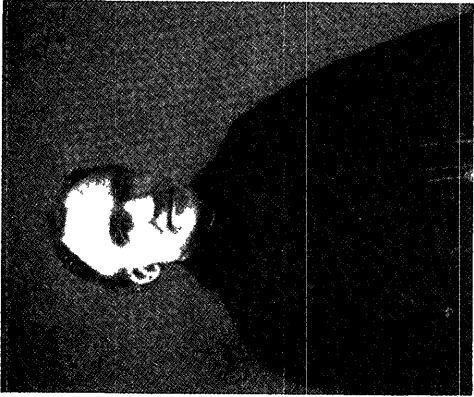
principal of the school, which now assumed the name St Gall's Academy, counted as many as four hundred students on its roll-call and gained steadily in public esteem. Beginning with 1862 one or more Jesuit scholastics were annually assigned to the teaching-staff of the academy until 1872 when Father Thomas O'Neil, the provincial, decided to station no more scholastics in Milwaukee. Little by little the academy lost its individuality and was merged in the parish-school. For a decade at least prior to the opening of Marquette College in 1882 the academy at St Gall's, as an institution of high-school grade, had ceased to exist.

Bishop Henni's idea of the Society of Jesus was seemingly based on what he had seen of its activities in Europe, where it was engaged almost exclusively in education without entering at all into the field of the parochial ministry, a field which in the United States circumstances made it necessary to work. He had offered the Jesuits St Gall's in Milwaukee because they had stipulated for a parish and without it could not be secured for the college, which was the one thing he had in view in bringing them to the city. The Van Buren Street property purchased in 1849 as a site for the proposed college was later deemed unsuited for the purpose on account of its proximity to the cathedral, which was only four blocks away, whereupon the Bishop acquired for about eleven thousand dollars a new piece of property, consisting of eight lots in Block 199, Fourth Ward. With the six additional lots subsequently purchased by the Jesuits through Father De Smet in 1866, this property, three hundred and sixty-six by three hundred and three feet, included the entire block between Tenth, Eleventh, Prairie and State or Tamarack Streets and became popularly known as the Hill, the Bishop's favorite designation, or as the "College" or "Seminary Lots." Father Druyts described the property in 1857 as "magnificently situated, but too far away from the dense population of the town," while the St Gall chronicler pictures this almost suburban tract as "located on an eminence which overlooks the whole city and presents an extensive view of Lake Michigan, they [the lots] may become in the course of time a valuable property, but at present they are of no use for church or school purposes as they are so far away from the center of population." When in 1856 Father de Coen asked Bishop Henni for a deed to this Hill property as also to Lot 1, Block 75, on which was located St Gall's church and rectory, the latter was at first unwilling to deliver it except for a consideration of three thousand dollars. This answer came as a surprise to Father de Coen, as the Jesuits had come to Milwaukee on the understanding that they were to be given free possession of the church and college property. It was through Father Glezal that the Bishop's offer had been made to the vice-

province of Missouri on occasion of the mission and clergy retreat conducted by the Jesuits in Milwaukee in 1853 Gleizal was therefore instructed by Father Murphy, the vice-provincial, to remonstrate with the Bishop. This he did in a carefully worded letter, declaring that unless cession were made of both church and college property, as stipulated, and without payment of the indicated sum of money, the fathers would find it necessary to withdraw from Milwaukee, "a step which we should regret much on account of the good already effected by our Fathers, and because of the high regard and esteem that all of our Vice-Province entertain for your Lordship." Finally, in consideration of the five thousand dollars of the De Boey money which he still retained as a sort of security, so he explained, for the claim he had on the St. Gall's property, the Bishop on July 15, 1856, executed in favor of Father Murphy a deed of trust to the properties in question, the fathers, in the contingency of their leaving Milwaukee, to return them to the diocese and be reimbursed for improvements made. Years later, July 10, 1868, Father Lalumiere, superior at St. Gall's, called on Bishop Henni to petition him for a deed in fee-simple to the church property. The prelate was disinclined to acquiesce in this request alleging that the church was indebted to him for some uncertain amount. Father Lalumiere then suggested that the five thousand dollars of the De Boey money still retained by the Bishop might be considered as balancing the church debt, so that the matter could be adjusted by a mutual relinquishment of claims. To this arrangement the Bishop readily agreed, delivering to Lalumiere a deed in fee-simple to the church property.⁶⁰

Some weeks later, August 3, 1868, Father Lalumiere, accompanied by the Jesuit provincial, Father Coosemans, again visited the Bishop, this time to petition him for a title in fee-simple to the college property on the "Hill." This matter had seemed to be on the verge of settlement half a year before but for some unknown reason was allowed to lapse. The difficulties that arose in connection with the Bardstown property which the Jesuits held in trust only had led them to adopt as a settled policy the principle of not building at their own expense on land to which they held a conditional title only and not one in fee-simple. The Bishop on the occasion of this visit assured the fathers that the money used in the purchase of the property on the "Hill" really belonged to the Society of Jesus as having been given to it in the first instance. He repeated, about which matter there could never have been the slightest doubt, that he had always desired to see a Jesuit college in Milwaukee and he touched again on the De Boey Masses, which he

⁶⁰ Lalumiere, ms account (A) Gleizal to Henni, June 26, 1856, Milwaukee Archdiocesan Archives



Father Anthony M. Anderledy, twenty-third General of the Society of Jesus (1819-1892) In 1849 he carried on in Milwaukee negotiations for the opening of a Jesuit college in that city

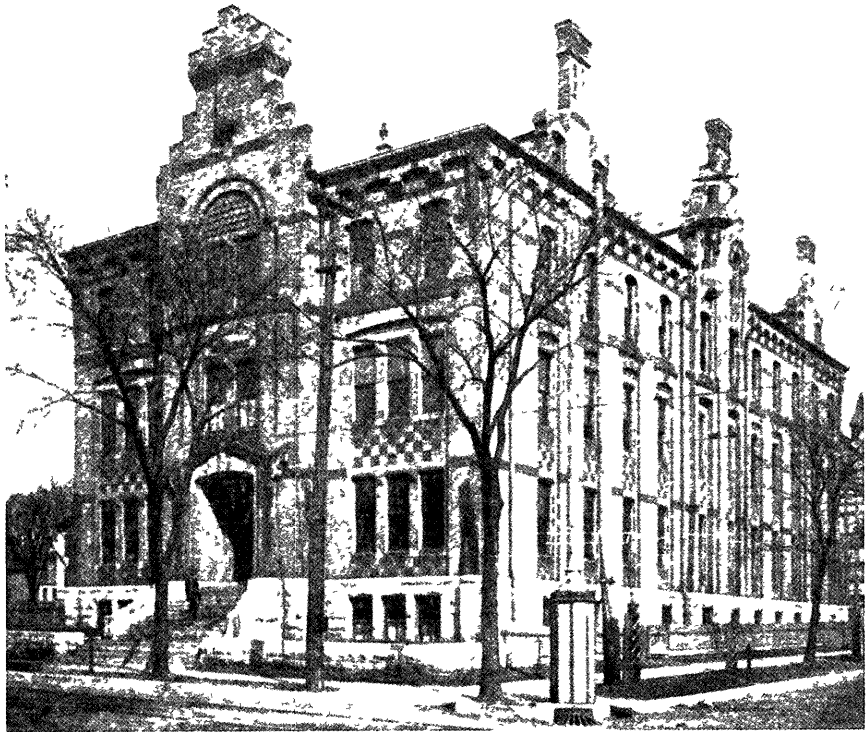
Finis epistolam, regens, ut nominisque vestri, vobis in prolatione omnium ad huc episcopi per
 eundem hoc anno non facile fiet, sumus tunc vobis vobis non alio psumas et libe
 rare dedit, cum hoc huiusmodi a plura loca extenderet. Interea in integrum statum esse
 volentem, sed huiusmodi, Deo dicit lentes, sanguinem esse sat abundantem. Insuper tamen,
 spero, non impedit, quominus fructus quatuor saltem vobis ad S. G.
 De re per me summoque commendo.

Green - bay (Wisconsin) United States
 Dec 17 1849.

Sumus in Vobis summoque
 S. A. Vobis, Milwaukee a diebus primis non sinitur huius.
 Pater huius in Green Bay vobis vobis huiusmodi (dona)

Andersley J. S.

Closing paragraph of a letter of Father Anderledy addressed to his provincial, Father Minoux, Green Bay, Wisconsin, September 17, 1849 Archives of the Province of Lower Germany, S J



Marquette College, Milwaukee Original building, Tenth and State Streets, 1881.

had agreed to say during his life and which he would expect the order to say after his death. These Masses he had himself been faithfully discharging ever since the agreement made by him with the Belgian founder. In fine, he could not deliver to the Jesuits the title in fee-simple for which they petitioned unless they assumed the obligation of the Masses in question. To Father Coosemans as to Father Roothaan before him it seemed hazardous to accept this onerous obligation. But he had already received an opinion from Father Beckx that the obligation might after all be assumed as a condition now necessarily bound up with the acceptance of a college in Milwaukee. Father Coosemans accordingly signified to Bishop Henni his willingness to accept in the name of the Society of Jesus the obligation of the stipulated Masses with the result that the Bishop immediately made out and delivered to the Jesuit provincial, August 3, 1868, a title in fee-simple to the college lots.

The initial attempt of the Jesuits to establish in Milwaukee an institution of high-school or academy grade which would develop eventually into a college had not met with success. No one felt this issue of circumstances more keenly than Father Lalumiere, around whose engaging personality is written this story of disappointed hopes. Reviewing the situation as it had developed in 1873, he expressed the opinion that the Jesuits in their pioneer educational efforts in Milwaukee, had, in his own phrase, "started wrong." They began to build, but like the man in the Gospel, were unable to finish. A wiser course would have been to begin with a parish school and then, as resources in men and money allowed, to proceed to more serious ventures in the educational field. At all events, Bishop Henni could not but feel a reasonable disappointment at the long deferred realization of his early dream. When in October, 1872, Lalumiere put to him the question, "are you disappointed in the Society in regard to education?" the prelate replied without hesitation, "altogether so." And not long after he said to another Jesuit "How much I have worked for a college of the Fathers in Milwaukee! I pray for it every day and have prayed for it for twenty years." Some nine years later he had his wish and as though his long career was to be held in suspense until this final touch to the upbuilding of the Catholic church in Wisconsin should have been realized, Bishop Henni passed away only two days after Marquette College had opened its doors.⁶¹

The issue of events was to see the college established, not in the filled-up rice-swamp where St. Aloysius Academy ran its brief career, but on the bluffs, which in the infant days of the city rose up sharply

⁶¹ Lalumiere, ms account (A)

from the marsh-land below and wearing a crown of timber of more or less heavy growth were a thing of beauty to the eye and the favorite pleasure-ground of all pioneer Milwaukeans. Beginning at the Menominee River on the south, the bluffs ran uniformly north along a line midway between Fourth and Fifth Streets to a point between Spring Street, the present Wisconsin Avenue and Wells Street. Here their front swung around sharply and coursed west to midway between Eighth and Ninth Streets, where it swerved again to the north. In the mid-fifties the sharp edges of the bluffs were cut away and the level of the bottom-land lying at their base was proportionately raised, but to this day the topographical contrast between the hill-top section of Milwaukee and the lower or business district of the city is striking enough to impress the most casual observer.⁶² Discounting, then, actual conditions and looking only to the expansion which he felt the city was bound to undergo up to and across the bluffs, Bishop Henni, as was stated above, acquired a property lying some score yards back from the edge of the bluffs. This property he deeded to the Jesuits, first, in 1856, in trust for educational purposes and later, in 1868, in fee simple, thus carrying out the intention of the donor, M. De Boey, through whose gift of money the Bishop had been enabled to make the purchase and who had stipulated that the college to be established through his agency should be conducted by members of the Society of Jesus. Meantime, by a special act of the Wisconsin Legislature, Marquette College had been incorporated in 1864 as an educational institution of collegiate grade, with a charter authorizing its trustees to confer such academic honors and degrees as they might deem proper. The incorporators were Fathers Stanislaus P. Lalumiere, Ignatius Maes and James M. Hayes, all of the Society of Jesus and resident at the time at St. Gall's rectory. Further, there was all the while a steady flow of population from the center towards the hilltop section of the city, a condition that determined the pastors of St. Gall's to open the succursal Church of the Holy Name. It stood along the Eleventh Street front of the college property, and was dedicated October 24, 1875. Five years later, August 15, 1880, the corner-stone of Marquette College was laid by Right Reverend Michael Heiss, Coadjutor-bishop of Milwaukee, on a site at the northwest corner of Tenth and State Streets, this being the "hill-top" property of Bishop Henni's. On September 5, 1881, the doors of the new institution opened to receive the first students and the hopes of the Society of Jesus to bring within reach of the youth of Milwaukee the advantages of an education of college grade found at last their long deferred fulfillment.

⁶² *Memours of Milwaukee County*, etc., p. 263.