

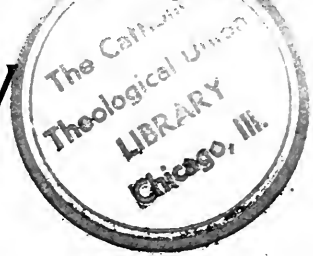




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# ST. LOUIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW



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Issued Quarterly

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EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

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ASSOCIATE EDITORS

REV. CHARLES L. SOUVAY, C. M., D. D.

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REV. GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN, S. J.

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Volume IV

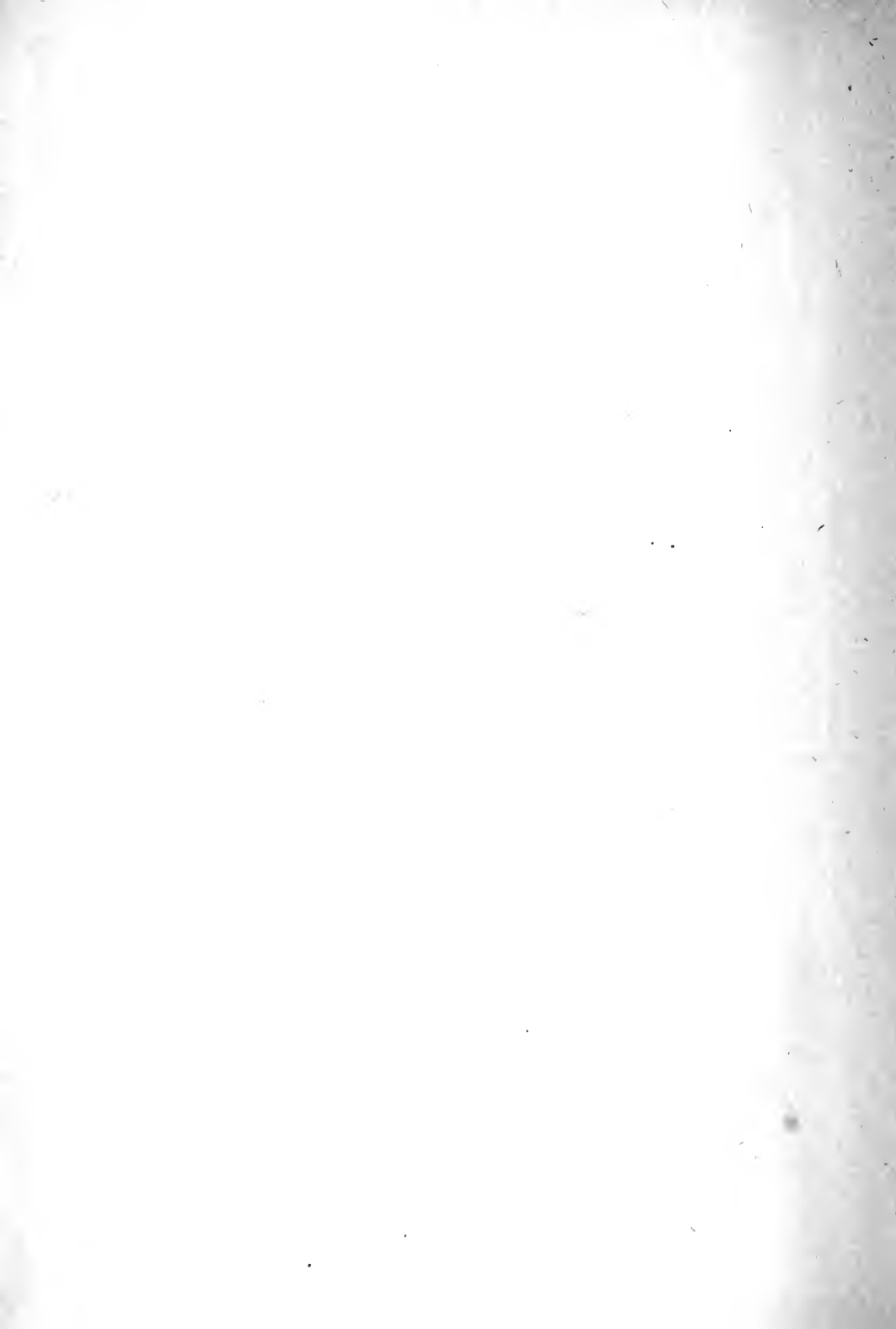
JANUARY-APRIL 1922

Number 1-2

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PUBLISHED BY THE CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SAINT LOUIS

209 WALNUT STREET, ST. LOUIS, MO.



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# AN APPEAL

## HISTORICAL MATTER DESIRED

by the Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis



Books and pamphlets on American History and Biography, particularly those relating to Church institutions, ecclesiastical persons and Catholic lay people within the limits of the Louisiana Purchase;

Old newspapers; Catholic modern papers; Parish papers, whether old or recent:

*We will highly appreciate the courtesy of the Reverend Pastors who send us regularly their Parish publications;*

Manuscripts; narratives of early Catholic settlers or relating to early Catholic settlements; letters:

*In the case of family papers which the actual owners wish to keep in their possession, we shall be grateful for the privilege of taking copies of these papers;*

Engravings, portraits, Medals. etc;

In a word, every object whatsoever which, by the most liberal construction, may be regarded as an aid to, or illustration of the history of the Catholic Church in the Middle West.

Contributions will be credited to the donors and preserved in the Library or Archives of the Society, for the use and benefit of the members and other duly authorized persons.

Communications may be addressed either to the Secretary, or to the Librarians of the

*Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis,*

209 Walnut Street, St. Louis, Mo.



# PUBLIC PLACES OF WORSHIP IN ST. LOUIS

BEFORE PALM SUNDAY 1843.

It may impress many of our well-educated people as the performance of some rather severe penance, when they learn that one of their otherwise right reasonable friends has spent hours upon hours in delving into the heaps of old tattered papers and documents of say the archives of the St. Louis Diocese: yet by the supposed penitents this labor is considered as one of the great pleasures of life, not because it is a labor and a rather tiresome one, but because it is the means of reconstructing some incident or scene of the long forgotten past. This fact came home to me with special insistence, as I pored over the volumes of Bishop Rosati's *Diary*, in which all the events of his episcopal activity are briefly noted. Our Dr. Souvay has first made a start to publish this Diary in our REVIEW, but for the present and in as far as the general public is concerned it is as yet virgin soil.

In this Diary and in other papers, left by Bishop Rosati, I have found interesting information as to some churches that were planned and begun but never completed, as well as of churches that were completed but afterwards destroyed, the memory of which has almost entirely passed away in our city.—It is my intention in this paper to reproduce these memories by giving a review of the churches built and to be built in this city, up to the dedication of the Jesuit church of St. Francis Xavier, on Ninth and Green Streets, on Palm Sunday 1843.

## 1. CHURCH OF ST. LOUIS, THE KING.

Upon the history of the Church of St. Louis, the King, which in the course of events has become a Cathedral and is loath to lose the title, I shall touch only slightly, because it is universally known. This church was built of palisades, by the Creole settlers, six years after the foundation of the post and village of St. Louis. It was blessed by Father Gibault on the Feast of St. John the Baptist, June 24, 1770. It was so small and so carelessly constructed, that *four* years later, at a public meeting, Dec. 26, 1774, a resolution was passed by the settlers to build a new one. This second church, also constructed of upright logs, was blessed by P. Bernard de Limpach, O.M. Cap., the parish

priest of St. Louis, in the summer of 1776, shortly after his arrival. These two buildings stood on the West side of Second Street about half way between Market and Walnut Sts.

When Du Bourg arrived in January 1818, this second church must have been in a most deplorable condition: it was ready to tumble down any day. Therefore, on March 29, 1818, Bishop Du Bourg blessed the cornerstone of a brick church to replace the old log and post structure; the Architect was a Frenchman, Gabriel Paul; the principal contractor was the well known Irishman, Hugh O'Neil. The first services were held in this church on Christmas day 1819; it was dedicated by the Ven. Servant of God, Father De Andreis, on Jan. 9, 1820. This third church stood on the southwest corner of Market and Second Streets; but it was never completed; it was never even plastered or ceiled; only the main nave was roughly built in 1819.

When Bishop Rosati felt the necessity of having a larger church built in a more imposing style, he saw that it would not be worth while to enlarge or rather finish the church of Bp. Du Bourg. On Aug. 1, 1830 he laid the foundation stone of an entirely new stone edifice on Walnut Street. This building, the present church of St. Louis of France, or the Old Cathedral, was really and is still to-day, a worthy house of God. It was consecrated Oct. 26, 1834. Present were Bishop Flaget of Bardstown, Bishop Purcell of Cincinnati and the newly elected Bishop of Vincennes, Simon Bruté, whom Rosati consecrated two days later, Oct. 28. The solemnities were drawn out a whole week and only on November the 3rd the visiting prelates departed for their respective dioceses. The ground on Market Street was disposed of by a lease of 99 years; Bishop Du Bourg's church (2nd and Market) was first used as a warehouse; five months later it was destroyed by fire, on April 6, 1835. All traces of it have disappeared.

## 2. ST. MARY'S CHAPEL.

After the Cathedral, the first public place of worship in the city of St. Louis was St. Mary's Chapel, on the West side of Second Street, between Market and Walnut. This chapel was transformed from a meeting hall and an adjoining room of a brick building, which had been erected by Bishop Du Bourg, for St. Louis Academy, in 1819, on the exact spot, where Father Gibault's church had stood. When, in the spring of 1827, this episcopal College was closed, the building was not used for any purpose for several years, except, perhaps, for catechetical instructions. At last, Bishop Rosati had it changed into a chapel. In the spring of 1832 the work was finished and, on the second Sunday after Easter, May 6th 1832, the chapel was blessed, in honor of the Mother of God, by Father Verhaegen, of the Society of Jesus, the Superior of St. Louis University. He was assisted by Fathers Roux, Jean-jean and Bouillier. The Mass after the benediction services was said by Father Jos. Ant. Lutz.<sup>1)</sup> The chapel was used for the Catholic

<sup>1)</sup> Bishop Rosati's *Diary* in the Chancery Office.

Negroes who, at that time, were very numerous in St. Louis. The sermons were preached in French and in English.

The conflict between the French priests at the Cathedral and the English speaking population, prior to the coming of Bishop Kenrick, is well known. For 15 years there was hardly one priest at the Cathedral who was able to preach a sermon in good English, while the numerous Irish of the city demanded to have the word of God preached to them at a convenient hour. Bishop Rosati found it extremely difficult to be just to both, the old native Creoles and the Irish immigrants. And now, to fill the cup of bitterness to the brim, since 1830 another spectre raised its head: a third language, the German. It was impossible to preach in three languages in the Cathedral without raising strife galore. At this juncture, St. Mary's chapel, the little church of the negroes, appeared as the angel of peace.

"Mr. Lutz to-day," as the Bishop writes in his *Diary*, "has said Mass in St. Mary's chapel for the Germans and preached to them a sermon in German. In future this shall be done every Sunday. Also catechetical instruction has begun to-day. Mr. Lutz has instructed the children in German and English in the chapel and St. Cyr in French in the church."

Accordingly St. Mary's chapel was, since January 1834, the first German church in St. Louis. Father Lutz had sole charge of the Germans till 1837, when Father Fischer was ordained and given him as an assistant. When St. Mary's chapel ceased to exist, I have not found; later on, it seems, the German services were held in the basement of the Cathedral until the Church of St. Mary of the Victories was built on Third and Mulberry Streets in 1844.

### 3. ST. MARY'S CHURCH.

(planned but never built)

After 1830 the German Catholics, especially from the North, from Westphalia and Hannover, poured into the city like the waves of a mighty river. Having been accustomed to the solemn services in their stately churches at home, they were dissatisfied with the simple low Mass in the humble chapel of St. Mary's or in the basement chapel of the Cathedral. They began to clamour for a church of their own, according to the example of Quincy, Ill., where Father Brickwedde had opened a German church in 1837. We follow the development of the affair in Bishop Rosati's papers.

On March 14, 1839, he writes in his *Diary*, that on that day with Major Smith, he went to the Western part of the city, where a church was to be built in honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary, for the Germans. He thinks, the site was very beautiful.

On March 20th he writes:

"I have bought of Major Smith a lot of ground, 200 by 150 ft., at 15 dollars a foot, and I received a lot of 30 feet as a gift, for the German church."

There were two small frame houses on the property. During Easter week Fathers Fischer <sup>2</sup> and Meyer <sup>3</sup>) in the Cathedral gave a mission for the Germans, to gather the scattered people for the new parish. Fischer preached in the evening, Meyer in the morning.—On account of the financial crisis nothing further was done towards the erection of St. Mary's church.

On April 27, 1840 Bishop Rosati left for the East to take part in the Provincial Council of Baltimore. I wish to state here that Bishop Rosati went to Baltimore by special invitation and of his own free will. St. Louis diocese never belonged to the ecclesiastical province of Baltimore; it was directly subject to the Holy See. Wherefore the Bishop of St. Louis was under no obligation to attend a provincial Council of Baltimore, but simply followed a special and pressing invitation.

In the instructions which Bishop Rosati at his departure left to his friend and legal adviser, Mr. Philip Leduc <sup>4</sup>) he writes under the head of *Credit (Avoir)*: <sup>5</sup>)

Under *Debit (Devoir)* he writes:

"I have bought from Major Thomas F. Smith a piece of land, to build a church for the Germans. They have promised me to take up subscriptions in order to pay for it. The ground has cost 3,000 Dollars. Of this I have paid to Major Smith 2,000 Dollars, including 100 Dollars which he had subscribed for the new church. The Germans have promised to collect the subscriptions. They will hand over the money to Mr. Leduc, who again will pay Major Smith."

<sup>2</sup>) Rev. John Peter Fischer was born in the diocese of Metz Dec. 26, 1836. he was ordained Deacon at St. Louis Cathedral; Jan. 1, 1837 he received the holy priesthood. Nov. 17, 1837 he was appointed pastor of New Madrid, but came back to St. Louis in a short time and was assistant at the Cathedral, until he was appointed pastor of St. Mary's Church in 1844. June 10, 1856 he left for Europe, never to return.

<sup>3</sup>) Father Charles Meyer came from Switzerland to the States and received faculties from Bishop Rosati, Dec. 13, 1836, for the Germans in Illinois. In 1837 he resided at Shilo, near Belleville, then at Teutonia (Paderborn), since 1839 at St. Thomas, two miles from Millstadt; in the following year he resigned and retired to a farm near Columbia, Ill.

<sup>4</sup>) Marie Philip Leduc was born at Saint-Denis, France in 1772; in 1792 he came to New Madrid, was private secretary to Gov. DeLassus in 1796, secretary of the province under DeLassus in 1799; Aug. 30, 1802 he married Marg. Papin. Later on he was Recorder, Alderman, Justice of the Peace, Notary, Court Clerk and Judge of the Probate Court. He died at the residence of his brother-in-law, Hippolyte Papin, Aug. 15, 1842. (*Annals of St. Louis*, F. Billon, St. Louis, 1886.)

<sup>5</sup>) These instructions are contained in a ledger which is preserved in the Archives of the Archdiocese of St. Louis.

"Rent from two frame houses in the Riley Addition, beyond Chouteau lake on a piece of ground which I bought to build a church for the Germans. The rent from these houses is 8 Dollars per month, Mr. Luckey will collect the rent."

But this church in the Riley Addition, beyond Chouteau Pond, was never built. To the Bishop's entry Mr. Leduc added the following remark:

"Major Smith is paid. I commissioned Father Fischer and Mr. Weizenecker<sup>6)</sup> to collect the subscriptions. After several inquiries they told me and repeated it: that the Germans will not pay anything, since they find that the property is too far out of the way for their church. As far as I know, they have not paid anything."

From other accounts and notices left by Rosati and Leduc it appears that the property for the new German church was situated on 15th Str. and Clark Ave. Probably at that time very few Germans lived in that neighborhood and Chouteau Pond with its many ramifications may have been a real obstacle. Distances which our modern automobile covers in less than five minutes, at that time meant a great deal for the people living in a city. Small wonder then, that the Germans refused to comply with the wishes of the Bishop. The lots remained on the hands of the diocese; later on Archbishop Kenrick built the Orphan Asylum on the lots. I recollect the building well. Shortly after my ordination I said Mass in the place, in the fall of 1880.

#### 4. HOLY TRINITY CHURCH

*(on the Southside.)*

To the South, Mill Creek had been the boundary line of St. Louis for many years. But as the original town of Laclède turned into a business center, many of the descendants of the old French-Creole settlers built themselves new homes south of the Creek. This district is still known as Frenchtown. Many of the newcomers followed their example. A new town arose south of Mill Creek.

Prominent among the inhabitants of Frenchtown was Antoine Soulard, the owner of a large tract of land. This land (76 arpents) had been given by the Spanish government to Gabriel Cerre; his daughter Julia was married to Antoine Soulard who took possession of the property on June 15, 1802. Soulard died March 10, 1825. Ten years later, in 1836, his widow subdivided the land and offered it for sale. This was Soulard's First Addition, between what is now Park Ave. and Lesperance Street.

The first condition, to make the sale of lots in a new addition to a city a success, was, to put aside some of the lots for the erection of a Catholic Church. So, with true business instinct, did also Mrs. Julia Soulard-Cerre: she promised the Bishop land for a new church if it were built in her subdivision. Bishop Rosati gladly accepted the offer, and on September 6th, 1838, obtained from Mrs. Soulard a donation of land, 300 by 150 ft., for the new church of the Holy Trinity. For the sum of 4,500 Dollars he bought from her another, contiguous plot

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<sup>6)</sup> Mr. Weizenecker lived on what was later Grand Avenue, at the corner where the "Mission Inn" stands now. In 1867 he was one of the charter members of St. Francis de Sales Church.

of ground, also 300 by 150 ft. payable in ten years. On September 7, 1838, one day after the deeds had been perfected, Bishop Rosati made a contract with Hugh O'Neil, the gentleman who had erected the St. Louis Cathedral of Du Bourg; O'Neil was to erect ten houses on the newly acquired Soulard tract. The houses were built. <sup>7)</sup>

On March 11, 1839, six months after he had bought the property of Mrs. Soulard, Bishop Rosati ordained three Jesuits in the College Chapel. In the afternoon, wishing to give the young priests a special treat, he made a trip with them to the site of Holy Trinity Church; Mr. Mathews the architect accompanied them. Rosati designated the exact spot on Ninth and Carroll, where the church should be erected. But the Bishop seemed to hesitate: the people were getting impatient. On March 21, 1839 Bishop Rosati received a petition from the citizens of Frenchtown, asking that a church be established in their district in honor of the Holy Trinity.

On the third Sunday after Easter, in April 1839, the Bishop held a diocesan synod at the conclusion of a retreat which he had given to his priests. In the afternoon all the priests were to assist at the blessing of the cornerstone of Holy Trinity Church. But such a tremendous thunder storm swept over the city that afternoon, that the solemnity had to be postponed one week. So the foundation stone was laid on the fourth Sunday after Easter, May 5th. The Irish Benevolent Society with its banner and a band of music, all St. Louis University and a crowd of 5,000 people were present. <sup>8)</sup> What a splendid occasion for a great collection, some of our friends might say.

On August 3, when the Bishop came home from the consecration of St. Vincent's church, Cape Girardeau, he visited the work just begun on Holy Trinity. It seems, the foundations of the church were completed that summer; then the work was suspended indefinitely.

In consequence of the great financial crisis which then oppressed the United States, the entire speculation in Soulard Addition proved a lamentable failure. The ten houses built by Hugh O'Neil remained vacant. No funds were available. The Bishop was sick from chills and fever nearly all summer, unable to say Mass, sometimes even on Sundays. In April 1840 he went to the provincial Council at Baltimore; from there he started on a trip to Rome and to Sora, his home in Italy. Before he left he appointed the Jesuit Father Verhaegen administrator of the diocese.

In the letters which Father Verhaegen wrote to his Bishop we find occasional remarks about Holy Trinity Church. <sup>9)</sup>

On August 18, 1840 he writes:

"The church of the Holy Trinity is still in the same condition, and I fear, it will remain so, unless Monseigneur sends me orders and funds to resume the work."

<sup>7)</sup> These facts are taken partly from *Billon's Annals*, partly from Bp. Rosati's *Diary*.

<sup>8)</sup> Bp. Rosati's *Diary*.

<sup>9)</sup> These letters are kept in the Archives of the Chancery Office, St. Louis.

On February 26, 1842 he writes :

"You understand, Monseigneur, that during this winter which has been very severe, also here, no work could be done on the Church of the Holy Trinity. I had the foundation walls covered with planks to protect them against rain, snow and ice. Think, what happened. The planks were stolen. And in addition to this: since your houses are vacant, people have pushed their audacity so far, as to steal the doors and the windows. Mr. Leduc has put a stop to this, by permitting a man to occupy one of the houses gratis on condition that he would take care of the other houses. When I speak to the good man (Leduc) of resuming the work of the church, he shrugs his shoulders and says, that the funds will not permit us to think of it."

Two months later (April 19, 1842) P. Verhaegen writes to the Bishop :

"Business is poor everywhere. Money is scarcer, than ever before. We feel the effects very much. The collections have dropped to one half, the perquisites are reduced to almost nothing. Hard times: these two words are on everybody's lips. Our banks have declared themselves insolvent or expect to do so in the near future. All confidence is gone."

Consequently the foundation walls of Holy Trinity Church remained as they were until after Bishop Kenrick had arrived in December 1841. On August 15, 1842 Mr. Philip Leduc, to whom Bishop Rosati had entrusted the financial administration of the diocese, died at the house of his brother-in-law, Hippolyte Papin.—In the same year the Soulard mansion was changed into the diocesan Seminary; one of the Bishop's houses was used as a chapel. Father O'Hanlon in his *Life and Scenery in Missouri* says, it was dedicated to the Mother of God, but we are inclined to believe, that it was dedicated to the Blessed Trinity. It was a semi-public or public Oratory, because not only the Seminarians, but also English speaking and German congregations met there at stated hours.

After it had been used for some time, on a Sunday during High-mass poor O'Neil's slight joists, supporting the plank flooring, gave way, while a numerous congregation was present. A panic ensued, but no-body was hurt. (O'Hanlon.)

In the meantime the foundation walls of Holy Trinity had suffered so much from long exposure to the weather, that they became unfit to carry the weight of a church. The Lazarist Fathers procured a new site for their own Church of St. Vincent de Paul, nearby and Bishop Kenrick donated the rock for the foundation walls of Holy Trinity to them, about February 1844. Father O'Hanlon tells the following story :

"To save expense, the seminarists unanimously proposed to Fathers Timon and Paquin that they should have a holiday, that picks, crowbars and shovels might be borrowed, while they engaged to level the walls and to root up the foundation stones, so that they could be carried away for the new site. Permission was obtained and the very day all went cheerfully to work. A perfect demolition was effected before the day was far advanced and not one stone was left over another." (p. 89).

Later on the Sisters of Charity built their Insane Asylum on the site destined for the church. This is the tragedy or rather the comedy of Holy Trinity Church in Frenchtown.

### 5. ST. ALOISIUS CHAPEL AND ST. FRANCIS XAVIER CHURCH.

On November 2, 1829 the College and Chapel of the Jesuits on Ninth and Washington Avenue was formally opened. When the Flemish Jesuits who by their stay in Marshfield, Md., had acquired fluency in the English language, settled in St. Louis, the French Cathedral clergy experienced a more or less gentle panic. Father Saulnier <sup>19)</sup> wrote amongst other things to the Bishop:

"These gentlemen are going to have a church and they have spread a rumor in town that the English speaking people shall soon have an English priest there who will preach to them every Sunday. Beware! *Principiis obsta, sero medicina paratur.* Resist the beginnings: when the remedy is prepared, it may be too late."

And some years later Father Francis Niel, formerly pastor of St. Louis Cathedral, wrote from Paris:

"I heard a report, that the Jesuits are going to build a church. If this be true, and if you give them permission, you will incur the danger of preaching to empty pews in your Cathedral. You destroy the parish of St. Louis. Bishop Du Bourg, although half a Jesuit himself, often told me at St. Louis that in the deed of the donation of the land where they built their college, he had made the condition, that they should have there a chapel only for their pupils, to the exclusion of the general public. Beware! You will create for yourself a lot of difficulties, if you permit them to have a church. I foresee the time, when the Cathedral will be deserted, when the only occupation of the Bishop in St. Louis shall be to give confirmation, and when he can have only two or three diocesan priests."

In fact, at the beginning, the Jesuits had only a chapel in connection with their college. It was dedicated to St. Aloisius and fronted on Washington Avenue. In this chapel, probably in December 1836, Father Helias de Huddeghem, S. J., opened services for the Catholics of the Northside; these were held there, until St. Joseph's church was opened on Biddle Street. The building later on was used as a gymnasium.

But the city grew by such rapid strides that it became absolutely necessary to establish a parish in what was then the Northwest of the city. Bishop Rosati did not share the apprehensions of the Catholic clergy. So, setting aside their warnings, he gave permission to the "terrible" Jesuits to erect a public church in honor of St. Francis Xavier at the Northeast corner of the College block. In fact, he was so little influenced by the sinister imaginings of the French priests, that before leaving for Europe he delivered into the hands of the Jesuits the entire diocese, by appointing the Superior of St. Louis University, Father Verhaegen, administrator of the diocese during his absence.

He blessed the corner stone of the new church of St. Francis Xavier with appropriate ceremonies shortly before his departure, on Palm Sunday, April 12, 1840. A Jesuit, Father Carrell, later on Bishop of Covington, preached the sermon.

The church was consecrated on Palm Sunday 1843. St. Francis Xavier's after the Cathedral, was the first regular church opened for public services, 73 years after the dedication of the little log chapel of St. Louis, blessed by Father Gibault.

F. G. HOLWECK.

<sup>19)</sup> This and the following letters are found in the Archives of the Chancery Office.



## THE URSULINES IN TEXAS

The Ursulines as a religious foundation are 387 years old. St. Angela Merici is their foundress. On the twenty-fifth of November 1535, Angela and her companions, having spent several days in prayer and solitude, resolved to devote every instant of their lives to instructing the young, to consoling and encouraging those whom poverty or bad example exposed to danger of ruin, also to visiting and nursing the sick. The object of this first institution was, therefore to blend the contemplative life with the labors of the active life. In her humility, Angela would not give her name to her congregation, but insisted that it should be known as the Company of St. Ursula. Pope Paul III in 1540 raised it to the rank of a religious Order especially devoted to the education of young girls.

Thus the Ursuline was the first Order of women canonically instituted for the education of youth. They were the first to cross the Atlantic and in the very year, 1639, that John Harvard began the school which has developed into the grand Harvard University, we find Mother Mary of the Incarnation in Quebec, gathering around her the daughters of the French settlers, as well as the maidens of the Indian tribes. In 1727, the Ursulines are found on the banks of the Mississippi, the Convent of New Orleans being the first educational Institution for the education of young girls in all the territory now comprising the United States. It was under the Ursulines that the orphans, left by the Nachez Massacre, found shelter, as well as the Acadians, driven from their homes and country by the British.

The ancient Convent of New Orleans, which Bishop Du Bourg called "The Pillar of Religion in Lower Louisiana," has continued for nearly two centuries its Apostolic labors, blessed with success in the midst of trials and difficulties and with each decade of years seems to acquire new life and strength and renewed impetus in the work of Christian education.

The monastery of New Orleans has been a fruitful family tree; from its vigorous stock have sprung all the Texas Ursuline Communities.

### URSULINE CONVENT OF GALVESTON

The pioneer spirit of the Ursuline Order is again manifested in the Lone Star State, for the Ursuline Convent of Galveston, founded under the auspices of Bishop J. M. Odin of holy memory, was the first Religious Order established in the State.

When Texas ceased to be a part of Mexico, and in 1842 was erected into a vicariate apostolic, Bishop Odin saw the necessity of a religious Community dedicated to the work of education; in 1846 he applied to the Ursulines of New Orleans for a colony of their Order. The daughters of St. Angela cheerfully consented and on the sixteenth of January 1847, five Professed Religion and three Novices, with Mother St. Arsene as Superioress, set out for Galveston, where Bishop Odin had purchased for them ten acres of land, on which there was a large frame building said to have been for several years the headquarters of the pirate Lafitte.

The small colony arrived on the nineteenth of January, and to this day that date is faithfully commemorated each year by the solemn chanting of the "Laudate Dominum" after the Conventual Mass. The little Community was soon unequal to the harvest lying before them. Bishop Odin appealed for help to the ancient Convent of Quebec; two nuns came in response to his appeal, Mother St. Jane de Chantal and Mother St. Thomas, both distinguished for their virtue and true Ursuline spirit. About this time also Bishop Odin went to France to collect means and subjects for the promising Texas vineyards. The prosperous Ursuline Community of Auch very materially helped the good Bishop with much needed funds and especially by yielding him two of its most efficient subjects, Sister Madaleine de Pazzi, a fervent Novice of nineteen, the other a young and talented Professed, twenty-seven years of age. The Novice remained in New Orleans to continue her Novitiate. After pronouncing her vows with admirable fervor the young Sister gave heart and soul in her new duties as a Professed Ursuline. However, like St. Stanislaus, in a short time she filled a long career. She died a victim of yellow fever in October 1853. Her companion, Sr. St. Ambrose, arrived in Galveston in June 1852. In a letter to France, written a few days later, she thus describes the arrival of Bishop Odin and his little band of Missionaries:

Galveston, Texas,

July 3, 1852

Very dear Mother:-

Last Sunday I said good-bye to our dear Mothers and Sisters of New Orleans; they mingled their tears with mine. Six weeks are more than sufficient to unite hearts already drawn to each other by a conformity of ideas and sentiments.

At 9 A.M. we went on board the beautiful steamer "Mexico," which was already filled with passengers. A young English widow on being told that I was an Ursuline bound for Galveston, hastened to come to converse with me, undeterred by my broken English. She said she had the intention of confiding her two little daughters to the Ursulines of Galveston, who like Bishop Odin, are highly esteemed and loved by all classes of people.

Less than twenty-five years ago Galveston was a barren sand bank, without a single habitation in sight. Fourteen years ago a small band of colonists settled there, and when Mgr. Odin was named Bishop of Texas he fixed his Episcopate at Galveston. The city numbers about six thousand inhabitants; civilization and religion are making wonderful progress, owing in great part to the zeal of the missionary priests and to the Ursulines. More than thirty pupils have been baptized in the poor little Chapel of the poor little Convent.

Our Community is composed of nine choir nuns and three lay Sisters; each is obliged to do the work of four from morning till night. As I have not enough space in the room where I sleep, and every other quarter is filled, I work during

the day under an improvised shed. A delightful breeze comes from the Gulf, which greatly modifies the temperature, I believe that geographers who affirm that the climate of Texas is "the most beautiful in the world" tell the truth.

Again, on the twelfth of September of the same year Sr. St. Amrose writes: "How magnificent are the nights in Texas! Your skies are not so beautiful as ours; I often wish that you could be here with me, to contemplate this splendid spectacle; that serene blue sky, so blue, so filled with twinkling stars seems to shine brighter than elsewhere."

In June 1858 a terrible hurricane caused great damage in the city, but the Ursulines placed their trust in Providence and invoked Mary, Star of the Sea, whom under the title of Our Lady of Prompt Succor they had already so often invoked against "lightning and tempest," they were preserved unscathed.

A few weeks later the yellow fever appeared in Galveston and in a short time made dreadful havoc. All public buildings were closed; only fifteen boarders remained in the Convent, and a strict quarantine was kept. Of the seven priests that were stationed at the Bishopric only two remained, the Vicar General, Very Rev. L. C. Chambodut and Rev. Father Anstaett, who had charge of the German congregation. These two devoted missionaries were unceasingly engaged in visiting the sick and dying, and they divided between themselves the duties of Chaplain to the Convent.

Mother St. Jane de Chantal, who was then Superioress, consecrated the Community to the Blessed Virgin, begging her to take it under her special protection and show herself indeed Our Lady of Prompt Succor Against Contagious Diseases and Epidemics. Wonderful to relate, the dreaded scourge did not cross the threshold of the Convent; the same miraculous preservation was again repeated the following year, when the scourge again ravaged the country. Twice the Blessed Virgin also saved the Convent from destruction by fire, and several times has she kept the incoming waves from invading the sanctuary confided to her care.

The ever increasing number of pupils made the erection of a new building absolutely necessary. Their Chaplain, Very Rev. Father Chambodut made the plans and personally superintended the work which was begun on the tenth of July, 1853, and is now the old monastery which still stands, a weather-beaten monument of the devotedness and foresight of this zealous missionary.

Before the Civil War the yearly attendance at the Convent school averaged one hundred and sixty; throughout the war, work of education continued, being interrupted only during a short interval during the occupation of the city by Federal troops when the monastery was filled with the wounded, and the Ursulines were transformed into Sisters of Charity under one flag—the Cross! For many years large dark spots on the floors of the different rooms and halls showed that the blood which flowed on the upper story had percolated through the ceiling and fallen on the floors below.

Rev. Mother St. Pierre, Professed of New Orleans, then Superior-ess, having sent the Novices and young Sisters to San Antonio, she with her little corps of devoted Ursulines, Sisters of Charity, zealously cooperated with Very Rev. Father Chambodut and his Assistant, Rev. Father Anstaett, in ministering to the sick and wounded without discrimination to Flag or Creed. In recognition of these services every year, on Decoration Day, the G. A. R. Veterans decorate the grave of Father Chambodut at St. Mary's Churchyard, and that of Mother St. Pierre in the Convent cemetery.

The era that followed the period of Reconstruction was one of progress and prosperity under the administrations of Mother St. Augustine, Mother St. Agnes and Mother Mary Joseph, worthy successors of Mother St. Pierre. Then came the terrible catastrophe of 1900 when ten thousand persons perished in the terrible hurricane and tidal wave which devastated Galveston. The Convent, solidly constructed and situated on the highest part of the city became a life-saving center under the admirable direction of Mother Mary Joseph, who never lost her presence of mind. Two thousand persons were rescued and sheltered during that awful night; four new born babes and ten adults were baptized by that admirable religious, Mother Mary Joseph whose spirit of faith and ardent charity shone in bright relief in that night of horrors. But she was not alone in this sublime devotedness; it was shared by all the Sisters who vied with one another in exposing their lives to save others. The Galvestonians will never forget the debt of gratitude they owe the Ursulines.

The Boarding School has not recovered from the losses it then sustained, but two parochial schools show a yearly increase and rank among the most efficient and best equipped in the South.

Seeing the number of their boarders diminishing and fearing another disaster, the Ursulines of Galveston made a new foundation—that of Bryan.

#### URSULINE CONVENT OF BRYAN

The city of Bryan having donated a certain amount of land for that purpose, the Ursulines erected their new Convent, Villa Maria, on a little elevation which bears the name of St. Ursula's Hill. Since the first year of its existence the Academy and adjacent parochial school claim the well deserved reputation which all the Ursulines enjoy in Texas.

#### URSULINES IN SAN ANTONIO

Rt. Rev. J. M. Odin was first and foremost a Missionary. As long as he was Bishop of Texas, he never remained stationary in any one place. His whole time was spent in visiting his vast diocese, which comprised all Texas and part of the Indian Territory, leaving the administration of his affairs to his two Vicar Generals, Father Chambodut in Galveston and Father Dubuis in San Antonio. In 1846 the whole population of San Antonio consisted of six or seven thousand inhabitants, nearly all Mexicans. In the surrounding country, how-

ever, were several settlements of French, German and Irish colonists. There Father Dubuis and his co-laborers found an ample field for their zealous missionary activity.

After a few years Father Dubuis asked Bishop Odin for a colony of Ursulines. During his pastoral visit in 1851, the prelate was convinced of the necessity of such an establishment for the education of youth. A providential bargain was on the market.

A Frenchman had erected a substantial stone building for his residence. The house being finished, the good man went back to France to bring his wife but the lady refused to come. Bishop Odin purchased the house and the vast surrounding property at a nominal price and set it apart as the future abode of the Ursulines. His Lordship then applied to New Orleans and Galveston for subjects. His request was generously granted and in 1853 a little band of devoted religious arrived in San Antonio. They numbered thirteen in all, nine Professed, two Novices and two Postulants. Mother St. Marie of New Orleans was appointed Superioress and Mother St. Eulalie, also of New Orleans, was given the charge of Mistress of Novices.

Accompanied by their Chaplain, Rev. Father Dubuis, who later became their Bishop, the Sisters arrived at their destination exhausted with the fatigue of their long journey (there were no railroads in those days) and took possession of this new Convent of St. Ursula.

Six weeks later the Sisters opened their school. Every class-room was filled. The building contained seven apartments, the four on the lower floor being used as class rooms, refectory, recreation and community rooms. The largest room was set aside for the Chapel. The upper story was used for dormitories. Everything was of the plainest, Holy Poverty was indeed practised in reality. The Sisters had to undergo many privations which they bore with a courage which brought the blessing of God on their labors. The Divine Presence seemed to fill the atmosphere, imparting strength and serenity to their souls. In this first Novitiate, many holy religious were trained, who for long years edified succeeding generations.

Mother St. Joseph Aubert, Professed from the Community of Brignoles, was brought from France by Father Dubuis to help the foundation. Shortly after her arrival, she thus describes her new abode to Rev. Mother St. Angela Martin, Superioress of Brignoles:

Dear Reverend Mother:-

Our Convent is beautifully situated on the bank of the San Antonio River, which forms a part of our inclosure and also contributes to our sport as there is an abundance of fish which we try to catch with well baited fishing hooks. Fruit and vegetables are rather scarce, the river banks, however, are bordered with pecan trees which also form a part of our enclosure. The surrounding prairies are covered with a variety of wild flowers, which in France, would be carefully cultivated in gardens and hot houses.

Our Lord blesses our Community in a visible manner. Our number is increasing, although vocations are still rare in this country. We are now eighteen, whether Professed, Novices or Postulants.

The boarding school is flourishing, and the day pupils are so numerous that the class rooms are packed like sardines.

I love these dear children with all my heart. They are so affectionate a kind word thrills them. I profit of this means to stimulate their application to their studies. They are progressing rapidly. They show a great deal of taste for all kinds of fancy and needlework. Ten young pupils have been baptized within two years and my knowledge of Spanish has enabled me to instruct and prepare three adults for the reception of the Sacraments. They approached the altar with such sincere devotion and have shown since such admirable faith and piety that I feel amply rewarded for the trouble I took to learn Spanish.

May God reward the generous zeal and devotedness of our Missionaries who spend themselves for His glory in this country where the enemies of souls scatter broadcast seed of the most pernicious doctrine."

The wish, expressed by the writer of the foregoing letter was soon realized. The building was no longer sufficient to accommodate the pupils that sought admission. A new two story structure was built for the use of the boarding and select school and was called the Academy, whilst the old building remaining the exclusive quarters of the Religious, and the Mexicans' Free School was called the Monastery. These two buildings were united at one extremity by the new Chapel, beautiful in design and spacious enough to serve as Parish Church for the French element of the city, which was steadily increasing in population and civilization. The area enclosed by these buildings formed a vast quadrangle opened at one side not unlike the Old World Cloisters. The broad acres belonging to the Convent and which at first were like the earth when Adam was cast out of Paradise, that is, covered with thorns and briars, were now changed into highly productive gardens and orchards, which supplied the house with an abundance of fruit and vegetables. The poultry yard was the delight of the Sister Housekeeper and the game birds, which were plentiful, furnished delicacies for the sick and provisions for feast days.

In 1857 Rev. Father Parisot O. M. I. was appointed Chaplain pro-tem, during Rev. Father Dubuis' absence. In his "Reminiscences" the saintly Oblate records that one day a band of Northern tourists asked to visit the Convent. Having obtained the required permission, the party, accompanied by Fr. Parisot arrived at the appointed time. They were introduced to the Community and after a few moments of pleasant conversation were invited to visit the building. After doing so they expressed their surprise at not finding dark dungeons and secret hiding places and declared that the San Antonio nuns were the most amiable and most highly educated women they had ever seen.

A few weeks later, three gentlemen arrived from Austin. One was the father of a young lady boarder who had died six months before. A report was spread that she was not dead but had been removed to another Convent. To silence these reports, the father had the coffin removed from the grave and opened before three witnesses. On removing the veil that covered the face of the dead girl she was seen beautiful and smiling without a sign of decomposition. "It is my child, my dear child" exclaimed the father. An affidavit drawn up and signed put an end to the previous false reports.

The young lady had been a Protestant and several times had expressed her desire to become a Catholic but her father would never

give his consent. She fell ill and although her parents were immediately notified, she died before they had started on their way to San Antonio.

Shortly after the event related above, the Sister Sacristan while dusting the Chapel found under the statue of the Blessed Virgin a note written by this young lady, beseeching the Mother of God to obtain for her the grace of Baptism and Holy Communion. And Mary Immaculate heard her prayer. Three days before her death the young girl received Baptism and made her First Communion, which was also her Viaticum.

The good achieved in San Antonio by the Ursulines cannot be over-estimated. They have educated the mothers of the present generation and their daughters and they look up with veneration and sincere affection to their Ursuline Mothers.

On the promotion of Rt. Rev. J. M. Odin to the Archiepiscopal See of New Orleans, Father Dubuis, who had accompanied him to France was appointed to succeed him and was consecrated Bishop in Lyons November 23, 1862.

After his consecration, Bishop Dubuis immediately left France and embarked for Texas, having previously enlisted for his mission field Rev. Father Etienne Buffard, whom he appointed his successor as Vicar General of West Texas and Chaplain to the Ursulines. Bishop Dubuis always entertained a love of predilection for his dear Ursuline daughters of San Antonio. It was he, who in 1866 laid the foundation stone of the present edifice.

The work of education was not interrupted during the Civil War, for, although Texas paid a heavy toll in dead and wounded and her sons distinguished themselves on the field of honor, the Northern troops never invaded the interior of the state. Many of the slave owners were Catholics and the freed negroes chose to remain with their humane masters. The planters then organized business transactions on a vast scale with Mexico, where they sent all their cotton and as there was no competition they realized great profit. And while anxiety for safety of their loved ones reigned in nearly every household, the younger members were sent to the good Sisters to continue their studies and to pray for their Country.

With the advent and increase of railroad communication after the period of Reconstruction, San Antonio made incredible records in wealth and population. It became the county seat and commercial center of a rich agricultural region. The sphere of influence of the Ursulines became proportionately enlarged. The Community at the time was increased by worthy subjects from France and Ireland and from that time on, Receptions and Professions were of frequent occurrence.

In 1883 the Institution was legally chartered under the name of Ursuline Academy and was given power to give diplomas to its graduates. Some of the names most famous in the History of Texas and Mexico are registered in the roll of the Academy.

In 1901 the Ursulines of San Antonio celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of their foundation. The immense concourse of friends who

took part in the celebration was an evident proof of the universal esteem they enjoy and which they so well deserve.

In 1901 a North extension was added to the Academy and the whole building was remodeled and removed. Now it stands, one of the most interesting landmarks and most attractive structures in the Alamo City.

#### THE URSULINES IN LAREDO

In 1868, Mother St. Joseph Aubert, Professed Ursuline of Brignoles, France, was returning to her house of Profession when she was met in Galveston by Rt. Rev. C. M. Dubuis who persuaded her to remain in Texas. Moreover the Bishop begged her to undertake the foundation of an Ursuline Convent in Laredo. "The house" he said, "was ready, the harvest plentiful but it was difficult to find laborers as these must have a knowledge of Spanish." Mother St. Joseph did not need much urging to accept the mission. At the request of Bishop Dubuis, Galveston gave up one of its professed members, Sister St. Teresa Pareida, a Mexican and former pupil of San Antonio.

The two pioneers set out for Laredo and on arriving at their destination, immediately began their Ursuline Mission of education. Within the year they were joined by one Professed Religious, two Novices and two lay Sisters from San Antonio.

The old Convent, which now forms the nucleus of the handsome structure on the Rio Grande, was a massive stone building of three stories. On the first floor were the class rooms, on the second were two large apartments, one of which served for a Refectory, Community and Recreation Room, the other was used as a Chapel. On the third floor were the dormitories.

The Sisterhood quickly won the love and confidence of the Mexicans, who then, constituted the whole population. In 1874 Mother St. Claude of San Antonio was appointed Superioress, and Mother St. Joseph returned to France where a few months later she died in the house of her Profession, having filled a long and fruitful career.

The saintly Mother St. Claude remained eighteen years in authority with but little interruption. During her administration the Convent continued faithfully and strenuously its noble work. In 1892 this good Mother was delegated to establish a new foundation in Puebla, Mexico.

Laredo, which in 1868, numbered scarcely four thousand inhabitants has now an American population of twenty thousand, and the Ursuline Sisters continue the work which is the life purpose of their Order, the building up of Christian Womanhood by imparting to their pupils a useful and solid education.

#### THE URSULINES IN DALLAS

In 1873 Dallas was a small thriving town of about eight thousand inhabitants. Rev. Father Joseph Martiniere was parish priest of the only Catholic Church there, the Sacred Heart. The Texas and Pacific Railroad had just pushed its terminus in this locality. With prophetic



eye, the good Father saw the brilliant future of the little town then struggling into existence and he readily persuaded Bishop Dubuis to procure a little colony of Ursulines to educate the youth of the future metropolis.

With the zealous Bishop, to think was to act. He therefore communicated his designs to the Ursulines of Galveston, his episcopal city, requesting them to undertake the foundation as soon as possible. The Community readily consented and on the twenty-seventh of January 1874 a band of six Professed Ursulines, with Mother St. Joseph Holly as Superioress, and Mother St. Paul Kauffman as Treasurer arrived in Dallas. Rt. Rev. Bishop Dubuis, who had accompanied them, gave them possession of a small building consisting of four rooms situated on the Sacred Heart property on Bryan Street.

Half-amused and much surprised at the aspect of their new domain, the nuns wondered where they would accommodate the boarding pupils already promised them. They were not discouraged, however, but trusted on the blessing of God, on the sympathy of their newly made friends and on their own exertions. Having no other endowment than the accomplished education based upon a system of training that has withstood the test of centuries, gifted moreover, with the ready tact which could adapt this experience to the needs of a new and rapidly growing country, these true daughters of St. Angela bravely set their hands and brains to work to devise ways and means of prosecuting their mission—the instruction and education of youth.

On the second of February, they opened their school with but seven pupils; before the close of the session the number had increased to fifty. Among the first to be enrolled was a gifted young girl, who, the following year, entered as a Postulant and two years after made her solemn Religious Profession in the little Convent Chapel adjoining the Sacred Heart Church. She was the first Professed Religious of Dallas. Hers was the privilege to be trained by the two first Mothers whose eminent virtues and qualifications have made them the standard of succeeding generations. In after years when the humble Sister succeeded in office these first Mothers, she combined in her person the rare wisdom, the tactful sympathy and true spirituality of Mother St. Joseph, with the business knowledge and administrative ability of Mother St. Paul.

From their first arrival in Dallas, a cordial and generous bond of sympathy and confidence was established between the people and the Ursulines. Year by year every scholastic term became an improvement on the preceding. Parents hastened to confide their children to the nuns' care, and the number of students soon ran up to hundreds. These in time became the best advertisement for the school. Additions were hastily put up to meet the growing demands. Within a year after their arrival a large two-story frame building was begun and at the beginning of 1876 was ready for occupancy. The beautiful gardens and shady nooks which soon appeared as if by magic transformed the hitherto forest wild into a delightful Eden. The same year the school

was chartered by the State legislature and given the collegiate rights and privileges, under the title of "Ursuline Academy."

During ten years the Ursulines continued there and prospered beyond their most sanguine expectations. Several of the graduates of these early years became representative women in various walks of life.

In 1881 through the advice of their esteemed Chaplain, Very Rev. J. Martiniere, negotiations were opened for the acquisition of desirable property in the suburbs of the city; there the main building of the present magnificent structure was begun and the following year was completed. The plan is purely Gothic in design, a marvel of beauty, pronounced worthy of any city in the Union. Fit surroundings are in keeping with the beautiful structure. Smiling gardens, fruit laden orchards, shady groves and a charming Grotto are some of the many attractions on the Convent grounds.

The primitive place on Bryan street was used as the Sacred Heart Parochial School until 1908, when a modern and well equipped building was erected adjacent to the new Sacred Heart Cathedral on Ross Avenue. The average yearly attendance there is between two hundred and fifty and three hundred pupils.

Mother St. Joseph Holly became known and loved far and wide for her amiable qualities, Christian spirit and efficient government. She was laid to rest in the quiet Convent cemetery on a dreary December morning 1884. She was succeeded in office by Mother St. Paul whose business tact and administrative abilities did much toward the progress and prosperity of the institution.

In 1887, Rev. Mother Mary Evangelist Holly, Professed of Galveston, received and generously accepted the mission to devote herself henceforth in the field prepared by her saintly sister, Rev. Mother St. Joseph. Mother Mary Evangelist was a Religious of tried virtue and more than ordinary talent and efficiency. Her tact and devotedness had made her an ideal teacher, her spirit of faith and trust in God imparted to others reverence, love and confidence. She was welcomed in Dallas as an angel from Heaven. She was immediately appointed Directress of studies, and from that time on we find her in some official capacities until she finally became the American representative of the Order in Rome; everywhere radiating an influence that impels to the highest efforts.

With all her intense love and esteem for Religious traditions nevertheless, she is truly progressive in all things pertaining to education and has ever sought to standardize the curriculum for the highest intellectual, moral and physical training.

The Ursulines have had charge of St. Patrick's Parochial School ever since the erection of the Parish; indeed until 1903 they were the only teaching Order in Dallas. Thus, through the Parochial Schools and the Academy they reach all classes of society. Many parents love to remind their little ones that Sister or Mother "So and so" was papa's or mama's teacher, whilst every year graduates go forth from

the Academy, the pride and comfort of the home circle, and the ornament of society, and later became model wives and mothers, true Christian gentlewomen.

Moreover, since its beginning, the Academy has been a fertile nursery of vocations. More than half the number of the Professed Religious were former pupils, who like Noah's faithful dove, have returned to the Ark that sheltered their early years from sin and danger. Not the Ursuline Order alone, but other Institutes count many recruits from the Dallas Ursulines.

In May 1899 Rev. Mother St. Paul passed away after a long and most painful illness. This good Mother's strong personality has left lasting impressions on her former pupils, her memory is for them still a stimulus and an inspiration.

The bereaved Sisterhood now turned with entire confidence and love to Rev. Mother Mary Evangelist who was elected Superioress, being a woman of remarkable discernment and intelligence. Her administration was one of kindly wisdom and gentle firmness. Under her energizing influence the Academy received a new impulse in its onward career and there was a general trend toward the best in the training of pupils and teachers. Yearly lecture and summer normal were some of the means used to accomplish this. With all her earnestness about a pupils' intellectual progress, she was as considerate about their youthful love for good times and she was ever devising ways and means of pleasure and recreation for them. Little wonder the Institution gained favor with the parents on account of its thoroughness, and attracted the pupils on account of its pleasantness and parental care.

In January 1899 the Convent celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of its foundation. It was then that the Alumnae Association was organized. This Association has the honor of being the first of the kind established in the Order.

The tie that binds the Alumnae to their Alma Mater is a strong and tender one and the years increase its strength. There, gray haired women, leaders and uplifters in society meet with bright young girls full of high aspirations, and all find a common interest in the welfare and prosperity of their Convent Home.

The Jubilee celebration lasted three days, the crowning event being the unveiling of the memorial window with magnificent ceremonies in the Convent Chapel. This window, a beautiful work of art executed in Munich is the gift of the Alumnae. It represents the five wise Virgins meeting the Divine Bridegroom and commemorates the five pioneer Ursulines who founded the Convent.

A great and long desired work was brought to a happy conclusion when on November 28, 1900 the Holy Father, Pope Leo XIII gave his formal approbation to the work of unifying the Ursuline Communities of the entire world. For more than three hundred years the peculiarities of their organization placed the Ursulines largely under the authority of their Bishops and made the different houses autonomous.

Realizing that in "Union there is strength" and what a great advantage would accrue to the Order if they could concentrate their powers and harmonize their efforts, they gladly responded to the desire expressed by the Holy Father, that delegates from the different houses should meet in Rome to deliberate together on the best means to form an Ursuline Union with a centralized government in Rome. This great work of unification met with many difficulties, but the whole matter was conducted with such tact and so much consideration for the immemorial customs of venerable Institutes that the most harmonious relations resulted, and the good work was brought to a happy conclusion with the approbation and blessing of the Holy Father.

Mother Julian of Blois, France was elected first Mother General with residence in Rome. In the formation of the Ursuline provinces in the United States, the Ursuline Convent of Dallas was chosen for the Provincial headquarters of the Southern province, the provincial house of the North being in New York City. Since 1910 to the present year, 1922, Reverend Mother Mary Evangelist has been Assistant General and American Representative of the Order in Rome.

After the Unification, the Ursulines of Dallas have continued to be faithful daughters and loyal supporters of their Bishops and enjoy their paternal support and special patronage.

While the Academy offers to students of the wealthiest class of society all the advantages of a high education, it is conducted in a common sense and practical manner so that all classes may avail themselves of the opportunities it affords of acquiring a Christian education solid, useful and cultured.

As previously stated the Institution was chartered in 1876. Moreover, in recent years it has been affiliated to the Catholic University of Washington and is also accredited to the State University.

Through all these years trials and difficulties have not been wanting. Every advantage has been bought with the coin of sacrifice but the fulfilment of the Sacred Heart's Promises has been evident in the Community and schools. St. Joseph has been the trusty banker and provider of the household and Our Lady of Prompt Succor was never invoked in vain to obtain from her Divine Son a speedy and favorable answer to the petitions of her clients, the Ursulines of Dallas.

M. A.

# THE KICKAPOO MISSION

## I. FIRST STEPS

Ever since coming to the West, Father Charles F. Van Quickenborne, founder of the Jesuit Mission of Missouri, had cherished the idea of an establishment in the Indian country as an enterprise which the Mission was urgently called upon to undertake. In an interesting document drawn up in 1832 (?) and indorsed "Reasons for giving a preference to the Indian Mission before any other," he detailed the weighty considerations that made it imperative for the Society of Jesus to put its hands to this apostolic work. It was primarily for the conversion of the Indian that the Society had been established in Missouri; it was with a view to realizing this noble purpose that contributions from charitable benefactors in Europe had been solicited and obtained; and the tacit obligation thus incurred, to say nothing of the express obligation imposed by the Concordat, could be discharged only by establishing a mission in behalf of one or more of the native American tribes. Even the new college in St. Louis commended itself to the zealous Van Quickenborne chiefly as a preparatory step to the larger and more important enterprise of the Indian mission.

"All these things come by reason of the Indian Mission," he wrote in November, 1828, to Father Dzierozynski, Superior of the Jesuit Mission of Maryland, with reference to certain contributions received from abroad. "Don't let your Reverence fear therefore to make an establishment in the Indian country or close to it. But why a college in St. Louis? Because that college is necessary for the Indian establishment."<sup>1</sup>

Why a college in St. Louis was necessary for the Indian establishment we learn from the same communication of Van Quickenborne to his Superior. There the missionaries could meet the government Indian agents as also the deputations from the various tribes and in general be in close touch with the tide of busy life that was beginning to flow between the Missouri metropolis and the frontier. In 1831, however, Father Van Quickenborne relinquished the office of Superior of the Missouri Mission without having realized his cherished plans. Father De Theux, his successor, could scarcely fail to be interested in the project of an Indian mission, especially as the General, Father Roothaan, was insistent that the work be commenced.

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<sup>1</sup> Van Quickenborne to Dzierozynski, Florissant, Nov. 1828. (B).—(A) indicates Missouri Province, S. J., Archives; (B), Maryland—New York Province S. J. Archives; (C), Archdiocesan Archives, St. Louis.

"In almost all his letters," Father De Theux informed Father McSherry in December 1834, "his Paternity insists on my beginning the Indian mission; but by what means or by what persons seems to me a problem not easily to be solved except by Him who can do all things and has already done great things for this the least of the missions of the Society."<sup>2</sup>

In March of the following year Father De Theux informed Bishop Rosati that the Father General had just communicated to him the desire of the Propaganda and therefore of the Holy See that a start be made with the Indian mission, but that men and means were still lacking for the undertaking.

In the summer of 1835 Father Van Quickenborne visited the various Indian tribes settled along the Western frontier with a view to ascertain which among them offered the most promising field for the long-projected mission. He was particularly anxious to determine by a first-hand investigation the real attitude of the Kickapoo who had been reported to him as eager to secure the services of a Catholic priest. This tribe, whose village was on the Missouri a few miles above Fort Leavenworth, at the confluence of the Missouri River and Salt Creek, had been visited in 1833 by Father Roux, the pioneer priest of Kansas City, who was especially impressed by their leanings towards Christianity.<sup>3</sup> The Kickapoo were strongly under the influence of a so-called prophet or religious leader, Kenneku by name, who had picked up various fragments of Catholic doctrine and practice and woven them into a religion of his own, and had even succeeded accord-

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<sup>2</sup> De Theux à Rosati, March 1836. (C).

<sup>3</sup> Father Stephen Theodore Badin, the first priest ordained in the United States, came into contact with a band of Kickapoo on the outskirts of Chicago in October, 1830. "I found there another band from the Kickapoo tribe who live in an immense prairie in Illinois along the Vermillion River at a distance of about one hundred miles from Chicago. Some time before these good people had sent their compliments to chief Pokegan, telling him at the same time that they envied him the happiness of having a pastor." *Ann. Prop.*, 6: 154. Father Roux's visit to the Kickapoo in their village near Fort Leavenworth, November 18, 1833, is narrated by him in a letter to Bishop Rasati of St. Louis, dated a few days later. See *Catholic Historical Review*, April, 1918, Father Roux's letter of March 11, 1834, to Bishop Rosati, (C), contains the text of Kenneku the Prophet's address to the missionary on the occasion of his first visit to the tribe. "*Rapport des propres paroles du Kenekoek, ou Prophete, des Kokapooks donné en Poos [Potawatomi] par Thithoe, rendu en langue Kikapook per Mechouet, et interprété en français par Laurent Pinsonneau à Mr. B. Roux pietre, en presence de Penave, Nochetcomo, Pechoassi, Pekouak et Paschal Pinsonneau, le 22 9 bre 1833.*" Father Roux visited the Kickapoo Prophet on January 1, 1834, and shortly after baptized a Kickapoo infant at the Chouteau trading house on the Kaw river. "Mr. Pinsonneau who trades with the Kickapoo has been here for some weeks; he tells me that these good Indians eagerly desire me to come and baptize their children." Roux à Rosati, March 11, 1834. (C). Father Roux returned from his mission among the French Creoles at the mouth of the Kansas, where he had been residing since November, 1833, to St. Louis in April, 1835, a few months before Father Van Quickenborne undertook his first missionary trip to the Kickapoo. The favorable reports concerning the tribe which had reached the Jesuit missionary came to him probably at first-hand from Father Roux. For a brief account of Father Roux's visits to the Kickapoo, see Garraghan, *Catholic Beginnings in Kansas City*, pp. 49, 50, 53, 54.

ing to the testimony of traders and government agents, in introducing certain moral reforms of importance among his people.<sup>4</sup>

"To get to the Kickapoo it was necessary to cross the Kansas River. I was not a little surprised to see that the Delaware Indians had established a ferry there in imitation of the whites. We arrived at the Kickapoo village July 4, a Saturday, the day consecrated to the Blessed Virgin. The next day I said Mass in the trader's house, where the prophet, who was anxious to see me, put in an early appearance.<sup>5</sup> After the first exchange of courtesies, he at once brought up the subject of religion. 'What do you teach?' he asked me. 'We teach,' I answered, 'that every man must believe in God, hope in God, love God above all things and his neighbor as himself; those who do this will go to heaven, and those who do not will go to hell.'" Many of my young people believe that there are two Gods. How do you prove that there is only one and that he has proposed certain truths to us to be believed?' I said in the course of my reply: 'God spoke to the Prophets and the Prophets proved by miracles that God had spoken to them.' He at once interrupted me, saying: 'This is the very way I got to be believed when I began to preach: I raised the dead to life. There was a woman,' he continued, 'who, so every one thought, could not possibly recover her health; I breathed on her and from that moment she began to improve and is now in good health. Another time I saw an infant just about to die: I took it in my arms and at the end of a few days it was cured.' I said in reply that there is a great difference between a dead person and one who is believed to be at the point of death; that in the two cases alleged he had merely done what any one else might do; and that, since on his own admission those two persons were not dead, he had not as a matter of fact brought them back to life.

My answer irritated him greatly and he remarked that no one had ever dared to contradict him in this fashion or give him such an answer. Seeing him in anger, I kept silent. Then my interpreter, a friend of the prophet, told him it was wrong of him to become angry when he could not answer the remarks made by the Black-Robe and that this only showed that he defended a bad cause. After some moments of silence he softened and admitted himself to be worsted. 'I realize,' he said, 'that my religion is not a good one: if my people wish to embrace yours, I will do as they.'" The following Sunday he repeated in assembly what he had often said before, that he should not be deceived in his hope and in the pledge he had given them that the Great Spirit would send some one to help him complete his work. God alone knows whether he spoke sincerely. On Monday I received a visit from several of the inferior chiefs; all expressed a desire to have a Catholic priest among them. I was unable on that occasion to see the dead chief, who had gone on the hunt and returned only ten days later. I paid him a visit immediately on his return and explained to him that I had made this journey because I heard it said that his nation wished to have a priest and I was eager to as-

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<sup>4</sup> Though named Keokuk in some early accounts, the Kickapoo Prophet is not to be confounded with the famous Sauk leader for whom the town of Keokuk in Iowa is named. Details concerning the Kickapoo Prophet may be read in Father Van Quickenborne's letter in the *Ann. Prop.* 9:94; also in Chittenden and Richardson's *De Smet* p. 1085 and in J. T. Irving, *Indian Sketches*, London, 1835, p. 81. "The Prophet was a tall, bony Indian, with a keen, black eye and a face beaming with intelligence . . . . Tehre is an energy of character about him which gives much weight to his words and has created for him an influence greater than that of any Indian in the town. From the little that we saw, it was evident that the chief yielded to him and listened to his remarks with the deference of one who acknowledged his superiority." (Irving).

<sup>5</sup> Laurent Pinsoneau, the Kickapoo trader, figures often as god-father in the baptismal records of the Jesuit missionaries on the Missouri frontier in the thirties. Garraghan, *Catholic Beginnings in Kansas City, Missouri*, p. 53, 54, 65.

certain if such was really the case; that in his absence the other chiefs had sought me out to assure me of the truth of what I heard; but that before speaking of the affair to their grand father (the President of the United States), I desired to know how he himself regarded it. 'Have you a wife?' he asked me. I answered that he ought to know that Catholic priests do not marry and that I was a black-robe. At these words he manifested surprise mingled with respect and excused himself by saying that, as he had just arrived and had not as yet spoken to any of his people, no one had informed him of the fact that I was a black-robe. He then added that in a matter of such importance he wished to hear his council and would return his answer in St. Louis whither he proposed to go. He did not go there, however, but sent me his answer by a trader. It was couched in these terms: 'I desire, as do also the principal men of my nation, to have a Black-robe come and reside among us with a view to instruct us.'<sup>6</sup>

The result of Father Van Quickenborne's visit to the Kickapoo in the summer of 1835 was a decision reached by Father De Theux to open a Jesuit residence in behalf of that tribe. Accordingly the autumn of the same year saw Father Van Quickenborne in Washington negotiating with the Federal authorities for government aid in behalf of the projected mission.

From Georgetown College he wrote on September 17th to Cass, Secretary of War.

"In answer to your favor of the 16th inst., I have the honor to state:-

1. That I am prepared to open a Mission with a school in the Indian country at the following places—1st. On the land of the Kickapoo in the vicinity of Cantonment Leavenworth.

2. I have three Missionaries, including a teacher, to commence the Mission and School immediately in the Kickapoo Nation. I am induced to commence with this tribe by the circumstance of it having expressed to me, through their principal men and chiefs, including even the prophet Kennekuk, a desire of having a Catholic establishment among them. The reason they alleged was that they had for many years lived in the neighborhood of French settlements; that they had, in some degree, become acquainted with their religion and that now they wished to be instructed in it. The prophet said that he had always hoped that a Black-gown, by which name he designates the Catholic priest, would be sent by the Great Spirit to help him in instructing his people and teaching them the truths he did not know.

Besides the three Missionaries mentioned above, the Catholic Missionary Society of Missouri, in whose name I act, has placed at my disposal for this year, commencing at this period, a sum of one thousand dollars. It is my intention to take into the school as many pupils as it will be in my power to collect and to add to the number of teachers, in proportion as the number of scholars will increase, as far as will be in my power; and I have the strongest assurance that aid will be given me by the same Society. For this establishment I should be grateful for every aid the Department can afford, either in the way of raising the necessary buildings or paying part of the salary of teachers or for the support of Missionaries."

<sup>6</sup> *Ann. Prop.*, 9:99 Father Van Quickenborne baptized in "Kickapoo town" July 2, 1835, the earliest recorded baptism for the locality, Lisette [Elizabeth], ten-month old daughter of Pierre Callicu, a Canadian, and Marguarite, a Potawatomi woman. The ceremonies were omitted "ob superstitionem adstantium," ("owing to the superstition of the bystanders"), July 12 following he baptized, also in "Kickapoo town", a son of the Kickapoo Indians, Thakamie and Nikioniche. The ceremonies were omitted "ob aegritudinem infantis", ("owing to the child's sickness") the child being only six days old. *Kickapoo Baptismal Register*, Archives of St. Mary's College, St. Mary's Kansas.



Father Van Quickenborne's appeal to Cass in behalf of his Kickapoo Mission was answered by Elbert Herring, Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

"Your letter of the 17th inst. to the Secretary of War has been referred to me and I am instructed to answer the propositions it contains.

1. In regard to a school among the Kickapoo Indians, the Treaty of 1832 provided for an appropriation of Five-Hundred Dollars annually for the term of ten years, for the support of the school. This sum is now applied in the manner thus directed and diversion of it to any other institution is considered inexpedient at present.

2. "You ask an allowance from the appropriation for civilizing the Indians. The Secretary of War has directed that the sum of Five Hundred Dollars shall be paid to you or to an authorized agent of the Catholic Missionary Society of Missouri whenever information is received that a school has been established among the Indians. This information must be accompanied by a certificate of the agent of the tribes, that a building has been erected suitable for the purpose, that a teacher is ready to enter upon his duties and that there is reason to believe that it will be well attended by Indian Children. I enclose an open letter for you to General Clark." <sup>7</sup>

On the same day that Father Van Quickenborne received the foregoing communication from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs he penned a letter to Bishop Rosati of St. Louis advising him of his success.

"It is an honor and an inexpressible pleasure to me as well to be able to announce to you that today I concluded my affair with the Government. We are going to begin an Indian mission and school among the Kickapoo. I have obtained as an outfit Five Hundred Dollars. When the school shall be in operation, circumstances will determine the amount of aid which the Government will furnish. My offer in behalf of the Pottowatomies has also been favorably received and we are fully authorized to begin work among them also when they shall have moved to their new lands in Missouri in the neighborhood of Council Bluffs. May your Lordship pardon me if I ask you to be so good as to communicate this news to the Ladies of the Sacred Heart in St. Louis and to commend me earnestly to their prayers as to those of the Sisters of Charity. \* \* \* I have made an important acquisition for the mission. Father McSherry gives me a Brother of robust health, who is at once carpenter, doctor, etc. Many of the Fathers here manifest a lively desire to go and work among the Indians." <sup>8</sup>

Happy in having obtained so readily a pledge of Government aid, Father Van Quickenborne spent several months in the East soliciting alms for his new venture. With characteristic zeal he was ready to interrupt his stay there at the first call from the expectant Kickapoo. "Should the Indians, however, want my presence," he writes to Father McSherry from New York, "I am determined to come immediately." <sup>9</sup> The hospitality shown him by the Maryland Jesuits elicited the warm thanks of his Superior, Father De Theux, who wrote to Father McSherry: "I need not add that we will be happy to return you or any

<sup>7</sup> Van Quickenborne to Cass, Georgetown, Sept. 17, 1835. (G). Herring to Van Quickenborne, Washington, Sept. 22, 1835. (A). In his letter of Sept. 17, 1835 to Secretary Cass, Father Van Quickenborne also petitioned for government aid in behalf of a Potawatomi mission. See *infra*, Chapt.

<sup>8</sup> Van Quickenborne à Rosati, Georgetown, Sept. 22, 1835. (C) Father William McSherry was Provincial of the Maryland Province.

<sup>9</sup> Van Quickenborne to McSherry, Dec. 2, 1835. (B).

of yours the kindness shown our Indian Missionary, should any of yours take a trip to Missouri." <sup>10</sup> Some months later Father De Theux again expressed his thanks to Father McSherry, this time for sending him Brothers Andrew Mazella and Edmund Barry, who were to accompany Father Van Quickenborne to the Kickapoo village:

"Your favor of the 15 ult.," he writes on April 12, 1836, "reached me on the 8th inst. It afforded me a new proof of the kindness of Providence and the kind concurrence of Superiors in regard of this least Mission of the Society. Whenever your Reverence sends Brother Mazella and his companion, they will be very welcome and all your Brethern here will look upon them as a new reason for gratitude towards your Reverence and the Maryland Province." <sup>11</sup>

Father Van Quickenborne returned to St. Louis from the East in the May of 1836. Father Verhaegen who had become Superior of the Missouri Mission in succession to Father De Theux, wrote to Father McSherry on May 14, 1836:

"Your Reverence's affectionate favor of the 20th ult. has been handed to me by our good Father Van Quickenborne. The voyage to Missouri has been very prosperous; he and his two worthy companions arrived in good health and fine spirits. They are now preparing for their arduous undertaking. I do not know what success they shall meet with; but it requires no great penetration of mind to see the numerous obstacles which they will have to encounter. May the Almighty bless their glorious efforts. I cordially thank your Reverence for the kind assistance you have given Father Quickenborne and hope, Reverend and dear Father, that you will continue to favor as much as circumstances will allow a Mission upon the success of which the honor of our dear Society considerably depends." <sup>12</sup>

The Indian tribe among whom the Missouri Jesuits were to make their first experiment in resident missionary activity were not unknown to their predecessors of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Kickapoo (the name appears to be a corruption from a longer term signifying "roamers") were of Algonquin stock, showing a close affinity in language, customs and ceremonial forms to the Sauk and Foxes. Their first known habitation was South Central Wisconsin, whence they shifted their position to the Lower Wabash upon lands seized from the Illinois and Miami. As early as 1669, Father Alouez came in contact with them at the Green Bay Mission of St. Francis Xavier. Upon his fellow-laborer, Father Marquette, they made a distinctly unfavorable impression. Though professing loyalty to the French, in 1680 they killed the Recollect Friar, Gabriel de la Ribourde, a member of La Salle's party, on the banks of the Illinois. In 1728 the Jesuit missionary, Father Ignatius Guignas, falling into their hands, was condemned to the stake, but his life was spared and being adopted into their tribe he brought them by his influence to make peace with the French. <sup>13</sup>

<sup>10</sup> De Theux to McSherry, Dec. 13, 1835. (B).

<sup>11</sup> De Theux to McSherry, April 12, 1836. (B).

<sup>12</sup> Verhaegen to McSherry, May 14, 1836. (B)

<sup>13</sup> *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, art. Kickapoo Indians, *Handbook of American Indians*, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1: 684.

In the conspiracy of Pontiac the Kickapoo were allied with the Ottawa chief and took part in the general destruction of the Illinois tribes that followed upon his death. In the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812 they fought on the side of the English. They suffered heavily in these conflicts, especially the second, and by a series of treaties beginning with that of Greenville August 3, 1795, after Wayne's decisive victory and ending with that of Edwardsville July 3, 1819, ceded all their lands in Illinois and Indiana. The United States Government, having agreed to pay them \$2000 a year for fifteen years, assigned them a large tract on the Osage River in Missouri. From there they moved west of the Missouri river to what is now Atchison County in north-eastern Kansas in the immediate vicinity of Ft. Leavenworth. In 1822 only four hundred of the twenty-two hundred members of the tribe were living in Illinois. By the treaty of Castor Hill October 24, 1832, provision was made for schools by an annual appropriation of five hundred dollars for ten years. This appropriation was applied to the Kickapoo school conducted since 1833 by the Rev. Mr. Berryman of the Methodist Episcopal Church.<sup>14</sup>

On the whole these Algonquin rovers showed themselves unfriendly to the white man and civilization and the fruit of missionary labor among them was doomed to be small. But Father Van Quickenborne as he stepped on board the Missouri River steamer at St. Louis May 25, 1836, was full of the indomitable hope that buoys up and consoles the hunter of souls.

"Father Van Quickenborne," writes Father Verhaegen to the East, "left this place on the 25th ult. with Brothers Mazella, Barry and Miles. Father [Christian] Hoecken, who is still on the mission is to join him in a few weeks. Since his departure I have received no news from him. His health had much improved and he was full of courage. Everything appears favorable to his great and laborious undertaking. The Indian agent [Laurent Pinsoneau] is a French Creole and much attached to him. General Clark took him under his protection and Messrs. Chouteau & Co. will procure him all the advantages and comforts which his new situation will require."<sup>15</sup>

## II. OPENING OF THE MISSION

For the incidents attending the inception of the Jesuit Mission among the Kickapoo we have Father Van Quickenborne's own account, in English, which he sent to Father McSherry.

<sup>14</sup> Castor Hill (Marais Castor, "Beaver Pond"), a tract of land now within the city-limits of St. Louis, lying north of Natural Bridge Road between Union and Goodfellow Avenues. *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, 3: 409. Here, in October, 1832, General William Clark, with two other U. S. Commissioners, negotiated treaties with the Kickapoo, Wea, Piankeshaw, Peoria and Kaskaskia Indians.

<sup>15</sup> Verhaegen to McSherry, June 2, 1836. (B). Andrew Mazella, b. Procida, (Naples), Italy, Nov. 30, 1802; entered the Society of Jesus in the Neapolitan Province, Nov. 4, 1823; d. St. Mary's Potawatomi Mission, Kansas, May 9, 1867. *Edmund Barry*, b. Ireland, Feb. 24, 1803; entered the Society of Jesus in Maryland Province, Aug. 6, 1832; d. Bardstown, Ky., Dec. 10, 1857. *George Miles*, b. Bardstown, Ky., Sept. 13, 1802; entered the Society of Jesus in Missouri Mission, Dec. 26, 1827; d. St. Charles, Mo., Jan. 23, 1885.

"We arrived here on the 1st inst., (June, 1836) precisely thirteen years after we arrived in Missouri the first time, when we came to commence the Indian Mission—better late than never. The steamer on board of which we came up, brought us to the very spot where we intended to build. We met with a very cordial reception from the principal chief and his warriors and from the prophet himself. There are two towns among the Kickapoos about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  or 2 miles apart, which are composed of the two bands into which the nation is divided. Pashishi, the chief, is quite proud of the circumstance of our coming at his particular invitation and for this reason wished me to build near his town; on the other hand the Prophet expressed a wish that we should do as much for his band as for the others. He said he had always told his people that a black-gown (priest) would come and help him, that he felt disposed to join us and to persuade his followers to do the same. By the agreement of the chief we intend to build between the two towns on a spot nearly equally distant from both. As I did not like the expression of the prophet (of our helping him), I made him acknowledge that he had not received authority from the Great Spirit to preach and that his religion was not a divine religion. He readily did it and added that a black-gown had given him a paper and had told him to advise and direct his people to the best of his knowledge. Afterwards he brought me the paper;—it contains nothing but part of a hymn. Time will show whether he is sincere, of which I have great reason to doubt. General Clark has not as yet communicated to the Agent the letter from the War Department of which I was the bearer. This circumstance is the cause that the Agent cannot give us the help he would otherwise. He has no evidence of my having made an arrangement with the War Department for a school in the Kickapoo nation. There can be, however, no doubt but he will soon receive an answer from General Clark on the subject, as he has written to him and so I have done also. Father Hoecken and Brother Miles have been added to the number of those who started from St. Louis.<sup>16</sup> Father Hoecken is getting sick. The others enjoy good health, except myself being as usual very weak. Our accommodations are rather better than I had anticipated. Mr. Painsonneau, [Pinsonneau] the one who keeps a store for the nation, has had the kindness to let us occupy one of his old cabins. It is 16 feet square, made of rough logs and daubed with clay. Here we have our chapel, dormitory, refectory, etc. We have to sleep on the floor. Brother Mazella is really a precious man; by his very exterior countenance he has been preaching all the time of our travelling. He cooks, he washes and mends our linen, bakes and does many little things besides. He is truly edifying. Brother Barry is a famous hand to work, but he is not used as yet to the western country. Whilst on board of the steam boat, the water of the Missouri made him sick. Here the salt provisions do not agree with him; but I have the consolation to see that he bears all this with courage. After a while the Indians will bring in venison and even now and then we have a chance to get some. It would be a great consolation to me if all our work could be done exclusively by our Brothers. I do not know what we could have done here if we did not have the Brothers from Georgetown. I hope that your Reverence will receive an ample reward for your liberality towards us and that the increase of the number of good subjects will allow your Reverence to treat with Father General for sending us some more;—a teacher for the school-boys will be very necessary. Father Hoecken and myself hope to be able to learn the language. We are making now something like a dictionary. This will help those that will come afterwards. Since my arrival here I have seen

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<sup>16</sup> Father Christian Hoecken, a Hollander, had been employed on the mission-circuit of the Missouri-river towns for a few years immediately prior to his assignment in June, 1836, to the Kickapoo, among whom he began his career as an Indian missionary.

the Potawatomi Chief Caldwell.<sup>17</sup> He is a Catholic and wishes to have a Catholic establishment among his people. If we make this, as I have promised to the Department by order of our Superior, several Brothers more will be necessary.<sup>18</sup> Father General has recommended the Indian Mission to Father Verhaegen in a particular manner. Your Reverence will not be surprised if I do not write about news: We live here, as it were, out of the world. Our good Master affords us a fair opportunity for leading an interior life, if we only be faithful to His grace. I earnestly beg of your Reverence to remember us in your holy sacrifices and prayers. It is one thing to come to the Indian mission and another to convert the Indians. Father Hoecken and the Brothers present their best respects to your Reverence and wish to be remembered to the Fathers and Brothers with whom they have lived,—and myself in particular to Rev. Father Rector and Father Vespere and to all inquiring benefactors.”<sup>19</sup>

The ambition of the zealous Van Quickenborne had at length been realized. A Jesuit residence had been opened in the Indian country, the first of its kind in the history of the Mission of Missouri. The *Annual Letters* for 1836 preserve some interesting details of the arrival and first experiences of the missionaries in the Kickapoo village. On the eve of Corpus Christi the Missouri river steamer that had carried them from St. Louis put in at the landing, only a stone's throw distant from the Kickapoo wigwams. No sooner did the Indians catch sight of the boat than they flocked down to the river bank to welcome the missionaries. Pashihi, the chief came at once to pay his respects, expressing himself in terms that made the latter hopeful of a plentiful spiritual harvest. The log-cabin placed at the disposal of the Jesuits by the trader, Mr. Pinsonneau, was fitted up without delay as a chapel and in this improvised temple the Holy Sacrifice was offered up on the Feast of Corpus Christi in the presence of the wondering Kickapoo. They crowded into the cabin, eager with the savage's ingrained curiosity to know the meaning of the crucifix, the pictures and the priestly vestments.

If ever the future success of a missionary venture seemed assured by the difficulties that beset its beginning, it was the case now among the Kickapoo. Besides the unfriendly attitude of the Agent, Major Richard W. Cummins, which will presently call for comment, there was the sudden and critical illness of the Superior of the Mission, Father Van Quickenborne, who lay helpless for a month. Moreover, there were rumors of a Sioux invasion, which threw the Kickapoo village into a panic. The Sioux were reported to be on the warpath with their steps directed towards the lodges of the Sauk and Iowa on the

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<sup>17</sup> Billy Caldwell, business chief of the Potawatomi, emigrated with the tribe from Chicago in September, 1835. See *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* 1: 164, 165, art. "Early Catholicity in Chicago." Caldwell's band of Potawatomi, before settling on the reservation near Council Bluffs assigned them by the government, occupied for a while part of the triangular strip of land in northwestern Missouri known as the Platte Purchase. Here they were visited by Father Van Quickenborne. See *infra*, Chap.

<sup>18</sup> The reference is to the projected mission among the Potawatomi of Council Bluffs.

<sup>19</sup> Van Quickenborne to McSherry, Kickapoo Mission, June 29, 1836. (B).

east bank of the Missouri river about a day's journey from Fort Leavenworth. A Sauk warrior started the excitement by reporting to the Kickapoo Chief that he had seen the enemy on the march. The next day another Sauk announced that the Sioux were close at hand and begged the Kickapoo to send relief immediately. The third day, still other messengers hurried in from the Sauk with the identical news and the identical petition. The Government troops at Fort Leavenworth were also appealed to for assistance. Seventy Kickapoo warriors at once took the field in support of their Sauk allies. The day after their departure the report was spread that the soldiers despatched from the fort had been routed by the Sioux and the Sauk village burnt to the ground and that the victorious enemy was moving fast in the direction of the Kickapoo village and the fort. Excitement now ran high. The Fathers, after consultation, decided that as soon as the Sioux appeared, a priest and a lay-brother should make the rounds of the wigwams and baptize the children. Father Hoecken and Brother Mazella offered themselves for the task. But the war scare subsided as suddenly as it arose, diligent search having made it clear that there were no Sioux whatever in the neighborhood.<sup>20</sup>

The suspension of work on the mission buildings in pursuance of an order received from the Agent gave the Jesuit community a chance to perform the exercises of the annual spiritual retreat. All, both Fathers and Brothers, discharged this duty in common. The exercises were held in the only place available, Mr. Pinsonneau's log-cabin, the door of which could not be closed both on account of the sweltering heat and in deference to Indian etiquette. The Indians were now treated to a novel spectacle. They would enter the cabin, sit down opposite to one of the missionaries as he was engaged in prayer, with their gaze riveted upon him, and without so much as a syllable falling from their lips, and then, when the novelty of the sight had worn off, they would rise and leave. One day, while the retreat was in progress, a deputation from six tribes arrived in the Kickapoo village to negotiate a friendly alliance. The deputies were bent on seeing the black-robos' chapel and went there in a body, arriving during the time of meditation. They first stood at the door eyeing curiously the furniture and praying figures within, but not venturing immediately to enter, for with all the members of the missionary party present there was scant room for other occupants. In the end, however, one after another of the braves stepped over the threshold, offered his right hand to the Jesuits, beginning with the priests, and then withdrew, the whole ceremony taking place in the profoundest silence. During the eight days that the missionaries gave themselves up to prayer and recollection, no Indian ventured to interrupt or disturb them.<sup>21</sup>

Father Van Quickenborne's letter of October 10, 1836, to Father McSherry tells of the difficulty that arose with the Indian Agent, Major Cummins.

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<sup>20</sup> *Ann. Prop.* 10: 130.

<sup>21</sup> *Litterae Annuae*, 1836, p. 10. (A).

"Your Reverence will be somewhat astonished that we are as yet in the same log-cabin into which we went the first day of our arrival. Soon after I wrote to you last the Agent took into his head to advise or rather to order us to stop until he could get some further understanding. The letter I brought from the War Department requested Gen. Clark and Gen. Clark requested the Agent to give me all necessary aid towards establishing a school among the Kickapoo. He could not understand the phrase. However, General Clark, to whom he had referred the case for decision, has decided that this phrase is imperative and has advised the Agent punctually to comply with the order given. Since that the Agent has changed and has written to me that any assistance he can afford will be cheerfully rendered. We have been thus stopped for about two months. I had to send off the workmen I had engaged and break the contracts I had made and pay all the expenses. The Chief and principal men are favorable to us—we will not be able to go into our house this winter—it will be a log-house 48 ft. long, 20 ft. wide and 16 ft. high.—Brother Mazella is a treasure. I have, since I am here, had another spell of sickness. Father Hoecken has been also sick, but again we are all in good health. The Kaskaskias, Peorias, Weas, Piankeshaws, whom I visited two weeks ago, wish to have a resident priest. I have baptized about forty Indian children and as many more would wish to be baptized, but being grown persons, they stand in need of instruction. I have lately received a letter from Father General—he is extremely well pleased that your Reverence let me have Brothers that will be so useful. On account of opposition made by the Agent I have no good opportunity to have an answer from our Rev. Father Superior concerning the Brothers your Reverence promised last spring. Perhaps the good Brother is already on his way to the Kickapoo village. Father Hoecken makes great progress in the Indian language; the Indians are astonished at it. He is able to converse with them almost on any subject. Upon the whole, the persecution we have suffered has been of service to us."<sup>22</sup>

Conflicting accounts leave somewhat in doubt the real motive behind Major Cummins' instruction to Father Van Quickenborne to stop work on his school-building. A letter of the Major to be quoted presently implies that the consent of the Indians to the new school had not been duly ascertained and put on record with the customary formalities. Father Van Quickenborne's letters, on the other hand, imply that some personal prejudice or ill-will on the part of the agent was the real motive of his opposition. The letter from Gen. Clark acquainting the agent with the missionaries' authorization from the Indian Office to build a school among the Kickapoo was unaccountably delayed in transmission and this delay will explain why Major Cummins, in pursuance of instructions issued for the Indian agents generally at that period, did not allow building operations to begin at once. But he seems to have withheld his consent, even after General Clark's communication came into his hands. Under date of July 12, 1836, he wrote to Father Van Quickenborne:

"I have received a letter from the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, also received a copy by him from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on the subject of your establishing a school among the Kickapoo. After a careful examination of both, I am of the opinion that the War Department as well as the Superintendent expect the consent of the Indians and fairly given in the usual way before you can establish among them. I would therefore advise you not to proceed until a further understanding can be had. I would be pleased to see you at my house and will show you the letters above alluded to."

<sup>22</sup> Van Quickenborne to McSherry, Kickapoo Mission, Oct. 10, 1836. (B).

This letter of Major Cummins, thought dated July 12, reached Father Van Quickenborne only August 4. It is indorsed thus in lead-pencil in Father Van Quickenborne's hand-writing: "*Received from Mr. Keene (?) (4th of August who said he had received it from Major Cummins the day before.*" Father Van Quickenborne acknowledged the agent's note.

"Your letter of the 12th ult.," he wrote on August 18, "came duly to hand on the 4th inst. As I had the pleasure of seeing you since and as in our conversation you alluded to it, I have not deemed it necessary to answer immediately, the more so as you were expected here before the time my answer would reach you. You advise not to proceed until further understanding can be had. To this advice I have submitted. I would be pleased to hear from you on the subject."<sup>23</sup>

The trouble was eventually smoothed out by General Clark, to whom Cummins had applied for fresh instructions. The Major was directed to allow the missionaries to go ahead with their building and even to assist them in the undertaking as far as lay in his power. After this we hear no more of opposition on the part of the agent. As early as October 24, 1836, Father Van Quickenborne was able to forward to the Secretary of War the following certificate:

"I do hereby certify that under the authority of a letter from the Office of Indian Affairs of September 2, 1835, the Catholic Missionary Society of Missouri has erected on the Kickapoo lands a building for a school, has a teacher prepared to enter upon his duties and that there is a prospect of the school being well attended by Indian pupils."<sup>24</sup>

On December 3, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Harris acknowledged the receipt of this certificate, adding:

"As soon as the agent's certificate required by the letter to you is received and which is indispensable, the final action in the subject will be communicated to you."

A subsequent letter from Commissioner Harris dated March 23, 1837, announced that the promised Government subsidy was at hand.

"I have received your letter of the 13th ult. enclosing the certificate of Major Cummins relative to the completion of the Kickapoo school-house and the employment of a teacher. I have now the pleasure to inform you that these papers are entirely satisfactory and that the sum of five-hundred dollars, out of the fund for the civilization of Indians, has this day been remitted to Captain E. A. Hitchcock, military disbursing agent at St. Louis, with instructions to pay it over to you upon your draft."

On June 7, 1837, Father Van Quickenborne wrote to Commissioner Harris:

"I have now the gratification to inform you that my draft upon Captain E. A. Hitchcock for the above amount (\$500) has been paid. I hope I shall have it in my power to give you a satisfactory account of the operation of the school at the proper time."<sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup> (A).

<sup>24</sup> Indian Office Ms. Records.

<sup>25</sup> Indian Office Ms. Records.

A description of the school-house erected by Father Van Quickenborne is contained in Major Cummins' certificate. "At the request of the Rev. Mr. Van Quickenborne on behalf of the Catholic Missionary Society of Missouri, I have this day (Jan. 5, 1837) examined a school-house erected by him among the Kickapoo of my agency, which is of the following descrip-



The situation at the Mission as it was in February, 1837, is described by Father Van Quickenborne to a letter to Bishop Rosati.

"Your favor of January 5th reached me on the 30th of the same month. The interest which your Lordship takes in the success of our establishment consoles and encourages us. This establishment is situated in the neighborhood of Fort Leavenworth on the right bank of the Missouri about 150 leagues from St. Louis. (Actual distance 330 miles or 110 leagues). A post office is to be found there and letters for us should be addressed, Fort Leavenworth, Missouri. For lodging we have had, up to this writing, but a cabin 16 feet by 15. We hope to say Mass in our log house of 48 by 20 feet in a few weeks. It is exceedingly difficult to secure workmen, especially such as find the place to their liking. We have paid as high as \$1.50 a day. A carpenter of the kind they call here a rough carpenter receives up to \$2.00 a day. Our expenses already amount to more than \$2000.00. From our establishment we make excursions to the Kansas river among the Weas, Peorias, Kaskaskias and Potowatomies. It is a well known fact that the Indians in general are predisposed in favor of Catholic Black-robos. Father Hoecken speaks the Kickapoo language well; but it will be necessary to learn three or four more to be able to speak about religion to our neighbors, and then comes the difficulty of translating the Catechism into their language. But, with the help of God and with patience we can go far. Father Verhaegen can inform your Lordship better than I can as to the hopes we have of starting another establishment."<sup>25</sup>

### III. A SLENDER HARVEST

What success the missionaries met with in their work among the Kickapoo must now be told. It soon became evident that the conversion of the tribe was a highly difficult task. At the end of 1836 the Catholic church among the Kickapoo counted but two members and these were children. Better success attended the missionaries on their occasional visits to the neighboring tribes. Fifty miles from the Kickapoo village, they baptized fourteen Indian children, performed one marriage ceremony and admitted nine, nearly all adults, among the catechumens.<sup>26</sup> The cry was soon raised among the Indians that the

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tion, viz: School-house 16 ft. long and 15 ft. wide, wall of hewn logs, one story high, cabin roof, one twelve x eight (tight) glass window and one batten door, the house pointed with mortar made of lime and sand, the under floor of puncheon and the upper floor of plank. I certify on honor that the school-house as above described is ready for the reception of Indian children and that the Rev. C. Hoecken, teacher, is ready to commence the school and that there is reason to believe that if the Agent of the Catholic Church and the teacher will use the proper means, that the school will be well attended by the Indian children.

P. S.—It may not be amiss to state that the Rev. Mr. Van Quickenborne has a dwelling on hand 49 ft. by 18 ft. the wall of which is two-story high and covered in with shingles, which, when finished, is sufficiently large to accommodate a great many persons,—also other buildings, which he does not wish reported until finished."

<sup>26</sup> *Litterae Annuae*, 1837. (A). It is interesting to note that Father Van Quickenborne's missionary activities extended to the Kaskaskia Indians among whom Marquette established in 1675 on the Illinois river the historic Mission of the Immaculate Conception, the proto-mission of the Society of Jesus in the Mississippi Valley. Journeying overland, July 1, 1835, from the site of Kansas City, Missouri, to pay his first visit to the Kickapoo, Father Van Quickenborne was agreeably surprised to find that the first Indians he met on the way, a

Catholic school was not needed. They had a school already, that conducted by Mr. Berryman, the Methodist. Why open another? However, the Catholic school was opened in the Spring of 1837 in the log-house 48x20 which Father Van Quickenborne had built for the purpose, and at the end of the year it counted twenty pupils.<sup>27</sup>

In June, 1837, Father Verhaegen, made an official visitation of the Kickapoo Mission. Under the title, "*Relation d'un voyage chez les Kickapoo*," a detailed account from his pen of this visit appeared in the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*.<sup>29</sup> Another account is contained in an English letter addressed by him to Father McSherry.

Shawnee and his wife, a Wyandotte, were both Catholics (*Ann. Prop.*, 9: 97). Further on he met some Kaskaskia squaws, who, as evidence that some relics of Catholic practice had survived among them, were able to make the sign of the cross. They were eager to have a black-robe visit their village and revive the Catholic life which had flourished among their ancestors, but which had now virtually disappeared, owing to the fact that no priest since the passing of Father Meurin had been able to deal with them in their own language. They assured Father Van Quickenborne that the entire tribe now numbered sixty souls, all of them with one solitary exception being mixed-bloods. (General William Clark in his *Diary* gives the number of Kaskaskia, when they passed through St. Louis on their way to the West, as only thirty-one. "July 23, 1827. The Kaskaskia arrived. The whole remnant of this great nation consists at this time of thirty-one soles [sic]; fifteen men, ten women and six children.") The pledge which Van Quickenborne gave these stray Kaskaskia to visit them at the first opportunity he redeemed the following year in an excursion from the Kickapoo Missin. (*Ann. Prop.*, 10: 140). Accompanied by a Wea chief, a Catholic, as interpreter, the missionary on September 24, 1835, reached the Kaskaskia village situated along the Osage about ninety miles south of the Kickapoo. The Kaskaskia were now fused with the Peoria, a tribe also evangelized by Marquette. The entire body of the Peoria, so it appears, and two Kaskaskia had gone over to Methodism, alleging in explanation that they deemed it better to practice some form of Christianity than none at all, as they should be constrained to do in default of a Catholic priest. Both Kaskaskia and Peoria, having made a pathetic appeal for the services of a priest were encouraged by Father Van Quickenborne to bring their desire to the notice of the Government agents that provision might be made for the support of a resident priest. In the course of this missionary trip Father Van Quickenborne baptized twenty-five infants, refusing the sacrament to a number of other Indian children who had attained the age of reason but were without the necessary previous instruction.

<sup>27</sup> *Report of the teacher for the Kickapoo* signed by P. J. Verhaegen, Superintendent of the Mo. Cath. Miss. Society in *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1837. Annual cost of the school, about \$1500; cost of the school-house erected between the two villages of the nation, about \$1000; money received from Government since opening of school, \$500, from other sources, \$3,080; school unencumbered by debts. Three teachers in the school and two other persons employed in connection with it, viz. Rev. C. Hoecken, Superior and teacher of English; Rev. F. Verreyedt, teacher of music; G. Miles, teacher of penmanship; C. Mazzela, cook and J. Barry, farmer. "These five gentlemen devote their attention *gratis* to the school." Twenty pupils registered viz. Kiakwoik, Uapakai, son of the chief, Kikakay, Minakwoi, Papikwon, Akosay, Pemmoaitamo, Fataan Fetepakay Nimoiha, Moshoon, Kaminay, Nematsiata, Baptist. "Among them Kiakwoik, Nenopoi, Wapatekwoi and Nimoika distinguish themselves by their progress, especially in penmanship and bid fair to be qualified for any employment of civilized life."

<sup>28</sup> Van Quickenborne à Rosati, Kickapootown, Feb. 22, 1837. (C).

<sup>29</sup> *Ann. Prop.*, 11: 1.

"I returned a few days ago from my excursion to our Indian Mission. My trip has been short and delightful. I left St. Louis on the 14th ult. and arrived at the Kickapoo village on the eve of the Feast of St. Aloysius. The boats that navigate the Missouri generally do not run during the night on account of the numerous snags and sand bars which render its navigation dangerous even in daylight; but when I started, the water was so high and the moon shone so bright that our captain anticipated no danger from a deviation of the general rule. We struck, however, some banks and rode some snags, but without any damage to the boat. I did not know, my dear Father, that the state of Missouri possessed such a prodigious quantity of fertile soil. I regret that you were not with me; you would, I am sure, have been pleased with the truly enchanting pictures which both sides of the river present to the travellers. Do not speak of the farms situated on the bluffs between St. Louis and St. Charles; good as they are, when compared with those of Maryland, on which you pointed out some prairie grass to me as we rolled along on the cars, they sink into insignificance when contrasted with the lands of our Upper Missouri. When I was in the East, the beauties and improvements of which I do intensely admire, I anxiously looked for one respectable tree and one eminently fruitful spot, but in vain; in Missouri, I am now more convinced than ever, trees and spots of the kind are so numerous that in order to avoid seeing them, one must fly to Maryland. What shall I say of the beauties of nature to the eye? I thought that the lofty rocks and sublime hills which the canal and railroad between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh afforded to my sight could not be equaled by any prospect in the West; but even in these, Missouri is not surpassed by the East. I know your Reverence thinks I am enthusiastic in my account. I pardon the impression under which you labor, because to any one who has not seen Missouri, my description must appear incredible. *Veni et vide.*<sup>30</sup> The landing is about a mile and a quarter from the Mission house. Father Van Quickenborne having been informed of my arrival by a courier, came to see me on board the boat and I accompanied him to the Indian village on horseback. The site of the building is one of the most beautiful that could be selected. In the rear the land is well timbered. On the right the chief has his village and the ground is cleared; on the left lives the Prophet with his band and in front there is an extensive valley formed by a chain of hills on which Ft. Leavenworth stands. Our missionaries have a field of about fifteen acres on which they raise all the produce which they want. They are about five miles from the Fort and have, of course, every necessary opportunity to procure at that post such provisions as their industry cannot yield. Many of the Indians among whom they live are well disposed toward the Catholic religion and several of them have expressed a desire of being instructed. However, most of them are still averse to a change of their superstitious practices and vicious manners. Of the 1000 souls that constitute both villages, hardly thirty regularly attend church on Sundays. Many come to see us on week days and by the instruction which they receive during these visits are insensibly to be prevailed to come to hear the word of God. Father Van Quickenborne has made but little progress in the Kickapoo language. He labors under many disadvantages and at his age he will never conquer them; but Father Hoecken speaks the Kickapoo admirably well. The savages call him the *Kickapoo Father*, a compliment which no Indian easily pays to a missionary—to be entitled to it, he must speak his language well. When I was at the Kickapoo village, I assisted at one of Father Hoecken's instructions. The sound of his horn drew about forty to the chapel at 11 A. M.; but all did not enter it at the appointed time. They are a set of independent beings; they will have their own way in everything to show that they do not act from compulsion. There were in the chapel benches enough to accommodate a hundred persons; some few preferred them to the floor. They all kept silence well and behaved modestly. The Father in surplice knelt before the altar and intoned the *Kyrie Eleison* of the Litany of the Blessed Virgin, the choir, con-

<sup>30</sup> "Come and see." John, 1: 46.

sisting of Father Van Quickenborne, the three Brothers and two workmen, joined him and the whole Litany was sung with a tone of variations too refined for my ear. Father Fenwick himself would have failed in an attempt to keep the time and hit the notes.<sup>31</sup> Such performances suit the Indians; happily they love and admire a mixed and confused kind of music. The instruction lasted upwards of half an hour. I heard the words 'piano,' 'mane,' 'iniquo,'—I heard 'pas,' 'pasa,' 'pan,' and 'oikia' and I was tempted to believe that the Kickapoo language was a mixture of Latin and Greek. Unfortunately, on inquiry, I discovered that the sounds expressed none of the ideas which they convey in other language. In the course of a few days I will, Deo dante, write to my good Father Muledy, and together with several interesting items relating to the customs of the Indians whom I have visited, I will send him the *Our Father* and the *Hail Mary* in their language.<sup>32</sup> Father Hoecken has composed a grammar and is now preparing a dictionary which will be of great advantage to such as will henceforth join him in the glorious work which our have commenced. Much good can be done among the savages west of the state of Missouri. The Potowatomies are no won their way to the land which they have to inhabit. They are more than 5,000 in number; more than 400 already Catholics, and they (and especially their chief who is a Catholic also) are very anxious to have a Catholic missionary established among them. I must beg of your Reverence some assistance to comply with the request of those unhappy people. The Maryland province has already one who distinguishes himself by his zeal, holiness and success, for by his endeavors, by his good example and by his attention to the sick, he has been instrumental in procuring baptism to more than 50 children. Would it be impossible to obtain from you three or four more laborers on that extensive and fertile vineyard which is now offered to the Society? Dear Father, reflect on the condition of the poor aborigines of your country and I am sure that your sympathy for their distress will urge you to do something more for their relief."

The Annual Letters of 1837 dwells on the unpromising outlook for missionary work among the Kickapoo. So many obstacles had thwarted the labors of the Fathers that it is plain the Mission must have succumbed long ago but for the very manifest intervention of Divine Providence. The Prophet had roused his followers to more than one unfriendly demonstration. Even Pashishi, the chief, who had invited the missionaries to the Kickapoo village and brought them his eldest son, Washington, fourteen years of age, for religious instruction, assumed for a while a hostile attitude. In the beginning curiosity attracted many of the Indians to the chapel. Now the novelty was worn off and few of them are seen around the mission-house. They say: "We want no prayer" (the term they apply to religion); "our forefathers got along very well without it and we are not going to feel its loss." Even the children showed a marked aversion to every form of religion. It was not a desire for instruction, but the hope of food, raiment and presents in general that brought them to school. Were these to stop, their presence in the schoolroom would be at an end. "Who does not see," exclaims the chronicler, "that obstacles like these are to be brushed aside only by Him who changeth the hearts of men!" What, then, has reduced the Kickapoo to this wretched condi-

<sup>31</sup> Father George Fenwick, 1801—1857, member of the Maryland Province, S. J.

<sup>32</sup> Father Thomas Muledy, 1794—1860, member of the Maryland Province, S. J.

tion? The proximity of the whites from whom they purchased whiskey and with it the open door to every manner of vice.<sup>34</sup>

#### IV. DEATH OF FATHER VAN QUICKENBORNE

On his return to St. Louis, Father Verhaegen, with the concurrence of his advisers, resolved to recall Father Van Quickenborne from the Kickapoo Mission and station him in a less trying field of labor. Obeying the summons to report in St. Louis, the veteran missionary, then only in his fiftieth year, but with health much the worse for the hardships of the Indian country, arrived at St. Louis University as the July of 1837 was drawing to a close. After a brief stay under the roof of the University, he repaired to the Novitiate at Florissant where he went through the exercises of his annual retreat, edifying all by his pious demeanor and by the public penance which he performed in the refectory. To a novice who asked him what was the best preparation to make for the Indian Missions, he replied that the best preparation was the practice of mortification and self denial. From the novitiate he proceeded to St. Charles and thence to the residence of St. Francis of Assisi in Portage des Sioux, where he assumed the duties of Superior in succession to Father Verreydt, who in turn replaced him among the Kickapoo. To add to the comfort of the Father, the Superior of the Mission assigned him the services of a lay-brother, William Claessens. But Father Van Quickenborne had been only a few days in Portage when a bilious fever seized him and reduced him to the last extremity. The services of a skillful physician were secured, while Father Paillason, who himself had some knowledge of medicine, was sent for from the Novitiate. The last sacraments were administered to the patient, who received them with simple piety and resignation to the Divine Will. He met death without anxiety or fear. About twenty minutes before the end, having called for a looking glass, he looked at himself and returned the glass, with the words, "pray for me." They were the last words he spoke. He expired without agony about eleven o'clock on the morning of August 17, while Father Paillason and Brother Claessens were praying at his bedside. The

<sup>33</sup> Verhaegen to McSherry, July 10, 1836. (B).

<sup>34</sup> *Litterae Annuae*, 1837. (A). The account given of the Kickapoo by Maj. Cummins, U. S. agent, in his annual reports to Washington (*Reports of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs 1837—1841*) are more favorable to the tribe than the account given of them by the missionaries. As late as 1841, he reports the Indians as given to agricultural pursuits and fairly prosperous. In his report for 1838 he writes: "Keanakuck or the Phophet's Band, that constitute the largest portion of the tribe, have improved rapidly in agricultural pursuits the last four years.... This band of the Kickapoo are making great improvement and are approaching fast to a system of farming and government among themselves not far inferior to white civilization. They profess the Christian religion, attend closely and rigidly to their church discipline and very few ever indulge in the use of ardent spirits." Rev. Isaac McCoy, the Baptist missionary, protests in his *Annual Register*, 1836, against calling the Kickapoo Christians.

remains accompanied by many of the parishioners were borne the next day to St. Charles, where they were interred at the foot of the cross which marked the center of the Catholic graveyard.<sup>35</sup>

It will be unnecessary here to attempt to characterize the founder of the Missouri Province of the Society of Jesus. The outstanding traits of his personality must have emerged distinctly in the course of the preceding narrative from out the mass of incidents and details with which he was so vitally and intimately connected. It will be enough to say that nature and grace combined to render Father Van Quickenborne admirably fitted to the career of religious pioneer and traveling missionary, which he followed for fourteen years in a new and unsettled country, in behalf of white settlers and Indians alike. He possessed a clear and orderly mind, stored with knowledge of Catholic theology as ready as it was accurate, a talent for controversy, valuable for one called on to deal with the grossest and most ludicrous prejudices, and a happy command of the vernacular which he put to good account in his sermons and expositions of Catholic doctrine. Though his health gave way under the stress of continued labor, his constitution was naturally a rugged one, suited to endure prolonged bodily exertion and fatigue. To mere physical discomfort, to physical suffering even, he was steadily indifferent. As an instance of his fortitude in this regard, it is recorded that on one occasion while he and his novices were engaged in cutting timber for the new building erected by them soon after their arrival at Florissant, one of the young men who was eagerly squaring a log by repeated blows of an ax, had the misfortune to let the tool fall on the Father's foot. Though the wound was a severe one, Father Van Quickenborne remained at his work; it was only when loss of blood made him about to faint that he consented to take a seat and have the wound bound with a handkerchief. He attempted to return on foot to the Novitiate, almost three miles distant, but was obliged to desist and allowed himself to be placed on a horse which had been sent for him. Burning with fever he had to keep to his bed for several days; then, recovering sufficient strength to walk, though by no means a well man, he was back again with his novices preparing the timber for the new structure.<sup>36</sup>

Together with patient endurance of physical discomfort and pain, one saw in Father Van Quickenborne a great fund of natural energy. It was by persistent personal efforts that he succeeded in collecting the money needed to finance his various works of piety and zeal. The journey of 1823 from Whitemarsh to Florissant, the building of the St. Charles Church and of St. Louis College and the establishment of the Kickapoo Mission are instances in point. Father Verhaegen in a letter to a friend comments on Father Van Quickenborne's energetic ways.

"Our good Father Van Quickenborne is stationed at St. Charles. He is as active as a bee. Madame Lucille's building is going to rack and ruin

<sup>35</sup> *Historia Missionis Missourianae.* (A).

<sup>36</sup> De Smet, *Western Missions and Missionaries*, p. 466.

and he is determined not to prop it. He will have another house for this very useful community; he has three-hundred dollars, he will get the rest, though he will wear out six pair of shoes running through St. Louis on begging expeditions."<sup>37</sup>

But it was supernatural rather than natural virtue which supplied the dynamic force to Father Van Quickenborne's apostolic career. "Our Father Superior," reported Father Verhaegen, Rector of St. Louis College, to Father Dzierozynski, "is a man of exceeding piety, full of zeal and most persevering, in a word, endowed with every good quality."<sup>38</sup> Like all truly spiritual men, Father Van Quickenborne felt that unless the inner life of the supernatural virtues was kept at a high level, mere external occupations may starve rather than strengthen the soul.

"I am very well pleased with the trip I have made," he wrote to his Superior on returning to Florissant from his first Osage excursion of 1827, "and have been amply rewarded by the divine goodness, who has pleased to give me a great desire of fraternal charity, obedience and mortification; I dare entreat your prayers that these desires may be brought into effect."<sup>39</sup>

The result of this supernatural viewpoint constantly maintained in the midst of the most absorbing ministerial labors was a singleness and sincerity of purpose that never failed. A certain severity and even harshness of manner to those under his charge detracted at times from the success of his administration and made him an object of unfriendly criticism; but the severity of manner, temperamental rather than deliberate, never obscured what was patent to all, the man's utter sincerity and devotion to the best interests of religion. A Father who at one time, in writing to a Superior, had expressed himself in unfavorable terms of Father Van Quickenborne's government of the Missouri Mission, wrote some years later:

"Father Van Quickenborne has become very dear to us all. \* \* \* I am now convinced that, all things considered, he acted according to the best of his ability and always had before his eyes, A. M. D. G."

In the death of Father Van Quickenborne the group of Jesuits, who in the twenties of the nineteenth century began to till anew the field which had been opened by the labors of Jesuit missionaries in the preceding centuries, lost their most valued and successful worker and the chief organizer of their pious enterprise. Under his administration of the new Jesuit mission in the Middle West and during the few years of labor that remained to him after his retirement from office, much was accomplished in the way of successful pioneering. The foundations of the Missouri Province were laid, an Indian school at Florissant was opened and maintained for several years, St. Louis University started on its career as a Jesuit institution, many of the outlying parishes of St. Louis built up, Catholic missionary work among the Western Indian tribes taken up in occasional excursions to

<sup>37</sup> Verhaegen to McSherry, Oct. 16, 1833. (B).

<sup>38</sup> Verhaegen at Dzierozynski. 183. (B).

<sup>39</sup> Van Quickenborne to Dzierozynski. Sept. 13, 1827. (B).

the frontier and by the establishment of the Kickapoo Mission and the comforts of religion brought periodically to the little knots of Catholic settlers scattered over Western and Northeastern Missouri and Western Illinois. We conclude with a testimony from John Gilmary Shea :

"To Father Van Quickenborne as the founder of the Vice-Province of Missouri and the Indian Missions, too little honor has been paid. His name is almost unknown, yet few have contributed more to the edification of the white and the civilization of the red man, to the sanctification of all."<sup>40</sup>

#### V. FATHER VERHAEGEN AND THE INDIAN OFFICE

Much information of interest bearing both upon conditions in the Kickapoo Mission and upon the attitude towards it of government officials, is brought out in the correspondence of Father Verhaegen with the authorities in Washington in regard to the modest share of public money appropriated to his school. Transmitting to the Secretary of War under date of Nov. 5, 1837, his first report of the mission school, he writes :

"From the several letters which I have received from our Missionaries during the last three months, it appears to me that it is more than probable that many of the Kickapoos will leave ere long the land which they occupy and repair to the Red River. The Chief had several conversations with the Rev. C. Hoecken, during which he stated that his main reason for wishing to move is, that his men commit many excesses in drinking spirituous liquors. Intoxication, said he, prevails to such a degree among them that in a few years it will destroy all my people. I would prefer, Honorable Sir, to see our gentlemen employed among tribes that live at a distance from our frontier and I am decidedly of the opinion of our missionaries that the work of civilization would be promoted among such tribes in a more effectual manner. I mention these things in order that the Department may fully know what obstacles we have to surmount at present. If, therefore, our services will be accepted, we are ready to go and labor among the remotest Indian nations at any place that may be assigned to us. \* \* \* If the Kickapoos go away, what will become of the buildings which we have erected and the improvements which we have made? Considering the manners and the inconstancy of the Indian tribes, I think that to effect any lasting good among them, it is necessary that those who labor among them should conform as much as possible to their way of living and that expensive buildings should not be constructed on their lands before they are permanently settled on farms."<sup>41</sup>

The allowance in behalf of the mission-school does not appear to have been a permanent one, so that Father Verhaegen could count upon its annual payment. In March 1839 he inquired of Commissioner of Indian Affairs Harris first, whether he might draw upon the Department for the balance of the \$500 allowed him when he was in Washington in the spring of 1838, and secondly, whether he could rely upon further aid from the Government in behalf of the Kickapoo establishment.

"Before I conclude," he writes, "I will barely remark to you, Honorable Sir, that we have at present three schools among the Indians and that, should

<sup>40</sup> Shea, *Catholic Indian Missions of the United States*, p. 466.

<sup>41</sup> Indian Office Ms. Records.



all government aid be refused to me, I would be under the painful necessity of carrying on the work with private means alone. No account of the Kickapoo School was sent to the Department last year for this only reason, that I could add nothing new to the exhibit already forwarded and that, far from increasing, the number of pupils, owing to the unsettled and wandering condition of these Indians, has averaged but eight during the year."<sup>42</sup>

To the Indian Office an average attendance of eight appeared to indicate too slight a measure of success to warrant a continuance towards the school of government support. Accordingly, a communication from Mr. Kuntz of the Indian Office to Father Verhaegen in the summer of 1839 informed the latter that the appropriation of \$500 in behalf of the Catholic Kickapoo School would thenceforth cease. In his distress at this intelligence the Father turned to his friend, Senator Benton, to whom he addressed the following protest:

August 10, 1839.

Honorable Sir:

When I had the satisfaction of enjoying your presence during your recent visit at the University, I took the liberty of mentioning to you that for some reason or other the Department of Indian Affairs refused to pay me a balance of \$250 due to our Kickapoo school and that I had been informed that all further aid towards same establishment would cease with the expiration of the last half year. I have now the pleasure to state, Honorable Sir, that Major Pilcher has had the goodness to settle my account up to the 1st of July. This is, of course, as it ought to be. But, Honorable Sir, I cannot help thinking that the whole Catholic population of the United States has reason to complain of the withdrawal of the little assistance which Government had hitherto lent me in conducting schools among the Indians. The words "whole Catholic population" may perhaps surprise you. I will therefore explain myself. You recollect that about two years ago all the Bishops of our Church assembled in Council at Baltimore. They represent this population. Now it is well known that during their session they unanimously requested the Society of which I am a member to embark in the work of the civilization of the Indian nation west of the State of Missouri. In consequence of their appeal to us, we undertook the work and the present Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis is acquainted with the success that has attended our exertions. I need not enter into more details, Honorable Sir, to convince you that while other denominations are patronized in their efforts to ameliorate the condition of the savages, it would prove exceedingly painful to my fellow Catholics to hear that they are entirely excluded from a share in the funds created by the Government for education purpose. I candidly mentioned in one of my letters to the Department that our school among the Kickapoos is badly attended and behold, a circumstance which exists, I believe, in every school of the kind, is assumed as the ground on which the annual allowance is withdrawn. It does not belong to me, Honorable Sir, to dictate to the officials of the Government the course which they are to pursue; but if I be compelled to give up my labors among the Indians for want of public encouragement, I trust that you, in particular, will not be offended at my stating to the world the cause of my proceeding.

I remain, with highest consideration, Honorable Sir,

Your devoted servant and friend,

P. J. VERHAEGEN.<sup>43</sup>

Father Verhaegen's protest was submitted by Senator Benton on November 7 to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs with the Senator's

<sup>42</sup> Indian Office Ms. Records.

<sup>43</sup> Indian Office Ms. Records.

opinion in favor of the continuance of the grant. In the meantime, Major Joshua Pilcher, Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis, had also intervened in behalf of the Catholic Kickapoo school. Under date of August 19 he wrote to Commissioner Crawford:

"In looking over the correspondence between him (Mr. Verhaegen), Major Hitchcock and the Department on the subject, I found with regret a letter from Mr. Kuntz to Mr. Verhaegen discontinuing the little allowance of Five Hundred Dollars to the Catholic Mission for civilizing the Indians; and without questioning the correctness of Mr. Kuntz' motive, I beg leave to assure both you and him that it has been done under a mistaken apprehension of the relative degree of usefulness of the different missionaries among the tribes; as, from personal observation, I am enabled and will take the occasion to state that the Catholic missionaries are operating more effectually than all the missionaries I have seen north of Ft. Leavenworth; and that so far from being abandoned by the Government, there is no Society more deserving its patronage and protection. And under these circumstances (with due deference to Mr. Kuntz whose decision seems to have been based upon a report of Mr. Verhaegen relative only to the Kickapoo school, in which he was honest and candid), I would respectfully recommend that he be reinstated in his allowance and if it be not wholly incompatible with other permanent allowances out of the civilization fund, that the allowance to the Catholic mission be doubled. These gentlemen go into the country with no other view than that of furthering the benevolent objects of the government, they carry with them no little 'notions' for traffic, neither do they sell the accumulation of property; and however the efforts of all may fail, it is obvious that to effect a great change in the moral character of the Indians is the constant aim of the Catholic missionaries and that their present efforts are directed to that single object without regard to personal comfort or emolument."<sup>44</sup>

The representations of Major Pilcher and Senator Benton had the desired effect. Father Verhaegen was informed by Commissioner of Indian Affairs Crawford that the allowance of \$500 would be continued for another year, but that a further continuance of this appropriation would depend on the future success of the school. Father Verhaegen, in acknowledging the Commissioner's favor, was too honest to promise a success which he could not count on.

"Permit me, Honorable Sir, to tender you my cordial acknowledgement for the favor conferred on the Missouri Catholic Association by the Department. My endeavors shall not be wanting to render the school more prosperous than it has been last year, but as this cannot be effected without the co-operation of the Indians and may, of course, be impeded by circumstances beyond my control, I cannot predict what will be the result of my efforts. At all events I will state the truth in my communication to the Department, let the consequence be what it may."<sup>45</sup>

As a matter of fact, the truth was stated without reserve by Father Verhaegen in a letter to Crawford, September 1, 1840.

"I promised to acquaint you with the success of this (Kickapoo) establishment and made the necessary inquiries. I learned from the Missionaries who conduct said school, that in the course of last year from twenty-five to thirty pupils have frequented it; but I am bound in justice to add that the number

<sup>44</sup> Indian Office Ms. Records. Joshua Pilcher (1700—1843) was appointed by President Van Buren to succeed General Clark as Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis, on the death of the latter in 1838. Billon, *Annals of St. Louis in territorial days*, p. 254.

<sup>45</sup> Indian Office Ms. Records.

of those who regularly attended averaged only ten. You conceive, Honorable Sir, that my expenses for a small Indian school are just as great as they would be for a large one, since the teacher is equally to be supplied. Hence, should the Department decide that the allowance is to be discontinued, it would not belong to me to object to the decision; but I would be unable to meet the expenses. Consequently, Honorable Sir, on the decision of the Department will depend the continuance or discontinuance of our exertions for the civilization and instruction of these Indians." <sup>46</sup>

#### VI. THE MISSION SUPPRESSED

The Government appropriation to the Catholic Kickapoo School seems to have been finally withdrawn towards the end of 1840 and with the passing of that year the Jesuit Mission among the Kickapoo closed its doors. When in May, 1838, Father Verhaegen visited the Mission for a second time, he met the chief Pashishi, who implored him not to remove the Fathers for at least another year. "It is I who invited you to come here. I send my children to your school. You have done more good here in a year than others have done in five or six. You have cured our children of smallpox, you have befriended us in our needs, and you have been kind even to the wicked. The storm which makes the thunder roar above your heads will not last forever. The Kickapoo will change their conduct. Wait at least for another year and then I shall tell you what I think." Within the year Pashishi himself, vexed at the annoyance he had to suffer at the hands of the Prophet and his band, moved with some twenty families to a locality about twenty miles distant from the Mission. With the departure in 1839 of Pashishi and so many of his people, the band favorably disposed to Mission was practically dispersed and there remained only the Prophet's following from whom the Fathers could expect nothing but ill-will and even persecution. <sup>47</sup>

About Christmas 1840, Father Herman Allen of the Potawatomi Mission at Sugar Creek passed through Westport, near the mouth of the Kansas river, on his way to the Kickapoo Mission on business connected with the closing of that establishment. He found a fellow Jesuit, Father Nicholas Point, residing in Westport at this time as parish priest of that frontier settlement and invited him to be his companion on the journey. Father Point was shocked at what he saw in the Kickapoo village. "Here had our missionaries been laboring for five years in their midst," he exclaims, "and yet on Sunday during Mass you could scarcely see more than one of them in attendance at the chapel." He found Kennekuk, the prophet, still lording it over the Kickapoo. "By his cool effrontery and persevering industry, this man, who is a genius in his way, succeeded in forming a congregation of three hundred souls, whom he used to assemble in a church which the United States Government had built for him, and palsied all the exertions of four missionaries of the Society." Father Point had a chance to inspect the prophet's temple, which suggested a stable in its lack of

<sup>46</sup> Indian Office Ms. Records.

<sup>47</sup> *Litterae Annuae*, 1838. (A).

cleanliness. Yet the Indians listened open-mouthed to the charlatan as soon as he began to speak of his revelations. The proof of his mission was a chip of wood two inches wide and eight long, inscribed with characters symbolical of the doctrines which he undertook to teach.<sup>48</sup>

The failure of the Kickapoo to respond to the missionaries' efforts in their behalf gave the latter abundant opportunities to exercise their ministry abroad. Besides making frequent excursions to the Indian tribes south of the Kansas river, they said Mass and administered the Sacraments regularly at Fort Leavenworth, five miles from the Mission, where to be found among the soldiers a number of Irish and German Catholics. On such occasions music was often furnished by the soldiers' band, which was likewise heard at the greater church festivals in the Kickapoo Catholic Chapel. Such an occasion was the Christmas of 1838 when the Prophet himself deigned to be present at the Catholic services. Besides attending Ft. Leavenworth the Fathers frequently crossed the Missouri river on missionary excursions through Jackson, Clay, Clinton and Platte counties in western Missouri.<sup>49</sup>

The question of continuing or suppressing the Kickapoo Mission was frequently before Father Verhaegen and his Consultors in St. Louis. At a meeting held April 23, 1838, it was resolved not to abandon the Mission, even though the Kickapoo moved away. However, the next two years developed such a hopeless situation at the Mission that it was decided September 19, 1840, to suppress it. Father Eysvogels and Brother Claessens were directed to go to Sugar Creek and Brother O'Leary to the Novitiate.<sup>50</sup>

The final incident in the history of the Kickapoo Mission has been put on record by Father Point.

"On the first of May, 1841, Father Point went from Westport in order to consume the last Sacred Host which remained in the tabernacle of this poor mission. He arrived at the Kickapoo village towards sunset. The first news that he heard upon dismounting from his horse was that about a mile from

<sup>48</sup> *Recollections of Father Nicolas Point*, tr. in *Woodstock Letters*, from French Ms. original in Archives of St. Mary's College, Montreal.

<sup>49</sup> The *Kickapoo Baptismal Register* (Archives of St. Mary's College, St. Mary's, Kansas) contains numerous entries of baptisms administered by the Kickapoo missionaries in Independence and Liberty, Mo., among the French settlers at the mouth of the Kansas and in the counties of western Missouri organized out of the Platte Purchase.

<sup>50</sup> The Kickapoo school conducted by the Methodist Episcopal church was apparently closed about the same time as the Catholic school, being supplanted by the Shawnee Manual Labor school under the direction of Rev. Thomas Johnson and J. C. Berryman. The 1839 report of the Kickapoo school is signed by Miss Lee, one of the teachers. "The school numbers sixteen scholars and has averaged that for a year or two past. These are tolerably regular, though of late through the detrimental influence of the prophet and others, we have found it difficult to keep the children in regular and orderly attendance; and it seems to me that at present it is almost impracticable to keep the school under good discipline and management, while the children can, at any moment when they become dissatisfied, abscond and go home with impunity." Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1839.

there a pagan was at the point of death, and consequently in great danger of losing his soul. He obtained an interpreter without delay and proceeded in haste to the house of the sick man, whom he found in despair as regards both body and soul, for the only words he uttered were these: 'Everyone deserts me.' 'No, my brother, everyone does not desert you since I, who am a Black-gown, have come to help you, and this is certainly by the will of the Great Spirit Who wishes to save you.' At these words the dying man rallies, confidence springs up in his heart, the minister of divine mercy speaks to him as is befitting such circumstances, and most satisfactory replies are given to all his questions. I helped him to repeat the acts of faith, hope and charity, and as death might take place at any moment, I asked myself why should I not baptize him without delay. The remembrance of St. Philip and the enunch of Queen Candaces came to my mind, and regarding this as an inspiration of the Holy Ghost, I proceeded forthwith to the administration of Holy Baptism. On the morrow, he exchanged this perishable life for, as I hope, that life of bliss which will last forever. Was not this the sweetest bouquet which the missionary upon his first entrance to the field of labor among the Indians could offer to the Queen of Heaven, on the very day when the month consecrated to her honor begins? But how inscrutable are the judgments of God! This same day was the last of a mission which had been plunged into the deepest abyss of moral degradation by the scandalous conduct of people who pretend to civilization."<sup>51</sup>

Thus ended in something like failure the Kickapoo Catholic Mission set on foot by Father Quickenborne as the beginning, long delayed, of Jesuit missionary enterprise among the western Indian tribes. As to the Kickapoo themselves, they long remained as they were during the period when the Jesuits sought with vain expenditure of energy and zeal to uplift them to a respectable level in civilization and morals. Six years after the Father withdrew from the Mission, or in 1846, Francis Parkman, the historian, visited the Kickapoo village as he started from the frontier to pursue the windings of the Oregon Trail.

"The village itself was not far off, and sufficiently illustrated the condition of its unfortunate and self-abandoned occupants. Fancy to yourself a little swift stream working its devious way down to a woody valley; sometimes wholly hidden under logs and fallen trees, sometimes spreading into a broad, clear pool; and on its banks, in little nooks cleared away among the trees, miniature log houses, in utter ruin and neglect. A labyrinth of narrow, obstructed paths connected these habitations one with another. Sometimes we met a stray calf, a pig, or a pony, belonging to some of the villagers, who usually lay in the sun in front of their dwellings and looked on us with cold, suspicious eyes as we approached."<sup>52</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Recollections of Father Nicalos Point in *Woodstock Letters*.

<sup>52</sup> Parkman, *Oregon Trail*, p. — The Catholic Kickapoo Mission house built by Father Van Quickenborne, stood on the farm of C. A. Spencer, by whom it was occupied as a residence until 1920, when it was demolished. "The old Mission was built of immense native walnut logs, hewn square, notched at the ends and fastened together with wooden pegs. The walnut still is considered valuable for it is in a perfect state of preservation and so thorough was the workmanship of the builders that the building was in a good state of repair up to the time workmen recently began to raze it. After its days of usefulness as an Indian Mission had passed, the old building was used as a hotel in 1854 under proprietorship of a man named Hays. The same year A. B. Hazzard published one of the first Kansas newspapers, "*The Kansas Pioneer*" there. In "border war" days it was headquarters for the famous organization "The Kickapoo Rangers" and in 1857 a United States Land Office was opened under its roof, the office being moved to Atchison in 1861." Lawrence, *Kansas Journal*, 1920.

In later years Jesuit missionaries were occasionally brought into touch with the Kickapoo. In November 1861, a Father from St. Mary's Pottawatomie Mission in Kansas visited them in a ministerial capacity and was kindly received; furthermore, several boys of the tribe were in attendance at the St. Mary's Mission school in the 'sixties. But resident missionary work among the Kickapoo **was never again** undertaken by Jesuit hands.

GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN, S. J.



# AN ADVENTURE OF LUCILLE ST. PIERRE AMONG THE OSAGE<sup>1</sup>

During the Winter of 1847 Miss Lucille St. Pierre, a respectable young lady of New Orleans, was sent by her father to St. Louis on a special business. Mr. Anthony St. Pierre had, for several years, been acting agent for Mr. Benoit De Bonald, a French botanist, whose charge was to supply the Paris botanical gardens with a special collection of a complete North American flora. To succeed with facility in this undertaking, Mr. Benoit De Bonald had classified his flora according to the different States and Territories of the Union. These he had subdivided into special departments, appointing to the head of each persons residing in these places and well capable to conduct this gigantic work with success. Knowing that Anthony St. Pierre was in correspondence with several French merchants of St. Louis, who, long since, were dealing with Indians, especially in that part of the Indian Territory now in the State of Kansas, he appointed him to see to that section of country, and wished him to procure a correct flora of the Neosho and Verdigris valleys.

Mr. St. Pierre, being in rather advanced age, and charged with the care of much other business, he thought he would trust this work to the care of his daughter Lucille, who was about 20 years of age and known by all as well qualified to attend to it. Old Mr. St. Pierre in young days had been dealing for some years with the mercantile house of Chouteau of St. Louis and was a warm friend of Mr. Edward Chouteau as well of Michael Giraud, his main Indian clerk. And now he directed to them his daughter, that she might reach safely the far Neosho, where these gentlemen were at that time carrying on a very extensive trade with the Indians in general, but particularly with the Osages.

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<sup>1</sup> The account here reproduced is Chapter XI. of an unpublished work on the Osage Indians by Father Paul Mary Ponziglione, S. J., for thirty years missionary at the Catholic Osage Mission, (now St. Paul), Kansas. The MS. is in the Archives of St. Louis University. Though certain details of the narrative are very probably conjectural only, there can be no doubt that the substance of the incident recorded is historically true. The participants are of course not invented characters of the author but were all actual persons associated in some way with the Osage Catholic Mission. Only here and there has Father Ponziglione's often unconventional English been amended by the Editor.

It was the 1st of February when Miss Lucille St. Pierre left New Orleans, and, after a rather tedious navigation of many days, at last landed at St. Louis, where she was most kindly received by the Chouteaus. Mr. Edward being daily expected from his trading post on the Neosho, the young lady was requested to delay her departure till after his coming. In fact, he was coming a few days after her arrival, and, having purchased a large supply of spring goods, by the 12th of March, left with Miss Lucille for Kansas City on Captain La Barge's Steamboat. The Missouri, not being as yet fairly opened, they ascended it very slow, and, meeting with no accident, reached Westport's landing about the end of the month. Here they became the guests of Mrs. Menard Chouteau, a most accomplished lady, known through the whole West for her hospitality. Several days having been employed in getting ready to cross the 140 miles of desert prairie standing between Kansas City and the Neosho, Mr. Edward's outfit left, and, after two weeks journey, at last, on the 15th of April, reached the mouth of Flat-Rock, where Mr. Edward's residence was. The unexpected appearance of Miss Lucille was quite a surprise to Mrs. Rosalia, the wife of Mr. Edward Chouteau. This lady was a well educated Osage half-breed. She received Lucille with great cordiality and wished her to make herself at home with her. But Lucille, knowing that her father's preference was that she should rather stay with Mr. Michael mentioned gentleman, whose residence was some seven miles up the Giraud, declined her kind invitation and went to stop with the now Neosho, west of the place where at present stands the city of Erie.

Mr. M. Giraud, having no children, looked on Lucille as a very valuable acquisition to his family and treated her with parental affection. The season of spring, being now beautifully developed, Lucille prepared herself for her work and, by the end of May, she had already begun her Neosho flora. She is out every day on the high prairies east of Giraud's home, looking for blossoms. Not being acquainted with the country, Mr. Giraud allows her as a companion and guide in her excursions a very interesting Indian child by the name of Angelica Mitce-ke, whom he was raising and loved and looked upon as if it had been his own. The gentle training Angelica had received from Mr. Giraud had so much tempered her wild character that no one could believe that there was one drop of Indian blood in her. As she spoke the French with a very correct accent, Lucille could not help but love her and she now began to consider her and love her as if she had been her natural sister.

Close to Mr. Giraud's home the Neosho is meandering through a charming timber land and this was a favorite place of resort for our florists during the hot hours of the day, for here the air was cooled by large shade trees and the ground was carpeted by a variety of rare flowers. On the 27th of June Lucille has just come with Angelica to this nice spot, when some young squaws, being on their way to their wigwams, happened to be passing by. Well knowing that the French girl was collecting flowers, they presented her with a beautiful bouquet.



Lucille was very much pleased at their kindness, and wished to know where they gathered such sweet blossoms. To this they simply replied: "On the hill far west." Once they had gone, she asked Angelica whether she knew the place where these flowers were growing. "Oh, yes," was her answer "way yonder on that high bluff" pointing at it with her finger. "The boys" she added, "call these flowers *Chishunshi glasca*, which means Love-flower because when they wish to make us a nice present, they will bring us a bunch of them."

This was enough to excite Lucille's curiosity and she makes up her mind to go to find the place and make a good collection before the blasting heat of July would set in. To this effect, she told Angelica, that she intended to go to that hill on the next day, "and you, my child," she said, "do not forget to take a lunch in your basket, that we may not need to come home for dinner." However, noticing that they would have to cross the river in a small canoe, she seems to be perplexed in her mind, and, looking at Angelica with some anxiety she said: "But, my dear child, I see that we will have to cross the river, and who is going to paddle the skiff for us?" To this Angelica replies: "I will; I am well used to it. Whenever uncle Giraud wants to go to the other side to gather wild onions and strawberries, I always paddle the canoe for him." This answer did fully satisfy Lucille and nothing more was said about it.

The sun had risen as bright as ever and the sky looked as pure as a nice crystal, when, at the balmy breeze of the 28th of June, our florists were out for the West. Hardly had they reached the bank of the river, when, in the twinkling of an eye, Angelica leaped in the canoe and coasting along with masterly hand she invited her companion to come on board. Lucille steps in very cautiously and seats herself at the helm; meanwhile that Angelica softly but steadily begins to row. The water being very calm in but a few minutes they land on the opposite bank. Here, leaving the lunch basket in the canoe, both spring on terra firma, and, twisting the line of their little boat to a sapling, both start at work. No body living on that side of the river, the ground is literally all dotted with quite a variety of flowers. On they are going at random, picking up only the choicest, and, at every step, they advance deeper and deeper into the woods whose shades were most agreeable. Having been at work for nearly two hours, they began to feel a little fatigued and hungry. As the sun was fast advancing toward the meridian, they concluded to rest for a while and eat their lunch. "But," exclaimed Lucille, "where is the basket, my child? Let us go back to the river for we left it in the canoe." At once they start, taking one of the several trails close by. They come to the river, indeed, but no canoe could be seen. "This is not the place we landed at" says Lucille, "my dear Angelica, let us go farther down." So they do, but nowhere a vestige can be seen of their skiff. And no wonder; for, not having been properly hitched, the continual motion of the water had caused the line to become looped, and, at last, the canoe floating free, was carried down the river.

Now, Lucille realized the critical situation they were in, and looking quite earnestly at Angelica, she asks her whether she knows where they are. And, the child, answering very indifferently, "I do not know," she cried out: "Oh, my dear, we are lost! What shall we do? Where shall we go?" The innocent little girl looks all around as one who is bewildered, and at once bursts in a most pitiful wailing. Lucille embraced her, and, though she is mixing her tears with those of her companion, she tries to console her. Seeing that it was useless to depend any longer on her as guide, she tells her: "Come on, my love, let us go up the river, for I think we left our canoe somewhere higher up." And they began to walk up and down without noticing that they were frequently returning on their steps. They passed the whole of the long afternoon going through the woods, frequently calling loud for help, but they were already too far off, and no one could hear them. And, lo, night came at last. Broken down with hunger and fatigue, they lay on the bare ground for rest.

Meanwhile, as the two girls were in a state of distress, the mind of Mr. Giraud was under a great excitement. The missing of both at usual dinner time was a thing quite unprecedented, but Mr. Giraud did not make much of it, for, the girls being very familiar with the Pappin's family living at a short distance, he supposed that, likely, they had gone visiting their friends. When, however, towards evening he returned from his trading post on the In-ska-pa-shou creek and found out that they were as yet missing, he grew uneasy, and, calling on the Indian boy who was herding his horses, he dispatched him to the Pappin's residence to bring back the two girls, who, in his opinion, most certainly were there. In a very short time the boy returned with the message that they had not been there that day. On hearing this, Giraud clapped his hands, exclaiming: "By Napoleon, where can they have gone?" Here, however, the idea struck him that they might have gone down to the Mission to pay a visit to Mr. E. Chouteau who had repeatedly invited Lucille to go to pass a few days with his wife. And, if such would be the case, they would not return until the next morning. He felt satisfied that certainly this was the case, but, as it was not too late, he told the Indian boy to hurry up with his supper and, after that, to go down to the Chouteaus to ascertain whether the girls were there and return without any delay with an answer. It did not take long for the boy to get through his supper, and off he was, flying in a gallop over the prairie to the Chouteaus, and, finding that the two missing girls were not there, he at once returned home. It was just getting dark. Mr. Giraud was cooling himself on the veranda of his house when, hearing the boy coming on the premises, he halloes at him, saying: "Well, did you find them?" But he answered that they had not been there. At hearing this the old gentleman cries out in a frantic way: "Oh, my poor children! where are you gone? What has ever happened to you?"

It was too late now, and, the night being very dark, all search after them had to be put off to the next morning. That night was a terrible

one for M. Giraud. He could not persuade himself that the two girls were lost, yet it was a cruel fact that both were missing. "Would it be possible" he now and then would say, "that they have been kidnapped by some Indian?" And here all kinds of most villanous crimes would parade before his mind. At times he thinks he hears Lucille crying and calling on him for protection; then he imagines he sees Angelica knocked down senseless by some wicked man, and, in his excitement, beating the air with his clenched fists, he would say: "By my honor, I shall avenge you both my dear children, if I can only find out where you are." This excitement brough upon him a kind of temporary mental aberration. That night he never slept and in his drowsiness he would frequently repeat the names of his dear missing ones.

At last, the morning of the 29th came, and Mr. Giraud declared that he himself would go in search of his children. Calling on his Brave, an Indian by the name of Kula-shutze (Red Eagle), he tells him to go quick to the prairie and get him his best charger. And, while the Brave is gone, he paces through the timber close to his house thinking on what he should do and where he should first go. Stepping on the familiar path leading to the river, he follows it almost instinctively to the ordinary crossing. Here, noticing that the canoe had gone from its moorings, he wonders who might it be that took it off. At once the idea strikes him that, perhaps, the two girls might have got into it, and, not being able to manage it, might have drowned. At such an idea, the whole of his body shakes as if struck by an electric flash! He quickly examines the trail and, indeed, sees on it very distinctly the footprints of both the girls as yet fresh on the ground. This settles the question with him; his dear ones are undoubtedly lost, and he begins to moan as a man in despair. The Indians as well as the white employees working on his premises hearing him hasten to come to see what might be the matter, and, after again and again examining the footprints left on the sand, all can come to but one conclusion, that, namely, the two unfortunates must have tried to have some sport with the canoe, they must have capsized, and both were drowned. All that now remains to be done is to search for the bodies. To this effect, two skiffs are procured, one from Mr. Pappin, the other from Mr. Swiss, and several young men volunteer to run down the river to recover the bodies, if possible. Meanwhile, as this is going on, Mr. Giraud, feeling more nervous than ever, comes to Osage Mission to take advice from Mr. Edward Chouteau concerning the best way to follow in notifying Lucille's parents concerning this most terrible accident. But there was no time to lose. Edward Chouteau quickly calls on his friends and starts them down along the river, sounding the Neosho and searching every nook and point where, generally, large amounts of driftings are left by the main current. This done, he advises Mr. Giraud to return to the house and resign himself to what has happened. "And take time," says he, "do not be too quick in informing Lucille's parents about this unfortunate affair until we get more information."

Twenty-four hours have now passed since the two girls had left

home. Having had nothing to eat, after rambling up and down the whole preceding day to no purpose, it is no wonder if both were fatigued and exhausted. In such a condition both lay down on the bare ground to take some rest. Angelica, unconcerned about the dangerous situation they are in, soon falls asleep and looks as happy as a child can be in its couch. Not so with Lucille! That night was a frightful one for her. Indeed, there was no rest for her, not so much on account of the novelty of her lodging, as for the noise kept up during the whole night by the hooting of owls and wild parrots as well as by the confused barking of wolves lurking through the woods in search of some carrion. She had never been used to that sort of serenade and, being naturally most sensitive, her imagination saw terrible visions. She thought that surely hostile Indians were camping in the vicinity and that the noise she heard was coming from them. She trembled for fear, thinking that, after a while, some of them hunting around might discover her and Angelica, and, in such a case, they both would be killed. At last, about daylight, she stands up for a few minutes looking all around and, noticing that everything was quiet, she moves a little further up where the grass seems to be more glossy, and, stretching herself on it, tries to get some sleep, if possible. And, lo, meanwhile she is gazing at the morning star lightly rising over the horizon and shining most brilliantly through the trees, she feels as she was charmed by an invisible power and gradually it rapt her into a calm slumber, in which she could have hardly passed a couple of hours, when at once she is awakened by the screaming of Angelica, who, having raised her head and found out that Lucille was no longer by her side, thought herself to have been abandoned by her. Her fear, however, was soon dispelled for in but a few minutes she noticed her companion coming to her. Oh, how happy the poor child did feel in seeing her again. Here both looked around to see whether they might recognize the place they were in, but all in vain. Everything was new to them; silence reigned supreme in the forest and was only occasionally interrupted by sudden gushings of wind through the trees.

Lucille had been educated by pious and devout parents, who, from her childhood, had taught her to fear God and, at the same time, to trust in His assistance, especially in moments of danger. Now, the unexpected adventure calls to her mind all those salutary teachings, and, full of confidence in God's power, looking at Angelica with motherly love, "My dear child," she says, "we are lost and likely will have to die in these woods. God, however, can save us both if it so pleases Him. Let us both kneel down and pray to Him to be merciful to us." Having said this, both kneel and pray most fervently for a while. Next, standing up to see in what direction they had better go, they conclude to follow up the river, always in hopes of finding their canoe. And, now they are starting when an idea strikes Lucille's mind and she says to herself, why could we not leave here some mark that we might recognize the place in case that in our wandering around, we might return to this spot. Besides, who knows that after time, people, passing

by this place, directed by this mark, may find our remains and notify our friends about our death. Here she takes from her head a large red silk handkerchief and tied it to a limb of a tree standing by and overlooking the river. Next, noticing at a short distance a buffalo's skull well bleached by the weather, she writes on the flat bone of the forehead: "We are lost; have nothing to eat; are going to die. O, you that happen to find our remains, for God's sake bury us both together. Lucille and Angelica, June 29th, 1847." Having placed the skull in a showing position at the foot of the same tree, they go along through the woods, not knowing where, and look for wild fruits for both are hungry.

The men sent by Edward Chouteau to look for the bodies of the supposed drowned girls returned about sun-down saying that they had neither found or heard anything concerning them and, as the river was yet high and its current quite swift, it would be useless to look after them any further, for by this time they were out of reach. Hearing this Edward showed great distress in his countenance and, after a while, exclaimed: "Poor girls; this is too bad, but no one can help it." The sun had sunk in the far west and in Edward's house it looked as if a funeral had taken place in it. Knowing with what anxiety Mr. Giraud was expecting some information, he springs on his horse and hurries to his friend's residence. He finds him pacing to and fro on his veranda. As soon as Giraud notices his coming, he calls on him with great excitement, saying: "Well, what news, my friend?" "No news," was the cool reply that sounded through the air. This answer strikes Mr. Giraud as if it had been a thunderclap. Tears streamed from his eyes. His sobs for a while do not allow him to utter a single word. At last he cries out: "My dear friend, we will have to give them up! But, tell me, what shall I write to Lucille's father? He had trusted her to my care; he wanted me to be a father to her, and I have lost her, and so have I lost her that I can give no account of her. Oh, Edward, get me out of this trouble; do you write for me to him, for my grief is such I am unable to do it." Mr. Edward promised that he would attend to it, and returned to his family.

He hardly had gone when a sturdy young man, by the name of Isaac Swiss, an Osage half-breed, who was taking care of Mr. Giraud's store on the "In-ska-pashu", stepped in and, throwing on the floor half a dozen of nice ducks, said: "Mr. Giraud, here I am, as you see; to-day I had very good luck; I did not miss a single shot, but I was not quick enough to overtake a big deer, whom I met at the crossing of the creek. As the fellow sighted me, he whirled at once, and, upon my word, he did jump and run. I never before did see the like. I followed him through the timber between brush and briars, when the buck plunged into the river and swam to the other side. I lost my game." Having given his account of his adventure, he sat down to fix up his pipe and have a good smoke. Then he continued: "Mr. Giraud, trade is very good at present, but when will your summer goods come in? The Indians are anxious to leave on the usual hunt but have neither powder

nor lead. In how many days do you think our teams will return from Kansas City?" "In a few days" Mr. Giraud replied, "my goods are due, but the late rains made the roads so bad that the boys cannot travel fast." "But, now," said he, "you had better go to take your supper for it is getting late."

After supper Isaac returned to the veranda to enjoy the fresh air, and, seating himself comfortably on an old box, fills up his pipe and, having emitted from his mouth two big puffs of smoke, he said: "well, Mr. Giraud, "did you, to-day, see any of the surveyors?" "Why, no," replied the old gentleman, asking: "Did you see any of them?" "O, no, sir," he answered, "but I saw their signal about two miles below our store. I suppose they must have crossed the river south of Trading Post." "Why, is it possible?" Giraud remarked with some excitement, "this is good news, Isaac! I, indeed have not seen any of them to-day, but, as you well know, I am expecting them, for, as I told you other times, they are talking of opening a coach road from Independence, Missouri, to Santa Fé, New Mexico, and it would be of great advantage to us if this road would pass by our store. Now, tell me, Isaac, do you think the river will be fordable by to-morrow morning?" "Not at this point" was Isaac's reply; "but," said he, "it will be likely fordable at the upper crossing." Here Mr. Giraud stood up and said: "Well, I think so, myself. See, now, my boy, we must not lose the opportunity of seeing these surveyors, and induce them by all means to run the road by our store for this would increase our business considerably. I think the best we can do will be that to-morrow morning we hurry up and overtake them; I am confident we will succeed."

And now Mr. Giraud retired to his room for rest. Isaac needs neither room or bed; he just lies down on a pile of buffalo robes under the porch, and, as the cowboys are used to say, he soon sleeps as sound as a log.

The morning of the 30th was as bright as one could wish it. A gentle breeze from the east was cooling the atmosphere and making it very agreeable for an early riding. Mr. Giraud and Isaac were both on the move in search of the surveyors. Coming to the upper ford of the Neosho, they had no difficulty in crossing it. "Now," Mr. Giraud asked Isaac, "on what direction was it that you saw the flag," Isaac pointed to the west. Then both turn their course up the river between brushwood and fallen trees, following no road, for, in fact, there was none. They had been going for about half an hour, when Isaac, always in good humor, cried out: "Hello, Mr. Giraud, look way yonder; there is the surveyor's flag." "Why," replied Giraud, after looking at it very attentively, "that is not the regular flag, but, perhaps, they have dropped the real one somewhere and that might be a substitute for it. Anyway let us keep on and, once we will be on their tracks, we will soon overtake them, for they cannot be very far. However, as we do not know what kind of people we might meet, let us load our guns to be ready for our defense, if needed, for you know, my boy, that of late several

negroes who ran away from their masters in Missouri have been nestling through these woods and they are a very desperate set of fellows.

Both loaded their rifles and on they kept traveling till they came to the place and saw that the supposed flag was nothing else than a red silk handkerchief hanging from a branch of a tree. Mr. Giraud looked at it most carefully, and, at once, exclaimed: "Isaac, oh, dear, this is Lucille's handkerchief! Yes, I know it well; I bet her mark is on it!" Alighting in a great hurry, he almost steps on the buffalo skull, which stood at the foot of the tree. At first, he had not taken notice of it, but now, as it was in his way, he looks at it with attention and sees some writing on it. At the sight of it, he seems to be bewildered; just as if he had seen a ghost. A convulsive sensation comes over him; he looks as if he were under the influence of a charm. However, he soon recovers his presence of mind, and stooping down he reads the writing. He recognizes the hand; he understands the meaning of the notice, and, standing up, with a countenance full of excitement, he cries out: "Thanks be to God we came on their tracks; they may, as yet, be alive. O, Isaac; I now know all about it. This is not a surveyor's flag, as you thought, but it is a signal of distress put up yesterday by Lucille and Angelica. Who knows where they may be at present! But, they cannot be very far from this place. We must find them. Suppose you keep going on west along the river and I shall at the same time go south. Not to get astray one from the other let us have an understanding. If you happen to meet them, fire, at once, two consecutive shots, and I shall come to you. In the case I should find them I shall do the same, and you will come to me.

Here they start leading their horses by the bridle, stepping very cautiously, and taking notice of every inch of ground as they advance on their way. Mr. Giraud has already walked a distance of nearly two miles, when he discovered them. They both were lying on the ground, apparently as if sleeping. It is easier to imagine than to describe what were the feelings of the old gentleman at that moment. He first calls on Lucille, next on Angelica, but receives no answer. He approaches more closely and sees that they are alive, but in such a state of exhaustion that they are unable to speak or move. However, they are both conscious, and, seeing the familiar face of their friend, their eyes sparkle with joy, a smile comes on their lips. Mr. Giraud, without any delay, gives the conventional sign, and, in a short time, Isaac is galloping to the spot. As soon as the old gentleman sees him coming, he exclaims: "My boy, hurry home as fast as you can and tell Wha-ta-hinka that I found my two children; they are both living, but so weak that for a couple of days they won't be able to move from this place. Tell him to stop all other work, and bring his wife here to take care of them. Next tell my housekeeper to give you a lunch for them for they had nothing to eat during the two last days." Isaac did as he was ordered, and in about two hours returned with the lunch.

Wha-ta-hinka, who was an old and faithful servant of Giraud's family, understood at once what the emergency was calling for. He

quickly had a couple of pacing horses ready, and, in the afternoon, he and his wife came with a regular outfit and plenty of provisions. As he was approaching to the place, his wife began to cry and lament in a most heartrending strain, just as if she had lost some of her children. She kept up her doleful tune for quite a while, as it is customary among the Osages when they meet a friend they have not seen for a long time. And, having complied with what she looked upon as a duty of sympathy, she goes to work and in less than one hour she had put up a very comfortable wigwam. In this Mr. Giraud, with that adroitness characteristic of a French gentleman, moved his two proteges, and, seeing that the good squaw had brought with her an abundance of whatever might be needed, he returned to his house and dispatched Isaac down to Osage Mission to inform Mr. Chouteau of all that had happened. The good news soon spread all around, and people all over the settlement felt happy in hearing how the two missing girls had been found.

By the end of three days, the 3rd of July, they had both recovered and were able to return home. Now, all Giraud's friends came to congratulate him and wished to hear from Lucille the account of their adventure. And she would again and again repeat all the story of their getting lost when looking after flowers; how, having missed their canoe, they became confused in mind and, not knowing the place, they kept moving to and fro without perceiving that they were going astray, and most certainly they would have died of exhaustion had not God in His mercy directed Mr. Giraud to their steps.

And now, that everything was again running in good order, Mr. Giraud, willing to show how happy he felt for having recovered his dear children, sent a runner to inform all his friends that on the coming of the next full moon he would have a great feast and wanted them to know that everyone was invited to it. To make the invitation more attractive, he announced the following programme, namely, eight large beeves would be killed and everyone would have plenty to eat. During the day there would be different amusements, such as ball-play, horse-races, foot-races, sack-races and at night would take place a grand war dance. In a word, nothing would be omitted that might anyway contribute to render the feast most agreeable.

Lucille never expected that Mr. Giraud would give such a public and solemn mark of joy and go into such an expense on her account. She felt very much confused, and calling on him, she said: "My dear friend, I am under a thousand obligations to you for the way you have treated me since my coming to your house, but, most particularly, I am indebted to you for having saved my life. And now, I feel very proud for the honor you intend to bring me by inviting all the Osages to come and feast on my account, but, please listen to me for one moment; before that day comes, I wish you to do me a favor. You must know that on the morning that I hung my handkerchief to the tree on which you found it, I and Angelica calculated to travel the whole day in search of our canoe. However, being sure that we were lost, and,



knowing that without a special assistance of God, we would never be able to get out of our terrible situation, before going any farther we both knelt down and prayed to God to save us; nay, we promised that if we would ever return home, we would go to Osage Mission church and offer our thanksgiving to God through the hands of the Immaculate Virgin. Having finished our prayer, we started, but we had hardly advanced two miles, when a heavy dizziness came over us. We staggered and fell; we were so weak that we could no longer speak and remained in such state till God directed you to find us. Now, it would not be right for us to take part in such a public rejoicing as you are preparing on our account, without first going down to the Mission to fulfill our vow. To this most earnest request Mr. Giraud replied very kindly that they were right in being thankful to God for, indeed, they had a very narrow escape. "For," said he, "it was a very great wonder that you both did not perish in those woods, as has been the case with several others before you. The coming of Isaac to my house was really providential, and neither he nor I had the slightest idea of going in search of you when we rode out to look for the supposed surveying party. As, therefore, God has heard your prayers, it is most proper for you to give Him thanks. Hence, whenever you make up your mind to go down to the Fathers' Church, let me know and I, myself, shall have the pleasure of bringing you there."

Lucille and Angelica having agreed to go to the Mission on the next day, Mr. Giraud told them that he would be ready to comply with their wishes. In fact, about 10:30 the next morning, he started with both of them and by noon they were alighting on Edward Chouteau's premises. There is no need of telling with what most sincere marks of affection they were received. Mrs. Rosalia, Edward Chouteau's wife, was almost out of herself for joy in seeing two most dear friends over whose supposed loss, but a few days before, she had shed so many tears. Towards evening, the two girls, accompanied by Mrs. Rosalia, came up to the Mission to make arrangements with Father Schoenmakers. The Father felt very happy in seeing them and told them that at 7 o'clock the next morning Father John Bax would be ready to offer up the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass for them.

On the next day, at the appointed hour, they came up to the church together with a number of their friends. The two girls, each one carrying a beautiful bouquet of the choicest flowers the season could afford, after bowing before the image of the Immaculate Virgin, laid their offering on the altar. Here Father Bax begins the Mass, during which he addresses a few appropriate words to the people, advising them to always trust in the kind assistance of Divine Providence, and never to forget to be thankful for favors received. Mass being over, the whole party returned to the Chouteaus, where throughout the whole day, large numbers of Indians came to congratulate the two girls.

And now the full moon of July has come. Though in midsummer, a gentle breeze which is prevailing promises a nice day for out-door exercises. Since very early in the morning the town crier has been

proclaiming with a stentorian voice the programme of the feast, calling all to come and take part in the common rejoicing. The wide rolling prairie east of Mr. Giraud's residence is the chosen spot where the feast is to be celebrated.

A number of Osages who have come during the preceding night are stirring about and looking after their horses. The squaws are at work; some stretching awnings, others making temporary lodges. Stout looking young girls are going to the next timber to gather dry wood to make fire; meanwhile others are busy packing water from the Neosho up to their camps. Quite a crowd of frolicking children are gamboling around, playing all sorts of antics, and diving into the river like a flock of ducks. As the sun is getting higher, the hum of many voices, resembling the murmuring of the wind through a forest, is on the increase, and one might fancy he was transported by magic to one of the most frequented thoroughfares of a large city where a big market is going on.

At an early hour Mr. Giraud sends for the principal men and makes them a present of eight fat beeves, requesting them to see that each family has a good share in the distribution of the meat. A party of Braves, having driven the steers to a nook of the prairie close to the timber, butcher them at once, and allow everyone to have as much of meat as they need. At 2:30 P. M., the Kettletender, whose duty is to superintend feasts of this kind, takes his buffalo drum, and accompanied by a few young men, marches to the center of the ground allotted for the sports and having enkindled a fire, they sit around it and began to sing their traditional *Tho-hi-hun* to the sound of their tom-tom.

Now everyone knows that the time for the public games has come. Behold long lines of men, women and children, all wrapt in gorgeous blankets of different colors, moving from every direction, all coming to take their seats on the green sod, according to their different clans. On the higher part of the prairie Lucille and Angelica, the heroines of the feast, occupy chairs of honor. Next to them are Michael Giraud and Edward Chouteau and his wife. The balance of the people are squatting on the grass, forming, as it were, two large wings, brilliant for the variety of the nice colored blankets and the richly embroidered tunics and leggings worn by them.

A war whoop opens the entertainment. Numbers of young Bucks whose bodies are all bedaubed with showing colors, advance to the center of the arena, and, without any preliminaries, begin to play foot ball. Their appearance is that of a gang of Satyrs emerging from the near forest. So rapid and grotesque are their evolutions, that they seem to have all their limbs duplicated, so quick are they turning up and down to catch the ball. This play is followed by several others, but that which gives more merriment than all is the sack-race. In this the competitors are twelve boys about fifteen years old. Mr. Giraud himself helps them to get into their sacks, and Lucille has the fun of tying the same around their neck. They stand all in a row, looking like Egyptian

mummies. Here Lucille claps her hands, and, lo, they all start. But, alas, they had advanced only a few steps when, at once losing their balance, one after another all tumble to the ground. And, spite of all their efforts, none of them can ever succeed in getting up for in trying to arise they entrap themselves more and more and are again brought down. The whole is a real treat for the people who, seeing the vain efforts made by the poor fellows in order to arise on their feet, are laughing most merrily, and try to encourage them with great vociferations to try once more. The noise now following is such that the boys become excited and no longer know what to do. However, always confident that with a quick move upward they might succeed in taking a standing posture and go a few steps farther, they now and then make a dash, as it were, at the air, but with no result, for they fall again and roll over the grass to the the great amusement of the people. And now Lucille thought that this play had been going on long enough and requested Mr. Giraud to let the boys out of their sacks, and, since they all had contributed so much to the general merriment, she declared that it was but right that each one should receive a premium. Mr. Giraud agreed perfectly with her, and immediately handed to her twelve nice red scarfs, of which she presented one to each of the boys.

This most amusing entertainment was followed by horse racing. These races took place in succession; the first being run by ten horses; the second by four; that is to say, those four who proved to be the best in the preceding, and the two who were superior in this, ran the third, the swiftest of the two receiving the premium. The young men who ran the horses had no hindrance of any sort on their persons; the different colors with which they were painted all over making most all the garments they had on. They rode their steeds bare-back with no other bridle than a thin lariat twisted around the lower jaw of the beast, and, as in riding they were leaning on the neck of their horses having their feet entwined with the forelegs of the same, looking at them from a distance one could not but fancy he saw a squad of Centaurs running over the country. The races were a success, and Lucille felt very proud when she was requested to hand the prize to the winner. With this the greatest part of the programme was over and the people returned to their camps.

The twilight was fast passing away and night gradually spreading its darkness, like a pall, over the earth, when a beautiful full moon appeared with silvery radiance, to enlighten the whole country. Hark! the tom-tom is again sounding and all the men quickly arising don their blankets; the squaws huddle their smaller children on their neck and, driving the balance of the little ones before them, following one another in a long line, return to the play ground to assist at a great war dance.

The small fire the kettletender had enkindled in the morning in the center of the arena is now turned by the same into a big bonfire. Everyone is on the tip-toe watching who will be the Braves that will form the dance. And, behold, presently some twenty stalwart savages,

each a well known old warrior, step out from different points and at once form a large circle around the fire. Some of them have horns protruding from their head-gear; others are covered with loose buffalo robes dragging long tails; most have their faces covered with the mask of some wild animal; all exhibit the appearance of incarnate demons. Their bodies are daubed with large spots of white, red, green and yellow paint. They are armed with long spears from which are hanging the scalps of their enemies. And now their dance begins with a general whoop. They all start leaping and gesticulating like infernal furies around the big bon-fire. Their motions seem to be threatening everybody; their dance, properly speaking, is no dance at all, but rather a war drilling in which they feign to attack or strike their enemies in thousands of different ways. This very wild play lasted till late in the night, when the men got so exhausted by their continual jumping and stamping the ground that they had to give up and lie down to rest on the very spot. With this the whole feast was over.

On the next morning Lucille and Angelica resumed their ordinary excursions after flowers and, taught by their own experience, are more cautious in their ramblings through the country.

REV. PAUL M. PONZIGLIONE, S. J.



# NOTES



## SORA THE HOME OF BISHOP ROSATI

Bishop Joseph Rosati, as is well known, was born in the town of Sora, in the Kingdom of Naples. It may interest the readers of our REVIEW to learn where Sora really is, and what were its other claims on our interest besides being the birthplace of the first Bishop of St. Louis. In the days of Bishop Rosati's youth the Kingdom of Naples was the immediate neighbor of the Patrimony of St. Peter, and Sora lay on the very boundary of the two States, on the Liris, "the river taciturn of classic song" as Longfellow calls it in imitation of Horace. It was in 1859 that Ferdinand Gregorovius, the historian of the City of Rome, visited Sora and gave a beautiful description of it, which was published in his "*Wanderjahre in Italien*" (vol 2.): We would give the substance of this article in English:

"In the morning Sora displayed itself as a tolerably clean and modern city with some good streets, industrial life and bustling traffic. The river Liris, that flows through the city, comes along in emerald waves between two rows of high poplars, soft and dreamy like a German river. A wooden bridge leads to the quay. Many a beautiful spot along the shore invited me to rest and meditation. For all around the city stretches the well cultivated Campagna, gardens and vineyards, through which well kept roads lead to the neighboring cities.

Sora lies leveled in this wide valley of the Liris, which gradually rises amid the mountain and loses itself in the distance. Immediately above the city a bare brown mountain, rises like a pyramid, high, steep and rugged into the blue of heaven. It is crowned with the picturesque ruins of the ancient castle, called Sorella which are of as deep brown color as the mountain itself. In the shadow of this natural pyramid lies Sora, in idyllic quiet, now all modernized, but once the mighty city of the Volscians. Sora has never changed its name, although it became in the course of time, Samnite, then Latin and at last Roman. In the Roman period Sora gave birth to the three Decii, the celebrated Attilius Regulus, the family of the Valerii, among them the orator G. Valerius, the Lucius Mummius, names well calculated to give renown to Sora. During the early Middle Ages Sora is mentioned as a city on the boundary which the Lombard dukes of Beneventum frequently attacked and plundered. Probably it was then Byzantine. After

being held by Lombard Counts Sora fell into the hands of Emperor Frederick II who destroyed it. Restored, the city became the property of the powerful Counts of Aquino, who possessed almost all the land between the Volturnus and the Liris. Then Charles of Anjou made the Cantelmi, who were kin to the Stuarts, Counts of Sora, and Alphonso of Aragon raised Sora to the rank of a duchy, whose first duke was Nicolo Cantelmi. Under Pius II. his captain Napoleon Orsini conquered Sora and annexed it to the Roman State. King Ferdinand I. of Naples confirmed the cession; but Sixtus IV. withdrew the possession from the church, and gave it to his nephew Lionardo della Rovere, as a marriage gift. Later on Gregory XIII. bought Sora from the Duke of Urbino for his nephew Don Giacomo Buoncompagni, in whose family, afterwards called Buoncompagni Ludovisi, the beautiful place remained until the beginning of the 18th century, when it again passed into the hands of the King of Naples. In Rome there is still a Palazzo di Sora, and a ducal title di Sora, as the only reminders of the former glories of a Roman family. Under the rule of this Rovere a very remarkable man was born in Sora, Caesar Baronius, the great historian of the Church. So very beautiful, harmonious and dreamy a place as the valley of the Liris really is, should have been the birthplace of some poetic genius like Horace, Ovid, or Ariosto. But it was not to be. Instead of these servants of the muses, these flowery fields produced warriors and lastly orators; indeed, in their constant change of scene they may well serve as an inspiration for an inexhaustible natural eloquence full of images and figures of speech.

Caesar Baronius was born October 31, 1538. He is the Muratori of the church, whose Annals he has written from the Birth of Christ to 1588. The first volume appeared at Rome in 1588, a work of giant effort, based on Vatican materials, priceless as regards its materials and grand in its execution. He died the 30th day of June 1607."

Thus far Gregorovius who styles Baronius the last of the great names of Sora. But this great Baronius was not to be the last of Sora's great men. Joseph Rosati might with greater propriety claim the title. For although his work was done on the very edge of civilization, amid the rude conditions of frontier-life, in an uncultivated country, it proved to be of even greater importance to the church and the world than that of some of the early warriors and orators of Sora, in the foundation and upbuilding of one of the greatest dioceses of the world.

And so we bid good bye to

"The Land of Labor and the Land of Rest,  
Where medieval towns are white on all  
The hillsides, and where every mountain's crest  
Is an Etrurian or a Roman wall,"

as Longfellow says, understanding better than before what a sacrifice it must have been to the gentle studious dreamy Joseph Rosati to leave his home for ever for the pathless wilderness by the mighty Mississippi.

## DIAMOND JUBILEE OF THE DIOCESE OF GALVESTON

March 14, 1922, was a great day for the city and diocese of Galveston, Texas, celebrating its diamond jubilee. On March 14, 1847, the cornerstone was laid for St. Mary's Cathedral, Galveston; in the same year the diocese of Galveston was erected, comprising the entire Republic of Texas.

The first priest from the United States who entered Texas, was Very Rev. John Timon, Visitor of the Lazarists, at the Barrens, Mo.; he was asked by Bishop Blanc of New Orleans to investigate the state of affairs amongst the Catholics of Texas. He arrived at Galveston in December 1838. After him came Father Anduze; he visited Galveston, Houston and Nacogdoches (at this latter place Father Antonio Diaz de Leon had been secretly killed by the fanatical American frontiersmen, Nov. 4, 1834). In 1840 Fathers G. W. Hayden and E. Clark come from Kentucky and visited nearly every settlement in Texas. In the meantime Father Timon accepted the appointment as Prefect Apostolic and sent Rev. John Odin, C.M., to Texas with full authority. Father Odin estimated the Catholics in Texas at 10,000; in seven months he and his fellow priests heard 911 confessions and baptized 478.

The bulls erecting the Republic of Texas into a Vicariate Apostolic were issued July 16, 1841, and Father Odin was appointed Bishop of Claudiopolis and assigned to the new Vicariate. In 1847 he was transferred to the newly erected diocese of Galveston.

The festivities to commemorate the 75th anniversary of the erection of the diocese of Galveston and the laying of the cornerstone of its Cathedral opened Monday evening March 13, 1922, by a reception held in the Cathedral Hall, where an exhibit of academy and parochial school work was shown. This display proved a diversion for all leisure moments not taken up with the exchange of greetings and congratulations.

The following Bishops from the province of New Orleans had come to honor the occasion: Archbishop Shaw of New Orleans, the bishops Drossaerts of San Antonio, Lynch of Dallas, Morris of Little Rock, Allan of Mobile, Van de Ven of Alexandria and Jeanmard of Lafayette.

Members of the Fourth Degree, Knights of Columbus in full regalia escorted the procession from the Cathedral Hall to the Cathedral, at 9.45, Tuesday morning. Archbishop Shaw celebrated the Pontifical High Mass. Other ministers of the Mass included: Archpriest, Very Rev. J. M. Kirwin, V. G.; M. F. Winne, C. M.; Very Rev. A. J. Bruening, Chancellor; deacon of the Mass, Rev. J. S. Murphy, LL. D., subdeacon of the Mass, Rev. Joseph Pelnar; masters of ceremonies, Rev. L. J. Reicher, Chancellor; J. T. Fleming, M. J. Leahy, E. J. Walsh, acolytes, etc., seminarians from La Porte.

Archbishop Glennon of St. Louis preached the sermon; the prelate of St. Louis had been invited, because of the first American priest who came to Texas, Father Timon, came from the Barrens, Perry Co.,

Mo.; the first priest who laid down his life for the sick at Galveston, was a St. Louis priest, Father Paquin (born at Florissant, Mo.); and the present bishop of Galveston, Msgr. Christopher Byrne, was born in Missouri and was a St. Louis priest to the day of his consecration. So it was quite becoming, that to St. Louis a place of honor should be given at the celebration of the Diamond Jubilee. A number of priests from St. Louis accompanied their Archbishop to do honor to their former fellow worker in the diocese of St. Louis, Bishop Byrne of Galveston.

At one o'clock, in the Galvez Hotel, a luncheon was served to the visiting prelates and priests. The toasts were answered by Archbishop Shaw, Bishop Morris and Bishop Droessaerts.

The most interesting feature of the celebration was the historical pageant in the evening at the great City Auditorium. Not a seat was unoccupied in both galleries. Every available foot of standing room at the rear of the building was taken, and enough turned away to have filled the aisles had the fire regulations permitted it.

Nothing went to mar the well-drilled perfection of the fifteen tableaux in which the heroic, romantic and picturesque history of Texas, secular and religious, was presented. As if animated to life from the pages of some old history book, the somber-gowned fathers trod the wilderness paths shoulder to shoulder with the Spanish explorers. They lived again against the gray back-grounds of the old Spanish missions, surrounded by the Indians whom they had brought to the faith. Incident by incident the story unfolded, until finally St. Mary's Cathedral as it is today, its twin spires aspiring to heaven, was flashed on the screen amid a storm of applause which almost rocked the auditorium.

Very Rev. J. M. Kirwin, Vicar General of the diocese, rector of St. Mary's and president of St. Mary's Seminary at La Porte, in the character of History, stood at the left side of the stage and told the story which each tableau illustrated. As his voice, by sheer power and timbre overcoming the poor acoustics of the auditorium, finished with each recital, the curtains parted and a life-sized picture faithfully portraying the scene as history has given it, was revealed.

The tableaux were far and away beyond the class of ordinary amateur effort. Their preparation and arrangement was the work of Rev. Father Kirwin. They were presented under the direction of Rev. M. S. Chataignon.

Following is a sketch of the tableaux in the order of their presentation:

*"Quizira Was Always Just Beyond."* Personnel: Coronado, Father Juan De Padilla, proto-martyr of the United States; Father Juan De La Cruz, Indians.

*"Death of La Salle, A. D. 1667."* Personnel: Father Zenobius, Father Anastase, La Salle, Lacheveque.

*"Founding of San Francisco De Los Tejas, A. D. 1690."* Personnel: De Leon, Father Massanet, three other Franciscans, soldiers, Indians, processional cross, etc.



"*San Antonio De Valero, A. D. 1718. The Alamo, A. D. 1722.*" Personnel: Fray Antonio De San Buenaventura y Olivarez, Fray Miguel Nunez. Baptism of first child at the mission, sponsors, etc.

*La Purissima Conception.* Personnel: Father Gabriel De Vergara, two other Franciscans. Indians, etc.

*San Jacinto Battlefield.* Personnel: General Sam Houston, General Sydney Sherman, Surgeon N. D. Labadie, soldiers, etc.

*Father Timon Coming to Address the Congress of the Republic of Texas, Houston, January, 1839, present site of Rice Hotel.* Personnel: Father Timon, C. M.; Father Llebaria, C. M.; General Sam Houston, Mirabeau B. Lamar, president of the republic of Texas; David Burnet, vice president.

*Bishop Odin.* Personnel: Bishop Odin, workmen, etc. (building the first church in Galveston).

*Battle of Galveston, January 1, 1863.*

*Battle of Sabine Pass, 1863.*

*Bishop Claude Marie Dubois.*

*Bishop Gallagher.*

*The Morning After the Storm, 1900.*

*The Cathedral.*

The tableau based on the battle of Galveston most profoundly stirred the audience, if applause is any indication. The scene showed Lieutenant Sydney Sherman, son of the general, lying wounded in Ursuline Convent, which was transformed into a military hospital, attended by the sisters, priests and surgeon. The storm of cheers showed how dearly Galveston cherishes this tradition.

Emotion almost too deep for applause was awakened by the tableaux representing the morning after the storm of Sept. 8, 1900. It showed the little inmates of St. Mary's Orphanage lying still and dead amid the wreck of furniture and toys, which was all that was left of the orphanage. The Sisters of Charity of the Incarnate Word, conducting the institution, had tied their little charges to them, seeing that all was lost, and thus perished with them.

During a brief interlude following the showing of the tableaux Rev. Father Chataignon led the school children in the singing of several songs.

A feature which rivaled in interest the tableaux was the two reels of moving pictures showing various Catholic institutions in the diocese and state.

The first reel began with a view of the Alamo at San Antonio, followed by the missions of San Jose and Conception. Next came the Galveston institutions, churches, schools and hospital. If the drama was silent, the audience was far otherwise. View of the schools included groups of the students at play and exercises. The children had the delightful experience of seeing themselves in the movies. They responded with a gleeful clamor.

Succeeding scenes showed institutions at Houston, Waco, Austin, Beaumont, Westphalia, West and other points in the diocese.

Wednesday morning, March 15, the festivities were concluded with a Pontifical Mass of Requiem, celebrated by the bishop of the youngest diocese of Texas, Msgr. Lynch of Dallas.

## THE DAILY AMERIKA'S GOLDEN JUBILEE

In anticipation of the fiftieth anniversary of its first appearance the St. Louis Catholic daily *Amerika*, a German-American newspaper, published a large Jubilee Edition on Easter Sunday this year, with a beautiful letter of encouragement from the Archbishop of St. Louis. Under its strong and faithful Catholic editors, Dr. Eduard Preuss, the well-known Convert from Lutheranism, and his son Dr. Arthur Preuss, now Editor of the *Fortnightly Review*, then of Mr. F. P. Kenkel, now director of the Central Bureau of the Central Society, and at present under the energetic editorial management of Mr. John Otto Pfeiffer, the *Amerika* has done yeoman service to the Church in this country as well as to the successive generations of its German readers. Under all its editors the *Amerika* did not confine its efforts to the living presence, but was also very efficient in opening up once more the bright vistas of the past, and so its voluminous work is the very best record and source-book for the historian of the Church in the Middle West. We think our readers will be glad to have a copy of the letter of Archbishop Glennon, as of one who takes the deepest interest not only in the health and progress of the Church under his jurisdiction but also of the heroic past of the Church in the Mississippi Valley:

Archbishop's House  
Saint Louis

March 24, 1922

The *Amerika*,  
18 South 6th St., City.  
Gentlemen:-

I am very much pleased to hear that you are about to celebrate the Golden Jubilee of that worthy Catholic Paper, the *Amerika*; and I hasten to offer you heartfelt congratulations.

A rumor of your intended suspension, owing to changed conditions, made public some time ago, caused me considerable worry. I felt that after your long and honorable service, your discontinuance would mean in a sense defeat and humiliation.

Hence when your management took heart again and continued the publication, and proposes to give us each day a better and more interesting paper, there is, I believe, every reason for renewed congratulations.

We are glad that your fiftieth anniversary is with the "quick" and not with the dead.

Yours sincerely

✠ John J. Glennon,  
Archbishop of St. Louis.

We would add only this that the Jubilee number of the *Amerika* contains, besides a number of valuable historical articles the best history of the diocese of St. Louis we have by the Rev. F. G. Holweck.

In regard to the Osage Indian-Nation, one of the early cares of our Jesuit Missionaries in Indian Territory, Mr. Homer Croy, writes in *Leslie's*:

"The Osage Indians were once in Southern Kansas and got from the Government \$40 a year for giving up their land. On farms they were settled and here tried to scratch out a living, but it was pretty tough scratching, for in the early days Kansas was no bed of roses. The Indian Territory was then being laid out into a State and into this new section the Osages were moved and it was their luck to draw, seemingly, the worst part of Oklahoma. Harder scratching than ever it was, so hard that the transplanted people yearned for their cyclones and grasshoppers. Among the sagebrush and alkali they moved, wrestling mightily with the soil, until 1915, when a few men with greasy overalls came through calculating and testing and digging. Pretty soon a black, gushing, bewildering flood rose. 'Oil! Oil!' the cry went out. More people came, more oil rigs went up, and the rush was on. It became the scene of the wildest oil excitement. From all over the world people poured in; towns sprang up almost over night and canvas cities rose where the prairie dog a few weeks before had picked his teeth in contentment. A 'blanket' method of proportioning oil was arrived at. Thus, instead of all the money going to a few Indians on whose land the liquid wealth chanced to be found, it was to be divided equally between all members of the tribe. The first year, 1915, each member of the tribe received \$170.25. The following year each and every Indian whose name was on the Government books received, to have and to hold, \$2608. In the course of time the year 1919 rolled around and the good oil Santa Claus left \$5171 in their stocking, and all they had to do in return was to be an Indian. And then the year 1920 folded its tent and stole away and they found themselves \$10,091 richer. Each year the sum gets bigger. Each year just being an Indian gets to be a better-paying job. One of the last bills President Wilson signed was one extending Indian oil protection until 1946. Up to that time the land will be leased out to white operators and the profits turned over to the Indians. After that the Indians will have to shift for themselves."

Whether this temporal prosperity will really benefit the Indians, may be doubted. If only a small part of this income had been available in Father Verhaegen's time, what wonderful results might have been obtained.

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From an odd volume of the Magazine of Western History we transcribe the following interesting notices:

During French and English domination in the west, there were promulgated a number of important state papers and documents, some of which have an immediate bearing on our early history. These last named are of interest to the historian, and are frequently sought for; but it sometimes happens (although they have all been published) that much difficulty is experienced in finding them. Few of the libraries in our country have all of them. We name the principal of these state documents, giving citations to the books in which they may be found:

I.—French Domination: (1) Daumont de Saint Lussou, Procès-verbal, June 14, 1671, in Margry, vol. i, pp. 96—99. (2) La Salle, Procès-verbal, March 14, 1682, in Margry, vol. ii, pp. 181—185. (3) La Salle, Procès-verbal, April 9, 1682, in Margry, vol. ii, pp. 186—193. (4) Perrot, Minute of Taking Possession of the Country of the Upper Mississippi, May 8, 1689, in New York Colonial History, vol. ix, p. 418.

II.—English Domination: (1) Preliminary Treaty of Peace with France (Fontainebleau), November 3, 1762, in Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xxxii, pp. 569—573. (2) Definite Treaty of Peace with France (Paris), February 10, 1763, in Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xxxiii, pp. 121—126. (3) Proclamation of King George (Court of St. James), October 7, 1763, in Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xxxiii, pp. 477—479. (4) The Quebec Bill (1774), in 14 George III, Statutes at Large of Great Britain, chapter 83.

Within a comparatively recent period an unusual interest has been awakened in everything appertaining to the first exploration of the northwest by John Nicolet. This has called out one book and several lengthy articles devoted to the career of his indomitable explorer in America. But of his early life in France nothing is known. M. Henri Jouvan, a distinguished scholar of Cherbourg, is now engaged upon his history before leaving his native land. In speaking of Nicolet, M. Jouvan writes that the names of his father and mother—Nicolet and Delamer—are very common through the country where he resides. "A parish, distant two miles from Cherbourg, with a population of only eight hundred souls, numbers thirty-seven families named Nicolet, and nearly as many named Delamer." We may soon expect from the able pen of M. Jouvan a full account of Nicolet's life before embarking for Canada, in 1618; also some account of his ancestors.

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From the very interesting and important letters of Bishop Francis Patrick Kenrick, the brother of our own Peter Richard, to the Allen Family of Philadelphia, as published in the current numbers of the Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, we would quote a sentence in reference to Chief Justice Roger Brook Taney (Chief Justice 1836—1864). "I hope George Allen will be an eminent lawyer, as well as an excellent Christian. We have here (in Baltimore) several very practical Catholics of the profession, some of them converts. The Chief Justice, who no longer resides here, is most exemplary. He receives the sacraments with great simplicity and edification." A list of converts, whose names occur in the Kenrick-Allen correspondence is given on page 21 of the December Number.

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We are highly gratified at the interest shown by a far-eastern paper, the *Brooklyn Eagle*, in our Centenary of Statehood, which came to a close since our last issue:

"Missouri is today as free as Maine, and vastly richer in natural resources, with about four times the population of the "free State" admitted to balance this "slave State" under the Clay compromise of 1820. From Thomas Hart Benton, 30 years a United States Senator, to Champ Clark, several times Speaker of the House she has been represented by strong men in national legislation as Maine has. Both commonwealths have had worthy ideals and admirable enterprise. That in the Missouri compromise the irrepressible conflict between North and South was staved off for 40 years is a common belief of students of American history. \* \* \* The proviso that slavery would enter no part of the Louisiana Purchase north of 36 degr. 40m. thereafter, if it had not been repealed in the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, might have indefinitely delayed the clash of civil war. Missouri was a "border State" when the clash came. In the "Crisis" Winston Churchill has popularized the struggle to keep her in the Union, the brave work of Carl Schurz, the drilling of German immigrants in St. Louis to fight secessionists, if necessary. Missouri was kept loyal. All of the North, all of the South, all of the West, sympathize with Missouri's pride in her celebration; her pride in a hundred years of achievement. She deserves all the fine things she can say about herself, and all the fine things her neighbors can say about her. There are bigger states in our great family of commonwealths, but no better State to live and flourish in than Missouri."

gained a complete and final victory. Here is what he writes to Bishop Rosati:

"Want of time alone has prevented me from keeping you advised of our affairs here, as they transpired. I did endeavor to write occasionally to the good bishop of Vincennes in the kind of hope that through him at least you would hear from me, as I have no doubt you were aiding us with your holy prayers. Thanks be to God, everything, has so far, gone in favor of his Holy Church. Our trustees are broken down in their spirit and power of domination, which had oppressed the Church of N. Y. from its origin—and what is better, they have been subdued by the nergy of *Catholic Faith*, and *Catholic feeling* working in the hearts of the laity themselves. There is here now, but one party—that is the *Catholic Church*. This has conquered, and the humiliation of defeat is not manifested. The trustees have separated from Mr. Levins, and the congregation have separated themselves from the trustees, except so far as the latter conform to the Pastoral Address of the Bishop and the Resolutions, etc. It is a revolution and I trust a happy one in its consequences for religion."



# DOCUMENTS FROM OUR ARCHIVES

DIARY OF BISHOP ROSATI

1825

JANUARY.

Baptism of  
an adult

- 1 Saturday. Early in the morning, Confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel. Assisted in cope at the high Mass, during which I preached to the people on the Circumcision. After Mass, exposition of the B1. Sacrament; *Te Deum, Veni Creator Spiritus* and Benediction. Vespers in the church.
- 2 Sunday. Confessions. Mass in the chapel. At half past nine, in the church, baptized solemnly Nathanael Stephen Parker, a man of about thirty years of age, who, not having as yet given his name to any sect, coming to know the Catholic teaching, embraced the truth, and prepared himself with great zeal and diligence for the reception of Baptism. Before Baptism, and during the administration of it, I explained the ceremonies. At 11 A. M., assisted at High Mass, during which Mr. McGilligan<sup>1</sup> preached the sermon. Vespers in the church.
- 3 Monday. Spiritual Conference for the Seminarians on the dispositions with which we ought to begin the present year. Mr. Loisel.<sup>2</sup> Mass in the chapel. Wrote to the Right Rev. Bp. of New Orleans and to Fr. De Neckere. Fr. Caretta<sup>3</sup> left for St. Louis; I gave him testimonial letters of his Ordination.
- 4 Tuesday. Spiritual Conference of the Community, as yesterday. Mass in the chapel. Received a letter from Mr. Rozier and another from Fr. Dahmen.
- 5 Wednesday. Mass early in the morning. Confessions of the Nuns. In the evening confessions of the Seminarians.

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1. *Cr. St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. II, p. 330, n. 72.

2. *Cf. Ibid.*, p. 334, n. 88.

3. *Cf. Ibid.*, p. 331, n. 76.

Dimissorial  
Letters to Fr.  
McGilligan

- 6 Thursday. Epiphany. Early in the morning Confessions of the Brothers. At 11 o'clock, Tierce, Pontifical Mass during which sermon. Pontifical Vespers, after which sermon by Mr. Paquin. Fr. McGilligan left for Ireland; I gave him dimissorial letters.
- 7 Friday. Chapter; went to confession; Mass in the chapel.
- 8 Saturday. 1 confession. Mass in the chapel; in the evening Confessions of the Seminarians.
- 9 Sunday. Letter to Mr. Rozier, in which I enclosed a letter of credit for 254½ dollars which, by order of the Bp. of New Orleans, ought to be paid to me;<sup>4</sup> wrote 2ly, to Fr. Portier, a letter recommending Fr. Caretta; 3ly to Fr. Moni; 4th. to Fr. Borgna; 5th. to Fr. Dahmen.  
Early in the morning, Confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel. 3 Confessions. Assisted at the High Mass, during which I preached on the Gospel. The public life of Christ cannot be imitated either by all Christians, or in every particular; but the examples of his private and hidden life are proposed to all Christians, and we can imitate it in every particular. These examples are proposed to us in the Gospel of today; zeal and diligence in the worship of God; humility, obedience, etc., progress in virtue etc. Vespers in the church, after which sermon by Mr. Vergani.
- 10 Monday. Early in the morning Spiritual Conference for Seminarians: The imitation of the private and hidden life of Jesus Christ. Saucier.<sup>5</sup> Mass in the chapel.
- 11 Tuesday. Spiritual Conference of the Community: The exercise of the presence of God. Bro Blanka,<sup>6</sup> and Mr. Paquin.<sup>7</sup> Mass in the chapel. Fr. Dahmen<sup>8</sup> comes from Ste. Genevieve.
- 12 Wednesday. Mass early in the morning. Fr. Odin<sup>9</sup> made his vows.
- 13 Thursday. Mass early in the morning. Conference to the Sisters on the imitation of the hidden life of our Lord. Fr. Dahmen leaves.
- 14 Friday. Early in the morning, Chapter. Went to confession. Mass in the chapel. Fr. Cellini<sup>10</sup> went to Kaskaskia, to say Mass there, and to visit afterwards the Catholics dwelling in the neighborhood of that town.

4. Cf. *Ibid.*, 359, n. 172.

5. Cf. *Ibid.*, 331, n. 74.

6. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 340, n. 104.

7. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 329, n. 67.

8. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 317, n. 17.

9. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 311, n. 80.

10 Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 322, n. 38; p. 350, n. 141; p. 353, n. 153; p. 359, n. 172; p. 363, n. 180.

He had come to the Barrrens from Louisiana on November 5, 1824.

- 15 Saturday. Mass early in the morning. Confessions of the Nuns. In the evening confessions of the Seminarians.
- 16 IInd Sunday after the Epiphany. Early in the morning confessions of the Brothers. Mass at 6:15 in the church. Remained at home; Fr. Odin preached. Vespers in the church; sermon by Mr. Loisel.
- 17 Monday. Spiritual Conference for the Seminarians: The zeal for our own perfection. Mass in the chapel. Tucker.<sup>11</sup>
- 18 Tuesday. Spiritual Conference of the Community. The imitation of the hidden life of our Lord.
- 19 Wednesday. Mass in the chapel. Return of Fr. Cellini from the State of Illinois, where he baptized a girl of twenty years of age and gave communion to thirty persons of both sexes. Received a letter from Fr. De Neckere.<sup>12</sup>
- 20 Thursday. Mass in the chapel. Received a letter from Fr. Niel, to whom I gave permission to draw up a petition to the State Legislature for the incorporation of the College, on the condition that the direction and administration of said College should always remain free from all dependence, etc.
- 21 Friday. Chapter. Went to confession. Mass in the chapel. Wrote: 1st., to Fr. Bigeschi; 2nd., to Fr. Baccari a letter of recommendation; 3rd., to Fr. Rosti; 4th., to Fr. De Neckere; 5th., to Fr. Potini; 6th., to the Rt. Rev. Bp. Flaget.
- 22 Saturday. Mass in the chapel. Confessions of the Nuns. In the evening confessions of the Seminarians.
- 23 Third Sunday after the Epiphany. Confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel. I did not assist at High Mass. Vespers in the church.
- 24 Monday. The perfection of all our ordinary actions.<sup>13</sup> Mass in the chapel.
- 25 Tuesday. Conversion of St. Paul. Early in the morning, Confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel. Assisted at High Mass in the church.

11. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 342, n. 108.

12. This must be the letter written from St. Michael's, La., on November 8, 1824. (Original in Archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery). Father Rosti has gone to Grand Coteau. Himself came to see Bishop Du Bourg at White Hall: the Bishop has decided to keep him (De Neckere) with him in New Orleans during the winter, as he thinks De Neckere's return to Missouri would be dangerous for his health. Saw Mrs. Smith, just convalescing, before leaving Grand Coteau; she begs earnestly Fr. Cellini, in order to prevent further trouble, to annul the donation (See *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. III, p. 363, n. 180). During her sickness she had signed a paper to the same effect. Fr. Cellini ought not to be permitted to go back to Grand Coteau. Fr. Portier's has opened a College in the Episcopal building (old Ursuline Convent). A subscription is going on at St. Michael's for the building of the Sacred Heart Convent; has reached \$2200 and there are hopes of completing within a week the amount necessary. Yellow fever still prevalent in New Orleans. The paper referred to above was signed by Mrs. Smith and five witnesses; it was in form of will and testament; as she has recovered it has no legal value.

13. Clearly the subject of the weekly conference for the Seminarians.



- 26 Wednesday. Spiritual Conference of the Community: The benefit of our vocation. Mass in the chapel.
- 27 Thursday. Mass early in the morning. At 6 o'clock Conference to the Nuns on the Election of a new Superior.
- 28 Friday. Chapter. Went to confession. Mass in the chapel. Wrote to the Right Rev. Bp. of New Orleans. Departure of Fr. Cellini.<sup>14</sup>
- 29 Saturday. Mass in the chapel. In the evening Confessions of the Seminarians.
- 30 Septuagesima Sunday. Early in the morning Confessions of the Brothers. Mass at 6 o'clock in the church. Assisted at High Mass in which I preached on the Sunday Gospel: Few are saved, because few wish to be saved, etc. Vespers in the church. Sermon by Mr. Saucier.
- 31 Monday. Spiritual Conference for the Seminarians on the virtue of humility. Mr. Mascaroni.<sup>15</sup> Mass in the chapel.

## FEBRUARY.

- 1 Tuesday. Mass early in the morning. At 6 o'clock confessions of the Nuns. In the evening Confessions of the Seminarians.
- 2 Wednesday. Purification of the B. V. Early in the morning Confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel. At 8:30 went to the Convent for the election of the Superior. Sister Benedicta<sup>16</sup> was elected Superior, and Sister Barbara Dean. At 10 o'clock went to the church for the Blessing of the Candles and Mass, during which I preached. At 3 p. m. Vespers in the chapel.
- 3 Thursday. Mass in the chapel. At 8 o'clock went to the Convent for the installation of the Superior. I talked on the duties of the Superior to the Sisters, and the duties of the Sisters to the Superior. In the evening received through the mail three letters of the Rt. Rev. Bp., of New Orleans, of which two of the 28th of December and the third of January 8.<sup>17</sup>

Presided the election of the Superioress of the Monastery of Bethlehem

14. Cf. *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. III, p. 348, n. 134.

14. He was going to Rome, by way of New Orleans.

16. Sister Benedicta Fenwick. *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 163.

17. Original in Archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery. The first letter complains that Rosati wrote only once since his return to the Seminary in the preceding summer. Mrs. Smith was sick unto death, but has recovered. Her dispositions were that the late donation be annulled, and after deducting from the estate what she had promised to Perrodin and his wife, three-quarters of the rest should, according to the State law, go to her mother, and the remainder to the Congregation of the Mission. Bishop Rosati should obtain from Fr. Cellini that the latter deed the property to a board of priests of the Congregation who would hold it in trust under certain conditions. The donation *inter vivos* to Fr. Cellini, most ill-advised, yet is valid before the law. It must be rendered equitable, by enabling the donor to fulfill previous obligations; and the means here proposed would have this effect. Bishop Rosati should oppose Cellini's return to Grand Coteau; should he come

- 4 Friday. Chapter. Went to Confession. Mass in the chapel. Wrote to the Rt. Rev. Bp. of New Orleans.
- 5 Saturday. Mass in the chapel. Received a letter from Fr. Niel through a girl whom he wished to be received in the Convent. In the evening Confessions of the Seminarians.
- 6 Sexagesima Sunday. Early in the morning Confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the church. Heard confessions at home. Assisted at High Mass in the church and preached on the Sunday Gospel. Vespers in the church; sermon by Mr. Paquin.

back nevertheless he will be suspended.—Bishop Rosati should open negotiations with the holders of the title to the Church block in St. Louis, in order to purchase that title from them: he could offer to pay \$500.00 annually for six years, and secure at once the title made to himself and the Ecclesiastical Superior of the Church of St. Louis.—Fr. Niel may be given either his *Exeat* or Dimissorial letters *ad tempus*, as Bp. Rosati will deem it fit. He ought not to be entrusted with the getting of a collection in Europe. That Fr. Janvier come to St. Louis to take his place is out of question.—Father Audizio insists on a change; he might do well at Kaskaskia; otherwise, may be sent down, and given as assistant to Fr. Millet who has consumption.—Send Carretta at once to Lower Louisiana. Fr. De Neckere is spending the winter at St. Michael's, and doing well. Everybody at Grand Coteau is well pleased with Fr. Rosti. At St. Joseph's all is well; and so is Father Tichitoli.—Approves the regulations introduced by Bishop Flaget in the Loretaines' Rule.—When a note of Rosati to Rozier is paid, there will remain of the money sent by the Pope \$254.25.—Send an *Ordo Perpetuus*.

2nd Letter of same date (the former had been really written on December 27, but was posted only the next day). Received your two letters postmarked November 22. You are complaining; though I am pained at some of your expressions, I understand your feelings. Your determination to withdraw from Lower Louisiana all your subjects is unjust, insofar as it is contrary to our agreements and a poor recognition of my willingness to part, in favor of your Congregation, with excellent subjects. In view of these circumstances, suspend all transactions in my name concerning the Church property in St. Louis. I will have also to call to Lower Louisiana those of my priests who are in Missouri.—Have nothing to say in regard to your projects touching Mrs. Smith's property, or your arrangements concerning Fr. Potini, which I deem fraught with danger.—Impossible to go to Missouri in the spring; have had trouble and expense enough in Louisiana.—You are mistaken in believing that Fr. De Neckere does not fare better in the South. If you recall him you will be answerable for his death. Should you take Fr. Rosti from Grand Coteau, then you must send me Fr. Saulnier to replace him.—Do not dispose of Fr. Audizio until you hear again from me.

The original of the third letter is dated January 9, 1825. Bishop Du Bourg confesses that his preceding letter was written under the influence of a strong emotion, caused by Rosati's letter of November 22, 1824. He is now perfectly self-possessed. 1° Rosati should accept Mrs. Smith's donation. Himself (Du Bourg) wrote so to Mrs. Smith before Fr. Cellini's departure; but received no answer, as Rosati himself received no answer from her. If, therefore, she remains firm in her intention (which is doubtful), Rosati must accept. Still Mr. Perrodin has a right to some part of the estate, as is evident from his own testimony, and the testimony of Frs. Jeanjean and Brassac. Mrs. Smith may have forgotten her promises; but equity demands they should be fulfilled, even though strictly speaking the law might be against his claim, which is not certain, for lawyers push him to bring the matter to court (which he refuses to do), and offer their services gratis. Anyway Religion cannot be served at the expense of equity and justice; and a lawsuit would be a tremendous scandal.—2° Mrs. Smith may be encouraged to go to the Barrens. But Rosati would be wrong to centralize in Missouri all his resources in men and material means of support. The property offered in the La Fourche District for a Seminary will prove a good source of income. Should Rosati refuse to start this new establishment, then he (Du Bourg) would have to look elsewhere, and would be obliged to claim the price of his holdings in Missouri: the mill, the St. Louis lots, the River des Peres property and the negroes. Moreover, having a house in Louisiana would permit to utilize the subjects who cannot stand the climate of Missouri, and would eventually increase the chances of multiplying vocations. Calling back Frs. De Neckere, Tichitoli and Borgna will be tantamount to condemn them to death. Rosati is right in deprecating the isolation of his men; the remedy is to have in Louisiana a common center, which will be afforded by the establishment at La Fourche. If he calls back Rosti from Grand Coteau, he must send down Saulnier; for every one whom Rosati recalls to Missouri Du Bourg will call one of his priests from Missouri.—Potini gives subject of concern.—Rosati's reproaches concerning the appointment of De Neckere to Grand Coteau are based upon incorrect understanding of the facts.—Fr. Anduze went too far when he threatened Ceillini with censure.—Bishop Flaget writes that among Fr. Norinck's papers some letters were found in which Rosati encouraged his intention of leaving Kentucky and pass over Missouri; the good Bishop was very much affected by this discovery.—Du Bourg is anxious to have an answer, which he hopes will be according to his wishes.

Letter to  
Fr. Niel

- 7 Monday. Spiritual Conference for the Seminarians: Necessity and qualities of prayer. Mr. Feigan.<sup>19</sup> Mass in the chapel. Received a letter from Fr. Audisio. Answered the Rt. Rev. Bp. of New Orleans.<sup>20</sup>
- 8 Tuesday. Spiritual Conference of the Community, on the government of the tongue: Motives; Means. Bro. Harrington.<sup>21</sup> Mass in the chapel. Wrote letters: 1st., to Fr. Niel, in answer to various queries: (a) Women of bad character, living in places of debauchery ought to be separated from the communion of the Church, and received only when they have repaired the scandal; (b) All those who, in contempt of the Church's laws, contract marriage before the Judge, are to be separated from the church; and in order to prevent anyone from invoking the plea of ignorance, for three consecutive Sundays the people are to be publicly warned that henceforward those who will contract such marriages, or who, having contracted them, will neglect to be reconciled with the Church, will be refused ecclesiastical communion; 2nd., to Fr. Audisio; 3rd., to Fr. Dahmen.
- 9 Wednesday. Mass in the chapel. Confessions.
- 10 Thursday. Mass in the same place.
- 11 Friday. Chapter. Went to confession. Mass in the same place.
- 12 Saturday. Mass early in the morning. At 6 o'clock Confessions of the Nuns. In the evening, Confessions of the Seminarians.
- 13 Quinquagesima Sunday. Early in the morning Confessions of the Brothers. Mass at 6 o'clock in the church. Assisted at High Mass in which Fr. Odin preached. After Mass I talked to the people about enlarging the present church before Easter. Vespers in the church.
- 14 Monday. Early in the morning Spiritual Conference for the Seminarians on the proper keeping of the Lenten season: Motives; Means. Mr. Thompson.<sup>22</sup> Mass in the chapel.
- 15 Tuesday. Early in the morning, Spiritual Conference of the Community, as yesterday. Mass in the chapel. Wrote 1st., to Fr. Dahmen; 2nd., to Mr. Rozier.

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18. What this letter, which has not been preserved, may have been like, we may well gather from the first words of Bishop Du Bourg in answer thereto: "My good and very Dear Brother: Your last two letters filled my soul with sorrow, by manifesting to me the pain which your own soul is filled with. There was a misunderstanding; and yet our hearts were made to live in unison. Now all is cleared up."

19. Cf. *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. III, p. 349, n. 139.

20. See above, Note 18.

21. Cf. *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. III, p. 346, n. 124.

22. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 344, n. 120.

- 16 Wednesday. Early in the morning Confessions. Mass in the chapel. Excavations made for the foundations of the addition to the old church. At 10 A. M., Pontifical Blessing of the Ashes. Preached. High Mass by Fr. Odin.
- 17 Thursday. Mass in the chapel.
- 18 Friday. Early in the morning, Chapter. Mass in the chapel. Went to Confession.
- 19 Saturday. Mass early in the morning in the chapel. Confessions of the Nuns. In the evening Confessions of the Seminarians.
- 20 Ist. Sunday in Lent. Early in the morning Confessions of the Brothers. Mass at 6 o'clock in the Church. Assisted at High Mass; preached on the Sunday Gospel: Christ going into the desert, fasting in the desert, and joining prayer to fasting, tempted by the devil, etc., gives us examples how we should fly from the world, etc., etc. Vespers in the church; sermon by Mr. Hamilton.
- 21 Monday. Early in the morning Spiritual Conference for the Seminarians (Mr. Labadie<sup>23</sup>), on the necessity and qualities of mental prayer or Meditation. Mass in the chapel.
- 22 Tuesday. Early in the morning Spiritual Conference of the Community, on the necessity and qualities of Meditation: Bro. Paelli<sup>24</sup> and Mr. Timon. Mass in the chapel.
- 23 Wednesday. Mass early in the morning, during which Bro. Sargiano<sup>25</sup> made his vows. Fr. Odin and Mr. Timon set out, etc.
- 24 Thursday. Mass in the chapel. Conference to the Nuns on the virtues to be specially practiced during the Lenten season. Examination of the Novices and the Postulants. In the evening, through the mail, received letters from the Bp. of New Orleans, of January 3;<sup>26</sup> one from Fr. Tichitoli of January 8; another of January 13; from Fr. Bigeschi, of January 14; from Fr. Saulnier, St. Louis, January 31; and from Fr. Dahmen, of today.
- 25 Friday. Early in the morning, Chapter. Went to Confession. Mass in the chapel.

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23. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 345, n. 122.

24. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 344, n. 117.

25. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 341, n. 107.

26. Original in archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery. This letter had been solicited by a certain J. C. Chignard, who had come to St. Louis in 1818 from Martinica, asking to be ordained, and had left in rather suspicious circumstances. Since then, he had roamed much through the United States, had gone back to France, and finally returned to New Orleans, begging Bishop Du Bourg to receive him in the Seminary. His disedifying conduct in the past in New Orleans prevents the Bishop from accepting him; but perhaps Bp. Rosati could see his way of receiving him for his future Diocese.—Bishop Rosati did not see his way, and declined to receive him in the Seminary.

- Ordination  
No. 6**
- 26 Saturday. Early in the morning, Confessions of the Sisters. At 9 o'clock in the church said Pontifical low Mass and ordained to the Deaconship Peter Vergani <sup>27</sup> and John Paquin,<sup>28</sup> clerics of our Congregation. In the evening Confessions of the Seminarians. Answered Fr. Sautnier affirmatively in regard to the girl who wishes to come to the Convent.
- 27 2nd. Sunday in Lent. Early in the morning, Confessions of the Brothers. Mass at 6 o'clock in the church. Confessions. Assisted at High Mass, during which I preached on today's Gospel. After Mass, election of the Trustees of the parish: 1st., John Moore; 2nd., John Bapt. Moranvillé;<sup>29</sup> 3rd., Francis Miles. It will be their duty to collect every year from the Congregation fifty dollars for the lights, the altar wine and other expenses; and to see that at the proper time the stones, the lumber, lime, etc. are prepared for the building of the new church. John Moore will attend to the collection in 1825; John Bapt. Moranvillé, in 1826; and Francis Miles in 1827. Vespers in the church. Received letters from Frs. Niel and Saulnier.
- 28 Monday. Early in the morning Spiritual Conference for the Seminarians, on interior mortification. Mass in the chapel. Answered the Bp. of New Orleans, declaring I could not receive Mr. Chignard in the Seminary.

## MARCH.

- Register  
No. 7**
- 1 Tuesday. Spiritual Conference of the Community, as yesterday. Mass in the chapel. Answered Fr. Niel, and sent him testimonial letters in view of the collection etc.
- 2 Wednesday. One Confession. Mass in the chapel.
- 3 Thursday. Mass in the chapel. Conference to the Nuns.
- 4 Friday. Chapter. Went to confession. Mass in the chapel.
- 5 Saturday. Mass early in the chapel. Confessions of the Nuns. In the evening Confessions of the Seminarians.
- 6 IIIrd Sunday in Lent. Confessions of the Brothers. Mass at 6 o'clock in the church. During High Mass preached. Vespers in the church.
- 7 Monday. Spiritual Conference to the Seminarians.<sup>30</sup> Mass in the chapel.

27. Cf. *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*. Vol. III, p. 342, n. 109.

28. A *lapsus calami*: the baptismal name of Paquin was Joseph.

29. A nephew of the saintly Father Moranvillé of Fells Point, Md. Had come west with Bishop Du Bourg in 1817 and settled at the Barrens, where he married later on; some of his descendants are still in Perryville, Mo.

30. Blank Space, evidently left to write the subject of the conference.

- 8 Tuesday. Spiritual Conference of the Couounty.<sup>31</sup> Mass in the chapel.
- 9 Wednesday. Mass in the same place.
- 10 Thursday. Conference to the Nuns. Mass in the chapel.
- 11 Friday. Chapter. Went to confession. Mass in the chapel.
- 12 Saturday. Mass in the same place. Confessions of the Nuns. In the evening Confessions of the Seminarians.
- 13 IVth Sunday in Lent. Confessions of the Brothers. Mass at 6 o'clock in the church. During High Mass preached. Vespers in the church.
- 14 Monday. Spiritual Conference to the Seminarians.<sup>32</sup> Mass in the chapel.
- 15 Tuesday. Spiritual Conference of the Community.<sup>33</sup> Mass in the same place.
- 16 Wednesday. Mass in the chapel.
- 17 Thursday. Mass in the same place. Conference to the Nuns.
- 18 Friday. Chapter. Went to confession. Mass in the same place. Confessions of the Seminarians.
- 19 Saturday. S. Joseph. Confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel. High Mass in the church.
- 20 Passion Sunday. Mass in the church at 6 o'clock. During High Mass preached. Vespers in the church. After Vespers received most welcome news of the return of Fr. Borgna<sup>34</sup> to New Orleans. Greeted Fr. De Neckere, who had landed at Brazeau with Mr. Boullier,<sup>35</sup> subdeacon from Lyons.
- 31 Monday. Early in the morning Spiritual Conference to the Seminarians on the thought of the Passion of Christ. Mass in the chapel. At 4 o'clock, arrival of Fr. Permoli,<sup>36</sup>

Dimissorial  
Letters of the  
Archbp, of  
Lyons  
to Mr. Boullier  
for this Mission

31. Do.

32. Do.

33. Do.

34. Cf. *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. III, p. 144, n. 3. He had returned to New Orleans on January 27, 1825.

35. "John Boullier was born in Roanne, Loire, (France), in the Diocese of Lyons on September 12, 1801. He was the son of a well-to-do silk merchant. But the bright hopes which the world might hold out for him did not tempt him. Fervently and generously he gave himself to God early in life, and gave himself unreservedly. Not satisfied with leaving the world to embrace the clerical state, he determined to complete the sacrifice by leaving his native country, in order to bring help to the souls scattered through the vast region of America. He had not yet completed his theological studies, but was already in subdeacon's orders when, hearing of the departure of some evangelical laborers for Missouri, he joined them" (Notice of Father John Boullier, C. M., 1801—1853; in Archives of the Mother House of the Congregation of the Mission, Paris). Mr. Boullier was one of the recruits made by Father Anthony Blanc during a trip to France in 1824.

36. Father Bernard Permoli, C. M., was born at Piacenza, Italy, on February 26, 1797. Entered in the Novitiate in Rome, the 25th of November, 1815, he was some time later sent back to the Alberoni College in his native City, as a student. There he made his vows and was ordained in due time. When Father Borgna returned to America, in the fall of 1824, he obtained to take along with him Fr. Permoli. (Archives of the Proc. Gen. of the C. M., Rome. America P. II. Priests of the Congregation).

Dimissorial  
Letters of Arch-  
bishop of  
Lyons to Mr  
Chalon

priest of our Congregation from Rome, sent here with Fr. Borgna and of Mr. Chalon<sup>37</sup> cleric from Lyons. Through them I received letters: 1st from Italy, of Frs. Baccari, De Pace Sr., Ceracchi, De Pietri; two of my brothers, one of my brother-in-law, one of my cousin Rosati and another of my cousin Senese, and one of Fr. Acquaroni<sup>38</sup>; 2nd, from Louisiana, of Frs. Rosti, Tichitoli, Borgna, Brassac, Portier, Bigeschi; a most beautiful golden chasuble, a pectoral cross of gilded silver, etc.

22 Tuesday. Spiritual Conference of the Community, as yesterday. Mass in the chapel.

23 Wednesday. Mass in the chapel.

24 Thursday. Mass in the same place. Conference to the Nuns, Confessions of the Seminarians.

25 Friday. Feast of the Annunciation of the B. V. Celebrated Pontifical Mass in the Nuns chapel, where I received the vows of four Novices and gave first communion to the girls etc., etc. Exposition of the Bl. Sacrament.

Vows of four  
Loretines at  
Bethlehem

26 Saturday. Mass in the chapel. Today the new sanctuary added to the old church was completed, and the altar was placed in it.

27 Palm Sunday. Mass in the Community chapel. Blessing of the Palms, Procession, to which I assist in cope; preached. Vespers in the same place.

28 Monday. Mass in the chapel.

29 Tuesday. Mass in the same place.

30 Wednesday. Mass in the same place. Confessions of the Nuns in the morning, and of the Seminarians in the afternoon. Office of *Tenebrae* in the church.

31 Maundy Thursday. Confessions. Solemn Pontifical Mass in the church; preached after the Gospel. Communion of the Clergy and of a very great number of persons present. Consecration of the Holy Oils of the Catechumens, of the sick and the Holy Chrism. After Vespers washed the feet of twelve clerics. In the afternoon Office of *Tenebrae* etc.

Consecration of  
the H. Oils

## APRIL

1 Good Friday. Performed the function in the church. In the afternoon Office of *Tenebrae*.

2 Holy Saturday. Blessing of the fire, of the Fount, etc., and celebrated Pontifical Mass in the church. In the evening Confessions of the Seminarians.

37. Gabriel Stanislaus Chalon, was born at Sury, in the diocese of Lyons, France, on January 30, 1805 and was a cousin of Father, later Bishop, Michael Portier. He had not yet received tonsure when he came to the Seminary.

38. Cf. *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. III, p. 318, n. 20.

- 3 Easter Sunday. Confessions in the church. After the chanting of Tierce, celebrated solemn Pontifical Mass in the church, during which Mr. Timon preached the sermon. Pontifical Vespers in the church.
- 4 Monday. Mass in the chapel. Confessions. Assisted in cope at the High Mass and preached. Vespers in the church.
- 5 Tuesday. Mass in the chapel. Vespers in the church.
- 6 Wednesday. Mass in the same place.
- 7 Thursday. Conference to the Nuns. Mass in the chapel.
- 8 Friday. Chapter. Went to confession. Mass in the chapel.
- 9 Saturday. Confessions of the Nuns. Mass in the same place. Confessions of the Seminarians.
- 10 Low Sunday. Confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel. Assisted at High Mass; preached. Confessions in the church. Vespers.
- 11 Monday. Spiritual Conference for the Seminarians.<sup>39</sup> Mass in the same place.
- 12 Tuesday. Conference of the Community.<sup>40</sup> Mass in the same place.
- 13 Wednesday. Mass in the same place.
- 14 Thursday. Conference to the Nuns. Mass in the chapel.
- 15 Friday. Chapter. Went to Confession. Mass in the chapel.
- 16 Saturday. Confessions of the Nuns. Mass in the same place. Confessions of the Seminarians.
- 17 IInd Sunday after Easter. Confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel. Confessions in the church. High Mass. Fr. Odin preached.
- 18 Monday. Spiritual Conference for the Seminarians.<sup>41</sup> Mass in the same place.
- 19 Tuesday. Spiritual Conference of the Community.<sup>42</sup> Mass in the same place.
- 20 Wednesday. Mass in the same place.
- 21 Thursday. Conference to the Nuns. Mass in the same place.
- 22 Friday. Chapter. Went to Confession. Mass in the chapel.
- 23 Saturday. Confessions of the Nuns. Mass in the same place. Confessions of the Seminarians.

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<sup>39</sup>. Space for the subject left blank.

<sup>40</sup>. Do.

<sup>41</sup>. Do.

<sup>42</sup>. Do.



- 24 IIIrd Sunday after Easter. Confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel. Confessions in the church. Assisted at High Mass and preached. Vespers in the church.
- 25 Monday. Feast of St. Mark. Mass in the chapel. Litany and solemn Procession in Pontifical vestments. High Mass.
- 26 Tuesday. Spiritual Conference of the Community. Mass in the chapel.
- 27 Wednesday. Mass in the same place.
- 28 Thursday. Conference to the Nuns. Mass in the chapel.
- 29 Friday. Chapter. Went to confession. Mass in the same place.
- 30 Saturday. Mass in the chapel. Confessions of the Nuns. In the evening Confessions of the Seminarians.

## MAY

- 1 IVth Sunday after Easter. Mass in the chapel. Confessions of the Brothers. Confessions in the church. Assisted at High Mass, and preached. Vespers in the church.
- 2 Monday. Spiritual Conference for the Seminarians.<sup>48</sup> Mass in the chapel.
- 3 Tuesday. Spiritual Conference of the Community. Mass in the chapel. High Mass in the church.
- 4 Wednesday. Mass in the chapel.
- 5 Thursday. Conference to the Nuns. Mass in the chapel.
- 6 Friday. Chapter. Went to Confession. Mass in the chapel.
- 7 Saturday. Confessions of the Nuns. Mass in the chapel. In the evening Confessions of the Seminarians.
- 8 Vth Sunday after Easter. Confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel. Confessions in the church. Assisted at High Mass and preached. Vespers in the church.
- 9 Monday. Rogations. Mass in the chapel. Litany, Procession and High Mass in the church.
- 10 Tuesday. Rogations. Everything as yesterday.
- 11 Wednesday. Rogations. Everything as yesterday. In the evening Confessions of the Seminarians.
- 12 Thursday. Ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ. Confessions of the Brothers, also of the people in the church. After the chanting of Tierce I celebrated pontifical Mass and preached. Pontifical Vespers in the church.
- 13 Friday. Chapter. Went to confession. Mass in the chapel.
- 14 Saturday. Mass in the chapel. In the evening Confessions of the Seminarians.

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48. Do.

- 15 Sunday within the Octave of the Ascension. Confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel. Confessions at home. Assisted at High Mass and preached. Vespers in the church.
- 16 Monday. Spiritual Conference to the Seminarians on the necessity of vocation and the means to know it. Mass in chapel. I sent Thomas Moore,<sup>44</sup> who has a bad cough and suffers in the chest, to Mr. James for his health.
- 17 Tuesday. Spiritual Conference of the Community on the preparation for the feast of Pentecost. Mass in the chapel.
- 18 Wednesday. Mass in the chapel.
- 19 Thursday. Mass early in the morning in the chapel. Conference to the Nuns on the preparation for the feast of Pentecost, and on the obedience to be shown to the Superiors in regard to the various changes which may be made in the Rules.
- 20 Friday. Chapter. Went to confession. Mass in the chapel. Received letters from Fr. Dahmen, Fr. Van Quickenborne and Mother Eugenie.<sup>45</sup>
- 21 Saturday, eve of the Pentecost. Early in the morning Confessions of the Nuns. At 9 o'clock I blessed the Fount in the church and celebrated solemn Pontifical Mass. At 2:15 P.M. Confessions of the Seminarians.
- 22 Pentecost Sunday. Early in morning Confessions of the Brothers at home, then Confessions of the parishioners in the church. At 11 o'clock, after the chanting of Tierce I celebrated solemn Pontifical Mass, during which Mr. Timon preached the sermon. Sent letters: 1st., to the Bp. of New Orleans; 2nd., to Fr. Borgna; 3rd., to Fr. Rosti; 4th., to Fr. Acquaroni. Pontifical Vespers in the church, after which I heard one Confession.
- 23 Monday. Mass in the chapel. Two Confessions. Assisted at High Mass in pontifical vestments; after Mass addressed an exhortation to the candidates for Confirmation, and administered Confirmation to 27 boys and girls. At 3 P. M. Vespers in the church.
- 24 Tuesday. Confessions of four Brothers and one extern. Mass in the chapel. High Mass in the church.
- 25 Wednesday of the Ember Week. In the morning, during meditation time in the Community chapel, I received Bro. Leonard Smith among the Brothers of the Congregation, after an exhortation. 2 Confessions. Mass in the chapel. Arrival of Frs. Olivier<sup>46</sup> and Dahmen. Had the fever.

Confirm.  
27

<sup>44</sup>. Cf. *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. III, p. 330, n. 75

<sup>45</sup>. Madame Eugenia Audé, Superioress of the S. Heart, at Grand Coteau.

<sup>46</sup>. Father Donatian Olivier, the venerable Missionary of Prairie du Rocher, Ill.

- 26 Thursday. I did not say Mass, owing to sickness.
- 27 Friday. Did not say Mass, Departure of Frs. Olivier and Dahmen.
- 28 Saturday. Did not say Mass; neither did I hear the Confessions of the Seminarians.
- 29 Trinity Sunday. Heard Mass in the chapel.
- 30 Monday. Did not say Mass.
- 31 Tuesday. Did not say Mass.

## JUNE

- 1 Wednesday. Said Mass in the chapel. In the evening heard the Confessions of the Seminarians.
- 2 Thursday. Feast of Corpus Christi. Said Mass in the chapel. Celebrated Pontifical Vespers and carried the Bl. Sacrament at the Solemn Procession. Sermon by Mr. Timon.
- 3 Friday. Mass in the chapel.
- 4 Saturday. Mass in the chapel. In the evening Confessions of the Seminarians.
- 5 Sunday within the Octave of Corpus Christi. Confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel. Assisted at Vespers.
- 6 Monday. Spiritual Conference for the Seminarians, on the Devotion to the Holy Eucharist. Mass in the chapel.
- 7 Tuesday. Spiritual Conference of the Community, on the Devotion to etc. Mass in the chapel.
- 8 Wednesday. Mass in the chapel. Received a letter of Fr. Richard.<sup>47</sup> Wrote to Uncle Gaetano.
- 9 Thursday. Mass early in the morning. Conference to the Nuns on the Bl. Sacrament.
- 10 Friday. 1 Confession. Chapter, Mass during Meditation. Mr. Timon made his vows. Went to confession. Wrote to Fr. Saulnier, asking him to inquire whether a means could be found in St. Louis to send money to Arkansas to pay taxes for the church property.<sup>48</sup>
- 11 Saturday. Mass early in the morning. Confessions of the Nuns. In the evening Confessions of the Seminarians.
- 12 IIIrd Sunday after Pentecost. Early in the morning Confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel, after which heard the Confessions of some parishioners. Assisted at High Mass, during which I preached on drunkenness. "Do

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47. Father Gabriel Richard, P. S. S., of Detroit.

48. The church property here mentioned seems to be the property donated to the Bishop by Mr. J. F. Mulletti (cf. *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. III, p. 351, n. 143).

not err: neither fornicators, nor adulterers . . . nor drunkards. . . shall possess the kingdom of God." I Cor. v, ii. <sup>49</sup> Thus did the Apostle speak to Christians recently converted to the true faith from the superstitions of paganism. Such was the corruption of pagan morals, that the worst vices were indulged in without the least restraint or the least shame by countless numbers. "*Do not err*" etc., said the Apostle. The religion which you are professing is holy etc. Oh, would to God that in our times the faithful born in the bosom of our most holy church, nurtured from their very first days with the milk of her most holy and pure doctrine, should not be in need of the like admonitions! But, alas! adultery, theft, drunkenness fill the earth. Drunkenness is prevalent everywhere, neither etc. One would think it has become lawful. "*Do not err*," my Brethren, etc., drunkards shall not possess the kingdom of God. Would that I were able to impress upon your minds an horror for this horrible vice. I shall endeavor to do so, by showing you that the drunkard is his own worst enemy, insofar as he hates all the goods which could be his, either in this life or in the next. To three general kinds may all these goods be reduced: 1. the goods of fortune; 2. natural goods; 3. Supernatural goods. To all these goods the drunkard is opposed, and this in a most particular way. For it was said in general of all sinners that "they that commit sin, are enemies to their own souls" <sup>50</sup>; however, deluded by the appearance of some good, they mistake temporal things for the things eternal, and the false for the true. But what will the drunkard receive in exchange for his soul which he sacrifices? Nothing. Riches etc.; honors; pleasure, etc.; none of these; nay more, he jeopardizes his natural goods; his health, his intellectual faculties, his life itself etc.. and moreover, his supernatural goods; grace, merits, glory, etc., etc. Vespers in the church.

- 13 Monday. Spiritual Conference for the Seminarians, on avoiding tepidity as injurious to God, the neighbor and ourselves. Mass in the chapel.
- 14 Tuesday. Spiritual Conference of the Community. <sup>51</sup> Mass in the chapel.
- 15 Wednesday. Mass in the chapel. Went to confession.
- 16 Thursday. Mass in the chapel.
- 17 Friday. Chapter. Went to confession. Mass in the chapel.

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<sup>49</sup>. Bishop Rosati must have written this reference from memory; the text quoted by him is found in I Cor. vi, 9.

<sup>50</sup>. Tob. xii, 10.

<sup>51</sup>. Space for the subject left blank.

- 18 Saturday. Mass early in the morning. Confessions of the Nuns. In the evening Confessions of the Seminarians.
- 19 IVth Sunday after Pentecost. Early in the morning Confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel. Confessions. Assisted at High Mass during which I preached on the various manners of cooperating in the sin of drunkenness. Vespers in the church.
- 20 Monday. Spiritual Conference for the Seminarians, on the means to be employed for avoiding tepidity. 1. the desire of fervor; 2. prayer; 3. vigilance; 4. eschewing small defects, etc. Mass in the chapel. Return of Father De Neckere from a Mission to the Catholics of the State of Illinois, and Kaskaskia. In the evening Confessions of the Seminarians.
- 21 Tuesday. Mass in the chapel. High Mass in the church, during which the panegyric of St. Aloysius Gonzaga was preached in English by Mr. Saucier. Vespers and Compline in the church.
- 22 Wednesday. Mass in the chapel.
- 23 Thursday. Mass in the chapel. Received a letter from Fr. Saulnier.
- 24 Friday. In the morning Confessions of the Brothers. Went to Confession, Mass in the chapel. Assisted at High Mass in the church. Vespers and Compline in the chapel.
- 25 Saturday. (Fr. De Neckere heard the Confessions of the Nuns). Mass in the chapel. In the evening Confessions of the Seminarians. Received a barrel of sugar and a sack of coffee from Fr. Borgna of New Orleans.<sup>52</sup>
- 26 Vth Sunday after Pentecost. Confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel. Assisted at High Mass in the church, during which I preached on vanity in dress, and showed it to be opposed to Religion, chastity and justice. Vespers in the church.
- 27 Monday. Spiritual Conference for the Seminarians, on the exercise of the presence of God. Mr. Loisel. Mass in the chapel. Answered Fr. Saulnier's letter.
- 28 Tuesday. Spiritual Conference of the Community, on the care to be taken on small things, whether good or evil. Bro. Pifferi<sup>53</sup>, Mr. Timon. Mass in the chapel. In the evening Confessions of the Seminarians.
- 29 Wednesday. In the morning Confessions of the Brothers. Pontifical Mass in the church after the chanting of Tierce. Pontifical Vespers in the church. Received the following letters: 1, of Fr. Baccari, 15 February of this year; decree

52. This whole sentence is written in French in the *Diary*.

53. Cf. *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. III, p. 343, n. 116.

of the same for this Mission; 2. of Fr. Boccardo, Genoa, September 27, 1824; of the Bishop of New Orleans, two May 24<sup>54</sup> and 26<sup>55</sup>; 4. of Fr. Borgna, May 28; 5. of Fr. Dahmen, to whom the aforementioned letters were addressed, and who, being absent from Ste. Genevieve, was unable to forward them sooner.

- 30 Thursday. Mass in the chapel. Received a letter from Fr. Niel written from Washington.

## JULY

- 1 Friday. Went to Confession. Heard two Confessions. Chapter. Mass in the chapel.
- 2 Saturday. Mass in the chapel. Started a letter to Fr. Bacari. In the evening Confessions of the Seminarians.
- 3 VIth Sunday after Pentecost. Confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel. Confessions. Letter to Fr. Baccari. Vespers in the church.
- 4 Monday. Mass in the chapel.
- 5 Tuesday. Spiritual Conference of the Community, on the zeal for our own perfection.
- 6 Wednesday. 1 Confession. Mass in the chapel.
- 7 Thursday. Mass early in the morning. Conference to the Nuns.
- 8 Friday. Chapter. Went to confession. Heard 1 Confession. Mass in the chapel.
- 9 Saturday. Mass early in the morning. Confessions of the Nuns. In the evening Confessions of the Seminarians.
- 10 VIIth Sunday after Pentecost. Confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel. Confession of a lay person. At half past eight, I administered solemn Baptism to an adult, named Eugene Evans, after an exhortation and explaining the ceremonies. During High Mass I preached on the necessity of knowing the law of God. Vespers in the church, after which sermon by Mr. Saucier.

Baptism of  
an adult

54. Original in Archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery. Thanks Rosati for announcing the arrival of two young negroes. Advises him to come down to Louisiana to treat different affairs which cannot be communicated by letter; will pay trip expenses. For this reason refuses to Fr. Borgna, who, anyway has been absent too much, to go up to the Barrens.—Is coming from Florida; has placed Fr. Ganihl at Mobile; Fr. Maenhaut is well pleased at Pensacola.—No Sisters can be sent from Kentucky: their rule was too austere and rapidly undermining the health of many. Let the Sisters of Bethlehem adopt the same mitigation of their rule as will be imposed upon the Kentucky Sisters.—Fr. Martial has come to New Orleans to recruit boys for the College of Bardstown; takes everything, good and bad; there is rumor that one of those he took along was killed by his schoolmates at Louisville.

55. Original in Archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery.—A pious Irish widow, very industrious, wishes to be received in the Monastery of Bethlehem. One of her boys is learning a trade; she would take with her a girl of hers, aged 9, and pay \$50.00 yearly to the Convent for her; and would place her boy, of the same age, at the Seminary, paying \$100.00 for him annually.—Urges again Rosati to come South.—Do not change Rosti and Potini. Cellini has sailed. It is rumored that Tichitoli is thinking of going back to Milan. Refuse him the permission, and send him to me.

- 11 Monday. Spiritual Conference for the Seminarians. Motives and means of avoiding venial sins. Mass in the chapel.
- 12 Tuesday. Spiritual Conference of the Community: That we ought to perform our ordinary actions well. Mass in the chapel.
- 13 Wednesday. Mass in the chapel.
- 15 Thursday. Mass early in the chapel. Conference to the Nuns, on the obligation to tend to perfection.
- 15 Friday. Chapter. Went to confession. Mass in the chapel.
- 16 Saturday. Mass early in the morning. Confessions of the Nuns. In the evening Confession of the Seminarians.
- 17 VIIIth Sunday after Pentecost. Confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel; preached at High Mass. Vespers in the church.
- 18 Monday. Mass in the chapel. Pontifical first Vespers in the church. In the evening Confessions of the Seminarians.
- 19 Tuesday. *St. Vincent de Paul*. Confessions of the Brothers. Pontifical Mass in the church, during which panegyric by Mr. Timon. Pontifical Vespers in the church.
- 20 Wednesday. Mass in the chapel.
- 21 Thursday. Mass in the same place.
- 22 Friday. Mass in the same place. Chapter. Went to confession. At 5 P. M. I left the Seminary, on my way down to Louisiana, according to the desire of the Right Rev. Bp. of New Orleans, in order to have with him a talk about certain affairs regarding the good of our Congregation and of the whole Diocese. At 9 o'clock, we reached Mr. James', where we took supper and spent the night.
- 23 Saturday. Early in the morning we set out, and came to Ste. Genevieve at 6 o'clock.
- 24 IVth Sunday after Pentecost. Mass in the church of Ste. Genevieve.
- 25 Monday. In the same place.
- 26 Tuesday. In the same place.
- 27 Wednesday. Having received word that the boat which I was waiting for was to remain longer in St. Louis, in order not to spend here my time uselessly, I returned to the Seminary.
- 28 Thursday. Mass in the Community chapel.
- 29 Friday. Chapter. Went to Confession; Mass in the chapel.
- 30 Saturday. Mass in the same place. Confessions of the Nuns. In the evening Confessions of the Seminarians.
- 31 Sunday. Confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel.

## AUGUST.

- 1 Monday. Mass in the chapel.
- 2 Tuesday. Started for Ste. Genevieve, news having come that another boat was soon to pass there.
- 3 Wednesday. At Ste. Genevieve.
- 4 Thursday. Remained in the same place waiting for the boat.
- 5 Friday. Went on board the *Stewbenville*, Capt. Comstock. Starting from Ste. Genevieve, the same day we reached the village called *Cape Girardeau*, whence
- 6 Saturday. at 6 o'clock we arrived at the mouth of the
- 7 Sunday. Ohio, in the morning we passed New Mad-
- 8 Monday. rid. The rest of the journey we made
- 9 Tuesday. slowly, amidst very great difficulties and
- 10 Wednesday. dangers, especially when we reached the
- 11 Thursday. place called *Pointe Chicau*; during the
- 12 Friday. night a part of the river bank fell into the
- 13 Saturday. river, threatening to engulf the boat in the water; we were scarcely able, by firing all the boilers, and putting up all the steam possible, to get away from the falling river bank.
- 14 Sunday. At 2 P. M., we reached Natchez. There I heard of the dangerous illness of Father Gallagher; I went to the upper part of the city to see the sick priest, whom I found beginning to feel better and out of danger of death; returned to the boat, I resumed my voyage, but was disappointed not to be able to say Mass anywhere the next day, feast of the Assumption of the B. V.
- 15 Monday. At 2 o'clock P. M., we passed in sight of the parish of *Pointe Coupee*.
- 16 Tuesday. At 4 a. m., I landed at the town of *Donaldsonville*; went straightway to Father Brassac's, by whom the same morning I was driven to Assumption, where I had the pleasure to meet the Rt. Rev. Bishop of New Orleans, who had come with Fr. Dussaussois to celebrate the feast of the Assumption. After I had been greeted by Frs. Bigeschi and Tichitoli, the Bishop and I had a long and exhaustive talk about the matter which had brought me on this journey. He, moved by the great difficulties besetting the progress of the Seminary at the Barrens on account of the latter's scanty income; wishing, moreover, to provide Lower Louisiana with another Seminary of our Congregation, spoke at length of the necessity of such a foundation, affirming that it would prove most helpful even to the churches and the Seminary in Missouri. His



opinion was, therefore, that I should, as soon as possible, devote all my energies to this foundation; that I should leave in the Seminary at the Barrens one, or maybe, two priests, with the boys of the lower classes, and go with all the rest to Lower Louisiana, to conduct the Seminary and College there to be erected. My soul was pierced to the quick at hearing this; and I represented to the eager prelate the dismal condition into which the church of Missouri was to be plunged, destitute as it would be of all spiritual help. But on his retorting with vehemence that my refusal to consent to this capital project was tantamount to bringing ruin upon the whole Diocese, I found it impossible to resist any longer; I gave my consent, and have written to the Vicar General of our Congregation to obtain his approval.

- 17 Mass in the church of the Assumption, where today and the following days I have enjoyed the company and conversation of the Bp. of New Orleans.
- 18 Mass in the same place.
- 19 Mass in the same place.
- 20 Saturday. Mass in the same place.
- 21 XII Sunday after Pentecost. Mass in the same place. Assisted at High Mass, during which I preached. Vespers in the church. Arrival of Fr. Blanc, Sr., from Pointe Coupée;<sup>56</sup> he came for the purpose of seeing me.
- 22 Monday. Mass in the same place. Arrival of Fr. Potini.<sup>57</sup>
- 23 Tuesday. Mass in the same place. Departure of the Rt. Rev. Bp. of New Orleans and of Fr. Blanc.
- 24 Wednesday. Mass in the same place.
- 25 Thursday. Mass in the same place.
- 26 Friday. Mass in the same place. Received letters from Frs. Moni<sup>58</sup> and Borgna of New Orleans, in which they expressed the desire that I should go down there, affirming that no danger of sickness is to be feared.
- 27 Mass in the same place.
- 28 XIII Sunday after Pentecost. Mass early in the morning; after Mass, started for Donaldsonville, where I arrived before High Mass; there I found the Bp. of New Orleans, who was set out the same evening for the visitation of Opelousas, Avoyelles, Natchitoches and other neighboring parishes. We therefore bade each other goodbye.

56. This is Father Anthony Blanc, the future Bishop of New Orleans.

57. Cf. *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. III, p. 319, n. 26.

58. This is evidently the short letter dated, New Orleans, August 17, 1825. Original in Archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery.—All await eagerly Bp. Rosati's coming to New Orleans. The City is now free from sickness; at any rate he will be able to stay at the Ursulines with Fr. Richard. Fr. Borgna is anxious to talk to him. Sends fifty Mass Intentions. On Fr. Moni, See *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. III, p. 324, n. 47.

- 29 Monday. Returned to Assumption.  
 30 Tuesday. Left with Fr. Tichitoli for St. Joseph, in view of visiting Fr. Potini; we arrived there at 11 A. M.  
 31 Wednesday. Mass in the church of St. Joseph. After dinner we started with Fr. Potini. Reached Mr. Potier's in the evening and remained there over night.

### SEPTEMBER.

- 1 Thursday. In the morning returned to Assumption.  
 2 Friday. Bidding goodbye to Frs. Bigeschi, Potini and Tichitoli, I left for Donaldsonville, where I arrived a little before midday, and went on board the boat for New Orleans.  
 3 Saturday. Early in the morning we reached New Orleans. I went to see Fr. Borgna, by whom I was taken first to the College, then with Fr. Sibourd to the Monastery outside the city, for the purpose of not exposing myself to the danger of the contagion of the yellow fever. Was most kindly welcomed by the Nuns, and lodged in the house of the chaplain and the guests, where I will enjoy the society of the very pious Fr. Richard.<sup>59</sup> Received the visits of Frs. Carretta,<sup>60</sup> Janvier,<sup>61</sup> Portier,<sup>62</sup> Jeanjean,<sup>63</sup> Michaud<sup>64</sup> and Moni.  
 4 XIVth Sunday after Pentecost. Mass in the Nuns' chapel. Vespers and Benediction of the Bl. Sacrament in the same place. Wrote to Fr. De Neckere.  
 5 Mass in the same place. Wrote to Fr. Rosti, at Grand Coteau, to remain there until the Bp. of New Orleans sends another priest.  
 6 Tuesday. Mass in the same place.  
 7 Wednesday. Mass in the same place.

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59. Father Richard—not to be confounded with Fr. Gabriel Richard, P. S. S., of Detroit—had come to Louisiana at the same time as Mother Duchesne and her companions, reaching St. Louis on the 20th of August 1818. He was first assigned to St. Charles, thus remaining in close contact with the Sacred Heart Nuns. Mother Duchesne gives of him the following description: "A priest after God's heart. His thin, extenuated frame and austere thoughtful countenance gives him an ascetic appearance more likely to inspire awe than to attract; but he is a man of highest merit who, in spite of his cold manner and extreme reserve in conversation, was most devoted and kind hearted." (Bannard-Fullerton: *Life of Madame Duchesne*, p. 184). Some time after the departure of the Community to Florissant, Fr. Richard himself was transferred to Louisiana, where he was appointed Chaplain to the Ursulines. During the epidemic of yellow fever which afflicted New Orleans in 1822, Father Richard was attacked by the disease; but "heaven", wrote some time later Mr. Odin, "did not wish to deprive the Mission of such a holy man." (*Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, Vol. I, Fasc., v, p. 66). As may be seen from these quotations, and from the appreciation of Rosati himself who styles him "piissimi sacerdotis", everyone who knew Fr. Richard entertained a very high opinion of him.

60. Cf. *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*. Vol. III, p. 331, n. 76.

61. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 325, n. 51.

62. Cf. *Ibid.*, n. 50.

63. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 324, n. 48.

64. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 325, n. 52.

- 8 Thursday. Mass in the same place. Took dinner with Fr. Portier and all the other priests of the city and its immediate neighborhood.
- 9 Friday. Mass in the same place. Wrote to Fr. Mina.
- 10 Saturday. Mass in the same place.
- 11 XVth Sunday after Pentecost. Mass in the same place.
- 12 Monday. Mass in the same place. Wrote to the Bp. of New Orleans.<sup>65</sup>
- 13 Tuesday. Mass in the same place.
- 14 Wednesday. Mass in the same place. Received a letter from Fr. Bigeschi and the Circular of the Vicar General of our Congregation.
- 15 Thursday. Mass in the same place. Received the Encyclical letter of our Holy Father Leo XII, and the Bull of indiction of the Jubilee.
- 16 Friday. Mass in the same place. Visited the Nuns with Fr. Sibour.
- 17 Saturday. Mass in the same place.
- 18 XVIth Sunday after Pentecost. Mass in the same place. Vespers, Benediction of the Bl. Sacrament in the same place.
- 19 Monday. Mass in the same place.
- 20 Tuesday. Mass in the same place. Received a letter from Fr. Mina.
- 21 Wednesday. Mass in the same place. Wrote: 1, to Fr. De Neckere to tell him to send the manuscript of the *Ordo* to the printer in St. Louis; 2, to Fr. Saulnier, to tell him he should look after the printing of the same.
- 22 Thursday. Mass in the same place. Paid a visit to Frs. Moni, Jeanjean, Janvier, Portier and Carretta. Received letters from Frs. Odin and De Neckere.<sup>66</sup>
- 23 Friday. Mass in the same place. Answered Fr. Odin's letter, telling him to go to New Madrid, to send the *Ordo* to St. Louis, to tell Thomas Moore and the Nuns to get ready for their trip to Louisiana.
- 24 Saturday. Mass in the same place.
- 25 Sunday. Mass in the same place.
- 26 Monday. Mass in the same place.

Encyclical of  
Leo XII and  
Bull of Indic-  
tion of Jubilee

65. This letter has not been preserved; but from Bp. Du Bourg's answer, dated Natchitoches, October 4, we may gather some of its contents. Father Bernard de Deva was raising some difficulties about the property he intended to donate for a Seminary in the Bayou La Fourche district. Rosati has written to Father Rosti that he is to recall him from Grand Coteau.

66. Original in Archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery. The letter is dated from Ste. Genevieve. August 14. Had started for St. Louis, but the heat and his weakness compelled him to stop at Ste. Genevieve. Asks permission to go back to Europe; his brother has offered to pay the trip expenses; not to delay too much asks from Bp. Rosati a loan of the sum necessary.

- 27 Tuesday. Mass in the same place. Received letters from Frs. Bigeschi and Tichitoli.
- 28 Wednesday. Mass in the same place.
- 29 Thursday. Mass in the same place. Came to New Orleans, and took dinner at the College with Fr. Portier and other priests. In the evening returned to the Monastery.
- 30 Friday. Mass in the Nun's chapel. After dinner left the Monastery and came to New Orleans, to stay in the Bishop's residence.

## OCTOBER.

- Confirmed 5 1 Mass in the Bishop's church, after which gave Confirmation to five girls.
- 2 XIXth Sunday after Pentecost. Mass in the same place.
- 3 Monday. Mass in the same place.
- 4 Tuesday. Mass in the same place.
- 5 Wednesday. Mass in the same place.
- 6 Thursday. Mass in the same place. Took dinner with the Assistants of the Cathedral and other priests.
- Confirmed 1 7 Friday. Mass in the same place. Confirmed one girl.
- 8 Saturday. Mass in the same place. Took dinner at Mr. Du Bourg's<sup>67</sup> with several priests.
- 9 Sunday. Mass in the same place.
- 10 Monday. Mass in the same place. Took dinner at Mr. Barthe with Frs. Sibourd and Borgna.
- 11 Tuesday. Mass in the same place. Took dinner at Mr. Fogliardi.
- 12 Wednesday. Was sick of the fever.
- 13 Thursday. Same.
- 14 Friday. Same.
- 15 Saturday. Same.
- 16 Sunday. Same.
- 17 Monday. Same.
- 18 Tuesday. Same.
- 19 Wednesday. Same.

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<sup>67</sup>. Pierre F. Du Bourg, the Bishop's brother, for many years a prominent resident of New Orleans. An "Annuaire" for 1809 shows he was then, with the title of Major, in command of the volunteer force of Louisiana, then the Territory of Orleans. Paxton's New Orleans Directory for 1823 styles him "Commissioner and Consul of the King of Sardinia," with place of business, 53 Bienville Street, and residence 85 Maine, that is, Dumaine street. The house is still standing. Pierre F. Du Bourg, though he was the Bishop's brother, and on friendly terms with some members of the clergy, yet was quite active and prominent in Masonic circles. (See Paxton's New Orleans Directory above cited). Besides his residence on Dumaine Street, he had near the city a country place, named 'Plaisance', from which the present Pleasant Street has received its name.

- 20 Thursday. Same.
- 21 Friday. Same.
- 22 Saturday. Same.
- 23 XXII<sup>nd</sup> Sunday after Pentecost. Mass in the Bishop's church.
- 24 Monday. Mass in the same place.
- 25 Tuesday. Mass in the same place.
- 26 Wednesday. Mass in the same place.
- 27 Thursday. Mass in the same place.
- 28 Friday. Mass in the same place.
- 29 Saturday. Mass in the same place. Took dinner at Mr. Barthe's with the Consul of France. Wrote letters: 1, to Fr. Tichitoli; 2, to Fr. Potini; 3, to the Bishop of Charleston; 4, to Fr. Acquaroni; he must abandon the idea of returning to the parish of Portage, which will be hereafter administered by the Jesuits; he is given the choice between New Madrid, Kaskaskias, etc.
- 30 XXIII Sunday after Pentecost. Mass in the same place.
- 31 Monday. Mass in the same place. Wrote to the Most Rev. Archbishop of Iconium, Secretary of the S. Congr. of Propaganda. Heard the confession of a woman.

## NOVEMBER.

- 1 Tuesday. Celebrated solemn Pontifical Mass in the Cathedral. In the evening Benediction of the Bl. Sacrament in the Bishop's church. Confirmed a girl.
- 2 Wednesday. Mass in the same place.
- 3 Thursday. At 11 o'clock went on board the *Packet* and at 5 o'clock landed at the church of St. John the Baptist, where I was welcomed with great delight by Frs. Mina and Audizio.
- 4 Friday. Mass in the church of St. John the Baptist.
- 5 Saturday. Mass in the same place. Wrote to Fr. Borgna<sup>68</sup> and to Fr. Bigeschi. To the latter I insisted that he should proceed most cautiously in regard to the affair of the foundation of the new Seminary, lest the Seminary be in debt before it even begin to exist.
- 6 XXIV<sup>th</sup> Sunday after Pentecost. Mass in the same place. Assisted at High Mass, during which I preached on the gospel of the day: Jesus taught in the form of a *parable*, in order to accommodate Himself to the human intellect;

<sup>68</sup>. Original in Archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery. Charmed with Father Mina. Does not know whether he will go to St. Michael's as Fr. De la Croix is not at home. Expects Father Borgna the following Wednesday (November 9). Recommends him not to forget the provisions, also to ask from Mr. Fogliardi the picture of Father De Andreis, and to bring it along; and to remind Fr. Portier he promised to send a bed to Fr. Dahmen.

the householder is God infinitely good, who shows himself to be a father, and wants us to treat him as sons; he *sowed*; the time of his present life is the time of sowing; he who does not sow shall not reap; he who soweth sparingly, shall also reap sparingly; and he who soweth in blessings, shall also reap in blessings;<sup>69</sup> good seed, that is, faith, grace, etc.; *in His field*; you are God's husbandry.<sup>70</sup> *An enemy*; that is, the devil, the world, our old man, etc.; *Wilt thou that we go and gather it up*<sup>71</sup>? God, by supporting the sinners, manifests His patience, His goodness, His justice. *In the time of the harvest*; then will be the time of rendering an account, etc., etc.

- 7 Monday. Mass in the same place. Wrote to Fr. Tichitoli.
- 8 Tuesday. Mass in the same place. Wrote to Fr. Brassac and to the Bp. of New Orleans. At 2 o'clock, the same Bishop with Fr. Jeanjean fills us with considerable joy by his unexpected arrival. The proposed foundation of the new Seminary is once more the object of our conversation; I urged upon the Bishop the difficulties besetting the contemplated foundation, and, after weighing them carefully, we concluded that it is of the utmost importance that, before anything be done, I should find out what our priests in the state of Missouri think of the matter.
- 9 Wednesday. Mass in the same place. At half past seven P. M., the Bishop of New Orleans and I, together with Fr. Jeanjean and Fr. Audizio, went on board the *General Brown* these gentlemen bound for Donaldsonville, the last mentioned coming with me to the Seminary. We stopped until 10 o'clock to load the boat.
- 10 Thursday. At 10 o'clock we leave the wharf, and at one in the afternoon we pass in front of Donaldsonville; the Bishop and Fr. Jeanjean are taken to the village in a skiff. At 8 p. m., we pass *Baton Rouge*.
- 11 Friday. A little after midnight, as we were surrounded by fog, we were obliged to stop during four hours. At half past five we came to the town of *Fort Adams*.
- 12 Saturday. At 2 A. M. we arrive at Natchez, where we stopped about three hours. At 1 p. m. we passed the place called *Petit Gouffre*<sup>72</sup>.

69. II Cor., ix, 7.

70. I Cor. iii, 9.

71. Matt. xiii., 28.

72. At a distance of about 20 miles (by the river) above Natchez. Fifteen miles higher up, is the *Grand Gouffre*, apparently the one described by Charlevoix: "Were it not for a Natchez who had asked me to accompany me to return to his home, I would have been lost in a whirlpool, which no one among my guides was aware of, and which is detected only when one is already so caught up in it that it is impossible to escape. It is on the left hand (going down stream, therefore towards the east bank) at the foot of a huge Cape." (*Journal d'un Voyage dans l'Amérique*. Letter XXX. Paris, MDCCXLIX, Vol. VI, p. 168). Both "Gouffres" are marked on the "Draught of the River Mississippi" annexed to Pittman's *European Settlements on the Mississippi River* (Cleveland, 1906).

- 13 XXVth Sunday after Pentecose. At 2 a. m. we came to the village<sup>73</sup> of Wicksburg, and in the evening at half past six we passed along the island called *Ile aux Cerfs*.
- 14 Monday. At half past three, we stopped. At 5 P. M. we passed the place called *Pointe Chicau*.
- 15 Tuesday. At 8 A. M. we arrived at the mouth of the Arkansas river. Wrote to Fr. Van Quickenborne, at St. Ferdinand, advising him to send to the Seminary two young men of his Society who are to be ordained, as I will have the Ordination on the Saturday of the Ember week before Christmas. At 11 o'clock we arrived at the mouth of the White River. About noon, we stopped to unload some merchandise.
- 16 Wednesday. Wrote to Mr. Demaillez<sup>74</sup> that, if he has still the desire of receiving Orders, he should come to the Seminary. At half past eleven A. M., we reached the village of St. Helena. At 1:30 P. M., we arrived at the mouth of the Arkansas River.<sup>75</sup>
- 17 Thursday. At 8 A. M. we arrived at the village<sup>76</sup> called Memphis.
- 18 Friday. At 6 A. M. we started from the place called *Plumb Point*. At 2 p. m. we passed the place *New-cut-off*.
- 19 Saturday. At half past one in the morning we passed New Madrid. At 3 P. M. we came to the mouth of the Ohio.
- 20 Sunday. At about 9 o'clock we arrived at the village called Cape Girardeau; and after landing some merchandise and a few passengers we continued our trip. The voyage has been very slow, the smoke and fog obstructing the view of the right course we should keep.
- 21 Monday. At about 10 o'clock, the boat got stuck in shallows; but soon it could extricate itself, and after that we continued our trip slowly and cautiously. At 4 P. M. we reached the Birds' farm. There the crew unloaded on the river bank my baggage and that of Fr. Audizio; we ourselves went on horseback to the Seminary, a distance of about ten miles. We were received with great joy by all; with no less pleasure did I greet the priests, the Clerics the boys and the Brothers of the Seminary.
- 22 Tuesday. In the morning I went to see the Nuns, and I told those of them who are to go to Louisiana to be ready

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73. *Oppidulum*.

74. One of the Seminarians of Malines who had sailed for America with Father Nerinckx, entered the Jesuit Novitiate at White Marsh, Md., on October 6, 1821. Hesitating about his vocation, he left the Novitiate, and later on we find him in St. Louis teaching in the Academy founded by Bishop Du Bourg.

75. Evidently a slip of the pen: the *General Brown* had passed the mouth of the Arkansas the day before at 8 a. m. The river here intended is obviously the St. Francois river.

76. *Oppidulum*. Memphis had just been started only a few years before.

to start next Sunday. I found everybody in good health, but the affairs of the house in wretched shape; debts have been contracted; the provisions are exhausted, and the barns empty. Rain failed to come in due time; hence the Indian corn was dried up and scorched before maturity; moreover, this summer's unprecedented intense heat burned up all harvests, and whatever grain could be saved and stored up was devoured by wheat-worms. We had to buy at once wheat and corn; hence almost all the money which had been given me by priests of New Orleans, I have spent in buying a few necessaries, and paying off some of the outstanding debts. What I shall do after this, how I will be able to meet the necessary expenses, I know not. But "thy Providence, O Father, governeth all things."<sup>77</sup> This is my only gleam of hope. "In the Lord have I hoped; let me never be confounded."<sup>78</sup>

- 23 Wednesday. Mass in the Seminary chapel. In the morning we found our baggage, both that which had been unloaded at the place of our landing, and that unloaded at Ste. Genevieve, arrived home without any accident. The things landed at Ste. Genevieve had been purchased and sent by Fr. Borgna. There were: a little barrel of white wine for the celebration of Mass, two barrels of rice, two sacks of salt, three hundred pounds of coffee, two barrels of sugar, one bottle of sulfuric acid; a box full of sundry medicines, a basket full of small bottles of oil, some dried fish and many other things for the Seminary.

Father Dahmen came from Ste. Genevieve to the Seminary to see me. Mr. Feigan,<sup>79</sup> who had remained for about two years in the Seminary as a pupil, and whom I judged unfit for Orders, particularly on account of his defect of knowledge, was told by me to turn his views elsewhere.

- 24 Thursday. Mass in the chapel. I read the letters sent here during my absence. Received one from Fr. Van Quickenborne.
- 25 Friday. Mass in the chapel. Chapter. Went to Confession. Answered the letter of the Archbishop of Baltimore. I assembled all the priests of our Congregation, that is, Fr. De Neckere, Assistant Frs. Dahmen, Permolli and Odin, and manifested to them the Bishop's desire of erecting another Seminary in Louisiana, and the utility which might be derived therefrom for Religion in general, and our Congregation in particular; the means which the Bishop

77. Wisd. xiv, 3.

78. Ps. xxx, 1.

79. Cf. *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. III, p. 349 n. 139.



thinks of employing to realize it; the very great difficulties to be encountered in employing these means, and the harm eventually to result from this project for this Seminary at the Barrens and for practically all the Catholics of the State of Missouri and of the neighboring country, owing to the lack of priests. All these things being duly weighed before God, it was unanimously resolved that the Bishop of New Orleans should be begged to postpone the erection of that new Seminary in Louisiana until we had the money and the men necessary for the undertaking. I therefore wrote to the Bishop for that purpose.

26 Saturday. Mass in the chapel. I answered Fr. Saulnier that I cannot furnish from the Seminary teachers for the College of St. Louis; the parish of that City is, according to the determination of the Bp. of New Orleans, to be administered by the Jesuit Fathers, accordingly neither Fr. De Neckere, nor Fr. Audizio are to be sent there. I empowered Fr. Saulnier to sell a female negro slave, but in such conditions that another of the same value should be bought in her place. I recommended him to take good care that the lots bought from Mr. O'Connor should not be lost and etc.

27 1st Sunday of Advent. Mass in the chapel. At about nine o'clock went to the Monastery. I spoke to the Nuns who were to leave for Louisiana<sup>80</sup> and bade them goodbye. Those that were sent were: Sister Johanna<sup>81</sup>, Superior, Sister Regina<sup>82</sup>, teacher, and Sister Rose<sup>83</sup>. Thomas Moore went with them for his health; to him I confided letters: 1. for the Bp. of New Orleans;<sup>84</sup> 2. for Fr. Tichitoli; 3. for Fr. Bigeschi; 4. for Fr. Brassac. To Mr. Feigan I gave other letters: 1. for Fr. Borgna; 2. for the Superior of our Congregation<sup>85</sup>, and 3. for Fr. Rosti, requesting the latter

80. They were to go to the Assumption Parish, in the La Fourche District, where Fr. Bigeschi had been preparing a house for them.

81. Sister Johanna Miles. Cf. *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. I, p. 163.

82. Sister Regina Cloney. Cf. *Ibid.*

83. Sister Rose Elder. Cf. *Ibid.*

84. From Bp. Du Bourg's answer (New Orleans, December 9), we see that this letter communicated to the prelate a curious protest of the Archbishop of Baltimore against approving Fr. De Theux, S. J., who had just come to Missouri; Bishop Rosati also notified the decision of the priests of the Seminary, reached at the meeting convened on the 26th., concerning the proposed foundation in Louisiana; he likewise acquainted Bishop Du Bourg with the dismal condition in which he had found things at the Seminary, as recorded in the *Diary*, under date of November 22.

85. This letter is particularly important, as it acquaints us in detail with the various stages of the transaction concerning the Seminary at La Fourche. "After my first conversation with Bishop Du Bourg at Assumption," writes Bishop Rosati, "we separated, he to visit the parish of Natchez, and I to go down to New Orleans, and wait there for an opportunity to return to the Seminary. On account of the excessive summer heat I had to delay longer than was anticipated, and I paid tribute to Louisiana by being sick two weeks. Meanwhile, speaking of the new foundation with Father Borgna and the other priests of the City, I began to doubt the feasibility of the project. To carry it out, the Bishop of New Orleans is reckoning on a subscription; now, according to the judgment of all these ecclesiastics, this subscription will not net much; nay more, it would be unwise to launch it,

to pay \$42 to Mary Layton.<sup>86</sup>

Assisted at High Mass, during which Fr. De Neckere preached the sermon. Vespers in the church.

- 28 Monday. Spiritual Conference for the Seminarians on the motives and means of sanctifying this season of Advent (Mr. Girardin<sup>87</sup>). Mass in the chapel. I resumed my classes, 1st. of Theology, at 8:30 a. m.; 2nd. of Philosophy, at 10 a. m. and 3rd. of Greek, at 4 p. m.
- 29 Tuesday. Spiritual Conference of the Community (as yesterday). Mass in the chapel.
- 30 Wednesday. Confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel. High Mass in the church. Vespers also there.

### DECEMBER

- 1 Thursday. Mass in the chapel. Received a letter from Fr. Saulnier and from Madame Duchesne.
- 2 Friday. Chapter. Went to confession. Mass in the chapel.
- 3 Saturday. In the morning Mass in the chapel. Confessions of the Nuns. In the evening Confessions of the Seminarians.

because, as subscriptions have already been resorted to this year to build two Monasteries in Louisiana, another would be too much of an imposition on Catholic generosity. When Bishop Du Bourg came back from his visitation tour, which produced much good, I laid before him my difficulties. Whereupon he told me that, in order to make the foundation of the Seminary a success: 1. he intended to buy a house and a plantation, that is, cultivated land, adjacent to the uncultivated land which has been donated for the foundation of the Seminary: this purchase might be concluded by the immediate payment of \$3,000 and the obligation to pay a yearly life-interest of \$1,200 to the owner, who is a man 74 years of age, but enjoying good health. 2. In order to have the funds necessary to build the College and furnish it, he would ask a loan from the State Bank: this establishment exacts an interest of 7 per cent and the annual payment of one-fifth of the principal. 3. To put in cultivation the land on which sugar-cane may be raised, he would enter into partnership with some one who would attend to the cultivation; the surplus realized over and above the expenses would be equally divided. All this appeared to me very objectionable, and I communicated my misgivings to the Bishop, telling him that, before coming to any definite conclusion, I would have to consult our priests on my return to the Barrrens.

"Thanks be to God, after a steamboat voyage of eleven days, I reached the Seminary on the 21st inst. I convened the Council, laid before them what has been explained above: and their observations were as follows: 1. It would be dangerous for us to run so much into debt; crops are uncertain; we might expose ourselves to bankruptcy, and would be forced to sell everything to the disgrace of the Congregation and Religion at large. 2. The number of our priests is too small to be divided into two houses; it will be difficult to find one capable of being Superior; this division will oblige us to withdraw the priests from the missions where they are now so fruitfully employed; again, it would be unjust to do violence to the reasonable inclination these confreres have for the works of the holy ministry, if we were to compel them to spend the greater part of their lives in teaching reading, writing, spelling, etc. 3. It looks like downright injustice to abandon Upper Louisiana, that is to say, the State of Missouri, and practically to deprive of workers a country where there is such immense fruit to harvest. 4. Finally, we ought to write you about this whole affair and wait for your answer.

"Observations as just as the above cannot be wantonly disregarded. In consequence, I have written to Bishop Du Bourg to wait a few more years before establishing this new Seminary; in the meantime we may come by the means and the subjects that will enable us to undertake the work without running into debt and ruining the house already established." (Original in Archives of the Procurator General C. M., Rome.)

<sup>86</sup>. Mary Layton, a native of the Barrrens, was the first American recruit of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart; she had been missioned from Florissant with Madame Eugénie Audé, to start the house of Grand Coteau.

<sup>87</sup>. Cf. *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. III, p. 345, n. 122; p. 347, n. 130.

- 4 II<sup>nd</sup> Sunday of Advent. Confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel. Confession of Eu. S. and others. Assisted at High Mass during which I preached on the Sunday's Gospel. Vespers in the church.
- 5 Monday. Mass in the chapel.
- 6 Tuesday. Mass in the same place. Answered Fr. Saulnier that I leave to Mr. Demaillez the choice either to remain in St. Louis or to come here.
- 7 Wednesday. Mass in the same place. Received John Boullier<sup>88</sup> subdeacon, into our Congregation. Confessions of the Seminarians.
- 8 Thursday. Conception of the B. V. In the morning Confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel. Assisted in cope at High Mass and preached a short sermon after the Gospel. Vespers in the chapel.
- 9 Friday. Chapter. Went to confession. Mass in the chapel. Wrote to Fr. Saulnier, and sent him ten copies of the Catechism in English and twenty pictures of Prince Hohenlohe.
- 10 Saturday. At about two o'clock in the morning we were awoken by the shouts of our workmen, and rushed to the Convent to fight the fire which had broken out there. The kitchen building and everything it contained were completely destroyed. Mass at 3:45. In the evening Confessions of the Seminarians and of Eu. S.
- 11 III<sup>rd</sup> Sunday of Advent. In the morning Confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel. Assisted at High Mass. during which Fr. Odin preached. Vespers in the church. Class of Holy Scripture: Pss. 22 and 23.
- 12 Monday. Early in the morning Conference for the Seminarians: Motives and means of observing the Seminary Rules (Mr. Jourdain<sup>89</sup>).
- 13 Tuesday. In the morning after half an hour of meditation, the Circular letter of Fr. Baccari for 1824 was read in the chapel; it was read in English in my room to those who do not know Italian. Mass in the chapel.
- 14 Wednesday. Mass in the chapel. In the evening return of Fr. De Neckere, accompanied by Fr. Dahmen.
- 15 Thursday. Mass in the chapel.

88. In the letter to Father Baccari, above quoted in Note 85, Bishop Rosati said: "We have a postulant, Mr. Boullier, a Subdeacon from Lyons, who is a pupil of the Seminary, where he has completed his course of Theology. He has been here since last March, and has edified us all by his conduct. He has already acquired a good command of English. I shall ordain him Deacon on the Saturday of the Ember week in Advent, and receive him into the Novitiate on the Day of the Immaculate Conception. I hope he will be a good subject."

89. Cf. *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. III, p. 342, n. 110.

- 16 Friday. Chapter. Went to confession. Mass in the chapel. Departure of Fr. Dahmen. Examination of Mr. Boullier, who was approved for Deaconship.
- Examination for orders
- 17 Saturday of the Ember Week. Early in the morning Confessions of the Nuns. At nine o'clock solemn Pontifical Mass in the church, in which John Boullier, subdeacon of our Congregation was promoted to the Diaconate. In the evening Confessions of the Seminarians and of Eu. S.
- Ordination No. 7
- 18 IVth Sunday of Advent. Early in the morning Confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel. Confessions. Immediately before High Mass, received letters from Fr. Van Quickenborne, Madame Duchesne, and three from Fr. Saulnier. Did not assist at High Mass, during which Mr. Timon preached the sermon, and recommended to the charity of the parishioners the Sisters of Bethlehem, whose kitchen had been consumed by fire. For the same motive I wrote to the Superioress of the Ursulines at New Orleans.<sup>90</sup>
- 19 Monday. Early in the morning Spiritual Conference for the Seminarians, on the virtues practiced by Christ in the mysteries of His Incarnation and His Nativity. Answered the letters, 1. of Fr. Van Quickenborne, telling him I can ordain at any time the candidates whom he will sent here; 2. of Madame Duchesne; 3. of Mr. Dignus; 4. of Fr. Saulnier.
- 20 Tuesday. In the morning Spiritual Conference of the Community Bro. Palelli,<sup>91</sup> on the spirit of our Institute. 1st. We ought of necessity to possess it, if we wish to be worthy of our name of Missionaries; if we wish to exercise the functions of the Missionaries; otherwise we would be dead members, corrupting the other members of the same body. 2. We should regard as the spirit of our Institute the practise of the virtues which St. Vincent calls the spirit, or the soul, of our Congregation: a) in reference to God it is a spirit of fervor and devotion to the glory of God; b) in reference to the Superiors, it is a spirit of respect and obedience; c) in reference to the Congregation, it is the love of the common good, which is exhibited in the fulfillment of all our obligations and particularly such as are special to our office; d) in reference to the neighbor, it is a spirit of zeal for his salvation, which is exercised by directing to that purpose our functions, our studies, our prayers

<sup>90</sup>. Bishop Du Bourg heard of this accident from the Ursulines, and amiably complained to Bishop Rosati that the latter had concealed to him, out of too great regard for his feelings, this event. The Ursulines sent a number of things to Bethlehem, in answer to Bishop Rosati's appeal; and Bishop Du Bourg added one bale of cotton, and six pieces of cloth. (Letter of February 4, 1836).

<sup>91</sup>. Cf. *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*. Vol. III, p. 344, n. 117.

and all our good works ; e) in reference to ourselves, it is a spirit of mortification and patience ; f) in reference to our Confreres, it is a spirit of the most perfect charity and friendly union. Pastoral Letter, on the Nullity of Marriages, to all the Pastors and Missionaries of the Diocese. Mass in the chapel <sup>92</sup>.

See Register  
No. 8

- 21 Wednesday. Mass in the chapel. Wrote a letter to all the Pastors and Missionaries of this district, to notify to them the Decree of the S. Congregation of Propaganda, approved by Pope Leo XII, whereby Marriages celebrated without the presence of the Pastor and of two witnesses, in places in which the priest can be had, are declared null and invalid. Fr. Audizio set out for St. Louis.
- 22 Thursday. Early in the morning Mass in the chapel. Conference to the Nuns in their house.
- 23 Friday. Early in the morning Chapter. Went to confession. Heard Confessions. Mass in the chapel. Wrote to Frs. Tichitoli and Borgna. <sup>93</sup>
- 24 Saturday. Vigil of the Nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ. Early in the morning Mass in the chapel. At 5:45 heard the Confessions of the Nuns. At 9 o'clock assisted at High Mass in the church. At 2 P. M., Confessions of the Seminarians. At half past three, solemn Pontifical First Vespers in the church. At half past four, confessions of the Brothers and of others. At 7 o'clock, after hearing other confessions and that of Ch. Eu, went to bed.
- 25 At 1 A. M. arose, and after hearing a few Confessions, went to the church, where, after the solemn chanting of Matins I celebrated Pontifical Mass, during which I preached: "I bring you good tidings" etc. After Mass and the solemn chanting of Lauds, I said the second Mass—a low Mass—and heard confessions. At 11 o'clock, solemn Pontifical Mass in the church, after the chanting of Tierce. Fr. De Neckere preached the sermon. At 4 o'clock solemn Pontifical Vespers in the church.
- 26 Monday. At 6 o'clock came to the Monastery, where I celebrated Pontifical Mass, and, after the Gospel, blessed the habit of the Society of Loretto, and gave it to Mary Canal, a girl of 17 years of age, who took for her religious name Mary Joseph. After the ceremony I addressed to her a short exhortation. The time in which you take the religious

Gave the  
habit of  
Loretto

<sup>92</sup>. Entered in the Register entitled *Copiae Litterarum et Documentorum Officialium a Rmo. Josepho Rosati Epo.*, under No. 8.

<sup>93</sup>. Original in Archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery.—Had sent to Borgna a barrel of flour; but the boat forgot to take it. Sent a copy of Fénelon. Speaks of the fire at the Convent, and of the failure of crops that year. Wishes to interest Fr. Borgna in the case of an Irishman who has been, so far, unable to raise enough money to bring over his family from Ireland.

habit is eminently fitted to remind you of the obligations which you assume on entering the religious life. First. The Nativity of Christ. The entrance in Religion is, so to say, a kind of new spiritual birth; you should put off the old Adam, and put on the new man, that is Christ. You should become like a little babe: "Unless you become as little children"<sup>94</sup> etc. Secondly, the feast of St. Stephen, the first Martyr. The Religious state is a kind of martyrdom, not consummated in one instant or in a short time, but to be achieved during the course of one's whole life. The martyrs called to give testimony to the divinity, truth and sanctity of the Christian Religion, confirmed it with their blood. In our own most difficult times, it devolves on the Religious souls to give the same testimony, not by the shedding of their blood, but by the sacrifice of their own wills, etc. The ceremony of your receiving the habit is indeed performed by us; but to do what it signifies devolves upon you etc. Assisted at High Mass in the church, during which Mr. Paquin preached the sermon. Vespers in the church. Leo Hamilton<sup>95</sup> left the Seminary.

- 27 Tuesday. Mass in the chapel. Assisted at High Mass in the church, during which the sermon was preached by Mr. Loisel. Vespers in the same place.
- 28 Wednesday. Mass in the chapel. Assisted at High Mass in the church, during which the sermon was preached by Mr. Vergani.
- 29 Thursday. Mass in the same place.
- 30 Friday. Early in the morning, Chapter. Went to confession. Mass in the chapel. Received letters from Frs. Champommier and Martial.
- 31 Saturday. Early in the morning Mass in the chapel. Confessions of the Nuns. At 2 o'clock Confessions of the Seminarians. At half past three went to the church: *Te Deum* and Benediction of the Bl. Sacrament. Short allocution.

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<sup>94</sup>. Matt. xviii, 3.

<sup>95</sup>. "Leo Hamilton, after remaining one year in the Seminary, went back home; he was received again on May 25 (year?). He does not study for the priesthood; he is learning English and French. In the month of October 1822, having for several months manifested the desire of embracing the ecclesiastical state, he was granted the permission to don the cassock. Left the Seminary on January 1, 1826, feeling no longer any inclination for the clerical life," Rosati. *Catalogus Alumnorum Seminaris S. Mariae*, No. 31.

# ST. LOUIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW

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Issued Quarterly

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REV. JOHN ROTHENSTEINER

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

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EDWARD BROWN

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*Volume IV*

*JULY 1922*

*Number 3*

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PUBLISHED BY THE CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SAINT LOUIS

209 WALNUT STREET, ST. LOUIS, MO.

# Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis

Established February 7th, 1917

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Remittances should be made to Edward Brown, Treasurer, 511 Locust St., St. Louis, Mo.



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Manuscripts; narratives of early Catholic settlers or relating to early Catholic settlements; letters:

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# HISTORICAL SKETCH OF CATHOLIC NEW MADRID

## I. THE CHURCH OF ST. ISIDORE.

The parish of New Madrid, though at present one of the less important centers of religion in this Archdiocese of St. Louis, looms up rather large and interesting in the history of our ecclesiastical development. From earliest days there is a glamour surrounding it, derived from an occurrence within its boundaries, that imprinted the seal of the Catholic faith upon our state as early as 1541, many years before the first Anglo-Saxon settlements were made on the New England or Virginia coast, namely, the raising of the Cross of our Lord in the heart of the country by that intrepid and most romantic Adalantado of Florida, Ferdinand de Soto. Although, as T. Hayes Lewis, says in the introduction to his edition of the Narrative of the "Gentleman of Elvas," "history, tradition and poetry are indissolubly linked with De Soto's name." Yet a true and almost perfect account of his conquest of Florida, that is of almost all our Southland, can be deduced from the various narratives of his companions in arms, namely, that of the "Gentleman of Elvas," as he styles himself, then the account of De Soto's private secretary, Ranjel, as preserved in Oviedo's History, the narrative of Biedma, the factor of the expedition, and lastly the glowing account "*Florida del Inca,*" written by a descendant of the Incas of Peru, Garcilasso de la Vega, which in turn forms the basis of Theodore Irving's "The Conquest of Florida." Of course many points are still undecided, yet it is certain that in 1541

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<sup>1</sup> Theodore Irving in his Conquest of Florida, follows in the main, the highly romantic account of the Inca Garcilasso de la Vega, who heard the story from a number of the noble companions of De Soto. The books of the Gentleman of Elvas, and of Ranjel and also of Biedma are first hand sources, all, however, with the exception of Ranjel written some time after the events. To deny an event vouched for by such authorities simply because it is romantic or supernatural, is not good historical criticism. A handy edition of the Narratives of the Career of Hernando De Soto was published in 1904 by Edward Gaylord Bourne, New York, A. S. Barnes.

<sup>2</sup> Bancroft, George, History of the United States. Vol I. p. 52. (Fifteenth edition). "The Authors Last Revision" of the History in six volumes is less satisfactory in its text and gives no references. The original editions in ten volumes are much to be preferred.

De Soto and his little army of explorers and conquerors reached and crossed the Mississippi in the country of the Chicasas and came as far north as Little Prairie, or possibly New Madrid itself, where De Soto raised for the first time the sign of our salvation on the "Rio Grande, the Great River," as he called the mighty Father of Waters. As our greatest national historian, Bancroft says: "In ascending the Mississippi, the party was often obliged to wade through morasses, at length they came, as it would seem, upon the district of *Little Prairie*, and the dry and elevated lands which extend towards New Madrid. Here the religion of the invaders and the natives came in contrast. The Spaniards were adored as children of the Sun, the blind were brought into their presence, to be healed by the sons of light. Pray only to God, who is in heaven, for whatever ye need, said Soto in reply; and the sublime devotion, which, thousands of years before, had been proclaimed in the deserts of Arabia, now first found its way into the prairies of the Far West." Our historian omits a circumstance that is vouched for by all the authorities and which we will give from the Narrative of the Gentleman of Elvas:<sup>3</sup> He, De Soto, then directed a lofty cross of wood to be made and set up in the highest part of the town, declaring to the Cacique, that the Christians worshipped that in the form and memory of the one on which Christ had suffered. He placed himself with the people before it, on their knees, while the Indians did likewise, and he told them that henceforth they should thus worship the Lord, of whom he had spoken to them, that was in the skies, asking him for whatsoever they stood in need." The Indians here mentioned as the Casqui, were most probably members of the tribe of the Illinois, afterwards called Kaskaskias. Indeed, the country on both sides of the Mississippi from Arkansas Post to the upper reaches of the Illinois River was anciently known as the Illinois Country, the seat of flourishing Indian Missions, but almost one and a half century was to intervene between the glorious promise and its fulfillment in the days of Father Marquette's self-sacrificing brethren.

New Madrid is supposed to be situated in the swamps of South east Missouri. This is not quite true. There is a long ridge of clay and alluvial soil extending from the hills of Scott county southward along the Mississippi River as far as where the St. Francois River empties into it. At various places where the ridge touches the river, towns have sprung up; so Caruthersville, or Little Parairie,<sup>4</sup> and New Madrid. These places are not subject to overflow, yet the soil on which they were built has crumbled away under the erosion of the mighty river, and made at New Madrid a great bend for its impetuous current. Here was a natural place of rendezvous for voyageurs

<sup>3</sup> The Gentleman of Elvas, was a Portuguese gentleman of the inner circle of De Soto's companions. His book was first published in an English version of the Portuguese original in Hackluyt's *Voyages*. A modern version was given by Buckingham Smith.

<sup>4</sup> Little Prairie is the modern Caruthersville.

and coureurs de bois, a beautiful place with a large lake of limpid water and clumps of wide spreading oaks that had stood the storms of centuries, as the historian of Missouri enthusiastically records.

The place was then called "L'Anse a la Graise," *Cove of Grease*, so-called from the rich greasiness of the soil, or, as the Governor of Pensacola said, from the amount of bear meat and grease stored here for the use of the Spanish garrison.

L'Anse a la Graise lay on the great Indian trail to the North and West. It had all the advantages necessary for a good trading post, advantages that were quickly recognized in the founding of New Madrid. Strange to say, this Catholic town with a proud Spanish name owes its origin to an Anglo-American and a Protestant at that, Colonel George Morgan, a native of New Jersey and a graduate of Princeton. Trader, judge, Indian agent and soldier of distinction, Colonel Morgan was with O'Rielly's fleet, when the Spaniards took possession of Louisiana (1769). In a memorial addressed to the Spanish Ambassador Don Diego Gardoqui, Morgan proposed to establish a colony near the mouth of the Ohio, the Beautiful River, as it was then called, in territory then belonging to the Spanish crown, in which he promised he would have at least one hundred thousand souls within ten years. But two conditions were laid down by Morgan; the settlers should have the right of self government, and should be exempt from taxation. Gardoqui granted the concession, subject, however, to the approval of the King. The grant embraced from twelve to fifteen million acres of land along the Mississippi from the mouth of the St. Francis River in Arkansas, to Cape St. Cosme in Perry County, Missouri. In order to gain settlers for his principality, Morgan made extensive trips among the Germans of Pennsylvania, of whom he wrote to Don Diego, that these people have been a valuable acquisition "to America. . . . A greater number of them than I expected to find, are Catholics." Upon his new followers the doughty Colonel impressed the fact, that they would enjoy perfect freedom in religious matters. . . . and would make converts of the whole country."

On the 14th of February, 1789, Morgan and his followers reached the Mississippi River and landed opposite the mouth of the Ohio. Leaving the main party in what is now Mississippi County, Morgan, with a few companions, journeyed by land to St. Louis, and on his return he selected the site for the future city of New Madrid, the capital of his principality. In a letter dated New Madrid, April 14, 1789, the colonists give a very interesting account of the virgin land to which they have come, and the grand prospects before them. As

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<sup>5</sup> Cape St. Cosme, or as others misspell it, "Cinque Hommes," is so named in honor of Father St. Cosme, of Fathers of the Foreign Mission, who in company with three other priests of the mission made a voyage down the Mississippi in 1699 and on this occasion hallowed the ground of St. Louis by the first holy sacrifice of the Mass on the Feast of the Immaculate Conception.

this letter is not easily met with we reprint it in full from the *Mississippi Valley Review*, Vol. V., No. 3.<sup>6</sup>

To Messrs. Bedford and Turnbull, Pittsburg.

New Madrid, April 14, 1789.

Gentlemen:

The inclemency of the season, and the precautions necessary for the advantage and security of our party and enterprize, rendered our voyage down the Ohio long, thought not a disagreeable one. We have now been in the Mississippi two months, most of which time has been taken up in visiting lands from Cape St. Comme. (St. Cosme), on the north, to this place on the south, and westward to the river St. Francois, the general course of which is parallel with the Mississippi, and from twenty to thirty miles distance.

Colonel Morgan, with 19 others, undertook to reconnoitre the lands above, or north of the Ohio; this gave him the earliest possible opportunity of producing his credentials to Don Manuel Peres, governor of the Illinois, who treated him and those who accompanied him with the greatest possible politeness; and their arrival, after their business was known, created a general joy throughout the country, among all ranks of its inhabitants. Even the neighboring Indians have expressed the greatest pleasure on our arrival, and intentions of settlement.

There is not a single nation or tribe of Indians who claims or pretend to claim, a foot of land granted to Colonel Morgan. This is a grand matter in favour of our settlement.

The governor very cheerfully supplied our party with every necessary demanded by Colonel Morgan, and particularly with horses and guides to reconnoitre all the lands to the western limits, and from north to south, in the interior country.

In an undertaking of this nature, it is not to be doubted, but different opinions have prevailed amongst us in regard to the most advantageous situation where was best to establish the first settlement of farmers and planters. A considerable number of reputable French families on the American side of the Illinois, who propose to join us, wished to influence our judgments in favour of a very beautiful situation and country about twelve leagues above the Ohio. A number of American farmers, deputed from Post St. Vincents, and some others of our party, were delighted with the country opposite the Ohio, one league back from the river, to which there is access by a rivulet, which empties itself into the Mississippi about two and a half, or three miles above the Ohio. Some declared for a situation and very fine country, to which there is a good landing at the highest floods and about nine miles below the Ohio; but after maturely considering every circumstance, and examining the country in this neighborhood fully, we have united in the resolution to establish our new city, from whence this letter is dated, about twelve leagues below the Ohio, at a place formerly called Lance La Graise, or the Greasy Bend, below the mouth of a river, marked in Captain Hutchin's map Cheyousea or Sound River.

Here the banks of the Mississippi, for a considerable length, are high, dry, and pleasant, and the soil westward to the river St. Francois, is of the most desirable quality for Indian corn, tobacco, flax, cotton, hemp and indigo, though thought by some too rich for wheat; insomuch, that we verily believe that there is not an acre of it uncultivable, or even indifferent land, within a thousand square miles.

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<sup>6</sup> Louis Houck in his valuable collection "*The Spanish Regime in Missouri*" 2 Vols., gives a retranslation from the Spanish version of this letter, which he discovered in the Archives at Seville. We have reprinted the exact original as it appears in the *Virginia Gazette* and *Weekly Advertiser*, of August 27, 1789, about four months after it had been written.

The country rises gradually from the Mississippi into fine, dry, pleasant and healthful grounds, superior, we believe, in beauty and in quality, to every other part of America.

The limits of our city of Madrid are to extend four miles south down the river, and two miles west from it, so as to cross a beautiful deep lake, of the purest spring water, 100 yards wide, and several leagues in length north and south, and emptying itself by a constant narrow stream through the center of the city. The banks of this lake, which is called St. Ann's, are high, dry and pleasant: The water deep, clear, and sweet, the bottom a clean sand, free from wood, shrubs, or other vegetables, and well stored with fish.

On each side of this delightful lake, streets are to be laid out 100 feet wide, and a road to be continued round it of the same breadth, and the trees are directed to be preserved for ever, for the health and pleasure of its citizens.

A street 120 feet wide on the banks of the Mississippi is laid out, and the trees are directed to be preserved for the same purpose.

Twelve acres in a central part of the city are to be served in the like manner, and be ornamented, improved, and regulated by the magistracy of the city for public walks, and forty lots of half an acre each, are appropriated to such public use as the citizens shall recommend, or the chief-magistrate direct; and one lot of twelve acres is to be reserved for the king's use. One city lot of half an acre, and one lot of five acres, to be a very free gift to each of the 600 first settlers.

Our surveyors are now engaged in laying out the city and outlots upon this extensive and approved plan, and in surveying the country into farms of 320 acres each, previous to individuals making any choice or settlement.

These farms, and the conditions of settlement being also upon a plan universally satisfactory, will prevent the endless law-suits which different modes in other countries have established, and entailed upon the posterity of the first settlers.

We have built cabins, and a magazine for provisions, etc., and are proceeding to make gardens, and to plough and plant 100 acres of the finest prairie land in the world with Indian corn, some hemp, flax, cotton, tobacco, and potatoes.

The timber here differs in some instances from what you have in the middle states of America; yet we have white oaks of an extraordinary great size, tall and straight; also black oaks, mulberry, ash, poplar, parsimmons, crab apple in abundance, and larger than ever we saw before, hickory, walnut, locust and sassafras trees of an extraordinary length and straightness, are common of 24 inches diameter.

The underwood is principally cane and spice. The timber unknown to you are cypress, pecan, coffee, cucumber, and some others. The cypress grows on the low land along the river, and is equal in quality to white cedar.

We have a fine tract of this in our neighborhood, which Colonel Morgan has directed to be surveyed into lots of a suitable size, to accommodate every farm.

We are pleased with the climate, and have reason to flatter ourselves that we have at last found a country equal to our most sanguine wishes.

Several principal French gentlemen at St. Genevieve have offered to conduct Colonel Morgan, or any person he pleases to send, to as fine iron and lead mines as any in America, within a short day's journey of the Mississippi, and within the bounds of his territory.

It is intended to preserve these for some person or persons of sufficient capital and knowledge to undertake to work them.

Salt springs are said to be dispersed through all the country; as we have this information from the best authority we believe it, but have not visited any.

The banks of the Mississippi for many leagues in extent, commencing 20 odd miles above the Ohio, are a continued chain of limestone; but we have not yet found any in this neighborhood.

We would mention many other particulars which would be pleasing to our friends, but this would require more time to write a copy, than we can spare from our other necessary employments. We, however, add, that a thousand farms are directed to be surveyed, which will soon be executed, for the immediate choice and settlement of all families who shall come here next fall, and that the months of September, October, November, December and January, are the most proper to arrive here, as the farmers can begin to plow in February, and continue that work until Christmas.

After the surveys are completed, Colonel Morgan and Major M'Cully will proceed to New York, via New Orleans and Cuba; and Colonel Shreeve, Captain Light and Captain Taylor, with all others who conclude to return immediately for their families, will ascend the Ohio, in time to leave Fort Pitt again for this place in October.

Captain Huling undertakes the direction of a number of single men to plant one hundred acres of Indian corn, some tobacco, cotton, flax and hemp. Colonel Morgan has supplied them with horses and ploughs, etc. He will be able to build a good house and mill against his father and brothers arrival here next fall.

As not a single person of our whole party, consisting of seventy men, has been sick an hour, nor met with any accident, but on the contrary all enjoy perfect health, and are in high spirits on the discovery of this happy clime and country, we think it needless to mention the name of any one in particular.

We are, Sirs,

Your most obedient servants,

(Signed)  
George M'Cully  
John Dodge,  
Peter Light,  
David Rankin,  
John Ward,  
John Stewart,  
James Rhea.

Samuel Sellman, jun.

This circular letter in behalf of Morgan's foundation was first printed in the *Virginia Gazette* and *Weekly Advertiser*, of August 27, 1789. Morgan caused sufficient land for 350 farms of 320 acres each to be surveyed and to be divided among settlers, who should come on or before May 1, 1790, the settlers to take the oath of allegiance to the King of Spain, and to pay forty-eight American dollars for each farm. It was expected that every succeeding year would add at least a thousand families to the colony. As Houck tells us: "In New Madrid lots were dedicated to the use of the Roman Catholic church and school, Episcopal church and school, Presbyterian and German Lutheran church and school, and German Catholic church and school."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> The Catholic religion was the established form of worship in all Spanish possessions, Protestant worship was forbidden. But as Morgan claimed religious liberty for his settlement, and as Gardoqui had consented to the claim, Morgan granted lots to three Protestant bodies for church and school purposes. This may have been one of the reasons why the concession was not approved.

The Spanish authorities did really practice what they believed. In Ulloa's instructions to the leader of the Expedition to the Illinois, March 14, 1767, we find the following as No. 11: "On Sundays and Holy days Mass shall be said ashore before daybreak. And all must be present at it. At the conclusion



The grand plan was frustrated in a very large measure by the machinations of Governor Estevan Miro, who succeeded in having the concession cancelled, and the new city put under Spanish administration. Colonel Morgan retired to his Manor Morganza in Pennsylvania. Some of the settlers moved to Little Prairie and elsewhere. Yet a steady stream of colonists, from the states beyond the Mississippi set in, especially from Vincennes and the French royalist settlement of Gallipolis. At first the new settlement was placed under the jurisdiction of Henri Peyroux, Commandant of Ste. Genevieve. In July, 1789, Governor Miro dispatched Lieutenant Pierre Foucher with a small company of soldiers to build a fort at New Madrid and to take civil and military command of the place. New colonists came pouring in day by day. "All our Americans of Port Vincennes will go to Morgan," wrote Major Hamtramck, in 1789, and "within twenty days not less than a hundred souls have passed daily to the colony." Foucher was succeeded as Commandant by Thomas Portelle, September, 1791. So far the great majority of the settlers were Creoles and French.<sup>8</sup>

What we have written so far, concerns more the rising town of New Madrid than the Catholic church established there. But Governor Estevan Miro, whilst antagonizing the founder of New Madrid, helped to found the church in the new settlement. A Catholic church and priest were considered essential to the well being of any Spanish settlement. But first a priest must be had. There were two applicants for the position: Father Paul de Saint Pierre, the German Carmelite Missionary, wrote from Cahokia to his Bishop in New Orleans on May 1, 1787. "A new establishment has been begun a little below the entrance of the Beautiful River. They will need a priest who knows English and German. I offer myself for this place. You may dispose of me according to your pleasure and good will".<sup>9</sup> The German Carmelite received the appointment, not to New Madrid, but to old Ste. Genevieve, whilst the so called "patriot priest of the West," Pierre Gibault, was called to New Madrid, where he received the appointment as pastor of the Parish church of Saint Isidore in 1793. But Gibault's spiritual labors in New Madrid began much sooner, probably in 1789, when he left Cahokia. This Parish

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of the Mass the *Salve Regina* shall be chanted as is usual in the warships of Spain. At night, after pulling up or in the boats before pulling up, the *Rosary* shall be recited and the prayer repeated, trying as far as Christian customs are concerned to preserve all those of Spain." Houck, Spanish Region. Vol 1, p. 4.

<sup>8</sup> It seems the Catholic Germans from Pennsylvania did not come on in such great numbers as Morgan had expected. The French and Creoles were generally "good Catholics" but not always good church-members. Some of the Americans also were members of this church.

<sup>9</sup> See the letter as reprinted in my article on Father Paul de Saint Pierre in the *Catholic Historical Review*, Washington, D. C., Vol. V., p. 195.

of New Madrid, included the dependencies of Arkansas Post<sup>10</sup> and Little Prairie,<sup>11</sup> which latter village was founded by Francois Le Sieur, in 1797, whilst Arkansas Post dates back to the days of Saint Cosme and his companions. Father Gibault administered the sacraments of the church in Arkansas Post as early as October 8, 1792, and signed himself as "Curé élu de la Nouvelle Madrid," parish priest-elect of New Madrid, that is, his election was not as yet confirmed by episcopal authority. But on July 11, 1793, he first signs an entry of marriage, "P. Gibault per nous Pretre, Curé de la Nouvelle Madrid." From this it follows that Father Gibault attended New Madrid and its dependencies since his departure from Cahokia in 1791, and became the first canonical pastor of New Madrid in 1793.

The immediate reason for Father Gibault's change to the Spanish jurisdiction and civil allegiance is to be sought in the two facts that he was no longer welcome in the diocese of Bishop Carroll of Baltimore, whose claim to all the territory of the United States was now acknowledged, and that he was not allowed to return to his home in Canada on account of his political activities in Kaskaskia and Vincennes.<sup>11</sup> An offer from Catholic Spain was therefore most acceptable, especially, as he knew the various older French settlements on the Spanish side of the river. It is certain that Father Gibault took the oath of allegiance to His Most Christian Majesty<sup>12</sup> and that he attained some real successes in his new field of labor.

Spiritually, he was now under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Louisiana and Florida, represented in Upper Louisiana by the Vicar General James Maxwell<sup>13</sup> residing in Ste. Genevieve. As pastor he received a salary of 600 dollars from the Government, in addition to

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<sup>10</sup> A good account of the early days of the Post of Arkansas is to be found in the letter of Father Watrin, on the Banishment of the Jesuits from Louisiana, July 9, 1763; and of the developments in Father Holweck's article, "*The Arkansas Mission Under Rosati*," in the St. Louis Catholic Historical Review, Vol. 1, p. 234. The church Records of the Post of Arkansas are to be found in a good copy, in the Archives of our Society.

<sup>11</sup> Gibault's activities in favor of General Clark and the American cause, have no place in this account of New Madrid. Yet Kaskaskia and Vincennes are names of high import in the history of the Northwest as well as in that of Father Gibault.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Houck, "*The Spanish Regime in Missouri*," Vol. 1, 336. "Pierre Gibault, parish priest, took the oath of allegiance in New Madrid, December, 1793."

<sup>13</sup> An Irish priest who had made his studies in Salamanca, Spain, and was sent to Louisiana with other Irish priests in order to convert the Americans that were then coming into the Spanish part of the Northwest. He was Vicar General of Bishop Penalver y Cardenas, and had his residence in Ste. Genevieve. After the transfer of the Louisiana to the United States, Father Maxwell became a member of the Territorial Council. Maxwell held a number of extensive land-grants along the Mississippi. He died from a fall from his horse and is buried in the church of Ste. Genevieve.

the perquisistes which were fixed by royal ordinance.<sup>14</sup> He succeeded in 1799 to obtain the consent of his parishioners as well as of the intendant Morales to build a church in New Madrid, dedicated to St. Isidore. The church was an edifice 60 feet long, 28 feet wide and 16 feet high between ground and ceiling. "The carpenter work," says the report of the commissioners, "is constructed of cypress timber, covered on the outside with planks of the same wood. It has a partition in the width for the sacristy, ten openings with their windows and gratings, an altar with tabernacle of cherry-wood, a picture of the Holy Virgin Mary eight feet high by five and one-half feet wide, framed in wood, a belfry with a metal bell weighing fifty pounds." which was estimated to be worth 1200 pesos. The parish residence was a building 21 feet by 16 feet wide, rather small according to modern ideas of comfort. It was, as Houck tells us, doubled without and within with cypress planks, the floor and ceiling and a partition wall of cypress planks, a double brick chimney, four openings with their windows and doors and gratings, a gallery in front, with floors and ceilings, a cellar under said house and a stairway to mount the garret. In addition to this parish residence was a kitchen 18 feet long by 15 feet wide and also a bake house 15 feet long and 10 feet wide and over 30 feet in circumference, with frames complete, made of brick, and a roof of carpenter work and this bake house was equipped with all the utensils necessary for baking, all valued at 120 pesos.

In this parochial residence, surrounded by a large garden, Father Gibault lived in ease and comfort with his colored servants well able to entertain the Vicar-General of Upper Louisiana, Father Maxwell, who would occasionally ride down from Ste. Genevieve for a brief visit, unless he himself were absent on a more or less laborious journey to his stations along the river as far as Arkansas Post to the South and Tywappity Bottom to the North.<sup>15</sup> As Stoddard in his *Louisinana* informs us, the expense of building and furnishing the church was paid by the Government, although Father Maxwell insists that the well-to-do inhabitants are obliged, under the laws of the Kingdom to contribute to the construction of the church.

It was a subscription sufficiently meagre as we can judge from Francisco Miranda's Report on the church furnishings he found in St. Isidore's church at New Madrid in 1805, as recorded by Houck in

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<sup>14</sup> There is in my possession a schedule of fees for various services accurately written in Spanish by the Curé of St. Louis, P. Bernard de Limpach. Tithes had been in use under the French regime, but were abolished by rescript of the King of Spain. As the parish was one ecclesiastical and civil body, it voted a tax for the building of a church or school, and the King helped with a subscription from the General Treasury.

<sup>15</sup> Tywappity Bottom was the scene of Morgan's first landing in his principality. The church was dedicated to St. Francis de Sales. After the building of the Iron Mountain R. R., Charleston became the ecclesiastical seat of the district. The log church at Tywappity or Texas Bend was discontinued and fell to decay amid the forest trees.

his *Spanish Regime in Missouri*,<sup>16</sup> Mr. Houck<sup>17</sup> gives the substance of a few official letters written by Maxwell to Gibault, saying that it appears from them that the Parish Priest of New Madrid and its dependencies was altogether too lenient in the matter of demanding the usual offerings for the dispensations granted, especially from the proclamation of the bans, to which fees the Vicar General, or rather his Chancery, was entitled. "In one letter," writes Houck, "dated October, 1801, which has been preserved in the New Madrid Archives, Father Maxwell severely reprimanded him for performing a ceremony between a Mr. Randall and Miss Sara Waller, the latter being a minor, without the consent of her father and mother, both being residents of the Cape Girardeau district," that is within Father Maxwell's own parish limits. From this it is evident that Father Gibault was still among the living and, at that, in New Madrid, at the close of 1801, although not in very excellent standing with his spiritual superiors. This seems to be the last documentary trace we have about the storm-tossed man and servant of Holy Church. John Gilmary Shea, in his *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*,<sup>18</sup> says that both Fathers John Olivier and Gabriel Richard had written to Bishop Carroll of Baltimore that Father Pierre Gibault, one time Vicar General of the Bishop of Quebec in the Illinois County, had died at New Madrid in 1804. These letters are said to be in the archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore. There are some who say that Gibault returned to Canada after 1801 or 1802, and died there probably in 1804. But this point remains doubtful. The transfer of Louisiana and with it of New Madrid, to the United States, was consummated by Laussat in behalf of France, on December 29, 1803. It may be that Father Gibault did not live to see the great change, in the preparation of which he had been such an important actor in his Kaskaskia days under General George Rodgers Clark. It is even doubtful whether he would have welcomed the change to American sovereignty of what had once been the proud possession of his own race. In any case it must be remembered that Father Gibault was first and all the time an humble, laborious and enthusiastic servant of God's Kingdom, the church, and that his chief business was not empire building, but the salvation of souls. Indeed, he had in himself but little of the warrior-patriot, as some have lovingly described him. It was through circumstances over which he had no control, but whose control he readily accepted, that this simple priest and missionary was elevated to the exalted position of one of the three founders of the Republic in the West.<sup>19</sup>

Father Gibault appears as the connecting link between the old glorious Jesuit mission period in Illinois and the still more glorious

<sup>16</sup> Vol. II., p. 351.

<sup>17</sup> Houck's *History of Missouri*, Vol. II., 302 s. s.

<sup>18</sup> L. C., Vol. II., p. p. 472 and 596.

<sup>19</sup> George Rogers Clark, the General, Vigo, the Financier, and P. Pierre Gibault, the priest and adviser of his people.

development of the church in the Mississippi Valley. Touching the hand of the last of the Jesuits, Father Sebastian Meurin, he trained for the priesthood that noble scion of Ste. Genevieve, Father Henri Pratte, who was to welcome to the wild but promising West, the pioneer bishop William Du Bourg and his little army of missionaries.<sup>20</sup> For Gibault twice held ordinary jurisdiction on the west side of the Mississippi, once at Ste. Genevieve and then at New Madrid. Officially he was pastor of Ste. Genevieve but once. His name indeed, appears on the records a great many times, almost continually, from the fall of 1768 until Father Hilaire became pastor, but he always signs as pastor (*curé*) of Kaskaskia, and in several instances he writes that he performs the burial or baptisms by request of Father Valentine,<sup>20</sup> the pastor. Father Valentine always signs as "Curé of St. Louis and its dependencies." The first marriage solemnized in Ste. Genevieve by Father Gibault was on the 21st of November, 1768. Francois Regis Lasource to Cecile Chouquette. Father Gibault made all the entries after Father Meurin and until Father Hilaire became Curé. In 1778 Father Bernard de Limpach came to Ste. Genevieve from St. Louis, by order of Bishop Cirillo, Grand Vicar of the Bishop of Havana, and rectified the mistakes that had crept into the Records of the Parish under Father Hilaire's administration. The West bank of the river was now Spanish, and under the spiritual authority of Havana, or Santiago de Cuba. The first entry after Father Bernard's departure is by Father Gibault, and is dated October 11, 1778. It reads as follows:

On the 11th of October, 1778, we, the undersigned missionary priest, have baptized Francois, born the 27th of September, of Elizabeth, mulatto slave of Mr. Charles Valle and an unknown father. The godfather is Bazil Valle and the godmother Pelagie Valle, who declare they cannot write and do not sign.

P. Gibault, Priest.<sup>21</sup>

All records that follow this entry until 1784 are by Father Gibault, yet the term *curé*, pastor, is never used by him in the Ste. Genevieve Records, but either *pretre*, priest, or Vicar General of the Illinois. On the 28th of December, 1779, the record contains the statement: "I, the undersigned priest, Vicar General of the Illinois, performing the duties of pastor of the parish of Ste. Genevieve at the command of Rev. Cyrillo, Vicar General of the Bishop of Havana." The explanation is this: Father Gibault, as a subject of the Bishop of Quebec, could not be canonical pastor of a parish under another spiritual jurisdiction; yet, he could and did actually serve *pro tem.* under another bishop; that is he could and did "perform the duties of pastor of the parish of Ste. Genevieve" and continued to do so until 1784.

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<sup>20</sup> Member of the Capuchin Order and first resident priest in St. Louis. It was only after his departure that St. Louis was raised to the dignity of a Canonical Parish under P. Benard de Limpach. P. Valentine never was Pastor of Kaskaskia.

<sup>21</sup> Records of Church of Ste. Genevieve.

He was therefore not *de jure*, but *de facto*, pastor of Ste. Genevieve during the good pleasure of the Bishop of Havana.

As to the character of Father Gibault, especially as to the virtue of fortitude, there were some ugly rumors afloat, in fact, Vicar General Maxwell in a letter still preserved in the New Madrid archives, threatens to report these rumors to the authorities at New Orleans. Bishop Carroll, also, makes some shadowy complaint as to the missionary's conduct, and says that the authorities at Quebec no longer entertained the high regard for Father Gibault they had of him during his early days.<sup>22</sup> What little cause there was for these vague accusations we can gather best from his own noble defense of his career made in his letter to Bishop Hubert of Quebec, dated at Post Vincennes, June 6, 1786.<sup>23</sup> Father Gibault may at times have given way to his natural spirit of independence, especially in his relations with Father Maxwell, his superior in later life, a failing that must not weigh so very heavy in one who had lived so many years on his own intellectual and moral resources, far away from his immediate superior, the Bishop of Quebec. Then he may not always have shown a puritanical aversion to strong drink, although the good Father himself indignantly denies the charge of dissipation. It is easy to find a flaw in a man whose whole life was an open book. But whoever reads the noble, pathetic letter referred to above, must come to the conclusion that the charges were but idle gossip of people who either hated him for his virtues or sought comfort in drawing down others to their own level. One of the worst offenders in this regard was the commandant of Ste. Genevieve, Francois Valle, a man whose many good qualities Father Gibault is happy to extoll, but who, like so many another Frenchman, would rather lose his friend than his joke.

But whatever we may think concerning these aspersions on Father Gibault's bright shield of honor, we certainly can find no ground for thinking him a coward. There is a difference between physical courage and moral courage. The two are not always coexistent. Moral courage takes notice of the danger; physical courage often is simply blind to it. Yet, though not a man of war but of peace, Father Gibault proved himself to be a man of unconquerable will. Indeed, we cannot imagine the faithful self sacrificing missionary, bearing the privations and sufferings and bitter disappointments of life, with patience and ever-renewed hope and confidence as Father Gibault certainly did, we really cannot imagine him to have been possessed of a timid soul. Constantly mingling with reckless, daring men, offering advice and reproach and warning to men of wild instincts and hardened hearts, upholding the Christian ideals of truth and justice and righteousness among the debased creoles, the rough

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<sup>22</sup> Letter of Bishop Carroll to Monsignor Hubert of Quebec, in *Historical Records and Studies*. Vol. VI, part II, p. 162. also J. G. Shea, *Life and Times of Bp. Carroll*, p. 472.

<sup>23</sup> The Letter may be found in *Historical Records and Studies*. Vol. VI, part II., p. 153.

frontiersmen and vindictive savages of his far flung posts and missions; leading a life of constant danger, far away from priestly succor and companionship, all this certainly required a man of more than ordinary courage, required, in fact, a man of heroic mold. There is one occasion in the life of Father Gibault, in which he is supposed to have flinched before danger, that was his meeting with General Clark and the Virginians after the capture of Kaskaskia. Clark himself, in a letter to Mason, represents the good curé as "a timid soul." Yet the memoir<sup>24</sup> written by Clark later on does not prove, but rather serves to disprove the charge. The Virginians were intent on intimidating the priest and his flock; the reputation of the Long-Knives among the Creoles was not of the best; Kaskaskia was at the mercy of Clark. If the priest showed any anxiety it was not so much for his own safety, but for the safety of the simple people who looked up to him as their sole protector; and well may he have shown a kind of diffidence, as his control of the only weapon of defense, the knowledge of English, was so very imperfect.

We really cannot find any indications of a timid soul in this, and surely Clark did not really believe it. No doubt Father Gibault was at the time thinking out a plan to save himself and his people from destruction, without violating the principles of honor ever dear to his heart. Father Gibault was always and above all things a priest of the church, and his highest and all pervading motive was the winning of souls for Christ. For this he had left his pleasant home—Canada; for this he had exiled himself to the utter desolation of the Illinois Missions, where a senseless persecution had left but miserable remnants of their former glories. The Catholic people, both Indians and Creoles, were the sole object of the young missionary's love and zeal. To save what could be saved from the spiritual ruin of Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Ste. Genevieve, Vincennes, St. Joseph on Lake Michigan, Post of Arkansas, and at last New Madrid; this was his life work. Meek and humble he was, but never timid.

Then Father Gibault was French of the French, proud of his great nation and deeply touched by the fall of French power in Canada and the Mississippi Valley. Yet, British power had conquered, and was, so far, in possession, and therefore had a claim to the loyalty of the people. He himself had been well treated by the British authorities. Yet there stood the Virginians, the representatives of a new nation fighting for freedom, and offering the rights of full citizenship, even religious liberty to the surprised and helpless people of his flock. As a Catholic he loved liberty and hated oppression. France was far away and powerless to help, what better course could he and his people pursue under the circumstances, than to accept the proffered hand of friendship and citizenship, and to make, not only the best, but a really good thing, of necessity. It is certainly to the credit of Father Gibault that at this critical moment both for

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<sup>24</sup> Cf. English, History of Indiana. Vol. I.

his people and for the Americans, he not only chose the right course, but determined to follow it in perfect sincerity and loyal endeavor.

America was now his country, and faithfully did he serve its cause with his moral and financial support. There is no doubt that the winning of Vincennes, and the pacification of the Indians and the keeping of the Illinois country on the American side, until the close of the Revolutionary war finally incorporated it in the Union, is due, in a great measure, to the loyalty and foresight and intrepid spirit of Father Pierre Gibault.

A patriot in this sense he was, for he loved his people, wayward and indocile as they afterward proved themselves, he loved the land in which he had labored so long and faithfully, as the minister of the better things of life to a forlorn generation. He loved liberty and he dared and suffered for it as much as the best among his contemporaries, he attained a success perhaps beyond his wildest dreams, and he did it all with the simplicity and humility that is the mark of true greatness.

It is true Father Gibault found a great opportunity to immortalize his name. The opportunity was not of his making or seeking, as it was in the case of Clark. Yet, he met the opportunity with quick determination, ready resources, and steadfast perseverance, and he did what no one else in his time could have done to change for good the map of the great Northwest. He was not a mere tool, though subserving a stronger will, and in all his patriotic moves he never forgot that he was a minister of God, a man of peace and good will to all.

Father Gibault's services and sacrifices were but poorly requited.<sup>25</sup> Suspected or neglected by the Americans, estranged from his own bishop, outlawed by the British, Father Gibault at last followed the invitation of Catholic Spain to the missions beyond the Mississippi among a people of his own race, where he renewed his labors until His Master called him to his reward.. All circumstances point to this, that Father Gibault died in New Madrid in 1804, and was buried in the church yard near the church of St. Isidore which he had built at New Madrid, but that his grave was washed away by the waters of the great river which he had so often crossed on errands of religion and charity.

We are proud of the fact that Father Gibault belongs to Missouri as well as Illinois. We would subjoin a rough list of the stations to which he was attached during his stay in the West. Having been ordained at Montreal, March 19, 1768, he immediately set out on his journey over the great lakes to Michillimackinack, where he remained a week or two, then coming to Cahokia, where he reported to Father Meurin, he took up his residence in Kaskaskia in 1769, from which central location he visited Vincennes, Ste. Genevieve, Cahokia, as occasion offered. In 1779 he greatly assisted Clark in winning over the people of Kaskaskia and Vincennes after the inroads of the Vir-

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<sup>25</sup> Cf. his appeal to General Arthur St. Clair, dated Cahokia, May 16, 1790, in *Historical Records and Studies* as above. P. 163.



ginians. In 1779 he was entrusted with the task of bringing General Clark's official papers in safety across the river, and otherwise assisting the cause of the Americans against the British. One year before this, 1778, he had taken up his residence in Ste. Genevieve, though he still remained curé of Kaskaskia, and remained there until 1784. From 1785-1789 he was stationed at Vincennes where he rebuilt the ruined church. From 1789-1792 he resided at Cahokia, succeeding Father de Saint Pierre, and from 1792-1804 he was curé of New Madrid and its dependencies in Missouri.

The year of the transfer of Louisiana to the United States, 1803, threatened to bring disaster to the church in Louisiana. Bishop Penálver had retired to Guatamala and of the twenty-six priests stationed in all Louisiana, North and South, only four agreed to stay at their post of duty.<sup>26</sup> Even Father Maxwell was inclined to follow the King of Spain. We have reason to think that Father Gibault was among the four, as he is reported to have died in New Madrid in 1804. But at his death no successor was available and Father Maxwell, himself, must have attended to New Madrid.

During the Spanish regime the Catholic religion was the only one tolerated in Louisiana: yet the authorities recognized a certain liberty of conscience. On March 29, 1797, the Governor Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos issued a Proclamation from which the following is an extract: "The misconstruction of what is meant by the enjoyment of the liberty of conscience is hereby removed by explaining it precisely to be, that no individual of this government, shall be molested on account of religious principles, and that they shall not be hindered in their private meetings; but no other public worship shall be allowed, but that generally established in all His Majestys dominions which is the Catholic religion."<sup>27</sup> The occasion for the proclamation was an incident that happened in New Madrid on June 9, 1797. An itinerant Baptist minister of the name of Hannah, had, at the request of Mr. Andrew Elliot, the U. S. Commissioner General for Determining the Boundary of the Spanish Possessions who was then the Governor's guest, obtained permission to preach a sermon in Mr. Elliot's camp, near New Madrid, with the restriction that he should not touch on political topics. The announcement of a Protestant sermon, being a new thing in the country, drew together a very large audience. "The preacher being a weak man was extremely puffed up with the attentions he received on that occasion, which were more from the novelty of the case than his own merit and talent, and paved the way for a commotion which took place a few days after. . . . The minister had with enthusiastic zeal, which was a little heightened by liquor, entered into religious controversy in a disorderly part of the town, generally inhabited at that time by Irish

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<sup>26</sup> Cf. Shea *History of the Catholic Church in United States*, Vol. II. (Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll. P. 582.

<sup>27</sup> Elliott Journal, p. p. 65 and 66.

Roman Catholics, who took offense as the manner in which he treated the tenets of their church and in revenge gave him a beating. He immediately called upon the Governor, and in a presumptive manner demanded justice; threatening at the same time to do it for himself, if his request was not complied with. The Governor, with more patience and good temper than ordinary, advised him to reflect a few minutes, and then repeat his request, which the Preacher did in the same words, accompanied with a threat. Upon which the Governor immediately ordered him to be committed to the prison, which was within the Fort, and his legs to be placed in the stocks."

This vivid picture from the Journal of Andrew Elliot, showing that a part of Father Gibault parishioners were of the militant kind, derives additional interest from the fact that at that very time Father James Maxwell, the Vicar General, was with the Spanish Commandant at New Madrid, being described by Elliot in his Journal, as "a Clergyman of Rome, a Native of Ireland, of the name of Maxwell, a well informed liberal gentleman, who acted as interpreter."

No doubt, Father Maxwell repeated the visit on a number of occasions, even after Gibault's death or departure.

It appears from the New Madrid Records that Father Gibault was not at New Madrid after March 29, 1804, for during a period of eight months, March 19, 1804—Nov. 28, 1804, the Commandant Juan Lavalle assists at and certifies to the marriages contracted at New Madrid. From Nov. 28, 1804 Father Leander Lusson, the Pastor of St. Charles, performs this office at the New Madrid Records bear witness,<sup>28</sup> until December 9, 1804. From that date on until April 15, 1806, marriages are contracted before the civil magistrate.

Father Maxwell of Ste. Genevieve was now the only priest left, and to his charge fell all the parishes in the wide territory of Upper Louisiana, soon to be called Missouri. Then occurred that terrible visitation of the New Madrid earthquake which agitated the country around the mouth of the Ohio from December 1811 to February, 1812, which, as Senator Linn, of Missouri, wrote, "after shaking the valley of the Mississippi to its center, vibrated along the courses of the rivers and valleys, and passing the primitive mountain barriers, died away along the shores of the Atlantic." Such an appalling phenomenon, which changed the course of rivers, submerged many of the higher pieces of land and elevated others that had been submerged before, drained many of the numerous lakes and formed others, with bottoms deeper than the Mississippi,<sup>29</sup> had a most discouraging effect on the progress of the settlement. Instead of gaining accessions, New Madrid was losing many of its inhabitants, and to promote the decline of the town the river threw the weight of its current against the higher ground on which New Madrid was built so as to constantly reduce its eastern limits and either wash away

<sup>28</sup> New Madrid Archives, Vol. VIII. p. p. 470—487.

<sup>29</sup> Rozier's History, p. p. 109—208.

the habitations or drive them further West. The ancient site of New Madrid is now the channel of the Mississippi. Father Gibault's church of St. Isidore, together with his residence and kitchen and bake house was swallowed up by the mighty river. New Madrid seemed dead at least spiritually for about twenty years after Father Gibault's death; without church and priest and the Holy sacrifice. But the people did not lose the faith and a revival of religion was preparing under the counsels of Divine Providence. But the Parish of St. Isidore is gone with its Spanish patron, and when the church of New Madrid emerges once more from its dark night into the broad light of history, it is under the new name of St. John the Baptist.

JOHN ROTHENSTEINER



# OSAGE INDIAN MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

PAGES FROM THE DIARY OF REV. PAUL M. PONZIGLIONE, S. J.

1854. <sup>1</sup>

George White-Hair, some four years before his death, had placed at our school his nephew by the name of Nivale, whom he had adopted as his son. The boy was then about fourteen years old. Father Shoemakers took all imaginable care of him. Being gifted with good natural dispositions, once he became sufficiently instructed in the Christian doctrine, was baptized, taking at the sacred font the name of Anthony. This year, the boy having become of age, several braves, his connections, through respect to the memory of his uncle, proclaimed him their Honorary Chief, to get in power when Grotamantze would either die or withdraw from office.

Anthony Nivale was now a promising youth. At the school he had always been considered a bright boy, and had very much improved. He could read, write and converse in English with facility. Being of a tall stature, well proportioned, comely in his appearance and of a genteel bearing, he was looked upon as an Apollo among the Osages. To these good qualities, adding the sure prospect of becoming one day the Supreme Chief of his Nation, it was by no means to be wondered if he was an object of admiration to all his people and if more than one Osage maiden would be willing to give him her hand.

As long as Anthony was at the school with us, he was proud of wearing tidy clothes, but, now being continually flattered by his friends who kept telling him that he should quit school and stay with them, as he was of age to be a Brave, he gave way to the temptation. To please his friends, he leaves us, puts off the white man's clothes and resumes the Indian customs. He no longer calls himself Anthony but simply Nivale. He shaves his head, paints his body all over, according to the fashion of the wildest Indians, and starts on the war path with several Braves to get, at least, one scalp, that he might present it as a token of love to the beautiful Tawagla, the daughter of Kulashutze and Mantze-tce-ke, his betrothed. The choice he made of such a companion

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1) The following chapters are taken from a M. S. Diary kept by the Jesuit Missionary Rev. Paul Mary Ponziglione, S. J., whilst ministering to the Osage Indians. The M. S. is divided into four books. The present extracts number Vol. III. ch. XX and XXI.

is favorably looked upon by all his connections and friends; for Kulashutze's family is one of the most respected in the Osage Nation.

Towards the end of April, having returned from his excursion on the plains, he, early in May, sends his messengers all over the Reservation to let people know the good tidings of his approaching marriage, which is to take place at the coming full moon, and invites everyone to come and take part in the rejoicing of that day. This news produces great excitement in all the towns, and, as the appointed time would soon be coming, all those that can are stirring up and start for Osage Mission. The spot chosen for the feast is a high table land about three miles northwest of the Mission and east of Four Miles creek. Here in a few days a large Indian Village has grown up as it were by magic. The weather is clear and warm, the atmosphere is balmy with the fragrance of innumerable blossoms decking the ground. Nivale, expecting a large crowd of people, has sent to the place an abundant supply of all sorts of provisions that every one of the visitors may have plenty to eat.

The long expected event is, at last, to be accomplished. The Osages feel happy and, squatting under the awnings, are watching the rising of the full moon, and, lo, hardly has the sun deepened in the far west, when this in all its brightness comes forth from the eastern horizon to inaugurate the National feast. A soft evening breeze, which has just now started, keeps sweeping away every cloud and millions of stars are gradually peeping out of the blue sky with great brilliancy, giving a sure guarantee that lovely weather is in store for the next day. Stillness is now reigning supremely over the land; everyone is resting at ease. Neither the howling of hungry wolves, nor the baying of dogs can be heard disturbing the people's sleep. The camp fires are slowly smothered by the falling dew and the flying hours of night are quickly followed by the dawn of a new day. The dazzling beams of the rising sun stretching themselves over the plains are, as it were, uncovering a rich present of apparently beautiful jewelry offered by the soil to the betrothed, for, indeed, the ground seems to be all ornamented with rubies and hyacinths, amethysts and jaspars, emeralds and diamonds enclosed in the millions of dewdrops hanging from the luxuriant grass covering the plains as a rich carpet. The noisy voices of a number of men, women and children are now heard arising like the sound of many crispy waves of a lake tossed by a gentle morning breeze. All are watching, anxious to see and cheer up their future Chief and his Bride.

About noon an escort of Braves is formed; they are all select men, each one in his war paint, and all riding wild looking steeds. They are on a move towards the west of the large encampment where Nivale has his tent. Nivale is on the look-out for them, and, at their approach, he at once springs on his fiery Mexican charger and, placing himself at the head of the noble cavalcade, all start for Kulashutze's lodge, which stands at the opposite end. Next after them follows a young buck, a real fac-simile of an ancient Ganymedes. He rides a spirited looking nag, leading by his right a most elegant white filly in-

tended for the bride. They all advance in a long line, one by one, and, last of all come two horse-hunters driving some fifty young colts, which are the dowry Nivale brings to Tawagla. In his appearance Nivale shows a true type of a genuine red man. His face is all besmeared with vermilion, a few lines of white color are running horizontally under his eyes and a green spot, as large as a dollar, stamped on his right cheek, giving ferocity to his countenance. His ears are ornamented with fish bones in the shape of small spokes hanging from them. His hair is all shaved off with the exception of a tuft on the top of the head, crested with red bristles and a large royal eagle's feather stuck in his scalp, completes the headgear. A rich wampum collar bearing a heavy medal of Ferdinand and Isabella, precious gift of an old Spanish Governor to his grandfather, decks his breast. His arms are encircled with gilded bracelets, his body is all tattooed with such symbolic figures as Chiefs alone are allowed to be marked with. He wears flapped buckskin gaiters trimmed with variegated beads, a broad sash of purple silk, elaborately embroidered, the present of his sweetheart, gives him a princely appearance, which is rendered still more imposing by a richly dressed buffalo robe loosely wrapped around his body.

That morning seemed very long to Tawagla. She is up since sunrise, and every now and then she will step out of her lodge to scan the country to see whether her beloved is coming. When, lo, at last, she gets a glance of him amid a cloud of dust raised by the advancing party. At that sight, she quickly runs to her mother crying: "Mother, they are coming." Her attitude seems to be one of alarm, but her countenance is beaming with joy. She does not need to devote a long time to her toilet for she is in such a trimming as her native custom calls for. Her jet black hair is knotted together in a long braid all wrapped up with red ribbon and oscillating between her broad shoulders. No paint covers her face, with the exception of a small spot of vermilion marking her forehead at the point where her hair is parted. Two clusters of silver bobs, intervened with purple silk thread, give beauty to her ears, and a large pearl shell covers the pit of her neck. Her wedding garment is most simple. She wears an ample tunic of bright pink colored calico, neatly encircling her neck and with large sleeves tied at her wrists. A shroud of red cloth, with artistically embroidered gaiters of the same stuff, covers the balance of her body to her knees, and her feet are enclosed in gorgeous moccasins worthy of a queen. Finally, the whole of her person is enveloped in a nice Machinaw blanket which, as soon as Nivale steps in the lodge, she draws up over her head covering the whole of her face of which nothing can be seen but her charming black eyes, which she keeps fastened on him she loves.

Of Nivale's Braves four only enter with him in the lodge, and they do not need any introduction for they are all great friends of Kula-Shutze's family. According to Indian etiquette, Nivale shakes hands with his future father-in-law and mother-in-law. This done, all squat around the fire burning in the center of the lodge. Here, at

once, Shunská (White Dog), who is considered the most expert of the Osage Medicine men, steps forward, and, after shaking hands with Nivale, welcomes him as the one who is expected to revive in himself the person of his great uncle, George White-Hair. Next pointing his finger at Tawagla, he tells him of her most noble pedigree. He enumerates how many scalps her father took from the Pawnees as well as from the Paducahs, and praises to the sky her good qualities. After these preliminaries, he lectures him about how kind and faithful he must be to her. Next, calling his attention to her two sisters, both younger girls, seated by her side, he tells him how both shall follow Tawagla, and, from that day shall become part of his family. The Medicine man having finished his address, they all arise and shake hands. Here a wide buffalo robe being spread on the ground, he invites the couple to be seated on it and then addressing them, he says: "Behold, now you are married. Be happy, and may your life for many years to come be a succession of happy days. May your childrens' children, and those who, will be born of them, be all Braves, and may they keep your graves ornamented with the scalps of your enemies." With this the marriage ceremony is over, and now out they come. Nivale is at once seated on his saddle and Tawagla, without the need of any valet to help her, springs on her white filly with the suppleness of a young Amazon. Next to her follow, on foot, her two sisters each according to Indian custom, leading by the bride one of the colts presented to Tawagla. After them come the Braves, and the rear is brought up by the two horse-hunters driving the balance of the herd donated to the bride. As they are advancing a joyful uproar, excited as it were, by some electric power, invades the whole encampment. The Osages rush out pell-mell to meet and cheer the happy couple. The crowd is increasing at every step and all are accompanying the party to Nivale's tent, where a sumptuous repast is spread on the green grass. Once the newly married have taken the place of honor set apart for them, the rest of the people are squatting all around, forming different circles, according to their different clans.

Public games follow the dinner and last till about sun-set. As darkness comes over the earth, the tom-tom summons everyone to a great war dance. This is protracted till late in the night and with this the great feast has come to an end. When on the next morning the sun returns to enlighten the plains, the enchanted village has disappeared, like a dream; its numerous inhabitants are all returning to their homes. Nivale and his wife are at home at Osage Mission. The joyful day had hardly passed, when the smiling aspect of the country was almost on a sudden changed into a mournful one.

During the last year this section of the country had been visited by a very dry season, and, in consequence of it, our harvest was very scanty. But, as a large quantity of snow had fallen in the winter, we were all in hopes that the ground being well saturated, would yield us abundant crops this year. Hence, no sooner had Spring opened, when every one went to work fitting up their gardens, ploughing their fields and trying to have their corn planted before the so-called equinoctial

rains, which, generally, never fail to fall by the end of March or early in April, would come to irrigate the fields. But this year was bound to be an exceptional one. By the end of March we had some few good rains which did help the grass considerably and early vegetables sprung up luxuriantly. This gave us all great encouragement, and we looked for big crops. But, alas, it was only a passing illusion. From the beginning of June a terrible drought set in and very hot weather prevailed. Whatever had budded now withers away; brooks and creeks are all drying up; nay, the Neosho itself, the only dependency many poor farmers have for watering their stock, stops running. The result of that is that not only the crops are ruined but not even the hay will be gathered for wintering the stock, all the grass having been parched in its growth by the sun. No wonder if now people feel very much discouraged for the prospect can be no worse. But this is not enough. July is nearly over when, lo, millions and millions of most destructive grasshoppers, the red Egyptian locusts, at once drop down from the sky as thick as snow flakes do in winter time. In a few hours the ground is covered with a black crust made up of billions of these disgusting pests. So many they are that horses do not dare to advance in their way, for as they move to start, clouds of these abominable insects arise all in a body, like a swarm of bees, attacking the eyes, nostrils and ears of the poor animals so fiercely as to render them almost uncontrollable. And now these grasshoppers go to work with a vengeance. In but a few days they destroy whatever can be found either in the fields or gardens. Having ruined these completely, they attack the orchards; neither peaches or apples are spared, and once they have devoured all the fruit they totally ruin numbers of young trees by eating the bark all around them.

About the middle of September, having laid waste the whole country, they store in the ground the seeds of an innumerable progeny bound to be, in due time, as wretched as themselves. There being nothing more left in the fields to satisfy their voracity, they take by storm the Indian wigwams. They penetrate into hidden recesses of them, feeding on their provisions of dry meat, sweet corn, dry pumpkins, flour and, above all, on sugar, of which they appear to be very greedy. The poor Indians, seeing that it is impossible for them to stand the attack of this irresistible army, and well knowing that nothing but a terrible famine is in store for them if they should remain at home, they conclude to pack up and leave immediately for their usual fall hunt. In so doing they get rid of a great annoyance. As far as the Osages remember, this was the first grasshopper invasion they had ever seen in Kansas; no record of any previous one being found.

Of all the hunting seasons, that of the fall, which extends into the winter, is always the most important. In this all the Indian towns take part. In order that every town may have a good share of game, the Osages have a rule which they, generally, follow. Some time before leaving, the Chiefs meet together and map, as it were, to themselves the ground they intend to run over, that in their ramblings over the plains in search of game, one band might not come in collision with



another. Following this custom, the Big Osages having this fall chosen for their hunting ground the Northwest as far as to the Platte River; the Little Osages, under the leading of their Chief, Neeshumani, agree to run down Southwest extending as far as to a point where a large stream called Turkey creek forms a junction with the Cimaron, or, as it is also called, "Red Fork of the Arkansas," and in his choice he was very lucky, for the country was full of buffalo and his people killed numbers of them.

About the end of November the Little Osages reached the south end of their hunting excursion. Here, perhaps in one mile of Turkey creek junction, finding a charming spot of land, where wood and water were plenty, and the pasture for their horses was excellent, they made up their minds to rest themselves for a couple of weeks, before returning to their winter quarters on the Neosho. Meanwhile the squaws are fixing up their lodges, three of the Braves leave on a tour around the country to see whether, perhaps, they might be in the vicinity of some other Indian camps. They had gone hardly two miles, when they came in sight of a temporary Comanche village on the right bank of the Cimaron. Perceiving from the number of their tepees, that their force could but be small, they determine not to lose the opportunity, but to attack them at daybreak of the next morning, and by it avenge themselves of some old grudge not as yet settled.

The coming of the Osages could not be kept secret. In fact, during the afternoon of that day, they are noticed by the Comanches horse-hunters, who, at once hasten to drive all their horses to some safe place, and returning to their village give the alarm by crying out: "The Osages are coming!" As from time immemorial, the two Nations have never been on good terms, this news produced a great excitement among the Indians. In the midst of the general confusion, the Chief of the Comanches holds a council with his Braves and they decide, that, not being of sufficient number to meet their enemies, it was better for them to vacate the village, and, covered by the darkness of the coming night, withdrew to the forest along the river. At that time they happened to have in their camp a man afflicted with a most loathsome and contagious distemper resembling leprosy, and they agree to sacrifice this unfortunate to avenge themselves on the Osages. The poor Indian, being in the very last stage of his sickness, not able to survive but a few days, was then painted all over with vermilion, and dressed up in rich style, as Chiefs are used to be buried. They place by him his arms, his pipe and a good supply of tobacco, their object being to entice their enemies to rob the sick man of all he has, knowing that by so doing they would most certainly contract the same sickness and this, by gradually developing in the coming Spring, would, most likely, cause the death of many of them. This, really most barbarous and wicked strategem proved, in due time, terribly successful.

During the night the Osages were not idle, but you could have seen them sharpening their arrows, fixing their war clubs, cleaning their old flint muskets. And, lo, at the first appearance of the day

star, they leave their entrenchments, cross the river in perfect silence, and, coming out of it whooping like demons, they rush on the village. It is difficult to describe what their surprise is when they find it evacuated. At the sight of the mysterious man left alone, they do not know what to think of him. They address him several questions, but he never gives an answer. They challenge him to fight, but he does not budge. Then they knock him to the ground; they take all his clothes and arms; next, striking him on his head with their tomahawks, they kill him and scalp him. This done, they run from tepee to tepee, taking away quite a number of blankets, rich peltries and plenty of provisions.

Meanwhile this was going on, the Comanches who were hiding in ambush not very far off, were preparing to fall upon the Osages, and they would most surely have succeeded in punishing them severely, had not the vigilant foresight of their Chief, Neeshumani, anticipated their attack. The old warrior was too well acquainted with all the rules of an Indian warfare; he well understood that the Comanches by abandoning their village were only playing a blind and were aiming at laying a bait for his men. Hence, as soon as he noticed that there was nobody left to defend the place, he detached a company of his warriors under the leadership of Strike-Ax to reconnoiter the vicinity and, these, without much difficulty, surprised their foes, who were just approaching. The Osages at once made a charge on them, killing and scalping two men. This sudden move of Strike-Ax, not being expected, disconcerted the Comanches, and, as it was impossible for them to make a stand, they gave themselves to flight, disappearing in the woods. The Osages, not being acquainted with the ground, thought better not to pursue the fugitives, lest they might fall into some snare. Satisfied at having avenged themselves by taking three scalps and rich plunder from their enemies, they return to their camps. Proud of their expedition, they now retrace their steps homeward, and by the end of December reach their winter quarters in the heavy timbers along the Neosho river almost due east of the place where now stands the city of Chanute.

1855

The rich booty the Little Osages had taken from the Comanches during last fall procures them a jolly time and they are passing the long winter nights feasting merrily; meanwhile their Braves are singing the glorious deeds of their heroes. But, alas, at the coming of Spring, their rejoicings are changed into the most bitter mourning. In fact, about the time their agent was used to come to pay them their regular annuities, a sickness, heretofore unknown in this part of the country breaks out amongst them. It is neither the scurvy nor the small pox, but a cutaneous distemper worse than both of them. At first virulent sores cover their body. These in a few days swell and break into ulcers of a most disgusting nature. The presence of one affected with this complaint is sufficient to corrupt the at-

mosphere of a wigwam and its inmates will, more or less, fall victims of it. The Osages call this sickness "Prairie-Pox." The sight of this terrible pestilence at last opens their eyes, and, as it seems to be confined only to their town, now they see at what dear price they bought their last victory over the Comanches. Now they see how severely they were punished for their cruelty with which they abused and killed the poor helpless man they had found in the abandoned village. But, it is too late; the Comanches are having their vengeance. Not knowing how to check the spreading of this distemper, they apply to the only expedient left to them in case of this kind, namely, of evacuating their towns and disbanding over the plains. Among the victims that every day fall through this sickness, the most distinguished was Neeshumani himself, the Chief of the Little Osages. He could have left the town at the very outbreak of the disease, as many of his people had done, but he did not like to deprive himself of the medical assistance, which he well knew Father Shoemakers would not refuse him in case he might stand in need of it. And, truly, no sooner did the Father hear that he was in the number of the infected, he hastened to send him such medicines as he thought might help him; nay, he himself determined to go to visit him. First of all in order to administer to him the Sacrament of Baptism, which he knew the Chief was willing to receive, and next to do all he could to heal him, if possible.

There was, however, a great difficulty, nay, almost an impossibility, of finding a man daring to offer his services as an interpreter on such an occasion. At last, an up-right Creole, Mr. Etienne Bront, offers himself to accompany the Father on this most charitable errand. But, when they came to the entrance of Neeshumani's lodge, and Mr. Bront saw from the outside how disfigured the old Chief already was on account of his distemper, he feared to go in and begged the Father to have him excused. "For," said he, "Father, I am a man with a family; I have wife and children, and would not like to bring this sickness to them." The Father felt sorry at being disappointed in a case of such importance as this, but he would not go back on his duty. He walked in alone and did all that true Christian Charity and medical skill could suggest to relieve his patient. He, however, could not succeed in improving his condition. The poor man was already too far gone; he had lost his speech, and could only manifest his will by signs. The Father, seeing that there was no time to delay, administered to him the Sacrament of Regeneration. By the time the Father was through, Neeshumani became unconscious and died that very day. As soon as he was buried, the few of his connection and friends who had remained with him now also scattered in every direction, marking their way with new graves as they were going on.

The death of Neeshumani struck terror in the remnant of the Osages, and, as they had just received their annuity from the United States Agent, they at once all left on their Spring hunt, omitting to

plant their little gardens, in order not to remain too long in the vicinity of the infected district, and also because myriads of small, almost microscopical, grasshoppers having already hatched out of the soil, they think it useless to go to work, for their labor would be lost. And, in truth, it happened as they expected. The very warm days that came with the month of March, having caused an earlier hatching of these pests, the consequence was that, by the middle of April, the country was covered with swarms of grasshoppers. The farmers, terrified at the appearance of this destroying army, abstained from planting any seed or doing any work in their fields, considering it useless. Everything was looking desolate; nothing was growing and even the young brood of tender grasshoppers seemed to be suffering for want of proper food; the grass being as yet too weak to supply them with the needed strength. Just as if these small annoying visitors had held a council among themselves and had all agreed on a pre-concerted plan of action, on the last day of April, when the sun was in its full brightness, they all at once raise themselves altogether in the air as high as our eyes could follow them, and, next abandoning themselves to the pleasure of the winds, off they went. To what land they migrated, we never did care to inquire, but, indeed, we were thankful to God for their departure.

The season, having now become more favorable on account of copious rains that fell on the opening of May, everyone hurried to his work. Some are making their gardens; others are ploughing their fields: everyone is planting as much corn as he can get. The last rains, as well as the vigorous vegetation that followed them contribute very much towards purifying the atmosphere of the miasmas the late epidemic had left in the land inhabited by the Little Osages, for their towns had been the only ones that had been infected. Of the half-breeds, no one did suffer by it, with the exception of one unfortunate family that came during the winter to trade with Neeshumani's town. Mr. Gorman Halloway was an industrious white man married to a respectable half-breed lady. His business was to peddle provisions to Neeshumani's band. As during the winter he had supplied those Indians with a large amount of provisions, so, as soon as they had received their annuities, he came to the Mission where the payment used to be made, to collect what was due to him for the credit he had given them. Here his wife and two small children got very sick and, after a few days, there appeared on them symptoms of the dreadful distemper. Mr. Halloway, fearing that the inhabitants of the Mission might raise in mass against him and hurt him if they should find out that his family was infected with that nasty sickness, he made people believe that his wife and little ones had the small-pox, left at once, taking a course east of the Neosho towards Crow creek, and went into camp some three miles above the place where now stands the city of Gerard in Crawford county. The moving to a locality where nobody, as yet, was living proved beneficial to his family, but, unfortunately, fatal to himself. Near to the place where he had made his camp there happened to be an old

dilapidated cabin, and, wishing to accommodate his family under a shelter, for a rainy season had set in, he goes to work gathering brush wood, old grass and broken timber to thatch a roof over that forlorn dwelling. In doing this the poor man overworks himself and develops the disease whose germs he had inhaled in nursing his family. He is seized by a most violent fever, his body is gradually covered with pustules and ulcers; in less than two days of great suffering he dies, leaving his wife and children in a state of destitution in a desert country, far away from all assistance, with hardly enough breadstuff to last them for, perhaps, one week. And, lo, the poor widow finds herself all alone, with her two little children, to watch over the remains of her husband. After two most distressing days, she moves her camp a little further down to a lone tree near to the creek. And, on the next night, hearing the howling of wolves prowling over the prairie, she feels it her duty to provide, some way or another, for the burial of the corpse of her dear departed. But, how is she going to do it? There is no one within reach to help her, for nobody is living in that part of the country. She has no tools to dig a grave, and, supposing she had them, weak and exhausted as she is, she would not be able to make use of them. Her condition is most terrible. The only conclusion she can come to is to destroy every thing by fire. Love and respect for the remains of her husband now give her courage to accomplish the painful work. She tears down the rickety shanty, covers the corpse with clap-boards and shingles, piles over them brush wood, chips, old grass, dry sticks, in a word, whatever she can get around, and having built a regular pyre, sets fire to it. It is a cruel, heartrending funeral, indeed, she is bound to perform, but, under the circumstances it is the best she can do. Yes, looking on it from a higher standpoint, it would seem that Divine Providence had directed her to do so, for her daring action was the very means calculated to procure her the so much needed assistance.

Early in the morning of that day Nagrushe, a bright Mission Indian boy, while hunting some four miles south of the place where the destitute family was camping, saw a large column of thick smoke arising in the north, and knowing that no one was then living in that direction, he wondered what might have caused that sudden conflagration. To satisfy his curiosity, he started at once in a full gallop towards the north, and in a short time reached the unlucky spot. At the very first sight Nagrushe recognizes Mrs. Harriet Halloway; for he had seen her frequently in her husband's store, and, considering the miserable condition she and her children were in, he cried and mourned for quite awhile. Having, by this, shown his sympathy for her, he approaches her and inquires how was it that she had been brought to such extremities. The working at the fire had so fatigued the sickly widow, that she could hardly utter a word, but, encouraged by the kindness shown her by this friendly Indian, she related to him in a few words her doleful story, and begged him most earnestly to hurry back to the Mission and inform Father Shoe-

makers about the state she was in. Nagrushe promises he would comply with her wishes. Then, taking from the pommel of his saddle four nice ducks he had shot that morning, he hands them to her and, springing on his mustang, is soon out of sight. It was the 13th of May when, at noon, Nagrushe reached the Mission. He comes directly to Father Shoemakers room and gives him a full account of the destitution in which Mrs. Halloway is. The Father feels very sorry at hearing such distressing news, and, considering that any delay on his part can but aggravate the situation of that unhappy family, he, at once, takes in his ambulance an abundant supply of such provisions as might be most needed. He starts in company of Brother John De Bruyn and, before night, they come to camp at a point where the old Missouri wagon road used to cross Cow creek. On the next morning they drive up along the creek and, at last, find the place where the suffering family is. The good Father consoles the poor widow, encouraging her to be resigned to God's will in her bereavement, and gives her all the provisions he has brought. This done, he goes to work with the Brother. First of all, they gather the charred remains of Gorman Halloway and bury them as decently as circumstances will allow. Next, felling a few small trees, they put up a shanty where the family might have a temporary shelter. Having got through with this really philanthropic work, both returned to the Mission.

The losses suffered by the Little Osages since the middle of last February were considerable. Had they not disbanded in time, the mortality might have been extended to the whole Nation. Since they scattered over the plains, it became impossible for them to find any store wherein to trade, and, having consumed all the provisions they had, were bound to depend exclusively on game for their support. However, as Indians can make a very good living on meat, without any such delicacies as salt, bread, vegetables, coffee, etc., so they did not suffer at all for the want of these articles. The large amount of game they killed supplied them with plenty of good food, and the rare peltries they accumulated during that time procured them a source of wealth.

In July they all returned to their old towns over which a most luxuriant crop of new fresh grass could be seen. The good news of their recovering, and, above all, the rich peltries they had brought from the far plains, now drew many of the half-breeds to their lodges to trade. Of those who had connections among the Little Osages, Peter Le Beau was the most popular. Wishing to get the best of their furs, he went with a party of young men to Jasper county, Missouri, to procure as much flour, coffee and sugar as his pack horses could carry. And with this stock of provisions he also wrapt up two big cans of gun powder and two kegs of whiskey, for these two last articles, especially the liquor, always sell at a premium among the Indians. They did not tarry long in making their purchases, and, as soon as they had loaded their beasts, they started homeward, following an old trail, due north-west, to cross the Neosho

at a well known point called "Trotters Ford." The weather was dry and windy, the air was full of smoke, but the sturdy party under Captain Peter Le Beau did not care about the weather, they all were very jolly and talkative. No wonder if so; for, besides the two kegs of fire water they had purchased for trade, each one had his own special supply of it in quart bottles secured in their pockets as a "best of preventives" against all sorts of distempers. They cross the Neosho without any difficulty and, following the old trail, they come to a high table land on which from time immemorial there stood a very well known lone tree, a great land mark to travellers. In coming up to this they find out that they were in a rather critical position for a most extensive prairie fire was advancing up to the top of the hill to intercept their way. As it was evident the nature of their cargo was rendering their situation most dangerous, and the worst of it was there was not time to speculate about what should be done, for the blaze was glaring lively, the wind carrying it against them. To save themselves and their horses, who might have been killed if an explosion should have taken place, they quickly secure on the lone tree the powder and the liquor as high as they could reach between its branches. This done, they hurry back to the river. Had there been no wind, the expedient they applied to would have been a good one; for on such a supposition the fire might have made its way gradually through the grass and passed by the tree without doing any damage. But, the case was quite different. The wind seemed to be gaining every moment and with such an increased violence that volumes of burning weeds could be seen carried up in the air mixed with clouds of smoke. Hardly had the party returned to the river, when a great detonation was heard in the west. There was no need of inquiring into the cause of it. A dark cloud of smoke impregnated with burning sparks had enveloped the lone tree and in a moment the explosion had followed. At the terrific noise the unlucky half-breeds stood motionless for a while and looked bewildered. At last Peter, as jolly as ever, cried out: "Hello boys, come up; let us go to the theatre of war." And lo, what a sight presented itself to them when they reached the spot. The ground was strewn all around with broken limbs of the lone tree, and, mixed up with them, were fragments of the powder cans and staves of the whiskey kegs. The atmosphere was filled with smoke and the stench of brimstone and sulphur. From the soil, now saturated with liquor, came up a steam as from a distillery.

All they could do was to rally up their pack horses, who, scared by the unexpected explosion, had run to shelter themselves in the timber land along the river. From that day the spot where this accident took place became memorable and, no matter how frequently the half-breeds passed it on their way to Missouri after provisions, they would never miss to recall to their mind the unpleasant adventure of Peter Le Beau and, going on, they would have a big laugh at the expense of their friend.

PAUL M. PONZIGLIONE, S. J.

# FATHER JAMES MAXWELL OF STE GENEVIEVE

The Pilgrimage to Ste. Genevieve, recently made by the members and friends of our Historical Society, had a tendency to rouse new interest in that quaint old city, and its treasured memories. Walking through the spacious rooms of what was built for the Ste. Genevieve Academy more than a hundred years ago, we thought of him who conceived the idea of a higher school of learning amid the primitive surroundings, and as we had, on a former occasion, written about the German priest who introduced the parochial school in Ste. Genevieve, we felt the impulse of writing about his successor, the Irish priest, who sought to introduce a high school as well. Father Paul de Saint Pierre, was succeeded in the administration of the parish of Ste. Genevieve by Rev. James Maxwell, who, living under three successive governments, the Spanish, the French, and the American, was also known under the strange-sounding designations Don Diego Maxwell, and M. Jacques Maxwell.

James Maxwell, was an Irishman, probably born in Dublin about 1742, as he states in his will that his brothers and sisters were living in Ireland, and particularly, his brother Robert Maxwell in Dublin. But whether James was born in Ireland or of Irish emigrants in Spain, he certainly made his theological studies at the Irish College in the celebrated University of Salamanca, and was there raised to the holy priesthood. Where he spent the first years of his ministry we cannot say, probably in Spain, in order to make himself familiar with the Spanish language. Others had found similar employment. A friend of his, Don Thomas O'Ryan, was chaplain of honor to the King of Spain and Confessor to the Queen. In 1794, however, Maxwell was engaged by the government for the American mission<sup>1</sup>, and received the appointment as Vicar General of the Bishop of Louisiana<sup>2</sup>, signed

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<sup>1</sup> The University of Salamanca was under the immediate control of the Bishop who also bestowed the degrees in the name of the Pope and the King. The Irish College was only one of the numerous colleges affiliated with the University. There is a picture of the Courtyard at the Irish College in the Catholic Encyclopedia Art. Salamanca. It was the policy of Spain to bring as many Irish priests to Louisiana, as were willing, so that they might affect the conversion of the Americans to the Catholic religion, which alone was tolerated in the Spanish possessions.

<sup>2</sup> In virtue of the union of Church and State the Spanish King claimed the right of appointing the bishops and also minor clergymen, subject to the approval of the Church authorities. So it seems, Father Maxwell received his appointment as Vicar General not so much from the Bishop of Louisiana but rather through his influence.



by Eugenio de Llaguno, Nov. 22, 1794. Bishop Penalver y Cardenas had taken possession of his episcopal seat, New Orleans, on July 17, 1795, and on August 2nd he began the discharge of his episcopal functions. The appointment of Father Maxwell as Parish Priest of Ste. Genevieve in Upper Louisiana was made. He arrived in Ste. Genevieve in April 1796. The Pastor de Saint Pierre was then absent from home, probably in New Orleans on his return-trip from Baltimore. Father Maxwell, in a brief letter, expressed his regret at being deprived of the honor to make his acquaintance. Maxwell calls Ste. Genevieve "my Parish."<sup>3</sup> For a time Father Maxwell may have resided in the neighboring village of New Bourbon, until the old pastor Paul de Saint Pierre, could effect his departure for the South, where he was to administer to the spiritual wants of the ancient parish of Iberville until Oct. 15, 1826. Father James Maxwell must have been a very able and lovable man. "The Bishop of Salamanca had great confidence in him and brought him to the notice of the King of Spain." Ellicot, who met him at New Madrid on his way down the Mississippi, says that he was "a well-informed, liberal gentleman."<sup>4</sup> In the French Life of Bishop Flaget he is described as "a learned and practical Irish Catholic priest." It was hoped by the Spanish authorities, that he would convert the many American settlers in the Spanish Dominion to the Catholic religion. This, of course, Father Maxwell, did not and could not accomplish; yet our sketch of his life will show, that he was, indeed, as Houck styles him, "a very active and enterprising man," as a priest and educator, as a business man, and as a real force in political life. In fact, Father James Maxwell must be regarded as one of the founders of our statehood in Missouri.

Father Maxwell was above all things a true priest. The condition of religion in the vast district now placed under his general supervision of Vicar General, was deplorable indeed. In 1799 Bishop Penalver wrote: "The emigrants from the western part of the United States and the toleration of our government have introduced into this colony a gang of adventurers who have no religion and acknowledge no God, and they have made the morals of our people much worse, by intercourse with them in trade. . . ."

Such, too, is the case with the district of Illinois and the adjacent territory, in which there has been a remarkable introduction of those adventurers. This evil, in my opinion, can be remedied only by not permitting the slightest American settlement to be made at the points already designated, nor on any part of the Red River."<sup>5</sup>

The pastors established in Upper Louisiana at the time were Father Ledru, also called Jacobin, a Dominican from Canada, at

<sup>3</sup> Cf. The Article on Paul de Saint Pierre in the *Catholic Historical Review*.

<sup>4</sup> Ellicot's Journal p. 32 quoted by Houck. *History of Missouri*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Bishop Penalver's long letter of 1799 as quoted by Shea in his *Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll*, p. 579, s. s.

St. Louis. Father Pierre Gibault, sometime at Ste. Genevieve, now at Vincennes, but soon to be at New Madrid; Father Charles Leander Lusson at St. Charles, and Father Paul de Saint Pierre at Ste. Genevieve. The first one of these was styled by Bishop Carroll "an Apostate Dominican,"<sup>6</sup> and described as a fomentor of trouble for some American priests with the American government.<sup>7</sup> Father Gibault, the one time Vicar General of the Bishop of Quebec in the Illinois country, was now old and decrepit and sadly discouraged, though still a valuable assistant. Father Charles Leander Lusson, whom Bishop Carroll had appointed to a mission on the Illinois side, Cahokia, but who had crossed the river to become parish priest of St. Charles, representing that he had lost his exeat, he had received from Bishop Carroll, when in fact none had been given, was about to be removed by Bishop Pernalver, if Bishop Carroll should desire it.<sup>8</sup> Father de Saint Pierre left Ste. Genevieve for his final destination, the parish at Iberville, in February 1797, where he was to die October 15, 1826.

Beyond the river, in the diocese of Bishop Carroll of Baltimore, there were at Vincennes the Rev. Francis Rivet, successor to Gibault, and since February 1799 the brothers John and Donatien Olivier; John attending Cahokia, and Donatien, Kaskaskia and Prairie du Rocher. That was the extent of priestly help and comfort Upper Louisiana enjoyed in the early days of Father Maxwell. But there was a Ste. Genevieve boy at his studies in far away Montreal, destined to succeed Father Maxwell as Pastor of Ste. Genevieve, Henri Pratte, the son of one of Ste. Genevieve's most worthy citizens.

Father de Saint Pierre, was naturally averse to his transfer to the South. He had found a real home, the only one so far, among the people of Ste. Genevieve. And the people, also, were devoted to their good old pastor. But all came off agreeably on the arrival of the new pastor. Father Maxwell had under his immediate jurisdiction two almost equally important villages, Ste. Genevieve and that settlement of French royalists three miles below on the river, called New Bourbon. New Bourbon is now but a name, whilst Ste. Genevieve is a beautiful little city, full of the memorials of the past, some of whose quaint houses date back to the days before Father Maxwell's coming.

Ste. Genevieve was, no doubt, the official residence of Father Maxwell, although he had property at New Bourbon and made frequent visits to that settlement.

As doubts have been raised about this matter of residence, we would quote the affidavits made in the so-called "Maxwell Claim"

<sup>6</sup> In a letter of Bishop Carroll found in the New Madrid Archives it is stated that he, Bishop Carroll, had "received information on the conduct of this religious in Acadia, which made him feel very sad and caused him to reproach himself for having given him even limited power."

<sup>7</sup> Shea I. c. 479.

<sup>8</sup> Shea I. c. 460.

1873.<sup>9</sup> "I knew priest Maxwell when I was a boy; as he often came to our neighborhood," testifies Allen W. Holloman. "My father lived about twenty miles southwest of Ste. Genevieve, where the priest lived. On the way from Ste. Genevieve to Mine-la-Mott and the Black River country it was the habit of the priest to pass through our settlement going to that region and return". Mrs. Alzire M. Kennerly deposed among other things: "I am Pierre Menard's <sup>10</sup> daughter. I knew priest Maxwell of Ste. Genevieve. His nephew Hugh H. Maxwell married one of my sisters. The priest and my father were very intimate." Beside the testimonies of "these persons of the very highest character and standing", as U. S. Senator Bogy styles them, we have the fact that the Petition for the four leagues square, or 112,896 arpens of land somewhere between the Black and the Current Rivers in Central Missouri was dated Ste. Genevieve, October 15, 1799, although the grant was issued by Carlos Dehault Delassus, the Lieutenant Governor of Upper Louisiana and recorded by the Civil Commandant of the post and district of New Bourbon.<sup>11</sup>

In further corroboration of what would seem to need no proof, we would mention the words of J. G. Rozier, one of Ste. Genevieve's most prominent citizens in a letter preserved among the Darby Papers: "Old Mr. Maxwell the Pastor lived in Ste. Genevieve," and to the fact, the Last Will and Testament of James Maxwell was made and signed in Ste. Genevieve, and witnessed to by seven of Ste. Genevieve's inhabitants, February 22, 1802.

<sup>9</sup> "Maxwell Claim. Application of the Heirs and Legal Representatives of Hugh H. and John P. Maxwell to the General Land Office, for Land Scrip in lieu of their lands sold by the United States Government, and lying within the limits of a Spanish Grant to James Maxwell, which was confirmed to Hugh H. and John P. Maxwell by Act of Congress, approved 27th April 1816." We are indebted to the Librarian of the Missouri Historical Society Miss Stella Drumm for the use of this very important document. Amos Stoddard, in his "Sketches, Historical and Descriptive, of Louisiana" (1812) says of this Concession of land: (page 135) "A tract of one hundred and two thousand eight hundred and ninety six arpens was conceded November the third, 1799 to a Catholic Clergyman now in Upper Louisiana, who is an Irishman by birth. This concession was never extended on the lands embraced by it: nor did any Irish Catholics attempt to avail themselves of the benevolent and pious designs of his Catholic Majesty." We shall see more about this.

<sup>10</sup> The one-time Lieutenant Governor of Illinois.

<sup>11</sup> "In the Illinois (Country) there was a Commandant General at St. Louis, to whom were subordinate those of New Madrid, Ste. Genevieve, New Bourbon, St. Charles and St. Andrew." F. X. Martin, History of Louisiana. p. 299.

"The expression "The Illinois" had no reference to the river of that name, but to the country in general, on both sides of the Mississippi, above the mouth of the Ohio, which, under the French and Spanish governments, was denominated "the Country of the Illinois", and this denomination appeared on all their records and official acts. Thus letters, deeds and other instruments, bore date at Kaskaskia of the Illinois, St. Louis of the Illinois, St. Charles of the Illinois, to denote the country in which these villages were situated." Major Amos Stoddard, Sketches of Louisiana 1812.

That, we think, settles the question of Father Maxwell's residence.

Father Maxwell attended a number of settlements within a semi-circle of about one hundred miles, among them, New Madrid, Cape Girardeau, St. Michaels', Potosi, Old Mines, and Perryville. Concerning the first Church at Perryville we have the written testimony of Isidore Moore, who came to Perry County as early as February 1801. "The old church," he says, "was built in 1812. The Reverend James Maxwell, Vicar General, blessed it and said the first Mass in it; he served us the year 1813, but how often I cannot recollect; he was accidentally killed by a fall from his horse in Easter-time 1814. That Rev. gentleman had some years previous occasionally said Mass a few times in the dwelling-house of old Mr. Tucker. Perhaps it was in the years 1806 or 1807."

Father Maxwell had extensive holdings of real estate in the districts of Ste. Genevieve and New Bourbon. Among them

1. James Maxwell, as assignee of Keely, 500 arpents on the Saline, granted by Delassus, Jan. 15, 1800.
2. A Concession of four leagues square, by Delassus, November 3, 1799.
3. Concession of 300 arpents no Gabouri River, by Delassus, on September 17, 1799.
4. Concession of 300 arpents on the Mississippi River, from Delassus, September 1799.
5. As assignee, from Bernard Pratte of 7056 arpents of the St. Francois River, from Delassus, Oct. 19, 1799.
6. As assignee of Bernard Pratte, from Henry Diel, of 5000 arpents in St. Francois River, from Delassus, Dec. 9, 1799.
7. As assignee of Arthur O'Neal, for 800 arpents on Gabouri River, by Trudeau, March 5, 1798, and about 800 arpents on two successive occasions.

A number of these parcels of land were sold to pay the debts of the holder after his sudden death, May 28th 1814. In regard to the concession mentioned under No. 2 the tract of four leagues or twelve miles square, embracing 112,896 arpents, situated in and around what is now Reynold's County, Congress, April 27, 1816, two years after Father Maxwell's death, passed an Act, entitled, An Act for the benefit of John P. Maxwell and Hugh H. Maxwell; "that the right title and interest of the United States of and to any real estate whereof a certain James Maxwell died seized, the same be hereby released unto John P. Maxwell of the Missouri Territory and Hugh H. Maxwell of the Territory of Illinois, saving and reserving to all persons other than the United States, any right, title, or interest of, in, and to the premises aforesaid. . . ." <sup>12</sup> This Act did not transfer these tracts to Father Maxwell's supposed heirs, the nephews John and Hugh, but only relinquished in their favor any possible claims of the United States. In consequence the Diocese of Missouri, or St.

<sup>12</sup> "Maxwell Claim", p. 30.

Louis, as well as the Maxwell heirs laid claim to the vast tract in Reynold's County, with but indifferent success. The land was afterwards sold by the United States to new settlers. The Church got nothing out of the holdings of the former Vicar General, but the Maxwell heirs have received some reimbursement from settlers for their readiness to quiet a clouded title, and in fact have sold some of the land, as John Buford of Reynolds County testified. This is the legal aspect of the case. But there is an historical interest attaching to the whole transaction. Father Maxwell's expressed purpose was to found an Irish Catholic colony in the wilds of Central Missouri, and he had in fact laid the foundations of such a colony. The region at the headwaters of the Black River and the Current River is noted for the beauty and picturesqueness of its scenery. Its rugged hills and fruitful valleys, its limpid rivers and creeks, have become known far and wide. Then there was the promise of rich mineral deposits. A Catholic government of liberal principle, as the Spanish administration was, promised a new and happy Ireland to that persecuted people. Father Maxwell, himself an Irishman, was persona grata with the Spanish court and government. The government would do all in its power to secure for the Catholic settlers all the advantages, both spiritual and temporal, that they might crave.

But to begin with the beginning we will transcribe from the records both the Petition of Don Diego Maxwell and the Land-Grant issued by Don Carlos Dehault Delassus, the Lieutenant Governor of Upper Louisiana: <sup>13</sup>

#### PETITION OF JAMES MAXWELL

To Don Carlos Dehault Delassus, Lieutenant Colonel in the Royal Armies,, and Lieutenant Governor of Upper Louisiana.

Don Diego Maxwell, Curate of Ste. Genevieve and Vicar General of Illinois, with all the respect due to you, represents that the most excellent Duke De Alcludia, Minister of State and Universal Despacho of the Indies, having manifested his desire that some Catholics from Ireland should come to settle themselves in this colony of Louisiana, knowing them to be faithful subjects, and affectionate to the Spanish Government on account of their religion, as appears by the annexed letter of Don Thomas O'Ryan, chaplain of honor of his Majesty and Confessor of the Queen, our lady, written to the petitioner in the English language, by order of his excellency, the above named minister, the government engaging to have a church built for them in their settlement, and leaving to the judgement of the petitioner to solicit of the government the quantity of land of the royal domain which he will think necessary for himself and the said settlers. There being some vacant lands belonging to the domain, upon which no settlement has been made to this day, situated between Black River and the Currents, which are branches of the White River, at the distance of from thirty to thirty-five leagues from this town, therefore the petitioner humbly supplicates that you will condescend to take the necessary measures in order to enable him to obtain from the government in full property, the concession of four leagues square, making the quantity of 112,896 arpens of land in superficies, in the said place and for the above mentioned purpose; the petitioner having no other purpose but the advancement of his Majesty's service and the salvation of the souls which shall be

<sup>13</sup> "Maxwell Claim", p. i. s. s.

confided to his care. He at the same time informs you that several of the above mentioned Irish Catholics, induced by him, have already arrived from Ireland, and that many other are coming, and now on their way with a part of his own family, not without great expense and costs to your petitioner, for which he hopes to be remunerated by the government, and if not, by God and the gratitude of those poor people, for having rescued them from the British tyranny and persecution to which they were exposed on account of their religion. This favor solicited by the petitioner, he hopes to obtain from the generosity of the government, which you represent in this part of the colony, as being conformable to the intentions of his Majesty, communicated by his minister. Meanwhile he will pray God to preserve your important life many years.

Ste. Genevieve, October 15, 1799.

Diego Maxwell.

### ST. LOUIS OF ILLINOIS.

November 3, 1799.

Having examined the statement in the above petition supported by the letter cited in the same, which has been presented to me by the petitioner; and whereas its contents are in accordance with the dispositions of the Governor General of these provinces, Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, (who, permits the introduction of emigrants in this territory only to those who are really Catholics), as appears by this order dated New Orleans, 3d September, 1797, giving to the said letter all the consideration it deserves, in as much as its contents are derived from wise disposition of his Excellency, the Minister of State, which will without doubt be of considerable advantage in increasing the population so necessary in these remote parts of his Majesty's domain, with a class of laborious inhabitants, to the satisfaction of the government.

Therefore, according to the demand, I do grant to the petitioner four leagues square, or the quantity of 112,896 arpens of land in superficies in the place he solicits, and for the object here above mentioned; and the Surveyor General of this Upper Louisiana, Don Antonio Soulard, shall put him in possession of said Quantity in the place mentioned, when requested by the (party) interested; which being executed he shall make out a figurative plat (of his survey) delivering the same to the party, with (his certificate) in order to serve him to solicit the title in form from the Intendant General of these provinces, in whom alone is vested, by royal order, the distributing and granting all classes of lands belonging to the royal domains.

Carlos Dehault Delassus.

The Lieutenant Governor had the power of granting land-titles: but the grant had to be submitted to the Intendant General who resided in New Orleans. This was often neglected, and hence arose many law-suits. Yet the United States Board of Commissioners on Spanish Claims usually confirmed all Patents issued by the individual Lieutenant Governors, even if no proof of confirmation by the Intendant General could be shown.<sup>14</sup> Whether James Max-

<sup>14</sup> Delassus in 1803 received the following document from New Orleans, which rendered it illegal for him to grant lands after its reception. His not obeying strictly the order, opened the door to much dispute concerning land claims:

"On account of the death of the assessor of this intendency, and there not being in the Province a learned man who can supply his place, I have closed the tribunal of affairs and causes relating to grants and compositions of royal lands, and the 81st article of the royal ordinance for the intendants of New Spain provides that, for conducting that tribunal and substantiating its acts, the concurrence of that officer shall be necessary. I make this com-

well attended to this matter is not known: His Patent was, however, approved by Act of Congress.

From the first of these documents it appears that the first suggestion of an Irish colony in the heart of the wilderness of Upper Louisiana had come from the Spanish minister of State in charge of the Indies, under which title were embraced all Spanish possessions in America. The tract of land suitable for the purpose lay around the forks of the Black River, about eighty miles from Cape Girardeau, and ninety to nine-five miles from Ste. Genevieve, and about thirty-five miles south of Potosi. The greater part lay in the present county of Reynolds, adjoining Iron and Wayne.

The tract, as surveyed by William Johnson and recorded on February 6, 1806, contains land of the first quality between the forks of the Black River; on the northwest side, there were some high hills as the surveyors state.<sup>15</sup> The Petition was accompanied by Don Diego Maxwell's Commission as Vicar General signed by Eugenio De Llaguno, dated San Lorenzo, November 22, 1794 and a letter of Bishop Penalver y Cardenas of Louisiana, dated May 1, 1799, informing Maxwell that he had recommended him to the King, and that as Vicar General he must watch over all the priests in Upper Louisiana. Father Maxwell states that some of the promised Irish settlers had already arrived and many others were coming, among them a few members of his own family, not without great expense and costs to himself. The Petition was granted.

Now let us see what are the facts in the case: John Buford<sup>16</sup> testified in his seventy-sixth year: that he came to the Maxwell claim on Black River in 1815. His father had bought a farm at the forks of the Black River from John Maxwell, the priests nephew, about 1817 or 1818. The family went to live on the land in 1820. There had been a clearing and improvement on it many years before; there were several houses on it, one a store house, where a store had been kept. There were none of Priest Maxwell's men living there when he first knew the place, but always heard of his having men there at work and intended to have a colony. I remember, he said, old Mr. Stickland told me, he was at Maxwell's Establishment while his men were there. It was said that a large grant of ten or twelve miles square was made to Maxwell for a colony." This witness was vouched for by his fellow-citizens as of highest standing for character and integrity. John Buford was a member of the first Constitutional Convention of Missouri. Thomas D. Harri-

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munication to apprise you of this providence, and that you may not receive or transmit memorials for the grant of lands, until further orders. God preserve you. etc."

"New Orleans, December 1st, 1802."

Only one of Father Maxwell's concessions was dated later than 1799, and that was one held by him as assignee.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Map of survey found among the Darby papers and inserted in the "Maxwell Claim."

son of Reynolds County, who came to the Forks of the Black River in 1844, and lived there ever since, says that he learned from the old inhabitants "that a portion of his farm had been cleared and put in cultivation before this region was surveyed and sold by the United States. It had however, been unoccupied for some time before." He furthermore states that the tradition in the neighborhood was, that this early settlement was made under a Spanish claim and that the effort of the settlement was to make a colony. We must here allude to the testimony of A. W. Holloman, already quoted, for the purpose of describing the route Priest Maxwell may be supposed to have travelled to and from his colony. From Ste. Genevieve to Mine-la-Motte or St. Michaels extended the road that was blazed by Renault through the wilderness along a primeval Indian trail, for the purpose of removing the lead from the mines of Madison County to the river at Ste. Genevieve.<sup>17</sup> At St. Michaels the road crossed the Little St. Francis, and ten miles farther west the Big St. Francis. Ironton lies on this road about twenty miles from Fredericktown. From there the way lay southward into the very heart of what is now the County of Reynolds. Father Maxwell, no doubt, often stopped over at Mine-la-Motte for priestly ministrations to the Catholics of St. Michaels (Fredericktown) and environs, as they were among his parishioners. The Records of their marriages and Baptisms he kept at Ste. Genevieve. There was a little cemetery at the junction of the Ste. Genevieve and Perryville roads, near Mine-La-Motte. Very probably it was here, at the "New Village", half way between Mine-La-Motte and Old St. Michaels, that Mass was said in some private dwelling.<sup>18</sup>

But we must return to "Maxwell's Grant on the three forks of the Black River."

Mrs. B. F. Chouteau, of the village of Kaskaskia, stated under oath: "that she knew personally Jacques or James Maxwell, priest and former Vicar General of the territory of Illinois."<sup>19</sup> That she was present in Ste. Genevieve in 1814, when he was accidentally killed by a fall from his horse. That of her knowledge the said Jacques or James Maxwell recognized Hugh Maxwell and John P. Maxwell as his nephews. That Hugh H. Maxwell married a daughter of Pierre Menard of Kaskaskia, named Odile, the sister of the deponent, i. e. of Mrs. B. F. Chouteau. That she has heard from the old inhabitants that Priest Maxwell had an establishment on the Black Water."

Alzire M. Kennerly, another daughter of Pierre Menard, testified:

<sup>17</sup> The lead mines of Madison and Washington Counties were known to the Indians long before the advent of the white man. The Indian trails usually became the highroads of civilization.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. "Chronicles of an Old Missouri Parish."

<sup>19</sup> Vicar General Maxwells' jurisdiction did not extend beyond the Mississippi, as that was then American territory subject to the Bishop of Baltimore. Only Missouri was meant here.



"The priest and my father were very intimate, the priest had land possessions on Black Water in the state of Missouri. I used to hear my father frequently speak of the priest going to his place, which was on Black Water, where he used to stay two or three weeks at a time."

That Father Maxwell had faith in his Irish colony may be judged from the fact that he built a solid house of stone for a store and established a trading house in the wilderness. The following affidavits will prove this:

Joseph Huff of Iron County, in which part of the Maxwell claim is situated, said :

"I am sixty years of age. I came to this part of the country in 1829, and have been acquainted with the Maxwell claim at the forks of Black River since my coming to the country. The Maxwell colony then was a part of the history of the country, and spoken of more, perhaps, than any matter connected with the early settlement. I have heard the old settlers, who lived here when Maxwell had his store at the forks, talk together about those times (of what they were all acquainted with), about trading at the store in Maxwell's life time, and about the foreigners Maxwell had in his colony, who were very ignorant of the way to get along in a new country. The store was the only one beyond Potosi, which was thirty-five miles off, and all the settlers traded at Maxwell's. The colony and store were not continued after the death of Maxwell, the priest. When I came to the country there were few people and some Indians still. I hunted over the Maxwell grant, and had the line of survey pointed out to me by the old inhabitants who spoke of it as knowing the survey . . . . . The old settlers expressed regrets that the Maxwell store was discontinued, where they were all in the habit of trading. Whereas when I came to the country they had to go to Potosi to trade and for some time afterwards, until other stores were established."

It would appear from this, that the Irish settlers Father Maxwell had brought to his incipient colony were not as prosperous as they had been led to expect: yet the store conducted by the Founder of the colony was a real Godsend to the people scattered through the wilderness, as will furthermore appear from the testimony of Joseph L. Stevens:

"My name is Joseph L. Stephens, I am sixty-one years old, my father moved me from the State of Kentucky with the balance of his family in 1825. When I was a boy my father first settled in 1825, not a long distance from the Maxwell land, and every move that I have since made has brought me nearer to said claim. . . . ."

I also heard the old settlers speak of Maxwell's storehouse in the neighborhood of what is known as the three forks of Black River; I also heard them say the claim crossed the west or south fork making up north and crossing the other forks of Black River some distance up, making round and crossing Big Black River, some miles below the junction of the several forks of Black river."

What really gave the death-blow to the project was the sudden death of Father Maxwell by a fall from his horse, in Ste. Genevieve.<sup>20</sup> A few parcels of land owned by the deceased had to be sold in order to pay his debts, and the remainder went to the heirs, the twelve miles square in Reynolds County being part of the estate.

<sup>20</sup> A brief notice of Father Maxwell's death may be found in the Missouri Gazette and Illinois Advertiser for June 4th 1814.

The store was discontinued, the colony was no longer thought of, emigration from Ireland being prohibited for the time being, and no one able to promote it.

As to the heirs, it may be well to quote the stipulations of the will made by James Maxwell at Ste. Genevieve before setting out on a journey to New Orleans February 27, 1802. In this Will he styles himself "Cure of Ste. Genevieve and Vicar General of the Illinois." He bequeaths all his property, personal and real, to his brothers and sisters in Ireland, one of whom he mentions by name, Robert Maxwell in Dublin. As executor he appoints J. B. Vallé and Thomas Madden. Seven witnesses sign the document. In a codicil the testator wills one dollar to his nephew Hugh H. Maxwell, the "good-for-nothing", "who will know the reason why." We do not know whether Father Maxwell made a later Will or not. It seems both nephews, John and Hugh, were regarded as heirs, at the death of their uncle. The wife of John Maxwell later on sent a letter of enquiry to Bishop Blanc of New Orleans in regard to the inheritance, enclosing the original plat of the survey of the Reynold's County tract.

Father Maxwell had been befriended by the Spanish Government, and the Government could depend upon his loyalty. But the end of Spanish Power on the continent of North America was in sight. By the secret treaty of San Ildefonso, Oct. 1, 1800, Spain had promised to return Louisiana to France within six months after France had fulfilled certain stipulations. The First Consul ceded the entire territory to the United States, April 30, 1803. Bishop Penalver had been promoted to the See of Guatamala July 20, 1801, and two Irish priests in New Orleans, Thomas Hassett and Patrick Walsh, were left in charge of the entire diocese of Louisiana and the Floridas. Yet, Father Maxwell's authority as Vicar General for Upper Louisiana does not seem to have lapsed in 1801, as he styles himself Vicar General of Louisiana and the Illinois as late as May 1802. The Rev. Thomas Hassett, by circular letter of June 10, 1803, asked the priests of his diocese, whether they wished to stay at their posts or follow the Spanish standard. Only four of the twenty-six were willing to remain in Louisiana. Among those that signified their intention to leave with the Spanish forces, were Father L. Lusson of St. Charles, Peter Janin, of St. Louis, and James Maxwell of Ste. Genevieve. If Father Gibault was then still at New Madrid, he was one of those that elected to stay. Father Maxwell was somehow prevailed upon to remain pastor of Ste. Genevieve and missionary to all the stations of Upper Louisiana until fresh auxiliaries should come.

Being a highly educated and public-spirited man, the pastor of Ste. Genevieve took a deep interest in the erection of schools. Ste. Genevieve had for many years been the proud possessor of a Grammar School. But 1808 the Ste. Genevieve Academy was organized with twenty-one trustees, composed of the best citizens of the town. Mr. Mann Butler was engaged as principal, and the erection of a fine stone building was begun; but for want of support

the enterprise was abandoned before the building was completed. Twenty years afterwards E. Flagg, making his voyage up the Mississippi, describes the hill on which the school was to be: "Upon the elevated site was erected some twenty years since, a handsome structure of stone, commanding a noble prospect of the view, the broad American bottom on the opposite side, and the bluffs beyond the Kaskaskia. It was intended for a literary institution; but, owing to unfavorable reports, with regard to the health of its situation, the design was abandoned, and the edifice was never completed. It is now in a state of "ruinous perfection" and enjoys the reputation, moreover, of being haunted. In very sooth, its aspect, viewed from the river at twilight, with its broken windows outlined against the western sky, is wild enough to warrant such an idea on any other."<sup>21</sup> Of the village itself Mr. Flagg says: "It has that decayed and venerable aspect characteristic of all those early French settlements". Yet, another traveller, Ashe, gives us a glimpse of the altar in the Church of Ste. Genevieve in Father Maxwell's days: "At the upper end (of the church) there is a beautiful altar, the fronton of which is brass gilt and enriched in medio-relievo representing the religions (religious orders) of the world, diffusing the benefits of the gospel over the new world. In the middle of the altar there is a crucifix of brass gilt and underneath it, a copy of a picture by Rafael, representing the Madonna and Child, St. Elizabeth and St. John. In a second group there is a St. Joseph, all perfectly well drawn and colored. The beauty and grace of the Virgin are beyond description and the little Jesus and St. John are charming."<sup>22</sup>

We wonder, if this painting is still preserved at Ste. Genevieve: if not, we venture to suggest that it may have been given by either Father Maxwell or Father Pratte to their struggling mission at St. Michaels, as there is an old picture there, that answers Mr. Ashs' description.

It was on the 4th day of March 1804 that Major Amos Stoddard, in behalf of the United States, took possession of the territory of Louisiana, under the treaty of cession. The solemn act of lowering the French flag and hoisting the flag of the United States took place at St. Louis.<sup>23</sup> Congress at once provided for the better government

<sup>21</sup> Flaggs. "The Far West." 1838. p. 96.

<sup>22</sup> Ashe's Travels. p. 119.

<sup>23</sup> There were a great many inhabitants, says Edwards in his Far West" who looked upon the transfer even at first with disfavor, but it was confined principally to that class whose possessions were meagre, and consequently who had but little to hope for in the rise of property. The couriers des bois and the voyageurs, doubtless regretted the change, as it gave possession of the country to a people who would throw some trammels over the wild liberties of their vagabondish life. But others regretted the change from political and religious motives. The last Lieutenant Governor Delassus, is said by Darby to have wept when the flag was furled, the tricolore now of the new French Republic, that had superseded the lilies of France. The selection of Father Maxwell as a member of the Territorial Council had a tendency to conciliate the old French and Spanish settlers with the new order of things.

of the new territory. A governor was appointed, a House of Representatives was elected. A Legislative Council to consist of nine members was to be selected by the President of the United States out of eighteen persons nominated by the Territorial House of Representatives. The five counties entitled to representation were: St. Charles, St. Louis, Cape Girardeau, Ste. Genevieve and New Madrid. The first House consisted of thirteen members, and convened at the residence of Joseph Robidoux, December 7, 1812. From among the eighteen persons they had nominated for members of the Council, President Jefferson selected nine, among them the Reverend James Maxwell, whom his associates at once elected member of the Committee on Enrollment, and, on January 19, 1804, presiding officer of the body.<sup>24</sup> The second General Assembly which met at St. Louis on the 5th day of December 1814, chose William Neely as presiding officer, because Father Maxwell, as we have already stated had been killed by a fall from his horse on May 28th of the same year.

From the Journal of the House of Representatives as given in the "Missouri Gazette and Illinois Advertiser" we would quote: "Dec. 6, 1814. Mr. Scott: "I am instructed to acquaint the House of Representatives, that a vacancy happened in the Legislative Council, by the death of the honorable James Maxwell, for the County of Ste. Genevieve. Dec. 7. "In conformity to notice of yesterday from the Legislative Council, that a vacancy has become therein, and on motion of Mr. Wilson, the House proceeded to the nomination of two persons, one of whom is to supply the vacancy in the Legislative Council occasioned by the death of the honorable James Maxwell."

Father Maxwell died at the age of seventy-two years and was buried May 30, 1840, in the Church he had served so well. Father Francis Savine of Cahokia performed the last rites of the Church. When the old church was enlarged by Father Weiss the body remained undisturbed. Now the remains rest beneath the pavement of the sanctuary in the Church so tastefully enlarged and renovated by the present pastor, the Very Reverend Charles Van Tourenhout. One beautiful eminence near the city still bears the name of its former owner, Maxwell's Hill. His name is one of which Ste. Genevieve may well be proud.

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<sup>24</sup> Cf. Houck, *History of Missouri*. Vol. III, p. 1, s. s.

The Author wishes to extend his sincere thanks to Mrs. N. Beauregard, the Archivist of the Missouri Historical Society for the ready help in finding certain letters that have a bearing on the Maxwell Claim.

Also to Miss Stella Drumm for the uniform kindness shown to the writer in his studies.

## NOTES

*The Pilgrimage to Ste. Genevieve* was certainly a decided success, and the committee of ladies in charge, especially Mrs. Ida Schaaf, deserve full credit. About fifty persons interested in local history took part. A special car was provided for the company. The St. Louis papers were represented by correspondents. A gentle rain interfered somewhat with the plan of reception at the station. But the rest of the day was clear and not too warm. After a thorough inspection of the antiquities of the Church, the ancient records of Marriages, Burials, and Baptisms, the marble tombs of departed worthies, lay and ecclesiastic, the relics and their costly shrines, and the remnants of the old Church of Father Dahmen, preserved in the comparatively new church built by Father Weiss, a sumptuous dinner was served to the guests, the priests of the party enjoying the hospitality of the Pastor, the Very Rev. Charles Van Tourenhout. After dinner a long procession of autos took the guests to the various interesting historical spots, as the old church-yard, the so-called Ste. Genevieve Academy, now the home of Mr. Rozier, the Old Kings' Highway that extended from New Madrid to St. Louis, the Ziegler house, the Bolduc house, the temporary first home of the Sisters of the Visitation in Ste. Genevieve, the Vallé Spring and the Ste. Genevieve Indian Mounds.

According to Father Philibert Watrin, the first Jesuit Missionary from Kaskaskia to visit the people of Ste. Genevieve, the old Village was founded in 1749, although others claim an earlier foundation. Father Watrin writes September 3, 1764: "Fifteen years ago at a league from the old village on the other bank of the Mississippi, there was established a new village under the name of Ste. Genevieve. Then the pastor of Kaskaskia found himself obliged to go there to administer the sacraments, at least to the sick; and when the new inhabitants saw their houses multiplying, they asked to have a church built there. This being granted them, the journeys of the missionaries became still more frequent, because he thought that he ought to yield himself still more to the good will of his new parishioners and to their needs. However, in order to go to this new settlement he must cross the Mississippi, which, in this place, is three-eighths of a league wide (i. e.  $1\frac{1}{8}$  mile). He sometimes had to trust himself to a slave, who alone guided the canoe: it was necessary, in short, to expose himself to the danger of perishing if in the middle of the river they should have been overtaken by a violent storm. None of all these inconveniences ever prevented the pastor of Kas-

kaskia from going to Ste. Genevieve, when charity called him thither, and he was always charged with this care until means were found to place at Ste. Genevieve a special pastor, which occurred only a few years ago, when the inhabitants of the place built a rectory (presbytere). These two villages, that of Kaskaskia and that of Ste. Genevieve made the second and the third establishment of the Jesuits in the Illinois country." The first establishment was the Indian Village, called Kaskaskia. Father Philibert Watrin, S. J., was Pastor of the Immaculate Conception church for the French, also called Kaskaskia, from 1746—1759:

In 1752 the Commandant of Fort Chartres, Chevalier Makarty, made a grant of land to one Francois Rivard in what was called the "Big Field" with the stipulation that he set aside a portion of it for a church at a place indicated by Mons. Saucier. Captain Jean Baptiste Saucier, a native of France, was the second in command at Fort Chartres. The new village beyond the Mississippi, therefore, got its church after 1752 and before 1759, the year when Father Watrin ceased to be Pastor of Kaskaskia. Father Watrin speaks of himself, as "the Pastor of Kaskaskia who made all these visits of charity to the Ste. Genevieve"; his successor at Kaskaskia, Father Aubert, is not mentioned in the Ste. Genevieve Record until 1764. Father Salleneuve's name is frequently mentioned, but he was only a visitor from Detroit, and Father de la Morinie is the third member of the band, who also was but a visitor to the Illinois.

Now, the question as to who was the first resident priest at the church of St. Joachim in the village of Ste. Genevieve, becomes clear. Father Watrin certainly not; for he was Parish Priest of Kaskaskia. It was Father John B. de la Morinie, who, like Salleneuve, belonged to Canada, and had been constrained by extreme want to withdraw, temporarily as he thought, from his station at the Post St. Joseph. Having no work in the Illinois mission, "Father de la Morinie, as Father Watrin tells us, had only taken charge of the church at Ste. Genevieve through the motive of a zeal that refuses itself to nothing." From this it would appear that Father Jean de la Morinie, S. J., was the first resident priest at Ste. Genevieve. But his administration was not of long duration. He was forced to abandon the Illinois country with the Jesuits of Illinois on July 9th 1763; and, after a long delay and a month's voyage on the Mississippi, arrived in New Orleans in January 1764.

Remembering, however, what he had suffered on his former voyage from sea-sickness he postponed his departure for France until Spring, when the sea would be calmer. Father Meurin on his part, asked the gentlemen of the Council for permission to return to the Illinois. His request was granted, but with the proviso that he must take up his residence in Ste. Genevieve.

Father Watrin's letter on the Banishment of the Jesuits can be found in the *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. 70 and in the *Illinois Historical Collections*, Vol. X, called The Critical Period.

According to this account Ste. Genevieve was founded about 1748 or 1749 a date that is also vouched for by Father F. X. Dahmen, C. M., in his Report to the Synod 1837. But Zenon Trudeau's Report of 1798 gives a much earlier date, saying: "The village of Santa Geneveva, is situated on the same hill (with New Bourbon). It is not yet more than seven years since they settled the said hill, although they have been settled on said low point, so subject to frequent inundation, for more than sixty years." Cf. "Spanish Regime in Missouri", by Houck. Vol. II, p. 248. This would set the date of Ste. Genevieve's foundation back to 1738. Not content with this, some historians have, on the strength of a stone with the carved inscription of 1732, claimed that year or an earlier one as the year of the foundation. No doubt, Philip Francois Renault, with his little army of 200 miners and artizans and his 500 negro slaves touched Missouri soil at or near Ste. Genevieve, and found a place there for shipping his mineral output to Fort Chartres and New Orleans. This point may have been what is now called the Little Rock Landing, a circumstance that would really give Ste. Genevieve a date of foundation almost coeval with coming of Renault in 1720.

As Ste. Genevieve was not founded in the strict sense of the term, but simply grew, it all depends on the number of houses one may require for an incipient village. The year 1735 is now generally regarded as Ste. Genevieve's true year of birth.

But we must not give a history of the old town and Church. It is time to think of our return to St. Louis. The train was late two hours, but came at last. It was a memorable day for all of us, for the memories we carried away of Ste. Genevieve's earlier days, and especially of Ste. Genevieve's courtesy and cordial hospitality.

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#### WITH OUR EXCHANGES.

*The Catholic Historical Review* for April 1922, gives a splendid account of the "Proceedings of the Second Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association" held Dec. 27—30, 1921 in St. Louis, Mo. After praising "the spirit of hospitality for which the old French city is noted," and complimenting St. Louis, as "that rare center of Catholic historical interest," the report dwells on the splendid banquet given by the local committee in honor of the visiting Association and its guests of honor, Archbishop Glennon of St. Louis and Ambassador J. I. Jusserand of France. The Secretary of the American Catholic Historical Association, Dr. Peter Guilday, briefly told the story of the origin and progress of the Association. Dr. Guilday was followed by Dr. James A. Walsh, of New York City, who congratulated the Committee on Local Arrangements on the excellent plans which had been made for the Second Annual Meeting. The various public sessions of the Association proved highly interesting and profitable to all. The next Annual Meeting of the Association will be held at New Haven, Conn., in Christmas week

this year. The success of the convention is due in a great measure, to the untiring efforts of our First Vice-President, Rt. Rev. Msgr. J. J. Tannrath, the chairman of the Committee on Local Arrangements.

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In addition to this Report, *"The Catholic Historical Review"* prints two articles that have a bearing on our own special field of research: "The Ludwig-Missionverein" by the Rev. Joseph A. Schabert, Ph. D. of St. Thomas College, St. Paul, Minn., and the brief sketch *Pere Antoine, Supreme Officer of the Holy Inquisition of Cartagena, in Louisiana* by the Rt. Rev. G. L. Gassler, of Baton Rouge, La. Both are scholarly contributions to the material needed for a History of the Church in the Mississippi Valley.

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*The "Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society 1919"* gave us a lengthy and highly interesting sketch, by Dr. John F. Snyder, on "Captain John Baptiste Saucier at Fort Chartres in the Illinois 1751—1763. We are grateful to the Wisconsin Magazine of History (June 1922) for the interesting paper by W. A. Titus, "The Lost Village of the Mascouten," a village so often mentioned in the Annals of the French explorers and missionaries.

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*The Missouri Historical Review* for April 1922 prints another installment of William G. Beck's "The Followers of Duden" under the subtitle "The American as a Neighbor." Duden's book was one of the most influential means of bringing German settlers to Missouri. The experiences and labors of these early colonists are vividly set forth in Mr. Beck's series of articles, forming a very important contribution to our early history.

The historian is often called upon to cut down the tangled undergrowth of legendary stories and time-honored propaganda in order to make room for the field or garden of true history. F. H. Hodder, of the University of Kansas, does this in a very able article in *"The Mississippi Valley Historical Review,"* for March 1922, under the title "*Propaganda as a Source of American History.*" We too subscribe the few words with which Mr. Hodder cuts down the luxuriant tale, "How Whitman saved Oregon for the Union."

"I can barely allude to the most extraordinary achievement of propaganda in our history and that is the general acceptance of the claim that Marcus Whitman saved Oregon—a claim which Professor Edward G. Bourne and Mr. William I. Marshall disproved twenty years ago, but which is nevertheless still rampant in certain sections of the country. In its extreme form the story claimed that Whitman reached Washington just in time to prevent Webster from trading Oregon to Ashburton for a "codfishery", in spite of the fact that Whitman did not visit Washington until a year after the Ashburton Treaty was concluded. It is popularly believed, as a result of the campaign slogan "fifty-four forty", that all of Oregon was in dispute between Great Britain and the United States. Seven times the United States had offered to settle the Oregon boundary upon the line of the forty-ninth parallel and as often



Great Britain had stood for the line of the Columbia River. We could not therefore reasonably claim anything north of the forty-ninth parallel and Great Britain could not claim anything south of the Columbia. The only part of Oregon really in dispute was, therefore, between the Columbia and the forty-ninth parallel, and that part of Oregon Whitman never reached."

In the Book Review of the same number of the "*Mississippi Valley Historical Review*", Prof. E. M. Violette of Washington University gives a succinct account of Carl O. Sauer's "The Geography of the Ozark Highlands of Missouri."

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The "*Illinois Catholic Historical Review*" for January devotes the greater part of its space to the early days of the Church in Illinois. "The Illinois Part of the Diocese of Vincennes" by Joseph J. Thompson and "Illinois First Citizen—Pierre Gibault" by the same, are contributions of perennial interest. "The Missouri Centenary" is an eloquent sermon by Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J.

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In the "*Washington University Studies*" April 1921, there is a good article on "Spanish Land Claims in Missouri" by Prof. Eugene M. Violette, a theme on which there exists a great deal of misinformation. Prof. Violette's treatment is eminently lucid and fair.

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The "*Globe Democrat*" has for some time been devoting a page of each Sunday number to the St. Louis personages for whom our public schools have been named. Among the sketches we would single out as especially interesting to Catholics, those of Auguste Chouteau, Bryan Mullanphy, Col. John O'Fallon, Gen. W. T. Sherman, all of whom may be claimed as Catholics. The articles are well written and are replete with interesting details of the lives of these illustrious men of our historic past.

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"*The Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*" publish in their September 1921, number, an exhaustive study of "The Restoration of the Society of Jesus in the United States" by the Rev. Peter Guilday, of the Catholic University of Washington, D. C. As everything else that Dr. Guilday has written the article is reliable in its matter and readable in its form. "The Life and Times of John Carroll, Archbishop of Baltimore is announced for early publication. No doubt, it will take its place as one of the really great books of our historical literature.

From our old and highly esteemed Contemporary, The "*Ave Maria*" we quote the following tribute to one of our contributing Editors' latest historical publication.

"The Catholic Church in Chicago—1673—1871," by the Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., (Chicago: Loyola University Press), is styled "an historical sketch"; but that description does scant justice to the work, which will impress every discriminating reader as an exceptionally excellent and scholarly

history of the period covered. Father Garraghan has gone, wherever possible, to original sources for the information which he co-ordinates in his interesting story; and his main text as well as his copious foot-notes displays a wealth of knowledge which will charm every student of Catholicism in the Middle West. Several chapters of the book have already appeared in the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* and its sister *Review of St. Louis*; and the publication of the present work furnishes an ample justification (if justification were needed) for the establishing of those important periodicals. There are other dioceses in the country whose early history would furnish material for interesting volumes: may they each find a Father Garraghan to write them. His book, which is a handsome one, has thirty odd illustrations, and is provided with an adequate index. Price, \$2.50."

Just as we are getting ready for the press the *Western Watchman* of St. Louis sends us its Jubilee Number commemorating the 75th Anniversary of St. Louis as an Arch-diocese. The contribution of permanent value is Rev. Dr. Charles Souvay's article entitled: "Diamond Jubilee of the Archdiocese of St. Louis 1847—1922. This Number (July 12, 1922) also contains the fullest account of the Pilgrimage of the St. Louis Historical Society to Ste. Genevieve.

WHERE AND WHEN WERE OUR EARLY PRIESTS ORDAINED? We owe Father F. G. Holweck sincere thanks for the pains he took to gather this mass of important dates for our *Review*. All are authentic, but were scattered on scraps of paper and leaflets and the edges of other documents, so that many a date might have easily been lost; and the most of them would have required endless search by the future historians. Here we have a stroke of foresight that will possible save a thousand laborious investigations. Besides they give the correct spelling of these names.

Record written by Rev. Joseph Rosati, C. M., then president of the Seminary of the diocese of Louisiana:

At Bordeaux were tonsured: Mr. Dahmen (Casto, Deys).

The minor Orders were given to: Messrs. Tichitoli, Casto, Dahmen, Deys (June 1, 1816).

Ordinations at Paris: Tonsured: Maenhout, de Neckere, Duparq, 13. Jan. 1820.

1817. On the day before Trinity at Bordeaux Mr. Hosten received Minor Orders, subdeaconship: Messrs. Bertrand, Jeanjean, Portier.

At Baltimore Minor Orders and subdeaconship: Mr. Brassac, deaconship Mr. Bertrand, priesthood: Mr. Bertrand.

On May 10, 1818 at St. Thomas (Ky). Messrs. Dahmen and Tichitoli subdeaconship (Msgr. Flaget), Mr. Jeanjean, priesthood.

At St. Louis: Mr. Niel received Minor Orders, subdeaconship, deaconship and priesthood. Mr. Portier, Mr. Evremont priesthood.

At the Barrens: Minor Orders: Mr. Desmoulins, subdeaconship the same, deaconship Mr. Brassac, Mr. Desmoulins. (no date given).

1. Nov. 1818 at Ste. Genevieve tonsured: Mr. Barreau; minor Orders Mr. Maenhout; subdeaconship Mr. Casto and Mr. Deys; dea-

cons: Messrs. Dahmen and Tichitoli; priesthood: Messrs. Brassac and Desmoulins.

16. May 1819: Mr. Borgna subdeacon; DeGeithre and Daubert tonsure.

6. Jan. 1820: Mr. Borgna Deacon.

From Bordeaux on the Caravane 17. June 1817; arrived at Annapolis 4. Sept. 1817 with Msgr. Du Bourg: Mr. DeCruy, Mr. Blanc Ant., Second Vallezano, Mr. Janvier, Mr. De la Croix, Mr. Portier, Mr. Bertrand, Mr. Jeanjean, Mr. Valentin (Joseph), born 30, March 1795 at Saar-Union, dioc. of Strassbourg. Mr. Hosten (Philip), cleric from Zarren, dioc. of Ghent, born 26 April 1794. Mr. Magne, student; Mr. Chauderat (cleric). Mr. Brassac (Cler.), Mr. Niel (Cler.), Mr. de Neckere, Mr. de Maenhout Constantin (de Waeschot, born 23. Nov. 1796). Mr. Perrodin (Cler.), Mr. Duparq (Cler.), Mr. Delprat, (Stud.), Mr. Desmoulins (Stud.), — Barreau (Stud.), — de Gheitre (Stud.), born at Alost in the dioc. of Ghent. Fr. Aubin, Fr. Fulgence, Fr. Antonin, three Brothers of the Christian Schools. Joseph, Bernard, Guidone and Francis, workingmen.

Mr. Francis Cellini, priest from Ascoli, C. M., Philip Borgna, (Min. Ord.), Antoine Potini (Min. Ord.), departed from Rome May 8, 1818, left by water at Oneglia and later on, May 20th from Genoa, where Brother Bettolini joined them, went to Livorno, where they sailed on July 1 with Messrs. Rosetti, Mariani, and Borella, priests, Rosti in Minor Orders, and with Joseph Pifferi, Pierre Vergani, Vincent Ferrari, Jean Bozoni, and Angelo Mascaroni, on the brig Philadelphia and landed at Philadelphia on Oct 1.

The first four rendered themselves to the Barrens by water from Pittsburg to the mouth of the Ohio; they arrived at Madame Hayden's on Jan. 5, 1819. They had arrived at Louisville Dec. 1, at the Seminary, (Ky). Dec. 3.

Mr. Millet, deacon, arrived July 20, 1820.

Mr. Saulnier (tonsured) from Bordeaux in May 1819; he left the Seminary to go to the college at St. Louis in the beginning of December.

Mr. Francis Farrel, an Irishman, arrived Nov. 23, 1819.

Mr. Paquin arrived on Jan. 5, 1820.

Mr. Rosetti with Mr. Rosti arrived Jan. 5, 1820.

Mr. Joseph Blanka arrived towards the middle of February 1819.

These notices were jotted down at various times on a slip of paper, which is now crumbling away, the writing nearly faded. They serve to fix dates which otherwise would have been uncertain.

On similar slips are found the following notes:

1817, in April, Messrs Ferrari and Rosati started on their mission work: the former went to Fort Vincennes, Ill., on Oct. 2, 1817. Messrs. de Andreis and Rosati with Brother Blanka, led by Msgr. Flaget, started for St. Louis, following the instructions sent by Msgr. Du Bourg, who was about to arrive in America.

On another slip:

7. Jan. 1816, Acquaroni, Rosati, Deys and Spezioli arrived at Bordeaux.

March 21, 1816, arrival of Caretta,, priest and canon of Porto Maurizio, and Mr. Ferrari, priest from the same town.

May 22, vigil of the Ascension ,arrival of Msgr. Du Bourg at Bordeaux with Mr. Tichitoli.

May 28, Msgr. Du Bourg gave tonsure to Mr. Deys, Tichitoli, Casto and Dahmen (Casto, Deys and Dahmen were the first students of the Seminary of Louisiana.)

A slip of paper contains a list of the students at the Seminary at the Barrens, Mo., in the year 1832:

Eugene Saucier, b. at St. Louis, entered Sept. 7, 1821. Tonsured.

Francis Jourdain, b. at St. Louis, entered Nov. 11, 1821; in Minor Orders.

Louis Tucker, b. at the Barrens, ent. 5. Sept. 1825, in Min. Ord.

Hilary Tucker, b. at the Barrens, ent. 15. Aug. 1826, in Min. Ord.

John McMahan, b. at Dublin, Ireland, ent. May 6, 1827. Deacon.

Geo. Hamilton, b. at Brazeau, ent. 24. Oct. 1828, in Min. Ord.

John Cotter, b. in Co. Down, Ireland, ent. 6. April 1828, (without an exeat.)

Philip Roche, b. at Wexford, Ireland, ent. 6. April 1828, (without an exeat).

Peter Paul Lefevre, b. at Roulers, dioc. of Ghent, ent. 25. June 1828; in Min Ord.

Vital Van Cloostere, b. at Roulers, Ghent, ent. 25. June 1828; in Min. Ord.

Joseph Robira, b. in the dioc. of Tarragona, Spain, ent. 15. July 1829; tonsured.

Louis Courten, b. at New Orleans, ent. 15, July 1828; (no exeat).

John Herlehy, b. at Killarney, Ireland, ent. 3. Oct. 1288, in Min. Ord.

Hy. Lesieur, b. at Portage de Sioux, ent. 9. Oct. 1828.

Patrick Aloys Shannon, b. at Eniscathy, Ireland, ent. 26. May 1819. (no exeat).

Peter Van Lankere, b. at Winkel, St. Oloy, Ghent, ent. 31. Aug. 1829, (no exeat).

Thomas G. Rapier, Bardstown, Ky., ent. 7. Oct. 1830, (no exeat).

Hy. Hortensius Philibert, St. Louis, Mo., ent. 15. Oct. 1830.

Louis Ferd. Bubdy, Baltimore, ent. 27. Oct. 1830.

Patrick Rattigan, of Co. Meath (Forgony), ent. 9, Jan. 1831, (no exeat).

Wm. McGinnis, Monaghan, Ireland, ent. 22 May 1831, (no exeat).

Ennemond Dupuy, Livert, Lyon, France; ent. 12 May 1831. Deacon.

Jerome Callegari, Carrara di Padua, ent. 2 July 1831, (no exeat).

Irenee Maria Saint-Cyr, Guinlie, Lyon, ent. 26 July 1831. Subdeacon.

Patrick McCloskey, Banagher, Londonderry, ent. 13 Sept. 1831, (no exeat).

Peter Francis Beauprez, Woumen, Ghent, ent. 1 Nov. 1829.

List of Seminarians at the Barrens, 8 June 1833.

Peter Vanlankere, b. 27 May 1787 at Wynkel, S. Eloy, dioc. of Ghent, third year theology. Ent. 30 Aug. 1829.

Joseph Robira, ent. 15. July 1828, b. 1812 at Torrembarra, dioc. of Tarragona, 2nd year theology.

Charles Rolle, ent. 12 March 1833, b. 2 Febr., 1811 at Azeraille, dioc. of Nancy, first year theol.

John Hy. Fortmann, ent. 3 June 1833; b. in Febr. 1801 at Lohne, dioc. of Muenster, made two years of theology.

Philip Roche, ent. 24. Dec. 1827; b. 16 April 1810 at Wexford, Ireland, last year of Latin; has been in the diocese over ten years.

Louis Courtain, ent. 15 July 1828; b. 25. Oct. 1814 at New Orleans. Last year of Latin.

Ambrose Heim, ent. 20 July 1832; b. 3 April 1807 at Rodalbe dioc. of Nancy; finished Latin course.

Jeremiah Langton, ent. 7 Feb. 1832, 24 years old; b. at Clara, dioc. of Ossory, 3rd year of Latin finished.

Nicolaus Stehle, ent. 29 April 1833; b. in Jan. 1813 at Lixheim, dioc. of Nancy, finished third year of Latin.

John Cotter, ent. 27. Dec. 1827; b. in Co. Down, Ireland, more than ten years in diocese; finished fifth year of Latin.

Hy. Lesieur, ent. Nov. 1828; b. Sept. 1816 at Portage des Sioux, finished third year of Latin.

Charles Tucker, ent. 6 Aug. 1832, b. 16 Oct. 1819 at the Barrens; commenced his studies.

Joseph Elder, ent. Dec. 1832, 15 years old; b. at Bardstown, Ky., commenced his studies.

The Parish of Cahokia, Ill., in 1835 had three missions: Ville Francaise (French Village), Belleville, St. Thomas (Millstadt).

#### ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY.

To the President and the Members of the Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis.

May 16, 1922.

The Secretary of Your Society wishes to express his gratification at the results attained during the past year. The membership has had a steady growth, and our work is awakening a greater interest. Owing to ever increasing costs of printing and binding we were laboring under a serious deficit, but hope to get clear of all debts before the end of May, as the Fourth Degree of the Knights of Columbus have promised to contribute a very substantial sum to our Treasury for historical research work. Our Archives, as well as our Library record a constant growth, especially through the generosity of Dr. Charles Souvay, C. M., Rt. Rev. J. J. Tannrath, and Rev. F. G. Holweck. A number of interesting historical papers were

read, as Father Holweck's "Public Places of Worship in St. Louis before Palm Sunday 1843; Father Brennan's, "The History of the Earth as written by itself"; and Mrs. Ida Schaafs' illustrated lecture on "the early Catholic Churches and Institutions of Missouri."

The Pilgrimage to Ste. Genevieve, arranged and conducted by the Committee of Ladies of our Society, Mrs. Schaaf, and the Misses Gareshe and Smith, proved a very enjoyable and profitable affair, not in a money-sense but in an ideal one.

The officers during the year were:

President: Most Rev. John J. Glennon, Archbishop of St. Louis.

1st Vice President: Rt. Rev. Msgr. John J. Tannrath.

2nd Vice President: Mr. John S. Leahy.

3rd Vice President: Miss Louise Gareshe.

Secretary: Rev. John Rothensteiner.

Treasurer: Mr. Edward Brown.

Members of the Executive Committee:

Rev. Gilbert S. Garraghan, S. J.

Mrs. I. M. Schaaf.

Although our Society is not affiliated with the National Catholic Historical Association of Washington, our members took a deep interest in its annual convention held in St. Louis during the week after Christmas, especially as our First Vice President, Msgr. J. J. Tannrath was chosen to act as chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, and several other members were invited to read papers and to preside at meetings. An invitation was extended to our Society by the National Association to become affiliated, but the invitation was deferred to the September meeting. Our membership is not large, but very distinguished. It is our hope and wish that all our priests and many of the laity will join our ranks, and help along the good work of historical investigation. We should have at least a thousand members on the rolls and a few hundred at the meetings.

JOHN ROTHENSTEINER, Secretary.

## CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF ST. LOUIS.

### TREASURERS REPORT.

Year ending May 11, 1922.

Receipts.	Disbursements
Balance on hand May 16, '21 \$93.00	Printing Review .....\$600.00
Membership Dues .....360.00	M. V. Hist. Assn.
Subscriptions for "Review" 86.50	Dues ..... 4.00
"Review" Copies sold ..... 17.25	Printing invitations ..... 9.80
Volume I. sold ..... 12.00	Stationery ..... 7.00
Cash advanced by 6 members	Postage ..... 6.70
(To be refunded) .....150.00	By Balance ..... 91.25

\$718.75

\$718.75

To balance on hand May 11, 1922 \$91.25.

EDWARD BROWN, TREASURER.

# DOCUMENTS FROM OUR ARCHIVES

DIARY OF BISHOP JOSEPH ROSATI.

1826.

JANUARY.

- 1 Sunday. Circumcision of our Lord Jesus Christ. Early in the morning confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel. Assisted in cope at High Mass. Sermon by Fr. De Neckere. *Te Deum* and Benediction of the Bl. Sacrament. Solemn Vespers in the church, after which sermon by Mr. Saucier<sup>1</sup>. Wrote to Fr. Dahmen and to Fr. Champomnier<sup>2</sup>.
- 2 Monday. Early in the morning Conference for the Seminarians, on the proper use of time: 1, Motives; 2, Means. Mr. Jourdain<sup>3</sup>. Mass in the chapel.
- 3 Tuesday. Early in the morning Conference of the Community, on the dispositions with which we ought to commence this year. Bro. Oliva<sup>4</sup>; Fr. De Neckere. 1, Motives

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *St. Louis Cath. Hist. Review*, Vol. III, p. 330, Note 74.

<sup>2</sup> Vincennes, Indiana. In the registers of the parish, he always signed himself Champonier.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *St. Louis Cath. Hist. Review*, Vol. III, p. 342, Note 110.

<sup>4</sup> Bro. Angelo Oliva, C. M., was born about 1777 in the shadow of Mt. Vesuvius, and during his early years worked in the lava quarries on the slopes of the terrible mountain, although by trade he was a shoemaker. Entering the Congregation at the age of twenty, he was in the house of Oria, Province of Naples, at the time of Fr. Inglesi's journey to Europe; and at the request of the Missionary, was sent with two other Brothers and a postulant to America, where he arrived on July 1, 1823. He was bringing along the plans, elaborated in Rome, for the new Church of the Barrens; and soon after he reached the latter place, early in November, having found, on the Seminary grounds a layer of very fine limestone, he was put in charge of quarrying and dressing the blocks for the edifice in contemplation. This preliminary work done, Bro. Oliva superintended the laying of the foundations, and the work of construction which slowly went on for seven years, owing to the limited funds, and therefore, the small number of laborers at the disposal of the Bishop, until at last it was under roof in the spring of 1834. Meantime he had been requested by Bishop Rosati to lend his skill to the finishing of the Cathedral of St. Louis, and of other churches of the Diocese. "The six candelabra which ornament the front of the Cathedral of St. Louis were cut by him, also the beautiful jamb, architrave, ornaments and inscriptions of the new church of Ste. Genevieve and the altar

- to acquire these dispositions; 2, What they ought to be. Mass in the chapel.
- 4 Wednesday. Mass in the same place. Count Vidua, the son of the prime minister of the King of Sardinia, of whom the newspapers had written most praisefully, in his travels through the greater part of America, arrived here and gave me letters of recommendation from the Archbishop of Baltimore. I begged this very learned and accomplished gentleman to stay some time with us and rest a little from the fatigues and difficulties of his long journey. But he was hastening towards New Madrid, where he hoped to find a boat to take him speedily to New Orleans; he spent the rest of the day here and visited the church and the Monastery, intending to continue his journey the next day.
  - 5 Thursday. Mass early in the morning. After breakfast, our noble guest departed. In the evening, Confessions of the Seminarians and of C. Eu. Received a letter from the Bishop of New Orleans<sup>5</sup>.
  - 6 Friday. In the morning, Confessions of the Brothers. After the chanting of the Tierce, I celebrated solemn pontifical Mass in the church and preached on the gospel of today. Solemn pontifical Vespers in the church, after which, sermon by Mr. Jourdain. Received a letter from Fr. Dahmen<sup>6</sup>.
  - 7 Saturday. Early in the morning, Mass in the chapel, Confessions of the Nuns. In the evening, Confessions of the Seminarians.

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and steps of the Old Mines" (*Catholic Herald*, March 8, 1835). The industrious and virtuous—traits of his wonderful patience and meekness were circulated aplenty—Brother was not given the consolation to see the completion of the Church of the Barrens: he died on January 21, 1835.

<sup>5</sup> Dated New Orleans, December 9, 1825. Comments rather unfavorably upon a letter of the Archbishop of Baltimore—there does not seem to have been at any time much sympathy between Archbp. Maréchal and Bp. Du Bourg—protesting against the approbation given to Fr. De Theux, S. J., by Bishop Rosati: he endorses this approbation (The original of the curious letter of Archbp. Maréchal here referred to is in the Archives of the Chancery of St. Louis). Bp. Du Bourg then sadly notifies his Coadjutor of his *Fiat* to the deliberation of the priests of the Seminary, deciding to postpone undertaking the establishment of another Seminary in Loewr Louisiana. (See *Diary*, November 24, 1825: *St. Louis Catholic Hist. Review*, Vol. IV, pp. 102-103 and Note 85): "As I have only a few more years to live, I shall probably not see the extinction of the Diocese; and even if I do see it, I shall have nothing to reproach myself with." True, this year has been calamitous everywhere, but he clings to the hope of seeing his project come some day to realization. Thanks his Coadjutor for the Loretines sent to St. Joseph's.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *St. Louis Cath. Hist. Review*, Vol. II, p. 317, Note 17.



- 8 Sunday within the octave of the Epiphany. Early in the morning, Confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel. Wrote to Fr. Borgna <sup>7</sup>, that I received from the Bishop of New Orleans \$100.00, and credited his account for so much; and that I received likewise \$4.00 from Fr. Audizio <sup>8</sup>. I enclosed in the letter two notes of the Bishop of New Orleans for the sum of \$107.16 due to Mr. Manning; also a bill to be forwarded to Fr. Anduze <sup>9</sup>. After High Mass, during which Fr. De Neckere preached the sermon, I held a meeting of the parishioners about the necessity of putting up a new fence as soon as possible around the cemetery. Vespers in the church. Wrote to the Right Rev. J. B. David, about etc.
- 9 Monday. Early in the morning spiritual Conference for the Seminarians, on the virtue of mortification. Mr. Girardin <sup>10</sup>. Mass in the chapel.
- 10 Tuesday. Spiritual Conference of the Community, on the proper use of time. Fr. Permoli <sup>11</sup>. 1. Motives; 2. Means. Mass in the chapel.
- 11 Wednesday. Mass in the chapel. At 3 p. m., arrival of Fr. Van Quickenborne, Superior of the Jesuits of Florissant, together with Fr. Dahmen. To the former I confirmed the faculties of Vicar General <sup>12</sup>.
- 12 Thursday. Mass in the chapel. Departure of our guests at 3 p. m. Received letters, 1. from Fr. Saulnier; 2. from Madame Duchesne; 3. from Fr. Rosti <sup>13</sup>; 4. from Fr. Tichitoli; 5. from Sister Johanna Superior of the Nuns <sup>14</sup>.
- 13 Friday. Early in the morning, Chapter; went to confession. Mass in the chapel.
- 14 Saturday. Early in the morning, Mass in the chapel. Confessions of the Nuns. Wrote the following letters: 1. to Fr. Richard, at Detroit; 2. to Fr. Borgna, announcing to

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<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 325, Note 54.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 257, Note 46.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 320, Note 31.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 347, Note 130.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 84, Note 36.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 369 under date of December 28.

<sup>13</sup> Grand Coteau, La., November 25, 1825. Will leave as soon as his successor arrives.

<sup>14</sup> Sister Johanna Miles, Superioress of the new house of the Lorettes recently founded at Assumption, La. See *Diary*, November 27, 1825, in *St. Louis Cath. Hist. Review*, Vol. IV, p. 103.

<sup>15</sup> Blank in the original.

him that he will receive by the first occasion the *Ordo* for this year, and requesting him to buy, with the money coming from their sale, three barrels of sugar and two———  
———15—— for the Seminary. In the evening Confessions of the Seminarians.

- 15 2nd Sunday after Epiphany. Early in the morning, Confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel. Confessions. Assisted at High Mass, during which I preached on today's gospel. Vespers in the church.
- 16 Monday. Mass in the chapel. Wrote to Fr. Saulnier<sup>16</sup>.
- 17 Tuesday. Mass in the same place. Wrote to Fr. Baccari<sup>17</sup>.
- 18 Wednesday. Mass in the same place. Made a contract with Richard Dorsey, and put it down in writing: I thereby assume a debt of \$100.00, and, moreover, gave him a horse; he, in his turn, will for five years lend his medical service to the Seminary. Wrote, 1. to Fr. Martial<sup>18</sup>; 2. to Fr. Baccari<sup>19</sup>; 3. to the same<sup>20</sup>.
- 19 Thursday. Mass early in morning in the chapel. Conference to the Nuns, on the obligation of tending to perfection. In the evening received letters: 1. from Fr. Tichitoli; 2.

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<sup>16</sup> On this day Bishop Rosati commenced a series of Notebooks where he entered the gist of the letters written by him. These Notebooks, nine in number (Book No. 7, April 19, 1829 to June 24, 1831 is lost) extend to November 3, 1833, a living testimony to the industrious and orderly habits of the Prelate.—Asks Fr. Saulnier to give \$100.00 to Mr. Timon, Sr., which he (Saulnier) was to send to the Loretines of the Barrens: the Bishop will settle with the Nuns. Other \$25.00 Saulnier will send at the first opportunity.

<sup>17</sup> Is sending of all the members of the Congregation in America, and attestation of Timon's vows. Wishes to have all the Vicar General's annual Circulars: 1819, 1821 and 1825 are missing; also desires the list of the deceased members. The copy of St. Vincent's Conferences at hand is incomplete and wretchedly written. A disastrous year: no crops, no resources; could not help be obtained from Propaganda? Impossible to begin the church. Wrote already about Seminary in Lower Louisiana, the division of the Diocese is imperative, although the country (Upper La.) is very poor. Need of Assisant to run the house during his (Rosati's) absence. Three of the priests and even some Brothers wish to go back to Europe, the plea of health is a delusion, and creating a precedent would be a calamity.

<sup>18</sup> Thanks for offer to transact affairs in Italy. Sends letters to give to Fr. Baccari and forward to his brother. Martial does not need any letters of introduction from him since he has some from Bp. Flaget; yet gives him one for Fr. Baccari, whom he wishes to make Martial's acquaintance.

<sup>19</sup> Introducing Fr. Martial.

<sup>20</sup> Marked "for himself alone": 1. Sick; 2. Seminary.... 5. poverty; 6. division! 7. brothers; 8. necessity of a good Assistant.

from Fr. Bigeschi; 3. from Fr. Dahmen. Wrote: 1. to Fr. Cellini <sup>21</sup>; 2. to my brother <sup>22</sup>; 3. to Fr. Dahmen <sup>23</sup>.

- 20 Friday. Chapter. Went to confession. Heard confessions. Mass in the chapel. *Arrival of Fr. Dahmen.*
- 21 Saturday. Mass early in the morning. Confessions of the Nuns. Fr. Dahmen departed. At 2 p. m., arrival of Fr. Smedts <sup>24</sup>, S. J., from Florissant for his Ordination. Through him I received letters, 1. from Fr. Van Quickenborne; 2. from Fr. Saulnier; 3. from Madame Duchesne. In the evening Confessions of the Seminarians.
- 22 Septuagesima Sunday. Early in the morning, Confessions of the Brothers. At 10:45, in the church, solemn pontifical Mass, during which, after a short talk to the people on the nature, offices and obligations of the Subdiaconate. I promoted to that Order J. B. Smedts, acolyte of the Society of Jesus, presented by his Superior, *titulo paupertatis*. Frs. Leo De Neckere, John Odin and Joseph Paquin acted as assistants. Vespers in the church.
- 23 Monday. In the morning, spiritual Conference for the Seminarians, on the virtue of humility; motives and means. Mr. Labadie <sup>25</sup>. Mass in the chapel.

Ordination  
No. 8

<sup>21</sup> Your last letter from Havre. Do write. Do not forget this Mission. Hard times: could you not get us any help? See about a Canon, a Candlestick and some mitres; have only an old and torn Pontifical.

<sup>22</sup> Original in Archives of the Procurator Gen. C. M., Rome.—No letter from you for eighteen months, although I have written several times. Despite calamities (failure of crops, etc.) have not lost confidence in divine Providence; but we must not tempt God. Fire of the Convent kitchen: last year one of their frame houses burned, which meant a loss of about \$400.00. In the house which burned this year were two looms, with a large stock of wool and cotton thread, and cloth, part of which was to clothe a score of orphan girls raised by the Nuns, and part for the Seminary. We pay for the weaving with wheat, corn, etc. In former times I used to buy the wool; this year I had it from our mill: for if you have become a cloth-merchant, I am now a wool-carder; our miller made a water-driven card-engine which does very nice work, and has saved us this fall \$200.00. Unfortunately we had a great deal of damage done by high water at the mill, and \$800.00 worth of repairs is imperative. But where shall I get \$800.00? We have here, besides myself three priests, three deacons, thirteen seminarians, ten brothers, ten boys and ten workmen. Classes are absorbing and I have, moreover, the spiritual and temporal care of the parish and the direction of the Nuns; leave only for pastoral visitations and confirmations. Time, therefore, passes very quickly: yet we should not let it go by so quick that we do not pay attention; for death is coming, and we must be ready. I came here only to win souls to God; but must not lose mine. The same with you. Let us work so that we may all be re-united in heaven. Greetings to family and friends; special regards to mother.

<sup>23</sup> May grant dispensation: if people are poor, gratis; if they are able, follow the regulations.

<sup>24</sup> One of the Belgian Jesuit Scholastics brought over to America by Fr. Nerinckx in 1821. See Camillus P. Maes, *The Life of Rev. Chabres Nerinckx*, p. 452 and foll.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. *St. Louis Cath. Hist. Review*, Vol. III, p. 345, Note 122.

- 24 Tuesday. In the morning Spiritual Conference of the Community on the virtue of poverty. Bro. Palelli<sup>26</sup>. Mass in the chapel.
- 25 Wednesday. Conversion of St. Paul. Early in the morning Confessions of the Brothers. Celebrated Mass, and promoted to the sacred Order of the Diaconate Mr. J. B. Smedts. Assisted at High Mass in the chapel. Vespers in the same place.
- 26 Thursday. Mass early in the morning. Conference to the Nuns, on the Vows in general: 1. their nature—a promise made to God; 2. their obligation, which is under pain of mortal sin, perpetual and may be violated by a mere thought; 3. their effects; peace of mind, merits, glory. Wrote to Fr. Saulnier<sup>27</sup> and to Madame Duchesne<sup>28</sup>.
- Ordination No. 9
- 27 Friday. Early in the morning, Chapter; went to confession. Mass in the chapel. Wrote to Fr. Dahmen<sup>29</sup>.
- 28 Saturday. Mass in the chapel. In the evening, Confessions of the Seminarians. Letter to Fr. Tichitoli<sup>30</sup>.
- 29 Sexagesima Sunday. Early in the morning, Confessions of the Brothers and of others. At half past ten, celebrated solemn pontifical Mass in the church during which, after explaining to the people the nature, and power of the Order of the priesthood, and the ceremonies and rites of the ordination, I promoted to that same Order of the priesthood
- Ordination No. 10

<sup>26</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 344, Note 117.

<sup>27</sup> Forwards a letter of the Nuns of Bethlehem to Mr. Mullanphy. The printing of the *Ordo*. With regard to the people who stay at the church door, you may act as you suggest, but do it with prudence. The Jesuits do not want to accept the parish of St. Louis: so the people who were worked up over that were simply mistaken; you may tell those people that no priest here would ever become the head of a schismatic party, and all our clergy will ever do their duty without fear. Am at sea in regard to your contract, and hope that you may not have any occasion to repent.

<sup>28</sup> Am sending the deed of sale of the land. Gladly grant Sister Eulalia Regis Hamilton permission to make her vows. Leo Hamilton did not follow the good example of his sisters, and has left the Seminary (See *Diary*. December 26, 1825, *St. Louis Cath. Hist. Review*, Vol. IV, p. 108, Note 95). On Sister Eulalia Hamilton, (See Bannard—Lady Fullerton: *Life of Madame Duchesne*, p. 211 and foll).

<sup>29</sup> Buy at least twenty-five yards of bombazette; ask Mr. Shannon whether he wishes to sell his corn and would be willing to wait a few months for payment.

<sup>30</sup> Glad to hear that the Nuns (Loretines) arrived at Assumption. If Fr. Bigeshi does not like to have Thomas (Moore), he may be sent to Fr. Potini.—Thomas More (See *St. Louis Cath. Hist. Review*, Vol. III, p. 330, Note 75), had been sent to Louisiana on November 27, 1825, (See *Diary, Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 103), in the hope the climate would benefit his health.

- J. B. Smedts, of the Society of Jesus. Solemn Vespers in the church.
- 30 Monday. Was prevented by catarrh to celebrate Mass. Fr. Smedts was taken to Ste. Genevieve by Bro. Pifferi<sup>31</sup> and returned to St. Ferdinand.
- 31 Tuesday. For the same reason I neither celebrated Mass nor had the Conference which had been announced.

## FEBRUARY.

- 1 Wednesday. Mass in the chapel. In the evening, Confessions of the Seminarians. Wrote to the Right Rev. J. B. David, Bardstown, Ky.<sup>32</sup>
- 2 Thursday. Early in the morning Confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel. Did not assist at High Mass, as I was prevented by a cold. Solemn Vespers in the chapel. Received two letters from Fr. Tichitoli.
- 3 Friday. Early in the morning, Chapter; went to confession. Mass in the chapel.
- 4 Saturday. Mass in the chapel. Did not go to the Monastery, owing to my cold. In the evening, Confessions of the Seminarians.
- 5 Quinquagesima Sunday. Early in the morning, Confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel. Did not attend High Mass and Vespers, as I was prevented by a cold.
- 6 Monday. Spiritual Conference to the Seminarians, on the proper way of passing the Lenten season: 1. motives; 2. means. Mr. Loisel<sup>33</sup>. Mass in the chapel.
- 7 Tuesday. Spiritual Conference of the Community, as yesterday. Fr. De Neckere and Bro. Oliva. Mass in the chapel.
- 8 Ash Wednesday. Confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel. At 10 o'clock, I solemnly blessed the ashes in the

<sup>31</sup> Cf. *St. Louis Cath. Hist. Review*, Vol. III, p. 343, Note 116.

<sup>32</sup> Wrote before requesting to communicate his letter to Bp. Flaget. Is less than ever inclined to accede to the proposals of Bp. Du Bourg in regard to the postponement of the division of the Diocese. Certainly not moved by self-love, but by the good of the people of Upper La., and the desire of doing something for the Indian Missions. Has now three deacons who would be fit subjects; many people are showing disposition to become Catholics; several Seminarians have a real talent for preaching and controversy: all that will be engulfed in Lower Louisiana.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. *St. Louis Cath. Hist. Review*, Vol. III, p. 334, Note 88.

- church and assisted at High Mass, during which Fr. De Neckere preached.
- 9 Thursday. Mass in the chapel. Wrote to Fr. Tichitoli<sup>84</sup>. Received letters, 1. from Fr. Tichitoli; 2. from Fr. V. Badin; 3. from Fr. Potini; 4. from the Right Rev. J. B. David, Coadjutor of Bardstown. Answered Fr. Tichitoli<sup>85</sup>.
  - 10 Friday. Early in the morning, Chapter; went to confession. Mass in the chapel. Sent Mr. Timon.
  - 11 Saturday. Early in the morning, Mass in the chapel. Confessions of the Nuns. In the evening, Confessions of the Seminarians.
  - 12 1st Sunday in Lent. Early in the morning, Confessions of the Brothers. Assisted at High Mass, during which I preached on today's gospel. I reminded the parishioners of the precept of the annual confession and of the paschal Communion, and read the canon of the Lateran Council. Vespers in the church. Wrote: 1. to Fr. V. Badin<sup>86</sup>, Detroit; 2. to Fr. Tichitoli<sup>87</sup>.
  - 13 Monday. Spiritual Conference to the Seminarians, on Prayer (Mr. Chalon): 1. its necessity; 2. its conditions and qualities. Mass in the chapel. Answered Fr. Potini<sup>88</sup> and wrote to Fr. Borgna<sup>89</sup>. Return of Mr. Timon.
  - 14 Tuesday. Spiritual Conference of the Community, on the love of the Cross: 1. motives; 2. manner (Bro. Pifferi). Mass in the chapel.

<sup>84</sup> Courage, patience, perseverance, fortitude against insistence.

<sup>85</sup> Only one letter Fr. Tichitoli is given that day in the correspondence Notebook I. Obviously this entry was due to an oversight that record had already been made of that letter.

<sup>86</sup> Congratulations for Badin's work and success at Detroit. The Captain may come if Fr. Richard thinks him fit: he must learn elementary Latin and Moral Theology. The young man will be received. Both, however, must have dimissorial letters and be incorporated into this Diocese. Girardin left, owing to ill-health. Advise Fr. Richard I cannot send a priest of our Congregation.

<sup>87</sup> No record of this letter.

<sup>88</sup> If you had written to ask my opinion about your going back to Europe, I would have answered I did not deem it proper. You seem to be determined to go, however; yet you do not ask the necessary permissions. I do not understand your view of the matter.

<sup>89</sup> Complains of Borgna's long silence: yet himself has written several times. Is enclosing a Draft of Fr. Dahmen on Fr. Peyretti. Received all last year's copies of the *Catholic Miscellany*, but none of this year. Fr. Saulnier will send the *Ordos*; the money therefore, and from other sources to be kept to Rosati's credit. Send three barrels of sugar, two of rice, some bombazette for cassocks and linen cloth for shirts.

- 15 Wednesday. Mass in the chapel. Received a letter from Mr. Dahmen by Le Beau <sup>40</sup>. Answered it.
- 16 Thursday. Mass early in the morning. Conference to the Nuns, on the vow of Obedience: what it is; what obligations, etc.; we must obey: 1. ecclesiastical Superiors; 2. the Superiors of the Monastery; 3. etc., etc. Received two letters from Fr. Tichitoli and one from Fr. Niel, in Paris.
- 17 Friday. Early in the morning, Chapter; went to Confession. Mass in the chapel. Answered Fr. Niel's letter <sup>41</sup>. Wrote to Fr. Saulnier <sup>42</sup> for the balsam.
- 18 Ember Saturday. Early in the morning, Confessions of the Nuns. At 10 o'clock Pontifical Mass in the church, during which I promoted to the Sacred Order of the Subdiaconate *ad titulum Missionis* John Timon, acolyte of the Congregation of the Mission. In the evening Confessions of the Seminarians.
- 19 IInd Sunday in Lent. Early in the morning, Confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel. Wrote to the Nuns of the Assumption <sup>43</sup>. Assisted at High Mass, during which I preached in the Sunday's Gospel. The Church recalls to our memory today the transfiguration of our Lord Jesus Christ, in order that, by that sample of the heavenly bliss which is afforded us, the faithful may, with greater fervor and alacrity embrace the course of penance on which they have engaged. 1. The Lord takes with him the three disciples who were pre-ordained to be the witnesses of his agony in

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<sup>40</sup> Valentine Le Beau, a boy of the College.

<sup>41</sup> Glad to hear from you; thanks for the little subsidy sent; was most timely, for God has been trying us; failure of crops, one of the Convent cabins burned, etc. All our hope is in God's Providence. Yet, when I take stock of our condition, I feel uneasy; we have eight or nine hundred dollars of debts; yet I cannot turn down deserving candidates who present themselves; else we shall have no priests. Our parishes are no better; outside of two the others cannot support a priest. For want of means, nothing can be done for the Protestants or the Indians. Personally I am penniless: have great difficulty to find wherewith to defray the expenses of Pastoral visitations; had to borrow money for the last one, and for the Mission of Odin and Timon to Arkansas. Everything is as it was when you left; Fr. Audizio is at St. Louis with Fr. Saulnier; could not get anybody to take your place. Am awaiting you eagerly.

<sup>42</sup> Send balsam for Chrism. Received letter from Fr. Niel, dated Paris, November 15; he was about to leave for Rome. You will receive from Paris for me 600 francs. Fr. Niel is hopeful.

<sup>43</sup> Was glad to hear of your arrival. You found at Assumption conditions not unlike those which met you when you came to Missouri; occasions of practising poverty, mortification. Receive these crosses with thanksgiving and desire to profit by them. Continue to edify those around; live in union, charity and obedience; punctually observe your rules; this is particularly necessary in new establishments. You will practice all that faithfully if you are docile to the advice of your Director and Superior. Pray for me.

garden, in order that they might be witnesses etc. 2. Peter, because, etc. 3. Apart; because faith is sufficiently... by three etc. 4. Moses and Elias etc. 5. He speaks of his decease etc. 6. Peter: It is good for us etc. 7. etc. Vespers in the church.

- 20 Monday. Early in the morning, Spiritual Conference for the Seminarians, on the sanctification of studies: 1. necessity; 2. means (Mr. Thompson<sup>44</sup>). *Necessity*: because as men, as Christians, as clerics consecrated to God, we are called to a right and holy life; and therefore should direct all our actions to that end. Actions which by their nature are holy, are, of themselves, so directed, if accomplished in the right way; evil actions can in no way tend to that end; finally those that are indifferent may become good or bad, according to the dispositions with which they are accomplished. Of this latter nature are studies; therefore etc. 2. *Studies*, when they are sanctified, are meritorious, hence through them we may acquire immense treasures etc. 3. If we neglect to sanctify our studies, an endless series of evils will follow. For, according to St. Thomas, there are no indifferent actions *in individuo*; if done for a good purpose, then . . . ; if otherwise, then etc. But we are bound to work for a good purpose. Hence such as seek in study nothing else than vanity, self-satisfaction, expose themselves to the danger of the loss of faith, and the corruption of morals etc. *Means*: 1. They should be directed to God, in order that we should fulfill our duty etc. and render ourselves able to procure the glory of God and the salvation of the neighbor. 2. They ought to be *made orderly*. Studies that are necessary are to be preferred before all others, no matter how useful these may be; those that are useful ought to be selected according to the advice of the Director and Superior; we should refrain from an immoderate desire to read many books etc. 3. By prayers recited before, after, and even etc., etc. Mass in the chapel. Received letters from Fr. Dahmen and from Mr. Slattery.
- 21 Tuesday. Spiritual Conference of the Community, on Silence (Mr. Vergani<sup>45</sup>). Mass in the chapel. Answered the letters of Fr. Dahmen<sup>46</sup> and Mr. Slattery<sup>47</sup>.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. *St. Louis Cath. Hist. Review*, Vol. III, p. 344, Note 120.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 342, Note 109.

<sup>46</sup> Am sending you a ham. Excuse the ignorance of those people who, living far from the church, are ill-instructed. Go and marry them, provided there are to be no festivities. If you are sick, I will send Fr. Odin.

<sup>47</sup> Neither Fr. Odin nor I could without impropriety refuse your offering. We thank you for this and the continual services you render us. What you consider trouble caused us, we regard as a duty of our calling.



- 22 Wednesday. Mass in the chapel.
- 23 Thursday. Mass early in the morning. Conference to the Nuns, on the vow of Poverty. By the mail I received the following letters: 1. of the Right Rev. Bp. of New Orleans; 2. of Mr. O'Toole, Bardstown; also, all the Numbers so far issued of the *Truth Teller*, of New York. Arrival of Mr. Verhaegen<sup>49</sup>, scholastic, S. J., from St. Ferdinand, sent here by his Superior to receive the sacred Orders of the Subdiaconate, Diaconate and Priesthood; through him I received letters, 1. from Fr. Van Quickenborne; 2. from Madame Duchesne.
- 24 Friday. Feast of St. Mathias, Ap. Early in the morning Confessions of the Seminarians and the Brothers. Mass in the chapel, at which Communion. High Mass in the church. Vespers in the same place. Wrote: 1. to the Bp. of New OrL.<sup>50</sup>; 2. to Fr. Le Saulnier<sup>51</sup>; 3. to Mr. O'Toole<sup>52</sup>.
- 25 Saturday. Mass early in the morning. Confessions of the Nuns. Received a letter from the Right Rev. Bp. of Bards-

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<sup>48</sup> New Orleans, January 22, 1826. Fr. Bigeschi is more than ever bent on leaving. Fr. Tichitoli is dispirited and tells me he cannot stay alone. Send him Fr. Vergani or Paquin. These defectious are demoralizing the Diocese. Mr. Paquin would do better, on account of the Sisters. They are well; but things go so slow that, even though they are in the house, yet they cannot receive pupils. Fr. Bigeschi is rather stubborn.

<sup>49</sup> See C. P. Maes: *The Life of Rev. Charles Nerinckx*, p. 455 and foll.

<sup>50</sup> You undoubtedly supposed, in making your request, that Paquin and Vergani have finished their theology; they are through only two-thirds of it. and the remaining tracts are among the most important. I do not doubt that you will deem it necessary to let them finish their course. I see the necessity of giving a companion to Tichitoli; here is a way: you had promised me to take away Fr. Rosti from Grand Coteau; he could go to La Fourche. Vergani and Paquin will not finish their course before Pentecost next year: I know whereof I am speaking, as I am their professor. Useless to think they could finish their studies under Tichitoli. I would be glad to have the answer of Propaganda in regard to marriages. The *Ordo* was ready on time, but there was no means to send it. I ordained Fr. Smedts, S. J. Mr. Verhaegen, S. J., has just come for ordination. The affairs at St. Louis are very much of a mud-puddle.

<sup>51</sup> Could not procure for St. Mary's Seminary some help like that which you tendered in 1821 at Bp. Du Bourg's request? The Seminary is still under the same Superior, and unfortunately in the same plight. The interest you manifested for the Superior and his Community leads me to believe that you will not be offended at this request.

<sup>52</sup> On November 22, 1825, I signed the deed of the lot sold to you by Bp. Du Bourg; Mr. Flynn left it with me, together with a bond of \$400.00 payable on May 1, 1829. A few months ago he had the deed recorded, as he intended to sell; and he sent it back. That deed and the bond are the only papers relating to this business which are in my possession. The mortgage has not been left with me.

town<sup>53</sup>. Confessions of the Seminarians.

- 26 III<sup>d</sup> Sunday in Lent. Early in the morning, Confessions of the Brothers. Pontifical Mass in the chapel, during which I promoted to the sacred Order of the Subdiaconate *ad titulum paupertatis* Peter Joseph Verhaegen, acolyte of the Society of Jesus, presented by his Superior. Confessions of some lay persons. Assisted at High Mass, during which Fr. De Neckere preached. Wrote to Mr. Skinner<sup>54</sup>, Montreal. Vespers in the church.
- 27 Monday. Early in the morning Spiritual Conference to the Seminarians, on the virtue of humility: motives; means (Mr. Saucier<sup>55</sup>). Mass in the chapel.
- 28 Tuesday. Early in the morning, Spiritual Conference of the Community, on avoiding sins and failings against charity. 1. Motives: the consideration of our duties, a) as men; b) as Christians; c) as members of the same Community. 2. What should be avoided: a) thoughts; b) words; c) actions; d) omissions. (Bro. Donati<sup>56</sup>). Mass in the chapel.

### MARCH.

- 1 Wednesday. Mass in the chapel. Sent Bro. Pifferi and Mr. Labadie to Ste. Genevieve<sup>57</sup>.

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<sup>53</sup> Original in Archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery. Bardstown, February 17, 1826: Bp. David communicated to me your letter. Our desire is that you should not consent to the transfer of your Seminary to New Orleans. I wrote to your Superior in Rome to request him to insist in order that the division of the Diocese should be made soon; the letter is on its way. It is desirable that some of your Italian Confreres should do the same: as long as you are only Coadjutor you cannot act on your own account, and can do nothing for the Diocese of St. Louis, where, in my opinion, there is a better scope for good than in New Orleans.

<sup>54</sup> Editor of *The American Farmer*.—Your favors received, and all the numbers of the current volume. Paid subscription to Mr. Slattery.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. *St. Louis Cath. Hist. Review*, Vol. LLL, p. 330, Note 74.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 350, Note 140.

<sup>57</sup> Under this date, the Notebook No. I, of Bp. Rosati's Correspondence contains two letters, not recorded in the *Diary*. The first is to Bishop Du Bourg, in reply to one of this prelate received the same day and dated February 4, 1826. (See *St. Louis Cath. Hist. Review*, Vol. IV, p. 106, Note 90). After speaking of the fire at the Bethlehem Convent, he once more deploras the departure of many priests, and for the first time broaches, recommending absolute secrecy, the project of a trip to Europe in order, first, to obtain the postponement of the division; secondly to get a few priests of the Congregation to start the Louisiana Seminary; and thirdly to stimulate the zeal of the members of the Propagation of the Faith on behalf of the Mission. Fr. Brassac is going to Europe. Himself has to borrow the money for the trip: he will give as security two of his negroes. Fr. Sibourd is also about to depart: he leaves to Rosati all his furniture and asks that 500 Masses be said for his intention. Mr. Chalon wants to join the Jesuits.

- 2 Thursday. Mass early in the morning. Conference to the Nuns, on the observance of Rule. Sent Fr. Permolli and Mr. Timon to St. Michael<sup>58</sup>; they are to remain there three days, the first, to perform a marriage, etc.; the second, to preach next Sunday in English, etc. Received the speech made by the Right Rev. J. England in the House of Representatives of the United States.
- 3 Friday. Chapter. Went to confession. Mass in the chapel.
- 4 Saturday. Mass early in the morning. Confessions of the Nuns. In the evening Confessions of the Seminarrians.
- 5 IVth Sunday in Lent. Early in the morning Confessions of the Brothers at Pontifical Mass in the Community chapel, assisted by Fr. Odin, and Messrs. Paquin and Vergani. I promoted to the sacred Order of the Diaconate Peter Joseph Verhaegen, Subdeacon of the Society of Jesus. Confessions of some externs. Assisted at High Mass, during which I preached. What we read today in the Gospel affords plenty of matter for instruction. The wonder which Christ works in the presence of all strengthen our faith in the wonderful things, exceeding our human intellect, which he teaches. And just as we cannot, without an incredible audacity and impiety, deny what he did, so likewise we cannot refuse to accept his teaching without the same impiety and audacity. The multiplication of loaves is just as wonderful and incomprehensible as the transsubstantiation of the bread and wine into His body and blood, and the

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I will not permit him to go before the Summer vacation; in the meantime he ought to reflect seriously on his project.—Rosati's answer is summed up in the Notebook as follows: Knowing the state of your finances, I did not wish to write you concerning the misfortune of our Nuns: it would have been begging. I accept the 500 Intentions of Fr. Sibourd. As to the rest, I wrote you by mail; a conversation will be more satisfactory than a thousand letters.

The second letter is to Miss Camilla de Glandeves de Niozelles, Marseilles, France. This was one of the two ladies who had been Fr. Rosati's hosts during several weeks in 1816-16, when Frs. Rosati and Acquaroni stopped at Marseilles on their way from Rome to Bordeaux and ultimately to America. After re-introducing himself to the lady, Bishop Rosati rehearses briefly the story of the establishment in America, especially of the Seminary. Certain graphic details on the church of the Barrens and the stay at Mrs. Hayden's house are not found anywhere else, that we know of, at first hand; for this reason they are worth citing here: "A few log-cabins were the first edifices of the Seminary. The church was, and still is built in the same style: large logs hewn square on two sides and laid upon one another, the chinks being filled with small pieces of wood or rock and mud; the roof is of wood, and oftentimes in winter leaves free passage to rain and snow, so that we had repeatedly our floors covered with two or three inches of water; and at other times we found upon our beds on awaking in the morning, an extra blanket of snow—which was not there the night before." A note indicates the letter was "to be continued"; but of the continuation we have, so far, discovered no traces.

<sup>58</sup> Fredericktown, Mo.

multiplication of that same body and blood. Strange, therefore, and absolutely incomprehensible is the position of those Christians, professing that the Scriptures are the pure word of God, who yet deny the Transubstantiation. Strange is the conduct of those Catholics who, firmly believing this mystery, neglect nevertheless to receive the Holy Eucharist, or come to the sacred Table with evil dispositions, heaping sacrilegious communions upon sacrilegious confessions. In order that we may avoid these most great evils, last Sunday, etc.; today, etc., we shall explain what are the obstacles to confession: 1. shame; 2. fear; 3. malice; 4. pride.

1. Of course, no one denies that shame accompanies sin. And indeed it should be so. Thus it was ordained by Providence, in order that shame should frighten us from sinning. But here, the order is inverted; that shame of which I speak is not grounded on any reasonable foundation. The confession of our sins is an action good, glorious, meritorious, and commanded to us; whereas that shame will be no help whatever to him who hides his sins in confession. They indeed cannot be hid from God, for in Him we live, and move, and are."<sup>59</sup> "Where shall I go from thy spirit, and whither shall I flee from thy face?"<sup>60</sup> He is a "searcher of hearts."<sup>61</sup> Nay more, this shame is most harmful: by your silence you shall be condemned, whereas by your confession you could have been saved. On the day of judgment, "nothing is hid that shall not be revealed,"<sup>62</sup> before your parents, your relatives, your friends, the whole world." Let all then be confounded that act unjust things without cause."<sup>63</sup>—2. Fear. Loss of reputation, there is none: the priest is bound by the most strict law of secrecy, imposed upon him by natural law, divine law and ecclesiastical law, and sanctioned by punishments, both eternal and temporal; so that in no case whatever may he reveal any of the things which he has heard in confession. Loss of the esteem of the confessor himself, there is none either: for he, too, is a man; he knows by his own experience human frailty, that to fail is human, but also that to repair one's failings by confessing them is above human nature; and the greater the sins which he hears, the greater in proportion will he recognize the grace, the virtue and heroism of the penitent who confesses them. Harsh reproofs, there will be none: the priest must develop in himself a heart all

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<sup>59</sup> Act, xvii, 28.

<sup>60</sup> Ps. cxxxviii, 6.

<sup>61</sup> Ps. vii, 9.

<sup>62</sup> Matt. x, 26.

<sup>63</sup> Ps. xxiv, 4.

of charity, and imitate Christ, the prince of pastors, who used to receive sinners with kindness, and treat them with the greatest love. Heavy penances? But where are, in the present discipline of the Church, these penances? What a difference with what used to be done in the early times of the Church! with what is suffered in purgatory, with the eternal pains of hell which the divine justice etc. The *delay*, or denial of absolution. Granted that by not confessing your sins you receive absolution, of what good is this sacrilege to you? Moreover, absolution is never denied altogether: there are no irremissible sins; God's mercy far exceeds men's malice. And if absolution was ever denied you, it was not because your sin was irremissible, but because you were not yet in the proper and necessary dispositions: for instance, you refused to make restitution of what you had unjustly acquired, to remove a proximate occasion of sin, to pluck out of your heart an enemy, etc.— 3. *Malice*, which excuses lessens sins, etc. Integrity with regard to the species of sin, etc. Adam, Eve; so does the husband blame his wife, the wife her husband; the parents their children; the servants their masters, the masters their servants, etc., etc. — 4. *Pride*, which makes some confess their sins with a kind of boasting, without the least sense of shame, or sorrow and humility; which make penitents resist to the confessor, and refuse to acquiesce to their admonitions and to their judgment: This is no sin; I think this is lawful, etc. So, for instance, to sell liquor, to hold dances, to frequent dangerous company, etc. Confession, therefore, to be good, must be an accusation of one's own sins, according to species and numbers and circumstances, made humbly to the priest, etc., etc. Vespers in the church.

- 6 Monday. Early in the morning, Conference to the Seminarians, on the Exercise of the Presence of God: 1. Motives; 2. Means (Mr. Mascaroni<sup>64</sup>). Mass in the chapel. In the evening, return of Fr. Permoli and Mr. Timon. Received a letter from Fr. Audizio.
- 7 Tuesday. Mass in the chapel.
- 8 Wednesday. Mass in the same place.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Cf. *St. Louis Cath. Hist. Review*, Vol. III, p. 348, Note 134.

<sup>65</sup> Two letters were written on that day. The one is to Fr. Audizio in answer to Audizio's letter received two days before: I am well pleased with the arrangements you made with the people of Vide-Poche. Your boxes were long since sent to Ste. Genevieve.

The other is to Fr. Dahmen: Received Cologne water. Please find us vines, pear-trees, currant-bushes, melon and radish seeds.

- 9 Thursday. Mass early in the morning. Conference to the Nuns, on the obstacles to the observance of Rules; 1. false charity; 2. misguided zeal; 3. exaggerated care of one's health; 4. discouragement, etc. In the evening received by the mail a letter from Fr. Tichitoli.
- 10 Friday. Early in the morning, Chapter; went to confession. Mass in the chapel. Answered Madame Duchesne<sup>66</sup>. Wrote to Fr. Portier<sup>67</sup>.
- 11 Saturday *Sitientes*. At 10 o'clock I celebrated solemn Pontifical Mass in the church, and had an ordination in which 1. I conferred the first Tonsure on Gabriel Chalon<sup>68</sup>, of the Diocese of Lyons, incardinated to this New Orleans Diocese with the permission of his Ordinary; 2. promoted to the Diaconate John Timon, of the Congregation of the Mission; and 3. to the Priesthood John Boullier, of the Congregation of the Mission, and Peter Joseph Verhaegen, of the Society of Jesus. In the evening, Confessions of the

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<sup>66</sup> I have always desired the multiplication of establishments which, like yours, are the greatest asset of Religion in this country. Hence I shall be most glad to see one at St. Charles. I accordingly authorize you to take whatever steps you will deem proper and at any time you choose. Have just ordained Fr. Verhaegen.

<sup>67</sup> Have just heard your appointment to the Bishopric of Alabama, and, at the same time, your refusal. I was glad that you are known in Rome and hope your refusal will not be accepted. Owing to my great affection for you since I have had the privilege to know you, I feel a personal satisfaction at your elevation. I would not speak thus if the Episcopate in this country was a source of honors: but crosses, afflictions, privations, humiliations, labors, and sufferings are our lot. Courageously, therefore, take up these crosses, and you will be on the high road to heaven. Will to-morrow confer tonsure upon your cousin (Mr. Gabriel Chalon), who is departing himself excellently and has profited much by his sojourn in the Seminary. Mr. Boullier and a Jesuit are also to be ordained priests.

Another letter, to Fr. Tichitoli, was written the same day: My previous letters told you what I think about your going back to Europe. You are right in asking for a companion, but you know that it is not within my power to send you those whom you are asking for. Fr. Idin, as I told you already, is the only priest here able to work; Fr. De Neckere is sick; Fr. Permoli does not speak French; Mr. Paquin has not yet seen two-thirds of his theology, and cannot be ordained before Pentecost next year. I accordingly thought of Fr. Rosti, whom I cannot leave alone.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. *St. Louis Cath. Hist. Review*, Vol. IV, p. 85, Note 37.

<sup>69</sup> Heard from Bp. Du Bourg your determination to return to Europe. I keenly feel the loss which the Diocese will suffer thereby; but as I know this step on your part is prompted by good reasons, I pray God to shower upon you in the place of your retirement his choicest blessings. I assume the charge of the 500 Masses mentioned by Bishop Du Bourg and thank you for the ample compensation which you kindly offered me.

- Seminarians. Wrote: 1. to Fr. Sibourd<sup>69</sup>; 2. to Fr. Van Quickenborne<sup>70</sup>.
- 12 Passion Sunday. Early in the morning, Confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel. Confessions. Assisted at High Mass, during which Fr. Odin preached the sermon. Vespers in the church.
  - 13 Monday. Early in the morning, Spiritual Conference to the Seminarians, on vivifying our actions and our life by the spirit of faith; 1. Motives; 2. Means (Mr. Labadie). Mass in the chapel.
  - 14 Tuesday. Spiritual Conference of the Community, (as yesterday). Bro. Vanucci<sup>71</sup> and Mr. Paquin. Mass in the chapel.
  - 15 Wednesday. Mass in the chapel. In the evening arrival of Fr. Dahmen. Received letters from Fr. Saulnier and Fr. Verhaegen.
  - 16 Thursday. Mass early in the morning. Confessions of the Nuns.
  - 17 Friday. Early in the morning, Chapter; one Confession; went to confession. Mass in the chapel. Fr. Bouillier sang his first Mass in the chapel of the Nuns, at the occasion of the feast of the Seven Dolours of the Bl. Virgin.
  - 18 Saturday. Mass in the chapel. In the evening Confessions of the Seminarians and of Eu.
  - 19 Palm Sunday. Early in the morning, Confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel. At 9 o'clock, went to the church, blessed the Palms; after the Gospel of the Blessing of the Palms, preached: Christ, who, during all His mortal life, faithful to the practice of humility, had always shunned honors, today prepares a triumph to himself. Great mystery, this. On the tenth day of the month, according to the precept of Leviticus, was to be prepared the lamb to be immolated on the feast of the Pascha. This lamb figured Christ. Christ, the victim to be immolated is brought to Jerusalem with the pomp of a triumph. Moreover, he was to be recognized by the Jewish people as the Messias promised to them, according to the words of the prophet.

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<sup>70</sup> I delayed ordaining Fr. Verhaegen a little more than you anticipated because I like to hold Ordinations on the days appointed by the church; we had, moreover, some candidates of our own. Fr. Verhaegen has edified us very much, as had done Fr. Smedts. I congratulate you on getting this addition, and pray God to continue to give you increase.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. *St. Louis Cath. Hist. Review*. Vol. III, p. 352, Note 147.

He, therefore, is received as such; as such he is hailed: Hosanna! His triumph takes place amidst the waving of palms. He indeed was to conquer, by his passion and death, hell, sin and death. A king of peace, he is received with the waving of olive branches, as he was to reconcile mankind with God by his death. These are the mysteries which we commemorate today. Fitting it was indeed that we should take part in this triumph, as we, like the crowds who received him today, are of the numbers of those for whom he was to die. This is the purpose of this procession, whereby, going to meet Christ, we emulate the pious desire of the crowds to see him; we walk with palms and branches of trees, not only to recall to our memories the significance of them, but also to urge us on to share in the struggle of Christ. We should root up habits of sin: they will serve to the triumph of Christ; we should struggle against the spiritual foes of our souls; the world, the devil, the flesh. The olive branches are the sign of our reconciliation to God. When the procession returns to the church, only a few chanters enter at once into the edifice; the door is shut, and the rest remain outside. The chanters inside start a hymn; the clergy outside repeat that hymn. Before Christ's death heaven was closed to men; true, there were relations between the citizens of the heavenly court and the pilgrim sons of Adam; yet, after death the latter were unable to enter into that motherland. Christ by his death unlocked the gates of the heavenly Jerusalem. All these things, etc. Solemn Vespers in the church.

- 20 Monday. Early in the morning, Spiritual Conference to the Seminarians, on the Devotion to the passion of Christ (Mr. Jourdain.) Mass in the chapel.
- 21 Tuesday. Spiritual Conference of the Community, on the Passion of Christ (Fr. De Neckere). Mass in the chapel.
- 22 Wednesday. Mass in the chapel early in the morning. Confessions of the Nuns. At 4 o'clock, *Tenebrae* in the church. In the evening Confessions of the Seminarians.
- 23 Maundy Thursday. Early in the morning, Confessions of the Brothers. Went to confession, At 9 o'clock in the church; after None Pontifical Mass. After the Gospel I preached and explained today's ceremonies. Consecration of the Holy Oils. Communion of the clergy and the people. After Vespers I washed the feet to twelve of the clergy, some priests, and the others inferior clerics. At 4 o'clock *Tenebrae* in the church.



- 24 Good Friday. At 10 o'clock, in the church. Preached. At 4 o'clock *Tenebrae*.
- 25 Holy Saturday. At 8:30 went to church. After the reciting of Sexte, I explained the ceremonies, blessed the fire; then took place the blessing of the paschal candle; None was recited, I blessed the Baptism Fount, and baptized an infant, the daughter of Benedict Hayden. Litany; Mass. In the evening, Confessions of the Seminarians and of others.
- 26 Easter Sunday. Early in the morning, Confessions of the Brothers and of others. Received letters: 1. from Fr. Dahmen; 2. from the Right Rev. Bp. of New Orleans<sup>72</sup>; 3. from Fr. Borgna; 4. from Fr. Boccardo (Italy<sup>73</sup>); 5. from Fr. Acquaroni (Italy<sup>74</sup>); 6. the news of the death of Mrs. Fournier<sup>75</sup>. After the chanting of Tierce I celebrated solemn Pontifical Mass in the church, and Fr. De Neckere preach-

<sup>72</sup> Original in Archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery; a short note: Wrote to you lately; since then nothing new; am strengthened more and more in my purpose, hence hope to see you in the latter part of April. Enclose a letter of Fr. Boullier's father; I answered he is well.

<sup>73</sup> Angelo Boccardo, priest C. M. Bishop Rosati had long desired to have him in America and intended to make him Director of the Novices. He indeed came to America in 1827, but owing to an unfortunate accident, which we shall hear from our *Diary*, sailed back immediately for Italy, to the great dismay of Bishop Rosati.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. *St. Louis Cath. Hist. Review*, Vol. III, p. 318, Note 20.

<sup>75</sup> Victoire Françoise Du Bourg, Bishop Du Bourg's elder sister, was born at Bordeaux in 1763, shortly before her parents Pierre Du Bourg and Marguerite Armand de Bogluzan went over to San Domingo, where Louis William Valentin, the future Bishop, was born in 1766. No doubt but, like the other children of the family, Victoire Françoise was sent to France for her education. When and where she married Antoine Fournier, we cannot tell, but she was, it seems, a widow in 1808, at the time she extended the hospitality of her Baltimore home to Mrs. Seton. Some time after 1815, she, together with her brother, Louis Joseph Du Bourg, "le beau Du Bourg", as he was styled, moved back to Bordeaux, 7, Rue de l'Eglise St. Seurin, and both were active in helping the Louisiana missions. Mrs. Fournier died December 5, 1825 in her home. Following is the entry of her demise, in the Register of Funerals of St. Seurin's parish:

'In the year one thousand eight hundred and twenty-five, the sixth day of the month of December, were celebrated in the church of St. Seurin the religious obsequies of Lady Victoire Françoise Du Bourg, sixty-two years of age, born in Bordeaux, widow of Mr. Antoine Fournier, who deceased yesterday at one o'clock in the morning, having received the Sacrament of Extreme Unction. During her long illness she had received Communion several times. In witness thereof I, the undersigned, pastor of this church, have drawn up the present Act.

FUILHADE (Failhade?)

Pastor of St. Seurin.'

ed. Answered Frs. Dahmen <sup>76</sup>, Borgna <sup>77</sup>, and Saulnier <sup>78</sup>, and sent the Holy Oils to the latter.

- 27 Monday. Mass in the chapel. Confession of a lay person. Assisted at High Mass, during which I preached: We must rise again with Christ, and take care that our resurrection be like the resurrection of Christ; 1. true; 2. perfect; 3. for ever.
- 28 Tuesday. Mass in the chapel. Assisted at High Mass.
- 29 Wednesday. Mass in the chapel.
- 30 Thursday. Mass early in the morning in the same place. Conference to the Nuns, on our Spiritual Resurrection with Christ.
- 31 Friday. Early in the morning, Chapter; went to confession. Mass in the chapel.

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<sup>76</sup> Am sending Holy Oils for yourself and Fr. Olivier. Open the barrel of rice and take what you need; keep also six bottles of oil. Am sending you some sausage.

<sup>77</sup> Your letter received. Am sending you a barrel of corn meal and a box containing sausage.

<sup>78</sup> Am sending Holy Oils for your self, Fr. Audizio, Fr. Savine and the Jesuits.



# ST. LOUIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW

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Issued Quarterly

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ASSOCIATE EDITORS

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*Volume IV*

*OCTOBER 1922*

*Number 4*

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PUBLISHED BY THE CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SAINT LOUIS

209 WALNUT STREET, ST. LOUIS, MO.

# Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis

Established February 7th, 1917

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General Correspondence should be addressed to Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., St. Louis University, St. Louis, Mo .

Exchange publications and matter submitted for publication in the St. Louis CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW should be sent to the Editor-in-chief, Rev. John Rothensteiner, 1911 N. Taylor Ave.

Remittances should be made to Edward Brown, Treasurer, 511 Locust St., St. Louis, Mo.

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# AN APPEAL

## HISTORICAL MATTER DESIRED

by the Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis



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Manuscripts; narratives of early Catholic settlers or relating to early Catholic settlements; letters:

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## FATHER EDMOND SAULNIER

The pioneer priests of one hundred years ago were kept so busy going over their wide territory preaching, instructing, attending to laborious sick calls, building up missions and stations, that they apparently had but little leisure for literary pursuits. But most of these hardy men were men of culture, educated in European colleges, seminaries and universities and could never entirely forget the careful training of their early days. Thus we find in them a taste for local history, which we in vain look for in a later generation of missionaries. Bishop Rosati of St. Louis carefully preserved every letter which he received and a rough draft of every letter which he wrote, with the intention to serve later historical research. Also the hero of this sketch, Father Edmond Saulnier, kept a file of letters; he gave them to his bishop, but after some time asked Rosati to return them, lest they be lost. These letters are found in the Rosati collection at the Chancery Office of the Archdiocese of St. Louis.

It is quite probable that Saulnier knew and wished that some time, perhaps after a hundred years, an inquisitive writer would pore over these letters and also over his own, written to Rosati, to satisfy his curiosity and to collect historical notes. And these men of a hundred years ago, knew the art now nearly lost, the art of writing letters. In our archives are found about one hundred letters, sent by Saulnier to the address of Bishop Rosati, from December 1819 to February 1843. They are most human and interesting. They give a faithful pen picture of the period in which Saulnier lived. In reproducing this picture I do not intend to deliver a panegyric on the virtues and labors of the "great missionary," Father Saulnier. Saulnier was not a great man. He could not preach, he was not a learned theologian nor a forceful character, but played a part in the history of the diocese of St. Louis and he is the only French secular priest who lived to see the transition of the diocese of St. Louis from the French period to the modern period. We describe the life and character of Father Saulnier as it is reflected from his letters with all his defects, errors, labors and virtues.

Edmond Saulnier was born at Bordeaux in Southern France, 13 March, 1798. In Bordeaux he was also educated, but in 1815 and 1816 we find him at Paris in a school on Rue du Regard. (Notice in his memoranda.) At Bordeaux he received tonsure on March 31, 1817; there he also met the priests and students who had attached themselves to Bishop Du Bourg of Louisiana to labor in the missions of Louisiana. A true Gascon, he was quick to take fire, therefore he resolved to leave home and family to work for the souls of the lost sons of France on the banks of the Mississippi. So he approached DuBourg and asked for admission into the diocese of Louisiana. Not

being ready, however, to leave with any of the parties sent across the Atlantic by Bishop DuBourg, he followed later, it seems, alone, and arrived at the Barrens, Perry Co., Missouri, in May 1819. Seven months before his coming the wandering Seminary of Bishop DuBourg had found a fixed abode there, with Father Rosati, C.M., as Rector. At the Barrens Saulnier studied philosophy under Philip Borgna who, on Jan. 5, 1819, had arrived from Italy with Father Cellini.

In November 1819 Bishop DuBourg opened St. Louis Academy on Second street and gave to the newly ordained priest Francis Niel the important offices of Pastor of St. Louis church and Director of the College. He found it difficult, however, to provide the new institution with professors. So he called the young cleric Edmond Saulnier from the Seminary to teach in the place of Perrodin<sup>1</sup>. On December 4th (1818) he left the Barrens on an old and stiff horse and made his way through the hills on the West side of the river. He arrived in St. Louis on December 8th, having spent the feast of the Immaculate Conception on horseback in the wilderness.

There is no need to dwell on the conditions prevailing at St. Louis Academy; we refer our readers to the article from the versatile pen of Father Garraghan, S.J.<sup>2</sup> Just one month after the arrival of Saulnier the new brick Cathedral, built by DuBourg, or rather its main nave, was blessed by the Venerable Servant of God, Felix de Andreis, the Vicar General of the St. Louis District of the Diocese of Louisiana, January 9th, 1820. DuBourg sang the Pontifical Mass with as many or as few ministers as could be found. The parish now, at least, had a church; it may have looked more like a long and narrow bowling alley, but the bare walls were richly decorated with valuable rugs and costly paintings which DuBourg had brought over from France; the French Revolution had ruined many noble families of France financially, and works of art could be bought at bargain prices. The easy going Creole population of St. Louis was very much in need of regular pastoral care. For over fifteen years, since Father Janin had preceded the Spanish garrison for the South, services and instructions were held at irregular intervals and abuses were prevailing. Father Niel, used to the simple life of his home parish at Saint-Antonin, in Southern France, was shocked, and in Lent 1820 he preached a series of forcible sermons against the scandalous balls which were held by the members of his flock (letter 20 March, 1820). He created a sensation and raised angry feelings without any perceptible results. In the same year Bishop Du Bourg made peace with Father Antony Sedella, the pastor of the Cathedral of New Orleans and the unruly faction in his episcopal city and left for New Orleans, on November 20th, 1820.

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<sup>1</sup> The latter left the theological career, went to Louisiana and married the daughter of Mrs. Smith of Grand Coteau; as such he played a part in the life of Father Cellini.

<sup>2</sup> St. Louis Catholic Historical Review, I, p. 2, 85.



Saulnier catechized the colored children of the parish; he went into his work heart and soul; he even intended to copy a biography of the holy Negro, S. Benedict of San Filadelfo, which he found in Rosati's library, to draw from it material for his instructions. Little did the black Creole pickaninnies of pure and mixed blood care about the old Sicilian saint who never in his life instructed a negro. Also other impractical ideas went through his head and through the pen into his letters: he desired to bring the glad tidings of salvation to the wigwams of the benighted Indians of the West; then he thought of joining the Lazarists, like Fathers Dahmen and Cellini and others, to give himself entirely to God by the vows of religion. On March 8, 1822, he wrote: *Volo facere Domine quod vis, quia vis, sicut vis, fiat voluntas Dei in superioribus erga me*<sup>3</sup>. But Bishop Du Bourg would not listen to the fancies of the young man; he advised him to become a secular priest and serve his French countrymen in St. Louis, instead of the Red Man on the Western border lines of Missouri.

When, in fall 1822, Bishop Du Bourg arrived in St. Louis from New Orleans, he gave Saulnier the minor Orders and Subdeaconship on September 20th, Deaconship on September 21st and the Holy Priesthood on September 22nd.

The Academy of St. Louis did not prosper; there were few pupils and, in spite of the dearth of priests for the missions, there were four priests acting as teachers (letter of 14 Nov., 1822): Niel, Michaud, Deys and Saulnier. Niel was sickly; his health went up and down like a thermometer (letter 20th March, 1820); the professors being young and inexperienced, there were grave disorders. Saulnier, tired of toiling amongst these "butterflies," tried to get away: he wanted to go to lower Louisiana, wherefore he handed his resignation to the Bishop; but Du Bourg would not hear of it.

The main difficulty at that time were the finances of St. Louis Parish. There was a debt of 4,500 dollars on the Cathedral. The money had been advanced by the trustees of the church, Bernard Pratte, Auguste Chouteau (the founder of St. Louis) and his step-brother, Pierre Chouteau. These gentlemen wanted their money. But collections amongst the Catholics of the city were hopelessly small. The people had not as yet been trained to understand that the duty of maintaining the church must rest on them exclusively. Up to 1804 the Spanish Government had provided for everything and the tithes were only nominal. The American Catholics of those days relied upon the contributions which streamed into the country from Europe. Besides, business was in a most deplorable condition.

Niel tried his very best to satisfy the creditors; of the offerings of the faithful he retained hardly anything for himself, living personally like a beggar—yea, he contracted a personal debt of 1,200 dollars which remained unpaid for many years. He tried to get money at St. Charles by instituting a lottery, without success; then

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<sup>3</sup> I shall do, O Lord, what Thou wilt, because Thou wilt and as Thou wilt; may the will of God be done by the will of my superiors.

he arranged another lottery at St. Louis to save the church block, but also this enterprise ended in smoke. On December 17, 1822, the legislature of Missouri authorized the trustees of St. Louis parish to sell as much of the church block as was necessary to indemnify themselves. Wherefore on September 16, 1823, four lots on Walnut Street were sold, but they realized only 1,204 dollars. Father Niel himself was the buyer; on May 25, 1824, he transferred the lots to Pratte and the Chouteaus who, being of kindly disposition to the church, unlike their brother trustees in other parts of the country, in July 1828, gave them back to Bishop Rosati for a note of \$4,748.28 at six per cent interest. The difficulties caused by the debt were drawn out into the year 1830; in 1829 the church owed to the trustees \$5,230.60, including the unpaid interest. The debt was paid by Bishop Rosati in three installments from moneys obtained in France by Bishop Du Bourg, then Ordinary of Montauban in Southern France.

On December 2, 1824 Father Niel had been commissioned by Bishop Du Bourg to go to France to collect funds and to gain priests and students for the diocese of Louisiana. He left in March 1825, after a splendid farewell celebration arranged by the good citizens of St. Louis. But in July he was still in Philadelphia, since the condition of his health did not permit him to go on board a ship. Late in summer he crossed the Atlantic. Between spells of sickness he journeyed all over France introducing the Society for the Propaganda of Faith, which had been organized at Lyons by Father Inglesi, gave lectures on the missions of Louisiana, Missouri and Illinois and collected considerable sums. This money however was used by Bishop Du Bourg for New Orleans and the missions in Lower Louisiana. For, as soon as Bishop Du Bourg changed his residence from St. Louis to New Orleans, he seemed to lose all interest in the missions in Missouri and Illinois. One priest after another was taken away from Missouri and sent to some mission in Lower Louisiana; he tried to transplant the momentum of the religious houses to Louisiana; he even thought of erecting another seminary there, a measure which would inevitably have ruined the establishment at the Barrens. He also maintained that all the books, paintings, church regalia, etc., which he had gathered in Europe in 1816-1817 were his personal property and demanded that these things be sent to him to New Orleans. In June 1824, Saulnier had sent him seventeen boxes of books; he asked for the paintings; Saulnier hesitated and only when Du Bourg insisted, he sent him the pictures of S. Matthew, S. Ann and S. Mary of Egypt, and a large valuable Crucifix.

Du Bourg and his Vicar General Rosati, after the departure of Niel had appointed Saulnier quasi-Pastor of the Cathedral. On March 25th, 1824, Rosati was consecrated Bishop of Tenagra and Coadjutor of Bishop Du Bourg and had taken up his residence at the Barrens. The Seminary could not dispense with the services of Rosati, wherefore he did not reside at St. Louis; his presence in the Seminary was far more urgent.

To the priests, at that time, according to circumstances, were given two kinds of faculties: the minor and major faculties. The minor faculties were similar to those which an ordinary priest enjoys to-day; the major faculties included the power to dispense from certain impediments and were given only to priests who were the heads of distant missions. Because Saulnier could easily communicate with the Bishop or his Vicar General, he enjoyed only the minor faculties. On December 31, 1824, the Bishop, as a New Year's present, sent to Saulnier the communication that he had appointed the Jesuit Father Van Quickenborne, the Superior of the house at Florissant, his Vicar General, and that Saulnier had to apply to Van Quickenborne for eventual dispensations. Saulnier was utterly disappointed; in a series of letters he complained bitterly, inveighing against the Jesuits as such, and expostulating with the Bishop: how could he run after the Jesuit who was now at Florissant, then at St. Charles or Portage; he would need the offices of a special messenger for these errands. Besides, the fees for dispensations had been a source of revenue for the college and the meagre household of the priests. As it was, all of them were poor enough; his own cassock was so worn, that the ladies of the city were taking up a collection to supply him with a new one. He was so excited over this "chicanery" that he could not say his office (19 April 1825). And, on May 29th, to prove that it was impossible to run after Van Quickenborne for dispensations, he stated that a Miss Robidoux had called that afternoon and wanted to be married the same evening, because her Protestant bridegroom had to start for the mines the following morning; this case was perplexing since the woman had been married before in Detroit. He was tired of this business; if he was to be harassed in such a manner, he wanted to be relieved of his position and removed to New Orleans or some other mission. Rosati complained to Bishop Du Bourg of Saulnier's arrogance; the latter was ordered to apologize which he did in a letter of July 31, 1825, but in the same missive Saulnier turns again against the Bishop and loads him with reproaches. Later on the major faculties were restored to him.

On April 25th Saulnier asked for a priest who might be sent to the English Settlement at James' (Prairie du Long, Ill.) and to O'Hara's (now Ruma, Ill.) Saulnier was actually alone in St. Louis, the priests at the college were gone and the college itself had sunk to utter insignificance. He feared that it would have to be closed (15 Nov. 1825) The president, Mr. Brun, he writes, is a pious man, but otherwise amounts to nothing. Mr. Shepard is a Protestant and the revenues are not sufficient to pay the meagre salaries: 200 and 400 Dollars. He wants Rosati to send him Father De Neckere for the College and for the parish, especially for the English sermons. Since Mr. Shepard is a Protestant, he is out of place at the Catholic institution; it is true, Father De Neckere is sickly, but no other work is required of him but a sermon on Sundays; if De Neckere cannot come, please send Mr. Audizio. But Rosati answered, that he needed both

at the Barrens; he even considered the removal of another professor, Mr. Demaillez who was teaching French. This was the limit: on Dec. 6th 1825 he speaks daggers and poniards: Am I to be killed by force? I am still sick in consequence of a sick-call to Edwardsville on August 19th. I am expected to do all the work in St. Louis and in addition to provide for Vide Poche. "If I succumb, they shall bury me and all is over...if you want me to die, all right, I shall die!" he exclaims with the pathos of a true son of Gascony. "But I refuse to let Mr. Demaillez depart, for he is also chanter at the church. You have to send me Audizio by all means, for Vide Poche. The college is very shaky. Brun wants to make a contract and rent it for six years, but I am against this plan; a priest must stand at the head of it, not such a bore like this Mr. Brun etc."

What could Rosati do? He yielded and sent him Audizio. But Saulnier soon found that the good Italian priest knew no decent French and hardly any English. So Audizio returned to the Barrens (June 17th 1826) and the ardently desired Fleming De Neckere arrived, end of May 1826. He had been ordained at the Barrens on October 13th 1822. The people were delighted. His English sermons attracted great crowds. Also the affairs of the College were regulated (Jan. 4th 1826) for one year: Saulnier stood at the head of it.

In Lent of the same year dispensation had been given for two weddings; the fee was 100 dollars each, which fee was promptly paid; but Saulnier was afraid of coming trouble; such an exorbitant tax could not be maintained long.

But the exultations over De Neckere's arrival were shortlived. We have given the history of the fight for regular English services in a former issue of this Review<sup>4</sup>. When De Neckere was gone (August 1828), gossip went high. Saulnier was openly accused of jealousy: since he could not preach himself, his enemies said, he had ill-treated poor De Neckere until the latter fled in dismay. The rumors were not entirely unfounded, but in a letter of Sept. 2nd Saulnier energetically protests against such an insinuation. He says, the Protestant preachers are triumphant, for as long as De Neckere was in St. Louis, their churches were deserted, but now the new Presbyterian church is finished and all the Americans run there, instead of, hitherto, to the Cathedral.

When Bishop Rosati did not answer, the blood rose into the Gascon's brains and he wrote on September 12th: "It seems, that I am to be condemned to all the devils and that all maledictions must be hurled against me, but I can only tremble, if I consider my own ignorance and how little fruit I bear, because I cannot announce the word of God, because I am intellectually so limited, not knowing how to direct myself and others." He says all Flemings (meaning also the Flemish Jesuits), who so far came to St. Louis, had only caused trouble. On Oct 10th he excuses himself for his arrogant letter.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. II, p. 5.

He was again all alone. He could not understand why no priest wanted to stay with him at St. Louis. And there is so much work here; besides, from all parts of Illinois come demands for priests, even from Prairie du Chien, far up the Mississippi. There is nobody to take care of Vide Poche and also Kahokia is without pastor, since old Father Savine has left his post to go to Lower Louisiana, on May 26th 1826. The College has been closed or rather it has not been reopened since De Neckere and Desmallez were gone. A gentleman by the name of Servari who had offered his service a year before, was teaching school to about ten to twelve pupils (Letter 27th Feb. 1827.)

In fall 1826 a report spread in the newspapers that Bishop Du Bourg had resigned. On Ascension Day 1826 he had preached in the Cathedral of St. Louis, Saulnier accompanied him to the boat and on June 1st he sailed from New York, never to return. His resignation, which he had sent in February, was accepted by the Holy Father on the very day when Du Bourg's ship entered the port of Havre (July 2nd.) On July 18th DuBourg from the Seminary of Angers sent a letter to the "Ami de la Religion," stating that it was not ill health which moved him to resign, but other important reasons. The Catholic Miscellany said: Vexations and oppositions caused his resignation. (Letter 21st Oct. 1826.) Du Bourg was abandoned by everybody; towards the end, on account of the Seminary he had lost also the friendship of Rosati. To his many plans the priests showed a passive resistance; even his friend, Bishop Flaget opposed him, still more the Archbishop Marechal of Baltimore; at last he imagined that there existed against him a secret alliance of the clergy. The Nullifidians, Freemasons and bad Catholics of New Orleans hated and culminated him. And in addition to all this he grieved over the Inglesi incident, which had brought him into disrepute at home and abroad. He preferred to go. And he was so poor when he left his diocese that he had to borrow forty dollars from Father Saulnier because he did not have enough money to pay his fare. Later on the Bishop paid the money back to Saulnier's mother.

At first no one in St. Louis and New Orleans believed the reports about DuBourg's resignation, because, before leaving, he had spoken of many plans for the future, not mentioning his intention to resign to anyone. But on the eve of the consecration of Bishop M. Portier (Nov. 4th 1826) the documents arrived in the episcopal residence at St. Louis, containing the news of the demission of Du Bourg and the appointment of Rosati to the office of Administrator of the two dioceses of St. Louis and New Orleans (until then one diocese of Louisiana) with residence at New Orleans (2nd July 1826). But although Rosati refused to reside at New Orleans and finally (20th March 1827) was nominated Bishop of St. Louis and Administrator of New Orleans, he resided but little at St. Louis; mostly he sojourned in the missions of Lower Louisiana, until, on May 16th 1830 he could

consecrate in the Cathedral of New Orleans his friend and pupil De Neckere to the bishopric of New Orleans.

On November 5th 1826, on the day of the consecration of Bishop Portier, the German priest Father Anthony Joseph Lutz, arrived from Paris. His life for 21 years was intimately connected with that of Father Saulnier. Great friends they never were, the Gascon and the Frank from Baden. At least Father Saulnier in his letters hardly ever has a good word for Father Lutz.

On February 24th 1827 Father Saulnier resumed his agitation for the College on Second Street. He says, that Mullanphy donated to the Madams of the Sacred Heart a plot for a girls' school. He thinks, that also a boys' school ought and could be opened in connection with the Cathedral. He wants Rosati to send Chiaveroti to him, who had arrived with Lutz. Servari, Chiaveroti and himself could easily maintain the school. He advises him to sell his farm on the River des Peres for this purpose. On July 23rd 1827 he writes that the Jesuits intended to re-open the College on Second Street; but the affair came to nothing. On June 10th 1828 he says that Servari (*bon diable*, who talks of getting married, then of resuming his studies for the priesthood), himself and the Cathedral clergy contemplated to re-open and manage the Academy in fall. But Rosati refused to enter upon these plans. On Nov. 2nd the Jesuit P. Verhaegen, opened a college on Ninth and Washington Avenue thus absorbing the former Academy near the Cathedral. In 1832 the college building was changed into a chapel in honor of the Mother of God, in which at first Mass was said for the Catholic negroes. This chapel had room for about six hundred people (Rosati to Timon, 26, Feb. 1832). On Septuagesima Sunday 1834 Father Lutz held services in this chapel for the Germans, for the first time.<sup>5</sup>

At that time there was not a single priest in all Illinois. Old Kaskaskia was vacant and was visited only occasionally by the Lazarists Timon and Cellini; also Prairie du Rocher was without a pastor and ancient Kohokia as well. Not before July 1830 could Bishop Rosati provide for these old parishes: Paillasson went to Kaskaskia, Doutreligne to Kahokia; both, however, stayed only a short time. Saulnier had an assistant in Father Lutz who, in spite of his defective French, attended the two parishes of Vide Poche and Kahokia. Saulnier repeatedly asked for another assistant, but the Bishop had nobody to send. After, on June 29th 1828 he had ordained Regis Loisel, he sent him to the Cathedral<sup>6</sup>; but Father Lutz on July 30th went to the Kansas Indians and Father Loisel was sick most of the time and bed-ridden in the house of his mother. Lutz returned in December, but in spring he went North to preach to the Indians in the Northwest Territory and Loisel went back to the Seminary. Neither did he fare better with Father Dussaussoy whom Rosati appointed assistant at

<sup>5</sup> Cath. Hist. Review of St. Louis, Vol. IV, 1.5

<sup>6</sup> Cath. Hist. Review of St. Louis, Vol. I, 1.

the Cathedral in August 1828. Dussaussoy, a pupil of the Jesuits, had come from S. Michel, Louisiana. Dussaussoy was expected to teach catechism every Sunday before and after Vespers, besides he was to attend Kohokia, Edwardsville and Vide Poche, together with Loisel, when the latter was not in bed. The English sermon was to be at nine o'clock. *Voilà de bonnes choses*, wrote Saulnier (29 July 1828); nine o'clock is too early for the English sermon, it ought to be after High-mass<sup>7</sup>. And how could Dussaussoy give catechetical instructions three times each Sunday, twice for the children and once for the adults and at the same time attend the outlying missions? But—he writes—*melius est obedire quam jubere, quamvis hanc sententiam degusto, mea natura potestatem amat*<sup>8</sup>. There Saulnier spoke the truth!

On August 18th Saulnier again uses hard words on account of the entire arrangement concerning the instructions, the sermons and the missions. Besides, he writes on February 12th 1829, Dussaussoy is lazy, he only thinks of eating, drinking, sleeping, perspiring and keeping us company; he refuses to obey me, etc. But if a person reads the letters of Dussaussoy of the same period, things sound entirely different. He was weak and the transition from the soft climate of Louisiana to the rough and changeable weather of Missouri was too dangerous. He was sick continually with some pulmonary trouble. Finally he was compelled to leave. On April 11th 1829, with Father Van Quickenborne, S. J., he left for the East to recuperate in France. Saulnier accused Van Quickenborne of having enticed Dussaussoy away.

From Saulnier's letters we also learn the history of the Proper of St. Louis (the offices in addition to those of the Roman Breviary). Du Bourg had obtained the oral permission from Pope Pius VII (in 1815) to compile his own church calendar. Du Bourg selected one hundred feasts, the Offices of the Passion of Christ, some feasts of the Blessed Virgin and a great number of feasts of Saints from many calendars of the Latin Church and the Roman Martyrology. Mostly he selected such saints who had preached the Gospel to pagan nations. Because he did not have approved offices for all these feasts, he composed the lessons and orations himself, like those for the feasts of S. Frumentius of Abyssinia, S. Boniface of Germany, St. Bruno-Boniface of Russia etc. The Proper was printed by Cummins at St. Louis, but it was not finished before November 1822. The Ordo was made by Rosati, but so arbitrarily, that each year several saints was missing, even some of the general Roman Calendar. (Letter 6. Dec. 1825). For 1827 Saulnier made the Ordo for the first time. Du Bourg himself had commanded him to omit the office of S. Ferdinand, because the

<sup>7</sup> Loisel spoke English well; Saulnier himself after the departure of De Neckere had preached both in English and French at High Mass and, after a while to the great dissatisfaction of the Irish had put off the English sermon to the afternoon.

<sup>8</sup> It is better to obey than to command; I understand that this sentence is true, but my nature prefers to command.

lessons relate, that the saint personally used to carry wood on his shoulders wherewith to burn heretics. The former manuscripts of the Ordo compiled by Rosati he compares in a letter to the tower of Babel. But under the direction of Saulnier also there came an unceasing rain of criticisms about the Ordo and poor Saulnier who had so loudly reproached Rosati, came to the conclusion that it was impossible to issue an Ordo entirely free of errors. The irregular, always vacillating calendar of Du Bourg was abolished, when Anthony Blanc became Bishop of New Orleans in 1835 and when Saulnier, the editor of the Ordo was moved to Arkansas Post. St. Louis and New Orleans then adopted the simple Ordo of Baltimore.

Towards 1827 the quarrel about the debt resting on Du Bourg's Cathedral broke out a second time in earnest. A Madame Laquaisse had willed her property to Saulnier in favor of the church, but nobody would buy it for a decent sum. Saulnier, like so many others, had come to America, full of holy enthusiasm, to work for the salvation of souls. And now it was the care for the miserable mammon which took up all the forces of his activity. Saulnier was disappointed. In the mean time everybody saw, that something must be done in the matter of arranging for a larger church. Laville and Morton, the builders of the Courthouse presented plans for an entirely new church; an Irishman by the name of English, offered to enlarge the old church. To the debt resting on the Cathedral were added the personal debts of Father Niel, which Rosati paid upon the advice of Saulnier. That the streets were to be paved, at the expense of nine hundred dollars. The city wanted twelve feet of church property (cemetery) to widen Market Street, in short, there were difficulties on all sides, so that Saulnier did not know what to do. In addition the rumor spread through the city that the Jesuits, in connection with their college, were going to open a church, in which there would be a sermon in English every Sunday. Saulnier, on May 9th 1829, warned Rosati in energetic words, never to give his permission, because then the Cathedral would be vacant on Sundays and everybody would run after the Jesuits.

In his financial difficulties Saulnier once spoke to Bryan Mullanphy. Mullanphy said, that, as far as the Sisters of Charity were concerned, Saulnier should let him know what they needed; he was going to consider them as his own daughters; as long as he lived, they should not suffer for anything; he would pay all their expenses. But when Saulnier cautiously asked him to finish the Cathedral church and ask for this good work a perpetual solemn anniversary, to be held at the Cathedral, also that he might found an Orphan Asylum for boys, Mullanphy answered, Saulnier should not dictate to him what good works he was to do; he would in time think of this himself and he would await, what idea God would put into his mind. (January 19th 1829).

On February 1829 Saulnier wrote to Bishop Rosati that he gave the last sacraments to Mr. Auguste Chouteau who received them with



great devotion. Auguste Chouteau was the same man who on Feb. 15th 1764 had directed the founding of St. Louis. It seems that Auguste Chouteau had been a practical Catholic all his life—at least according to Colonial ideas. On February 24th Chouteau died; the following day Saulnier sang the exsequial Requiem; he received three dollars and fifty cents for his services—also according to colonial ideas!

The receipts of the church and of the clergy must have been deplorably miserable. On February 24th, 1829 Saulnier writes that he would like to have a salary of two hundred dollars, or at least of one hundred dollars. The accidentals were beggarly; the Sunday collection brought two to three dollars. The Christmas collection, which Saulnier used to take up in person, amounted to 25 dollars in 1825. Finally Saulnier was tired of all this stinginess and penury. On February 12th, 1829, he writes he was tempted to have himself suspended, to get rid of all the misery. He insists that the Bishop should send him to Kahokia or somewhere else. On May 16th, 1830, he writes, if Bishop Rosati should come to St. Louis, he should please not bring along De Neckere, who had just got over a spell of serious illness at Ste. Genevieve. Saulnier says: "I endeavor to overcome all prejudice against De Neckere and I am glad that he is to be Bishop of New Orleans, but the people of St. Louis are so enthusiastic over him, that his presence in St. Louis would injure the authority of Rosati and his own."

In 1830 the Bishop and his people had agreed that the old partly dilapidated Cathedral should not be enlarged, but that the city would build a new Cathedral. Collectors were sent out, but these returned discouraged and disgusted. Saulnier saw that he could not collect more than four thousand dollars in the city. Poor prospects indeed! Besides, one of his assistants had run away: Father Mascaroni had returned to the Barrens; also Rodier left. In place of the latter, an Alsatian named Zender, had come, "an undefinable creature," wrote Saulnier—"how such a subject could ever have been ordained (Letter 2 June, 1830), full of pretensions, extremely suspicious, with truly Ostrogoth ideas? he believes that everybody thinks only of him and speaks of him alone; he demands of the negress Margarite that she should clip his hair and his tonsure; everybody can see that he is an imbecile, an idiot," etc. No doubt Saulnier was an expert in criticizing and abusing his fellow priests!

At this time a peculiar affair occurred, which is reflected also in Saulnier's letters. The latter writes on July 26, 1830:

"All the Irishmen who read the Catholic Miscellany, are astonished to read that Mr. McMahon has received tonsure and fear lest you will confer upon him also other orders, whilst you know, that ten years ago he intended to marry in Cincinnati and that on the eve of this second marriage his first wife with two children arrived from Ireland to live with him. Soon after he has left this wife and went to Lexington. People wonder why he leaves his wife to misery and to the mercy of others. Messrs. Mullanphy, Walsh, Lynch, etc.,

resent the fact that he has received Holy Orders, etc." But all this was malicious gossip. John McMahon had complied with all the requirements and conditions of the Roman Court and had received the necessary dispensation on July 25, 1829; his wife found refuge in an Irish monastery. On July 17, 1831 he was ordained deacon, on November 20th priest and attended Apple Creek and Kaskaskia from the Barrens. On August 22nd, 1832, he was appointed pastor of Galena (Fever River) and Prairie du Chein, but died of fever in Galena June 19th, 1833. This is one of the rare cases, that a man, during the lifetime of his wife has been ordained priest. For further particulars we must refer the reader to Fr. Rothensteiner's article on Rev. John McMahon, in the Illinois Catholic Historical Review, Vol. II, No. 3.

Between June 26, 1830 and September 1, 1831 Saulnier had no chance nor reason to write a letter to Bishop Rosati, since the latter resided in St. Louis, busy with the preparations for the erection of a new Cathedral. But on September 1 he sent him a letter, although he lived in the same house with the Bishop. He opened his whole heart to him; he implored him by all things sacred in heaven and on earth, to take him away from St. Louis, to send him to Vide Poche or Prairie du Rocher, to Kaskaskia, Sangamon (Ill.) or Arkansas. "There are so many priests in St. Louis," he says, "and I am the beast of burden for all—I have to feed them all—in August 336 loaves of bread were eaten in the house—I am disgusted—utterly—You must remove me, absolutely."

But, it seems, Rosati was in no great hurry; he was used to such outbursts from the part of the nervous Gascon. When the Bishop, however, went to the Barrens for a few days, Saulnier sent a letter after him complaining the he was sick of fever and insisting that he must be removed. And now Rosati yielded to his entreaties. He saw that he could not retain the man in St. Louis. But of all the missions which were dependencies of St. Louis, he gave him the most difficult and most distant: on November 28 he appointed him pastor of the Post of Arkansas, way down South, near the mouth of the Arkansas into the Father of Waters. We have given an account of this mission and the dismal failure of Saulnier's administration in the first volume of this Review, p. 243-268. On December 14th he arrived at the Post, in company of Father Beauprez and a young Irishman, Patrick. In February of the following year he collected four hundred dollars for his Arkansas mission, at New Orleans. He conceived great plans: a church, a residence and a convent for Sisters were the goal of his ambition. But on June 28 a tragi-comical quarrel with the son-in-law of his host robbed the sensitive Gascon of all his courage and cut short his career on the Arkansas River. He took the next boat (13 July) and fled to St. Louis, where he arrived towards the end of July.

Bishop Rosati pitied the poor man who so abruptly had fallen out of the seventh heaven. On August 22nd he appointed him pastor of Vide Poche (Carondelet) and Gravois (Kirkwood). Saulnier's

first letter from Vide Poche is dated Nov. 28th. It gives no information about what passed between him and the Bishop after his arrival in St. Louis from the Post of Arkansas.

In the vicinity north of the mouth of the River des Peres, four miles south of St. Louis, Clement Delor de Treget founded a colony in the year 1776, first known as Delor's village, later as Prairie a Catalan, also Louisbourg; finally it was named "Carondelet" after the Governor of Louisiana. The people of St. Louis nicknamed the village "Vide Poche" i. e., "Empty Pocket." Holy Mass was celebrated now and then in a house along the river banks. On the 16th of July, 1818, Bishop Du Bourg visited the colony and said that a little Church in honor of Our Lady of Mount Carmel should be built on the hill. This was done. De Andreis drove the first stake; the material of the old and dilapidated church of St. Louis was used and the church was built as best they could under the circumstances. It was always considered a mission church. The first resident pastor was Father Saulnier.

Just as he tried to bring the Sisters of Mercy to Poste d' Arkansas, so he now tried to establish a branch in Carondelet. On May 2, 1833, the erection of a small house containing two rooms was begun and the Sisters took charge of the same on December 13, 1833, not as a parochial school but as an orphanage. The church in Carondelet was in a pitiable condition. For that reason Saulnier began with the erection of a new rock church. The corner stone was laid on June 29, 1834; on December 24, he himself blessed the church using the "benedictio loci." On January 24, the old church collapsed.

On October 26, 1834, the new Cathedral in St. Louis had been consecrated. The celebration lasted a week. St. Louis now had a church of which it could be proud, and which even today is one of the sights of the City. The Cathedral built by Bishop Du Bourg had been changed to a warehouse, but burnt to the ground on the night of April 6, 1835. With this event the regime of Bishop Du Bourg was at an end.

On March 25, 1836, six sisters of St. Joseph from Lyons, France, arrived in Carondelet under the leadership of Sister Delphine and Sister Febronia Fontbonne and her brother, Father Fontbonne. They came at the request of Bishop Rosati because the sisters at hand (the Madames of the Sacred Heart and the Sisters of Mercy) were not sufficient for the present needs. They moved into the house of the Sisters of Mercy and opened a school.

Sister Delphine was made Superior in the house at Carondelet. A division took place; some of the Sisters were against Sister Delphine, but Saulnier interfered although this was a matter for the Spiritual Director Father Fontbonne. Saulnier also thought the Sisters ought to take more interest in the parish, the services and the Church choir, than their French rules allowed them. This was the cause of strained relations between Mother Delphine and Father Saulnier. With this Father Saulnier's troubles began.

These troubles were augmented by Father Saulnier's fondness for drink. On December 21, 1838, he wrote a letter to Mother Delphine, the contents of which plainly showed that the writer was under the influence of liquor. The Bishop had already reprimanded him early in June. Saulnier, a true Gascon, wrote: it would take years, probably a lifetime to forget the memory of the reprimand.

In St. Louis they showed him the cold shoulder. Father Lutz threw a horse whip at his feet and called him "infant," "imbecile," and the like. Saulnier had to promise Bishop Rosati not to touch intoxicants. But one day in November, 1838, Saulnier rode into St. Louis and bought a bottle of whiskey, part of which he drank in the evening and the rest he finished in the morning. Later on he stated that as one of the older priests (he was then priest 16 years, and forty years of age), he was entitled to use something stronger for his health. In our days a priest of twenty-five years is considered one of the Junior clergy. He let the empty bottle stand in the room of Bishop Loras of Dubuque, who had just returned from France with some young priests. Bishop Loras was indignant and the young men were scandalized. In February, 1839, when Saulnier met Father Elet, S.J., (President of the St. Louis University), the latter called him a drunkard, an animal, and told him to give his parish to someone who could do some good. Saulnier, in childlike simplicity, related all this to Rosati in a letter dated Feb. 18, 1839, and used this opportunity to oppose the Jesuits, saying that the Jesuits would finally usurp all his rights. Ten years previously, in 1829, he had already issued a philippic against the Jesuits, especially against Father Van Quickenborne.

In August 1832, he became pastor of Vide Poche. His last letter to Bishop Rosati is dated April 20, 1842. He wishes the Bishop a happy journey and a pleasant return. Bishop Rosati and Father Lutz went to Baltimore on April 25, and from there to Rome. He was never to see St. Louis again. He died in Rome, September, 25, 1843. On November 30, 1841, Bishop Rosati consecrated the Rev. Peter Richard Kenrick as his Coadjutor. This took place in Philadelphia. Bishop Kenrick, being an Irishman, was not very welcome in St. Louis. He did not announce the day of his arrival. When the boat arrived, no one was there to greet him. He gave his baggage to a teamster and followed the wagon on foot to the Cathedral.

One of the first official acts of Bishop Kenrick was the suspension of Father Saulnier, in the year 1842. He allowed him to go to New Madrid, where his friend Ambrosius Heim was pastor. Some of his parishioners and a few sisters of St. Joseph petitioned the Bishop in favor of Saulnier but in vain. Kenrick wrote to Rosati that he had to suspend Saulnier (his intemperate habits were so fully known, etc., letter dated Feb. 20, 1842), in order to make reparation for his previous scandals. His successor was Fontbonne, his former rival. He did not reject him entirely but on July 22, 1842, he appointed him pastor of St. Philip's Church at French Village, Illinois, today Edgemoat, East St. Louis. His last letter to be found in the

archiepiscopal archives was written from this place and bears the date, Feb. 8, 1843, addressed to Kenrick. In this letter he writes that he could not say much about French Village regarding the census. Father Loisel of Cahokia would know much more about this. Father Loisel had said Mass for the first time at the village on October 27, 1836. The village was not separated from Cahokia and made a parish of its own until April 18, 1841. Bishop Kenrick came for the first time on July 16, 1843, and appointed Father Saulnier as first pastor a few days later. It seems that Saulnier did not reside at French Village but at Cahokia with Father Loisel. When he came to French Village, he most likely stayed with one of the colonists or lived in the sacristy.

During Saulnier's administration, the terrible floods of 1844 took place. The colonists suffered very much from the floods and still more from the fever resulting from the floods in the low lands. Loisel died a victim of the fever May 10, 1845. Saulnier left for a "healthier climate" on April 1845.

When the students of the Seminary went to the Bluffs above French Village to spend their vacation there in 1845, the church had been deserted; the students used it for their spiritual exercises, according to O'Hanlon, "*Life and Scenery in Missouri*" p. 98. "Little did we then imagine the unsanitary danger to which we were exposed. It was only the year before, when all these bottom lands had been submerged many fathoms deep, under the floods of the Mississippi and now that these had disappeared, new stagnant pools of water had been formed, while the malaria, which produces fever and ague, more than usually abounded. This we were constantly inhaling day and night, and before our vacation term had concluded, symptoms of the localized illness were developed amongst the priests and students. We resolved therefore to leave these dangerous haunts, and no sooner had we returned to St. Louis, than we were all attacked successively with bilious fevers and intermittent agues. In fact our Seminary became a hospital and the doctor's visits were not only daily but hourly made."

Under such circumstances one can hardly blame Saulnier for not staying in French Village or Cahokia. With the permission of Bishop Kenrick, he remained at the Cathedral to wait there for a new appointment. But he was never again to be a pastor. There was no longer a scarcity of priests and Bishop Kenrick apportioned all pastoral work, as far as possible to the younger clergy.

We find the following, rather meager, dates in a book of receipts and expenses which Saulnier kept (Feb. 1844 to Nov. 1857) and in which he made notes which were both political and personal.

As we are not giving a sketch of Bishop Kenrick's activities, the following important dates of Saulnier's life from this time on, will suffice.

On May 2, 1845 he went to St. Patrick's where he became an assistant, with St. Cyr and Wheeler to Father Lutz. The administra-

tion of the German pastor at St. Patrick's was of short duration; in the following year Wheeler was appointed pastor, Lutz was made Vicar General and Saulnier returned to the Cathedral as chaplain of the Sisters of Mercy (Fourth and Spruce). Father Simon Paris was pastor at this place since 1844. Father Saulnier and Father Paris did not get along very well because of their different dispositions. Moreover the presence of Bishop Kenrick did not help to make him feel more comfortable and Father Paris therefore advised him to return to French Village which at that time belonged to the new Chicago Diocese. But Saulnier refused to do this and gave the following reasons in his characteristic manner. (June 4, 1847).

Nolo ire ad Villam .....	I do not care to go to the Village.
Causa Calumniantium .....	because of calumny.
Causa aquae .....	because of the water.
Causa morbi .....	because of sickness.
Causa equitandi .....	on account of the necessity of riding on horseback.
Causa magnae solitudinis .....	because of lonesomeness.
Causa edendi in aliis Domibus....	because of the necessity of taking meals with strangers.
Causa multarum domuum potandi et ludendi et aliarum causarum .....	because of the drinking and gambling in many homes.
Causa oblivionis meae post mortem .....	because I will not be remembered after my death.
Causa dispersionis mearum rerum nihil obtinendarum mihi pro anima mea .....	because everything belonging to me will be given away and nothing will remain even for my soul.

He therefore remained in St. Louis. On the 5th of August 1848 he received his citizenship papers. He was made Chancellor September 15, 1850 because of his knowledge of Diocesan affairs. The days of the French regime were a thing of the past however, St. Cyr and Saulnier were the only ones who remained. The other French priests who were still living went to other dioceses.

On October 5, 1854, Saulnier made a trip to France, his first visit since 1819. He took \$900.00 with him on this trip; the trip to New York (via Chicago, Cleveland) lasted three days. The fare on the steamer Canada (with Bishop Hughes and Timon) to Liverpool cost \$130.00; he visited Paris and Bordeaux and returned to St. Louis on March 9, 1855. He still had \$250.00 when he returned. His scholar Patrick McLoughlin, who was with him in *Vide Poche* and *Poste*, presented him with \$100.00 on his return.

In the year 1856 the Fathers Wheeler and P. Ryan (later Archbishop of Philadelphia) were assistants at the Cathedral; while Father Paris was in France, Father Ryan was made administrator. Saulnier, who had very little to do, complained much about these two men.

In September 1856, he wrote: "Remark well, that the Revs. Wheeler and Ryan, no matter if they have appointed a week at each turn for the sick call they ought to stay, they are going out every night after seven. The 20. August they came for a sick call. I was obliged to see a girl, administered her speechless and she died two hours after. Then the 1, September, Mr. Wheeler not willing to go on a sick call (on the other side in Illinois), by chance Mr. Lauffet (?) of Detroit went to that sick and administered him and the sick died. During the night, the 2, Sept. at half past seven, a couple came to be married and then Mr. Wheeler was absent and the marriage was performed at half past eight when Mr. Wheeler returned. I was on the point of telling the Archbishop when Mr. Ryan promised to be more punctual."

Later on in September, he writes again: "The 21, they came for a sick call at 8 o'clock; as the sick was in eminent danger, the two priests being absent, I was obliged to go and returning from the sick call the RR. gentlemen were not arrived. Mr. Wheeler came at 9, Mr. Ryan came at 9.30. At breakfast I told them that I would inform the Archb., but they promised again that they would be attentive to their duty."

On March 8, 1862, Saulnier was made chaplain to the Carmelite Sisters whose headquarters were at Baltimore and who had established a convent at Clay Farm near Bellefontaine, in the vicinity of Holy Cross Church, Baden. He died there March 22, 1864, at the age of 66. He died of a stroke whilst saying Mass. Saulnier was a heavily built man, he had a powerful voice and was very fond of solemn celebrations conducted after the French manner. He was a great admirer of Rosati and trusted him like a child. He told him his troubles as a child would go to his mother. He told him all his troubles great and small. As he was a man of good will and genuine piety, he could have accomplished great things, had he been able to overcome difficulties. Today a few priests are still living who, in their youth knew him, as for instance, Father M. S. Brennan, who is his successor today in Carondelet who, in his reminiscent moods, often speaks of Father Saulnier with great reverence.

F. G. HOLWECK.



# HISTORICAL SKETCH OF CATHOLIC NEW MADRID

## II.

### THE CHURCHES OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST AND THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION.

It is neither a very interesting nor a very important account we have to offer in regard to the religious growth of the old river-town of New Madrid during the last hundred years. Political upheavals, destructive earthquakes, a sanguinary war with armies traversing the territory from south to north, from north to south, and chiefly the dearth of priestly help in the very extensive diocese of St. Louis, were the main causes of the slow development, often looking for all the world like a sad retrogression of Catholic life, in the city of New Madrid and vicinity. Good, earnest priests came and went: not one of them, save the first pastor, died in the place. Some earnest attempts, even heroic efforts, were made to inaugurate a greater advance. They failed, not through incapacity, but through lack of means. Then there were also a number of languid efforts, succeeded by real setbacks. There were men of high talent who seemed to waste their efforts on a hopeless desert. Yet, religion thrived, though it showed but few outward signs of progress, and today the Parish of the *Immaculate Conception*, the successor of the Parish of St. Isidor, and St. John the Baptist, is one of the better country parishes of the Archdiocese. We have gathered in our narrative all the data we could find in printed and manuscript sources. We hope our readers will help us fill out the lacunae by their own investigations.

On the 5th day of January, 1818, William Du Bourg, Bishop of Louisiana, arrived in St. Louis and began to bring order out of the disiecta membra of his vast diocese. The work was, of necessity, gradual: it was in November 1820 that New Madrid was to receive his immediate attention. In a letter to Father Joseph Rosati, sent from New Madrid on that date, Bishop Du Bourg writes:

My dear Father Rosati:

I stopped here to see what condition Religion is in at this place. These poor people, in all sixty Catholic families have been in the last twenty years without any religious assistance whatever, no marriages, no baptisms, no sacraments.—Still they wish to have a priest: but I do not think they have the means to support one; neither do I believe that is would be good for a priest to stay here. Nevertheless, I deem it necessary that a Missionary should come here 3 or 4



times a year. Mr. Robert McCoy,<sup>1</sup> at whose home I am now, will give him lodging and board; he has a nice hall where Mass may be said. The congregation will give the Priest \$70.00 every time he comes: he shall remain each time a fortnight to instruct, etc. I wish that Fr. Potini should undertake this mission. He may go first to Cape Girardeau to Mr. Steinbeck, whose family are Catholic, and will say Mass there for the few Catholics of that quarter. Thence he will go to Mr. Hopkins', 29 miles farther. He will fare very well there; Mr. Hopkins' family also are Catholic. From Mr. Hopkins' to New Madrid the distance is about 30 miles, and, I am told the road is good all the way down. Fr. Potini should take along whatever is needed for the celebration of Mass and the administration of the Sacraments. I think that at Cape Girardeau, they will also contribute their share of the expense for the priests' journey. He may begin as soon as possible.

✠ L. Wm. Bp. of La.

.... On further reflection, I think Fr. Cellini will be more suitable for this mission than Fr. Potini, on account of his more mature age.<sup>2</sup>

There is a slight mistake in this letter as to the length of time during which New Madrid was deprived of priest and altar. From a letter of Father Maxwell to Father Gibault at New Madrid it appears that old missionary was still the pastor of New Madrid in October 1801. Louis Houck in his History of Missouri states that "until his death in 1802 he (Gibault) was active in all spiritual matters, and as priest of the parish received a regular salary from the government." Others give the year of Father Gibault's death as 1804;<sup>3</sup> which opinion seems, at least, probable. Therefore the interval between Father Gibault's last ministrations and the coming of Bishop Du Bourg is less than that given by at least one and possibly four years. I mention this point in particular because later on that period of utter desolation is extended to twenty-five years.

To return to our letter: Not Father Potini, but Cellini was sent to New Madrid. On May 24, 1821, Father Rosati writes to Father Francis Baccari, Vicar General of the Congregation of the Missions in Rome as follows:

"Father Cellini, besides the sick calls and confessions, has the charge and direction of the work here at home. Moreover, he has a parish of French, people, amounting to 70 families, at New Madrid, on the Mississippi river, more than 100 miles from the Seminary. He goes there three or four times a year, and the trip takes him four or five weeks each time. Those poor people had had no priest for twenty years. You may well imagine in what condition they were. Ignorance cannot go any farther. It is morally a forest to frighten the stoutest heart. However, there are good dispositions. Father Cellini went there for the first time during the month of March; he baptized there a great many people, even adult persons, and two Protestants; he urged them to build a church, and in a short while, when that church is finished (it does not take long in this country to build), he will go there again."

<sup>1</sup> Robert McCoy had been employed under the Spanish Regime as a Secretary of the Civil administration. Many legal papers signed by him are to be found in the New Madrid Archives, preserved at the Jefferson Memorial.

<sup>2</sup> Archives of the *Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis*.

<sup>3</sup> Father Pierre Gibault's last years are clouded not only in sorrow and disappointment, but no less in doubt and uncertainty. There are writers who maintain that the old missionary returned to Canada, his native land. But there is, as far as we could find, no proof of this.

The church was not built at that time, and there is no indication that Father Cellini repeated his visit. Yet there is an obscure allusion to other visits in a letter of Father Cellini to Father Rosati, dated October 22, 1821:

"I have written to Mr. McCoy on the subject you mentioned to me in your letter; and I hope that when our Brothers arrive there, they will be assisted as we wish."

The McCoy's were, no doubt, the family of Robert McCoy of New Madrid, with whom Bishop Du Bourg had made arrangements for future priestly services in 1820.

By an accident, or rather a dispensation of Divine Providence, Mother Duchesne of blessed memory the first Superior of the religious of the Sacred Heart, was to bless the sadly-forsaken place with her presence. Baunard-Fullerton gives the following account in *The Life of Mother Duchesne*:

On the return trip "the Cincinnati" ran aground on a sandbank opposite New Madrid, a hundred (nearly two hundred) miles from St. Louis. The river was so low that it was impossible to foresee when the boat could proceed — this delay and uncertainty were harassing! Mad. Duchesne... resolved to turn this interval to account by making her annual retreat... A fortnight elapsed in this way, and then she received a pressing invitation from Catholics in the neighborhood, Mr. and Mrs. Kay, to come and stay in their house. Mad. Duchesne Miss Pratte accordingly spent five days with these kind people."

The next visit made to New Madrid by Lazarist missionaries was that of Father John Mary Odin,<sup>5</sup> just ordained, but to become founder of the Church in Texas and finally archbishop of New Orleans, accompanied by the deacon John Timon, who was to rise, in the course of time, to the dignity of the first Bishop of Buffalo. The trip was made during September and October 1824. It is narrated in full in the *Annales de la Prop. de l. Foi* vol. II.

All that bears on New Madrid is the following: "After a three days' journey (from Jackson) we arrived at New Madrid. Our sojourn there was short, in spite of the great needs and the earnest prayers of the inhabitants, who have not had a resident priest among them for nearly twenty-five years. Mentioning their return in his *Diary*, on Oct. 31, 1824, Rosati writes: *Sacerdos unus (mitendus foret). Novo Matritum, ubi plurimum desideratur.*

"One priest should be sent to New Madrid, where he is much needed."

And under date of December 1, 1824, the *Diary* of Rosati reads: "Duobus viris Novi Matriti promisi sacerdotem in illam civitatem missurum initio veris proximi."

I have promised two men of New Madrid to send a priest to that city at the opening of the Spring of next year. (1825).

Some one must have been sent, for on April 12, 1825, Bishop Du Bourg writes to Rosati evidently in answer to some good and hopeful news communicated to him by Bishop Rosati: "I am much pleased with the dispositions manifested at New Madrid."

\* Printed in *Life of Father De Andreis*.

<sup>5</sup> Bishop John Mary Odin was ordained to the priesthood May 4, 1823. Letter in the *Annales*, Bishop John Timon, Sept. 23, 1826.

From the *Diary* of Bishop Rosati it appears that Father John Odin, C.M., made another visit to New Madrid, this time in company of Father Leo DeNeckere, also a future bishop of New Orleans. Under date of April 3, 1826, he writes: "I have sent De Neckere and Odin to New Madrid, to remain there until Pentecost." And on April 17: "Through the courtesy of Mr. McCoy I have received a letter from Mr. Odin, whom I had sent to New Madrid on the 3d with Mr. De Neckere. On April 4 De Neckere preached a sermon at the town of Jackson, having been very kindly received by the people of that place, among whom there were some few Catholic families." And again, on May 10, records the return of De Neckere and Odin to the Seminary, from New Madrid: "There (at New Madrid) they endeavored to instruct the people (about eighty families) who had for many years been deprived of all spiritual help, by giving Catechetical instructions twice a day, and two sermons on each Sunday and Feast-day. On Ascension day they gave First Holy Communion to fifteen boys and girls. The number of communions would have been much larger, if the inhabitants of the country had not been prevented from attending by frequent and heavy rains, which caused an inundation, and by urgent labors on the farms. They gave Baptism to more than fifty infants. Being now fully convinced of obtaining a resident priest, the people of New Madrid have decided to erect a church-building, for which purpose they have started a subscription and have already raised five hundred dollars. It is a pity that such a dire spiritual need connected with so much good will could not at once find relief." Still a number of years had to pass before New Madrid was again to have a church and a priest of its own.

But Fathers Odin and Timon were to return to New Madrid once more, Timon having been ordained priest on the 23rd of September, 1826. Bishop Rosati's *Diary* tells us that Odin and Timon started for New Madrid on October 1. On the 12th of October (1826) the Bishop writes to Odin at New Madrid: "Father Niel has already seven priests for this country. We will have wherewith to have someone at New Madrid." On October 19, Rosati received letters from Timon and Odin, who were still at New Madrid. On October 20, the Bishop wrote to Odin: "The news that you and Father Timon sent us, caused us much gratification. You may assure those gentlemen that they will not be deprived of the visits of the priests, and that, as far as possible, we shall send them the same. The next visit may take place in the beginning of January, *vita comite*." On October 31 both missionaries are at the Seminary once more. Bishop Rosati remarks that they had endeavored to excite the people of New Madrid to the proper spirit for gaining the indulgence of the Jubilee. Their success was marked by more than sixty confessions, forty holy communions, and a number of baptisms."

Whether the promised visit was made in Spring of 1827, we cannot say, as Bishop Rosati, at that time, was absent in Kentucky.

In searching the Archives for a document concerning Father Lewis Tucker, we found a weatherbeaten paper of great importance

for our present purpose, the Report of Father John Timon, C.M., concerning the New Madrid and Post of Arkansas for 1830. It is addressed to Bishop Rosati and dated December 4, 1830:

"I can send You, Monsigneur, but very imperfect accounts of New Madrid and Arkansas. The length of time has effaced much from my memory, and I cannot now lay my hands on my notes. What I can recollect is that at New Madrid there are about 90 Catholic families, almost all Creole French, and all in utmost want of instruction, ignorant but attached to their religion. During the last five years about eighty persons received the holy Communion, about one hundred and twenty went to confession, and a great many children, both of Catholic and Protestant parents, were baptized, as were also about eight adults. Before the visit Mr. Odin made to them, they had not a priest, save on a passing visit, for many years, and now they are without one these three years. New Madrid is one of the oldest posts of Louisiana; it had its commandant in the times of the French and Spanish domination, and a church which has been swallowed up by the river. The ancient site, by the encroachments of the Mississippi, is now a quarter of a mile from the shore in the river. The inhabitants lately made a subscription for building a new church, about \$650.00 were subscribed, but they seem little inclined to begin, until they can have assurance of a clergyman. All professions desire that one might be sent. They would also wish that the priest might superintend a school; and that, if possible, some nuns might be sent for the instruction of female children. I do not know any point, where, as I think, after some privations and sacrifices in the beginning, a good school or college might be more advantageously placed."<sup>6</sup>

Father Timon's suggestion was favorably received by the Bishop, but could not be carried out until two years had elapsed. Now, two young and energetic men were detached for the upbuilding of New Madrid.

On April 27, 1832, Rev. Victor Paillasson<sup>7</sup> departed for that place from Kaskaskia, where he had been pastor since December 22, 1830, in company with the newly ordained Peter Paul Lefevre<sup>8</sup> as assistant. On October 13, 1832, Bishop Rosati had given the Sisters of Loretto permission to found a monastery and school of their order at New Madrid. Father Paillasson entered upon this laborious task with great zeal and energy. But on the 29th of June he came to St. Louis with the sad news that the house he had almost completed was destroyed by fire. The particulars of this undertaking and failure we learn from a letter of the youthful assistant Peter Paul Lefevre:

\* Archives C. H. S. of St. Louis.

<sup>7</sup> We quote the following from the Chancery Records of St. Louis: Paillasson, Victor:—

Apr. 19, 1830, Assistit ad ordinationem in Barrens, Mo.

1830 Annotatur ut Pastor in Kaskaskia, Randolph Co., Ill.

1831 Dec. 22. Canonice instituitur parochus in Kaskaskia.

1831 Residet Pastor in Kaskaskia et Visitat Prairie du Rocher.

27. April 1832. Profectus est in New Madrid Co. Usque ad 1836.

1836 Intrat in Novitiatum Societatis Jesu in Florissant, St. Louis Co., Mo., 18. Maii.

29. Junii, 1832. Advenit ex New Madrid in St. Louis, annuntians domum quam impensis \$500 aedificaverat incendio dirutam.

<sup>8</sup> On Father, afterwards Bishop Lefevre's missionary activities in North Missouri, Illinois and Iowa. Cf. *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. II. p. 327. 33.

New Madrid, June the 24, 1832.

Most Reverend Sir:-

You are undoubtedly already informed of the great misfortune that happened to us on the eve of Corpus Christi by the combustion of our house which was already nearly completed. At that dreadful event, struck with sadness and grief, we both thought immediately to abandon our post, and to return to St. Louis; but seeing the apparent anxiety and activity of the people to renew what we had undertaken, Mr. Paillason found it expedient that he alone should go up in order to inform you of the sad and serious condition to which this misfortune has brought us, and to know what there should now be done. As he seems to have more courage than I, and to show a kind of *punctilio* to recommence the establishment: I write these lines by his instigation to expose to you my depression, and also the embarrassment and grief which might cause too dangerous an engagement. You know Most Rev. Sir, that in the prospectus he has given of this establishment he has expressly specified and determined, that it would be erected and directed on the same plan as that in the Barrens, and also that there would be erected a convent of nuns for the purpose of keeping a female school. Besides he has expressly given notice that in both of these Seminaries or Academies, as they call them here, no mention would ever be made of Religion, or of whatever regards the Catholic doctrine and worship. Now the people, seeing the loss of so great an improvement and benefit for this place, offer willingly to subscribe for the rebuilding of that Seminary. We, after a sufficient inquiry and information, find that the building, in the manner the people desire and will have it, would cost, at least, from nine hundred to a thousand dollars, making deduction of all superfluities and considering the building as rough and simple as possible; and the sum of the subscriptions, calculating at large, could only amount to five hundred dollars. So that we would run into debt four or five hundred dollars. Moreover, being once engaged, we would incur debts upon debts; later for the convent and after that for the church. You conceive very well that this could never be paid with the revenue of the school, which, I am sure, will never exceed the expense of our corporal sustenance.

Besides you know very well that the school we would be able to teach could and would never be able to satisfy the idea and expectation of the people; which, since our arrival, they have continually kept up and increased, thinking to establish and erect themselves upon the ruins of the Barrens. So, considering the little prospect and hope of future progress in the propagation of faith, knowing the inconstancy of the people, and that their only motive and intent is their temporal interest, having no money in cash, I shall never venture to engage myself for one dollar, under the obligation of paying it with the revenue of a precarious school. Because, Most Rev. Sir, knowing the dreadful situation of many priests of America merely on account of debts, I dread them more than death itself, and would prefer to cultivate the land from morning till evening rather than entangle myself so far. It would also be very painful to me to depend upon the whim of the people, for a worldly subsistence, because they would have subscribed for the house, without having ever the consolation of seeing any conversion to God, and even without having any time of working for my own salvation. Till now we never said Mass in public, but always privately, and even missed it often ourselves on account of manual labor. We preached about six times in the court house, where the people assembled merely to see one another for amusement and pass-time, as they say it themselves. You see that the present and future consolation, either temporal or spiritual, is very small, and besides our character differs in many points, one from another. If therefore you could apply some remedy to my present situation which is lamentable, or assign me some place, where by means of a frugal sustenance, I could work with more fruit for the salvation of others and that of myself, which is the only motive that brought me to America, you would infinitely oblige,

Most Reverend Sir;

Your most humble and obedient Servant,

P. Lefevere. P.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Archives C. H. S. of St. Louis.

Bishop Rosati requested Father Lefevere to stay at New Madrid until Father Paillasson's return from the Post of Arkansas, whither he had been sent. Then on August 29, 1832, Lefevere was sent to the mission of Salt River in Northwestern Missouri, to become in due time bishop and administrator of Detroit.

Father Victor Paillasson continued his ministrations at New Madrid until 1836, when he entered the novitiate of the Society of Jesus at Florissant, May 18.

After a brief interval Father Paillasson found a successor in the person of the newly ordained Ambrose Heim.<sup>10</sup> Being born at Rodalbe in the diocese of Nancy in 1807, he came to St. Louis June 15, 1833, and was raised to the priesthood July 23, 1837, by Bishop Rosati in the chapel of St. Mary's of the Barrens. Immediately after his ordination the youthful priest became pastor of New Madrid, and remained there until 1841. Father Heim built a church of wood and dedicated it in honor of St. John Baptist. This was the second church-building after Father Gibault's church of St. Isidore had been washed away by the river in 1816. Father Heim became pastor of Prairie du Long, and in 1843 chaplain of the Sisters of the Visitation at Kaskaskia, and in 1847 Secretary to the Bishop. Father Heim was the First Spiritual Director of the first Conference of St. Vincent de Paul.<sup>11</sup> He died January 3, 1854. His monument in Calvary Cemetery bears the brief but eloquent epitaph: Father Ambrose Heim "the priest of the poor."

Father Heim's departure from New Madrid was a real calamity, in as far as three long years had to pass, ere another priest was sent there, the well-remembered Father Lewis Tucker,<sup>12</sup> grandson of Joseph Tucker, the earliest Catholic settler of Perry County, Mo. Lewis and his brother Hilary were among the first students at the newly-founded Seminary of St. Mary's of the Barrens. He was raised to the priesthood in the Cathedral of St. Louis by Bishop Rosati September 21, 1835. Father Tucker's first appointments were to St. Michaels, now

<sup>10</sup> The following items we transcribe from the Chancery Records of St. Louis:

Heim, Ambrose: 15 Junii, 1833 advenit St. Ludovicum, studiosus.

23. Julii, 1837, Presbyter ordinatus fuit in ecclesia St. Mariae in Barrens, Perry Co., Mo., ab Illmo. Josepho Rosati.

1837 Statim fuit Parochus in New Madrid—usque ad 1841.

1842 Est pastor ecclesiae St. Augustini in Prairie du Long, Monroe, Co. Ill.

1843. Dicitur residere in Kaskaskia—ettesse Capellanus Sororum Visitationis eo loco

1844. Annotatur ut quasi Vicarius residens S. Ludovici apud Eccl. Cathedrallem.

1847. Est adhuc in eodem loco sed annotatur ut secretarius Episcopi.

3. Jan. 1854. Est adhuc Secretarius Archiepiscopi residens apud ecclesiam Cathedrallem, ubi e vita decessit die 3. Jan. 1854.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Paul Schultes interesting article on the First Conference of St. Vincent de Paul in the *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. III, p. 5. s. s.

<sup>12</sup> On Father Lewis Tucker, of "Chronicles of an Old Missouri Parish." (Fredericktown.)

Fredericktown, and then to Potosi. At New Madrid he remained from February 18, 1845 to October 15 of the same year, a period of eight months. The young priest's health began to fail, and he was appointed pastor of his first mission, St. Michael's, where he remained until his death, November 30, 1880. Father Lewis Tucker was a most excellent priest. The high esteem in which he was held at Fredericktown has been recorded by the present writer on another occasion. In regard to the feelings of the people of Potosi, we have the record in a petition sent by them to Bishop Rosati at the time of Father Tucker's appointment to New Madrid. Among the points mentioned are the zeal of Father Tucker in making converts, the great respect entertained for his character by the non-Catholics of the place, and his ability as a preacher, having full command of the English language. Among the forty signers we find the names of Firmin Desloge, and Andrew Sarrafin as the only French ones; all the others are unmistakably Irish, as Casey, Flynn, O'Brien with one name of English sound: John Pierce. But the petition was of no avail. Father Tucker went to New Madrid and having fallen dangerously ill, was removed by order of the bishop to St. Michael's, Fredericktown.

After an interval of two years, during which the Lazarist Father Louis Scaphi served as pastor of the place, the Rev. Aloysius Rosi<sup>13</sup> was appointed to New Madrid and remained for one year, 1848-1949. Father Rosi has become a legendary personage in Ste. Genevieve County, probably owing to his having lost his life by drowning, on the occasion of a sick-call. He is buried in the Church of Bloomsdale. Father Rosi found no immediate successor at New Madrid. For the period of a year the pastor of Benton, Scott County, paid occasional visits to the place. But from 1850-1851 Father John Hennessey,<sup>14</sup> the future archbishop of Dubuque, filled the position, to be succeeded

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<sup>13</sup> From the Chancery Records of St. Louis:

Rosi, Aloysius, alio in loco Ludovicus Rossi vel Rosi; Presbyter ordinatus est Apr. 29, 1848, in ecclesia St. Vincent de Paul, St. Louis.

1848. Est Pastor in New Madrid usque at 1849.

1849. Est Pastor in Richwoods usque at 1853.

1853. Mutavit residentiam ad French Village.

1853. Aug. 29. immersus fuit in rivulo prope Bantz Molam, visitans aegrotos. Sepultus fuit Sept. 1, in Bloomsdale, Mo.

Several years ago there appeared a half historical, half legendary, account of Father Rossi or Rosi in a Ste. Genevieve paper, and was reprinted, we believe, by Father Dunn. It contained one seemingly miraculous occurrence. We have a copy of the article among our collections.

<sup>14</sup> A Sketch of Bishop John Hennessey of Dubuque is given in J. G. Shea's *Defenders of Our Faith*, p. 230 & 231, and of course, in Clark's *Lives of our Bishops*. In the Chancery Records we find the following items:  
Hennessey, John: Ordained 1850 in Cathedral (Nov. 1).

1850. Pastor of New Madrid.

1857. Pastor of Kirkwood.

1866, Sept. 30. Consecrated Bishop of Dubuque.

in 1851 by the Rev. F. B. Jamison,<sup>15</sup> 1851-1853. In November of 1853 Rev. Jamison was suspended. Again there is an interval of half a year, to be broken by Father Simon Grugan<sup>16</sup> in 1854. Then comes the brief pastorship of Rev. James Murphy,<sup>17</sup> and another sad vacancy from 1856-1857. The years 1857 and 1858 are marked by the pastoral efforts of Father Julian Turmel,<sup>18</sup> and then from 1859 to 1867 New Madrid is dependent for spiritual ministrations on the occasional visits of missionary priests.

These years are marked by the great Civil War, that was especially harrassing and destructive on the border between North and South. Some of the important battles of the Civil War were fought in the vicinity of New Madrid. The old church of St. John was consumed by fire within this period. A good part of the Records were lost with the church, or even at an earlier date, as Father J. A. Connolly, the one time pastor of New Madrid, states in a letter dated January 9, 1881.

Father Francis McKenna,<sup>19</sup> born August 15, 1832, ordained May

<sup>15</sup> Jamison, Francis, from Diocese of Baltimore:

1836, Dec. 26, given faculties and took up residence at cathedral.

1837 to 1840. Annotatur ut secundus Vicarius St. Ludovici.

1844 to 1847. College and University Professor.

1851. Pastor of New Madrid.

1853. Suspended.

1854. Residet in Cape Girardeau pueros docens.

1855. Professor in College at Cape.

1858. Died.

<sup>16</sup> Grugan, Simon: Ordained Apr. 10, 1852. July 1854, Pastor of New Madrid.

1854 Aug. was made pastor of Potosi.

1857. Left Diocese. From Cathedral Records.

<sup>17</sup> Murphy, James: Ordained Sept. 23, 1843.

1844. Missionary at the Barrens.

1845. Resided in Ralls Co. Attended to surrounding missions.

1846. French Village, Cole Co.

1847. Boonville.

1848. Jefferson City.

1849. Kirkwood.

1850. Liberty.

1851. Went to Europe.

1852. Returned—Pastor in Tully, Lewis Co.

1853. Lexington.

May, 1855. Pastor of New Madrid.

Sept. 26, 1855. Pastor of Bridgeton.

1856. Aprilis, Profectus est in suam regionem? (From Cathedral Record.)

<sup>18</sup> Turmel, Julian: Ordained June 20, 1857.

Sept. 1857. was sent to New Madrid.

May, 1858. Richwoods.

June, 24, 1858. Pastor of Louisiana, Mo.

1861. Left Diocese for San Francisco.

<sup>19</sup> McKenna, Francis: Born Aug. 15, 1832. Ordained May 30, 1867.

1867. Pastor of New Madrid.

1868 to 1869. New Madrid.

1869 until 1873 Mexico, Mo.

1873 until death at Moberly 1892, Pastor of Moberly.



30, 1867, became pastor of New Madrid almost on the day of his ordination in 1867. He remained in charge until 1869. His administration is noteworthy through the fact that it saw a new church arise under the new title of *The Immaculate Conception*. The Church Records of New Madrid state that the new edifice was dedicated on the 9th day of May, 1869, by the Reverend John F. McGerry, C.M., at the request of the pastor Father McKenna. The attendants of the solemnities were Fathers A. Nerrina, C.M., and Francis O'Brien. In 1869 Father McKenna was appointed to the parish of Mexico, and in 1873 to that of Moberly, where he died in 1892.

From 1870-1872 New Madrid had as its pastor Rev. Philip Patrick Brady,<sup>20</sup> who in the course of time became Vicar General to Bishop Kenrick and died as Pastor of St. John's Pro-Cathedral, in St. Louis, March 6, 1893.

Father Edward Smith<sup>21</sup> was pastor of New Madrid from 1872 to 1874 and after a few years interval during which the parish was attended from Charleston, and the church-building itself had to be dragged away from the river bank to save it from the waters of the Mississippi (1875), New Madrid received its most zealous and successful pastor since the days of Father Ambrose Heim, in the person of James Aloysius Connolly,<sup>22</sup> our late lamented Vicar General. Ordained June 18, 1878, Father Connolly became pastor of New Madrid in the very year of his ordination and remained at his post of duty until May 1, 1882. We found a characteristic letter of the youthful Father among the treasures of our Archives and as a beautiful monument to the zeal and staying qualities of our dead Monsignor we will reprint it here just as it was written more than forty years ago. It is addressed to Rev. H. Van der Sanden, the Chancellor and prospective historian of the Archdiocese and is dated New Madrid, Mo., January 9, 1881.

Reverend and dear Father:-

Enclosed please find a five dollar bill (\$5.00), for dispensation granted to me for C. and L., early in December last. The ceremony was performed a few days ago. Your share of the donation is larger than mine. I do not know when I shall visit the city; not before next fall, if then, unless something unforeseen will demand my presence there. Having no business in the city, I am not one of those who would go there for pastime. I could not, had I any inclination,

<sup>20</sup> Brady, Philip Patrick: Ordained Apr. 3, 1869.

1869. Lexington.

1870 to Nov. 1872. New Madrid.

1872 to 1889 Annunciation Church.

1889 until his death Mar. 6, 1893, St. John the Apostle.

<sup>21</sup> Smith, Edward: Ordained June 2, 1871. Was Pastor of New Madrid 1872 to 1874. Afterwards at the Cathedral, Rolla, Mo., and at Lebanon. 1880 in Kansas City.

<sup>22</sup> Connolly, James Aloysius: Ordained June 18, 1878.

1878. Asst. St. Columbkil.

1878-1882, New Madrid. Cf. the Memorial among the Notes in this Number.

as this place is so far away, and expense of going there and returning rather heavy. To go often would not leave much at the years end out of the salary I receive \$(425.00), to pay other expenses. Four hundred and twenty-five dollars will cover the amount when all will have been paid for '80. This, with what I receive when I visit Caruthersville and Center, Pemiscot County, Missouri, and Osceola, Arkansas, enables me to supply my wants, and keep out of debt.

Last Monday I opened a parochial school, which may be termed a "Catholic free school." The children receive their instruction free. The parents paying only for seats and desks. None but Catholic children received. Would I receive all applicants and demand a monthly fee I would have more children under me than I could well find room for. In the course of time I expect we will be able to build a small school house, when all children will be received and charged for, but all under the regular Catholic school discipline. After long deliberation I concluded to adopt the present plan, believing it would, in a year or so, be productive of much good, and a Catholic school a fixity in New Madrid, so long as a priest will be left here, which I trust will be always. At present I will offer no objection if I be the one. To attempt a regular parochial school at present would be a failure, but this being carried on as I have commenced will lead only, to permanent results. All the Catholic children in town, but five, have been attending—their excuse, distance, though some five times the distance were in attendance. The old saying is "from small beginnings great results are frequently achieved." I hope and pray, the same will ere long be said of this undertaking.

As it would be rather long to wait till I would get to St. Louis to confer about the records of this church, I think it better to write you all attainable.

The old church was destroyed during the war, and part of the records lost then, or before. There are but three old books, and the fragments of a fourth; this the marriage register. The oldest record is that of baptisms. Commencing "Die 24 Martii, 1821," "Franciscus Cellini, P. C. M." From April 1821 to "le 16 Septembre 1832, P. Paillasson," there is no record. Father Paillasson's records extend to June 18, '36, after which I find the following names, J. Boullie, C. M., J. M. Odin, C. M., J. M. Simonin, C. M., B. Rollando, C. M., Hippolitus Gandolfo, C. M., to December 1837, when Father A. J. Heim assumed charge. He remained here until—at least the last register entry is "twelfth of May, 1844." After him I find from "third of November 1844" to "first of November, 1845," "L. Tucker, P. P." Then follow several Lazarists, whose names I deem it is not necessary to transcribe here. If you wish I can write them all for you.

I have been able to find only a few fragments of the marriage register 1, 1821, a few 1835, '40, '46, etc. All thus far except Father Tucker's were transcribed by Father Scaff, C. M., "to 15 of November 1847," so that many records must have been lost, or very few marriages performed, as the first is in 1821, the next, being second on same page, is in 1834. I have collected the fragments, sewn them together and put them in a book, several marriages have been recorded on the same page as baptisms *i. e.* a baptism or two, then a marriage or so, and thus for several pages. Our present register will contain all baptisms and marriages for the next fifty years unless there be a great change in this part of the world. I do not know if this be exactly what you want, but it is better, than to wait, and then not to receive as much information as the above will give you. I have not seen any notice of the appointment of the successor to Father Tucker. As you may notice above, he was here from November 1844 to Nov. '45. So all the notices in the English papers in St. Louis were incorrect in their statements regarding his time at Fredericktown. When I will have been 35 years in New Madrid, I pray it will be an entirely different place.

Regards to all my clerical acquaintances,

I remain yours sincerely in Christ,

J. A. Connolly.

Here we have the earnest, painstaking, self-sacrificing Father Connolly portrayed to the life. His early interest in Catholic education is particularly noteworthy. His hopes in regard to a permanent

parochial school were realized; and the parish has had a resident priest ever since, except for a period of two years, 1884-1886, and again from 1888-1889, when it was attended from Charleston. The succession of pastors was as follows:

Patrick McNamee, 1882-1884.<sup>23</sup>

Hugh O'Reilly, October 15, 1884 to November 15, 1885. From that date on Father O'Reilly resided in Charleston, and from there attended New Madrid until 1886.<sup>24</sup>

Philip Joseph Carroll,<sup>25</sup> June 16, 1886 to September 28, 1887.

Edward Smith,<sup>26</sup> February 15, 1888 to April 13, 1888.

Thomas Edward Gallaher,<sup>27</sup> for one month in 1889. Taking sick with fever he asked to return to Old Mines where he remained until 1893.

James Joseph Furlong,<sup>28</sup> became pastor of New Madrid October 7, 1889, and remained until June 11, 1908, almost nineteen years, during which time he built a number of churches in the little mission stations of New Madrid and adjoining Counties; at Caruthersville, Portageville, East Prairie and Malden. In the city of New Madrid Father Furlong established the Parochial School under the management of the Benedictine Sisters. At present, the Sisters of Loretto are in charge. In October, 1905, Father Furlong received an assistant in the person of Rev. C. J. Kane. Fr. Furlong died as Pastor of St. St. Mary and Joseph Church in Carondelet Oct. 15, 1913. He was a most humble, kind and considerate man, and shrewd withal in business

<sup>23</sup> McNamee, Patrick: Ordained July 4, 1868.

1881-1882, Bloomsdale.

1882 until Mar. 18, 1884, New Madrid.

Died May 3, 1897.

<sup>24</sup> O'Reilly, Henry Hugo: Bohn Sept. 17, 1849. Ordained May 25, 1872. April 3 to Oct. 15, 1884 resided in New Madrid, and visited Charleston—From Oct. 15, 1884 to Nov. 15, 1885, resided at Charleston and visited New Madrid.

1885. Iron Mountain.

Since Jan. 1891—In asylum.

<sup>25</sup> Carroll, Philip Joseph: Ordained in Rome May 19, 1883.

From June 16, 1886 until Sept. 28, 1887, at New Madrid.

Died Pastor of Millwood, 1898.

<sup>26</sup> Smyth, Edward: Ordained for Diocese of San Antonio.

Feb. 15, 1888 had charge of Charleston and New Madrid.

April 13, 1888, Faculties revoked.

<sup>27</sup> Gallaher, Edward Thomas: Ordained March 7, 1885.

Rector of Old Mines from 1887 to 1889.

July 13, 1889, was made rector of New Madrid where he remained one month. Taking sick with the fever he asked to return to the Old Mines where he remained until 1893.

Died March 23, 1906.

<sup>28</sup> Furlong, James Joseph: Ordained May 6, 1888.

Assistant at Assumption until 1889.

Pastor of New Madrid from Oct. 7, 1889 until June 11, 1908.

matters, but towards the end rather negligent of his personal appearance. Father Furlong was certainly one of the best pastors New Madrid ever had in its long history of 134 years. The inward growth and outward development of New Madrid and its dependencies since the departure of Father Furlong is too recent for historical treatment. We would but mention the names of his successors, the Fathers M. J. Taylor, D. W. Clark, and D. J. Ryan. The first of the three, Father M. J. Taylor, built the present church-edifice in the city of New Madrid, in 1911.

But it must be remembered that at least three of the former missionary stations attended by Father Furlong, Caruthersville, Portageville and Malden, are now well-appointed parishes, with resident pastors, and all the appurtenances of modern religious centers. The seed of God's word could not be destroyed by the fury of the elements, nor by the malice of the wicked, or the shortcomings of the good.

JOHN ROTHENSTEINER



# OSAGE MISSION DURING THE CIVIL WAR

*From the Diary of Rev. Paul M. Ponziglione, S.J.\**

Chief Grotamantze died on the 12th of March, 1861, aged about forty-eight years. Hardly had one month passed since his death, when the report of the first cannon fired from Fort Sumter on the 12th of April, resounding like a thunder clap from the infernal regions, and reverberating from the far Rocky Mountains, fills the whole of our peaceful country with horrible confusion. The Indians are bewildered hearing of the fratricidal strife already going on among our neighbors in Western Missouri. The war excitement now spreads all over the land like wild fire and the hunting grounds of the red men are changed into military drilling camps. Here, however, the war is not carried on with any well ordered system, and the belligerents are far from being regular troops. They are but independent factions of wretched men who, at times, call themselves Confederate Militia and again go under the name of Union Soldiers. In reality they are only bands of desperadoes having nothing to loose. Now, both these factions, willing to get recruits from the Osages, have their Agents going around the Indian villages promising large bounties to all those who will enroll in their companies. Fearing lest Father Schoenmakers' influence might induce the Indians to decline their offers and remain neutral, the Leaders of these bands, in their secret meetings, determine that the Father should at once be considered an enemy to their cause and put out of the way by assassination. The fear, however, of the Father's influence was only a sham pretext, the real cause was the greediness those men had for the treasures they supposed the Father had accumulated and secreted in our houses, and, they thought that by killing him and dispersing the balance of us, they could easily succeed in possessing themselves of a large booty. To carry on their plan with an appearance of honesty, they needed some plausible reason to show that the killing of the Father had been a necessity of the war. Ours being a Government Institution, it was to be expected that our Superior should be in favor of the Union, and this was enough to

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\* This article is taken from the MS. Diary by the Jesuit Missionary Rev. Paul Mary Ponziglione. The present extracts are from Vol. III, p. 274—Vol. IV, p. 321. We have permitted ourselves a few verbal corrections, but, of course, no changes whatever in the sense. THE EDITOR.

make him appear as a declared enemy of the Confederacy. And, behold, the truly Christian Charity of the good Father soon offered them an occasion to execute their most wicked intent, and they would have succeeded had not God thwarted their plans. At the very outbreak of the war, President Lincoln, wishing to conciliate the Indians bordering on the Kansas Frontiers, dispatched a special Commissioner to visit them and provide for their wants. This extra Commissioner, with his secretary, were directed by the President to go to take possession of the Quawpaw Agency, located some fifty miles southeast of our Mission. These gentlemen, having reached our place without any opposition, did not dare to venture any further by themselves for fear of falling into the hands of hostile parties then roving through the country. For this reason they requested Father Schoenmakers to accompany them, or, rather, to be their guide to the Quaw Agency, feeling confident that no one would interfere with the Father on account of his being so well known. Father Schoenmakers was a man who would never refuse to accommodate anyone, if he had an opportunity of so doing. Hence, though in this special case he foresaw the possibility of some risk, he, nevertheless, offered his services most willingly. They started and reached Quawpaw Agency without meeting any difficulties. The Commissioner and his secretary were very thankful to the Father for having brought them safely to their destination, and, not doubting that they would be able to comply with their charge without any further assistance from the Father, they bid him farewell and he returned to us. The Indians, as well as the white settlers around the Agency, noticed the coming of the Father in company of two strangers and made no remarks about it. But, when they found out that the Father had left and the two gentlemen who had come with him were remaining at the Agency, they became suspicious and wished to know what their business might be. Having discovered what their character was, the alarm was given, an indignation meeting was held, inflamatory speeches were delivered, and it was openly declared that President Lincoln had no right to send there any of his officers. Here the passion of the people becomes greatly excited, a party is made on the spot, and the resolution is adopted that both the extra Commissioner and his secretary must be hung that very night. Fortunately, the Commissioner got wind of this conspiracy in time and, early in the evening, he and his secretary succeeded in making their escape. Hardly one hour had passed since they had left, when an infuriated mob surrounded the Agency, filling the air with horrible yells and curses. Fully confident that the two strangers were hiding in the building, they rush in and ransack the whole place, but finding nobody, and, believing they were secreted in some of the houses attached to the Agency, concluded to set them on fire, and so they did. Jubilant at the idea that the two strangers were now most certainly burning in the midst of the great conflagration they had kindled, they passed that night in barbarous orgies, threatening death to anyone who would dare to interfere with the new Government inaugurated by the Confederacy.

While this was going on, the special Commissioner and his secretary are out of reach. A light glare illuminating the sky at a great distance, like an aurora borealis, tells them that the Agency, which was to be their residence, is turning to ashes, they feel thankful for their narrow escape, and, wiser than Lot's wife, they do not trust themselves to turn their heads to take a full view of the fire. They keep on traveling the whole night and the next morning they return to our Mission. Father Schoenmakers receives them again with great cordiality, supplies them with whatever they needed for their journey, and, having rested for a couple of hours, they continue on their way to Humboldt in Allen county, where there is no longer any danger for them, that place being garrisoned by a number of Union troops. And now, the wicked men who were looking for a pretext to justify their coming to plunder and destroy our Mission, felt happy, for this circumstance was just what they wanted. In their opinion, our Superior had betrayed them into the hands of the enemy, and, on account of this very fact, he deserved to be court martialed and put to death. Nay, one of the leading men became very violent, swore before the excited crowd that he would give five hundred dollars to anyone who would kill the Father. If the poverty of the miserable settlers then living on the western boundaries of the state of Missouri be taken into consideration, the sum offered for the assassination of the Father was a very large one, and it was no wonder if more than one would be found ready to commit such a crime. At once a plan of attack was conceived and the prospect of success was smiling on them, when Divine Providence came to interfere in defence of the innocent Father. A young Osage half-breed, who had been raised by Father Schoenmakers at our Mission school, by chance, heard of this plot and had too noble a heart not to feel indignant. Gratitude compels him to save the life of one by whom he had been educated. Besides love and esteem for the person with whom he had been associated for several years when living with us urges him to make use of all means in his power to save the Father's life and to prevent, if possible, the ruin of our Mission. To this end he quickly dispatched one of his friends with a message to notify the Father about the conspiracy against him and the whole Mission. The messenger reached the Mission on the 21st of June. At 7 P. M. the man who had been sent delivered the message to Father Schoenmakers, who, having perused it, thanks the carrier, and, having dismissed him without showing the least excitement in his countenance, he hands the letter to Father James C. Van Asshe, and next to me, requesting us to tell him what he should do. The matter was a very serious one. He would not decide for himself. We felt that a heavy responsibility was resting on us, and, for a while, we could not speak a word. But there was no time to lose in vain speculation; something was to be done and we agreed that he should try to save his life by leaving the Mission at once. The Father reflected for a few minutes and, without agitation, replied that he thought it would be better for him to follow our advice.

A heavy rain storm, which had begun about sunset, was now raging in all its fury, but no attention was paid to it. The best racer we had in our stables is soon saddled, and, exactly at 8 o'clock P. M., the Father is off, bound for Humboldt some thirty miles northwest of our Mission. In spite of the great darkness prevailing and the rain, which keeps pouring down in torrents, the Father succeeds in making his way safely during that terrible night, and about 7:30 of the next morning finds himself in the midst of his friends in Humboldt. Having taken a much needed rest, on the next day he resumes his journey and, by the end of the month, he reaches St. Mary's Mission among the Potawatomes.

The storm of the memorable night was a real Godsend for us all. The mob intending to come to assassinate the Father and destroy our Mission had made everything ready to leave Spring River in Jasper County, Missouri, on the 22nd of June, but all their calculations were baffled by the unexpected freshet which lasted, without any interruption, for nearly three days and flooded the whole country to such an extent as to render it impossible to travel, for all the creeks were over their banks, the bottom lands along Spring River, as well as the Neosho were, for miles, turned into ponds and lakes. The common roads had been so soaked with water that for over two weeks the best team could hardly pull an empty wagon through them. This sudden change of weather disconcerted those murderous people and forced them to give up their plans. As the war was daily making new developments, and men were badly needed by the different factions then being formed, those who had conspired against us were now hired to engage in other expeditions far east into Missouri. By this unexpected turn of circumstances our enemies were diverted to our great advantage.

By the beginning of July these belligerent parties, so far, consisting of independent bands of mercenaries, hardly knowing who was their leader and for whom they were fighting, became organized into regular companies. These are growing into regiments and volunteer battalions, and, as by magic, in a very short time, two most formidable armies stand equipped on a war footing; one is known as the Army of the Southern Confederacy, the other that of the Union. The different states, almost equally divided according to their respective interests, either in favor or against slavery, are taking the field to defend their rights. Skirmishes at once become events of ordinary occurrence. One day the Confederates are beaten; on the next Union men meet with reverses; success is fluctuating between the two. Warlike spirit is developing and many deeds of bravery, worthy of a better cause, are daily performed. The ranks of volunteers decimated on the battle field are soon filled up by the new recruits. War; war is the cry that fills the air, and the whole of our most beautiful country finds itself involved in civil strife.

The Indian Territory, south as well as west of Kansas, now becomes the natural boundary of a very extensive battlefield, and, as our Mission, like an oasis in the center of the interminable plains, is one



of the few localities where marching troops, struggling scouts or military trains can repair their outfits and receive assistance. This makes it a great halting point for friends and foes who, in a moment of need, are always willing to unfurl the white flag, no matter where, but more so on our grounds, well knowing that our Mission is like a neutral harbor where party animosities are forgotten and kind hospitality is extended equally to all. In a few months we become used to this sort of visitors who come to us by day as well as by night, always calling for either food or medicine.

So far most perfect security and respect for personal property has existed in our territory. Neither the Indian wigwam nor the half-breed cabin needed any lock or bar at their door to protect them against an evil intentioned intruder. But that really golden age has now become a thing of the past, never more to return, for this war has flooded this country with persons of very bad character, who have not the least scruple of entering any house they can break into to plunder. Those few of our full-blood Osages who of late have applied themselves to agriculture, now see their houses and their improvements destroyed by roving incendiaries; their oats and corn fields are turned into pastures for cavalry horses, their hogs and cattle are butchered by unruly troopers. The poor Indians feel vexed and provoked at the sight of such ravages and, well knowing that it is useless for them to look for any pay for the suffered damages, in their despair, abandon their homes and scatter on the plains to depend again on hunting for their living. Only a few families remain in the vicinity of our Mission, camping on small out-of-the-way streams where there is yet plenty of game. In spite of all these troubles their confidence in us is not deminished, and while they leave us to avoid meeting with soldiers, they trust in our hands quite a number of their children, fully confident that they will be safe.

In the midst of the excitement while war is raging all over the country, peace reigns undisturbed on our premises. Our schools, as well as those at the convent, are keeping on their usual routine, and, at recess time, you would be amused to see how nicely the little boys can play soldiers. At the very outbreak of the war a considerable number of the Osages had withdrawn far west towards the mountains to avoid having any difficulty with the belligerent parties. However, they, gradually, all returned near to us and formed two different settlements; one on the banks of the Cimaron; the other on the Washita River, both located in the Indian Territory.

Of the best warriors of the Nation some two hundred were enrolled in a battalion and were annexed to the Kansas Volunteers. Most of the able-bodied half-breeds and all our school boys who were of age to stand military service joined the Ninth Regiment of Kansas Volunteer Cavalry. These made very good soldiers, but the full-blooded Osages forming the Battalion, soon proved to be unfit for any well organized army. Having no idea of discipline, they would not submit to regimental regulations; moreover, as they insisted on having their wives and children with them, they were a great incumbrance

in all warlike expeditions. For these reasons they were all discharged, with the exception of a few who were detained to act as scouts. Military discipline was now being enforced, wherever these troops were stationed. But, in spite of it, things in general were moving on in very bad shape. Civil courts seemed to have lost all their authority; wicked men taking the advantage offered them by the war's excitement, would go around robbing their neighbors and doing all sorts of mischief.

On the 24th of August, about 4 o'clock P. M., seven desperate outlaws attack our premises, and, after handling me in a rather unceremonious manner, claimed the right of searching the Mission houses, nay, even the Sisters' convent, to find, so they say, Captain John Matthews, who is reported to be hiding with us. That this was only a mean pretext and that in reality they were after plunder soon becomes evident. For, once they get into our rooms, they forget altogether the Captain they were looking after, and begin to examine our chests and private desks to see whether they can find anything of value. But, as neither money nor jewels come to their hands, disappointment makes them violent. They abuse and threaten us, nay, the chief of the gang levels his pistol at my head, apparently determined to kill me, when, providentially, several half-breed come into my room. At their sight the brigands understood very well that if they would dare to hurt any of us, these men would defend us; for this reason they at once drop their arms, apologize and decamp.

Now Osage Mission has become a great rendezvous for warlike expeditions. One day we are visited by Union troops and the next by Confederates. Some times both parties happen to call on us the same day. One night a few cavalry men, belonging to a detachment of Wisconsin Volunteers, camping on the banks of Flat-rock, quite near us, overtake a party of Confederates who are on the point of stealing our horses. The noise of the Wisconsin boys who in the stillness of the hour are galloping up the hill to our defense comes so unexpected to the Knights of the White Feather (as the guerillas were called), that they at once abandon their booty just by the stable doors, and run for their lives. Both parties art for a while chasing one another in the dark over the prairie west of the Mission, exchanging a few shots, but, once the Confederates reach the timber belt, which runs along the Neosho, the Wisconsin boys, fearing that they might be decoyed into ambush, give up the pursuit and return to their camp.

On the 8th of September a body of about two hundred Confederates, under the lead of Col. Stanwaity, a Cherokee half-breed, and two white men acting as Captains (Mr. Livingston and Mr. John Matthews), both well known to us, come to pay us a visit at 2 P. M. We feel a little uneasy at their appearance, for though it was Sunday, we knew very well that they were not coming to attend vespers. But the three officers of this Band did not intend to give us any trouble. In fact, calling on us they assured us of their esteem, and told us that we need not fear anything, for they were going to have a meeting with the Osages at the residence of Mr. Joseph Swis, a few miles

further west, and, at the same time, they would take part in the wedding feast of Mr. Louis Chouteau, who has just married a Cherokee young lady. So they were saying, but the real object of their expedition was to make a raid on the town of Humboldt in Allen county to retaliate for damages the Union men had inflicted on them in West Missouri. They went to camp for the night at the old crossing of Four Mile creek, due west of our Mission, and to leave, as it were, a mark of having been there, about day break the next morning, they hung to a tree a poor white man, a stranger, who happened to fall into their hands during the night. This done, they started at full gallop for Humboldt. They took the town by storm, and no wonder, for most all the men able to carry arms were out in Missouri under command of General J. H. Lane. Meeting with no opposition, but, rather, with full success at every step, they kidnapped a few negroes, plundered several stores and houses of all the valuables they could find. Satisfied with their booty, they hurried out of town, that very night, with their captives. Among the rich spoils they had taken there were several kegs of whiskey and it was not surprising if, on the next day, by the time these men reached our Mission, they were most all in very high spirits, quite boisterous, and all most anxious to get a drink of fresh water. Knowing that in our yard we had an excellent well, as soon as they touched our premises, all alighted and rushed to the well for a drink. Captain John Matthews came in with them, and, seeing me, began to apologize for the liberty, said he, of entering the yard without being invited. Next, taking me aside, he asked me whether it was true that Father Schoenmakers had gone to St. Louis. To this I replied that he had just gone to St. Mary's Mission and from thence to St. Louis. Hearing this he appeared to be troubled in his mind, and, after a while, he said: "Father, you know well that I have always been a friend of this Mission, and I am very sorry that the rumor has been circulated that I have put a price on the Father's head. But, can you believe that I would have dared to commit such a crime and stain my hands with the blood of him who with so much love and paternal care has educated my children?" He was going to say more, when, being called by some of his party, he left me. Noticing that a large number of those drunken men had gathered around the well, I also went there. As it could be expected, I heard them talking some very improper language and declaring that they were bound to go to visit the convent, which stood hardly fifty yards apart from the well. On hearing this, I remarked that, being then 3 o'clock P. M., the girls were yet at work with the Sisters and it would be unbecoming for them to go to interfere with them. But the wretches sneered at me, saying that they would go to help them. This placed me in a very painful position, for, if they would really attempt to go in, I could not answer for what might next have been the result of such a visit. Meanwhile, in the perplexity of my heart, I was praying to God to send his Angel to protect those pure souls to whom I could offer no assistance, behold Captain John Matthews is returning towards me! As soon as he came close by, calling his attention, I said: "Captain,

look at these men, in spite of my remonstrances to the contrary, they talk of going to visit the convent. Now, what do you think of it? Do you think it proper for them to go into that house?" Here the Captain stretched himself and, taking the attitude of a man who is going to wrestle, he clinched fists and, after cursing the crowd, he says: "What, you vulgar set of scoundrels, you dare to talk of going to visit the convent where those angels of Sisters are educating our daughters? Shame on you, dirty fellows. Clear out of here quick and go to mind your horses or I shall shoot some of you before we leave this place." The men knew their Captain well; they considered him the best marksman in the country, and they left on the spot. Once they had all gone, John Matthews told me: "Father, we shall leave in ten minutes and shall go to camp for the night eight miles east of this place on Hickory creek. You do not need to be uneasy for I shall have a line of sentries around the camp with positive orders to shoot anyone who would dare to cross that line to come up to give you trouble." Having said this, he shook hands with me, and off he went with his command.

If Captain John Matthews ever was accountable for the threats, which in a moment of party excitement, he had made against the life of Father Schoenmakers, the noble and really gallant part he acted on this occasion to defend the Sister's convent and prevent it from being dishonored, deserves our warmest thanks and compels us to look on him as our great benefactor.

No sooner did the Humboldt Volunteers, who were out in Western Missouri with General J. H. Lane, hear of the raid the Confederates had made on their town, than they organize a company to start in pursuit of them. But, well knowing that it was too late to overtake them and punish the men who had part in it, for, on their return to Spring River they had all disbanded, they concluded to have their vengeance on Captain John Matthews, who was considered to have been the most influential leader of that expedition. By the end of September a Volunteer Company under the command of General J. G. Blunt came from Fort Scott to our Mission looking for Captain John Matthews, and, hearing that he was at his residence down the Neosho River, near the town of Little White Hair, they bivouac on our premises, and, before the dawn of the next morning, they resume their march, following an old Indian trail through the woods to avoid being noticed by anybody. Here different accounts are given concerning the expedition. According to some, General Blunt's men at an early hour stormed Mr. Matthew's house and, while he was trying to defend himself, General Blunt shot him dead. However, this is not correct for it does not agree with the account I myself received from John Matthew's daughter at that time living with him. According to her testimony, John Matthews, knowing that he had a great many enemies who were looking for an opportunity to kill him, would seldom sleep for two consecutive nights in the same place, but kept always moving with a body guard of his Braves from one house to another. The very day before he was assassinated, having heard that

several suspicious characters had been loitering not far from his residence, he thought it prudent to move and went eight miles down south to pass the night with Mr. Louis Rogers where now stands the City of Chetopa. He thought nobody had noticed his movements, but he was mistaken. His enemies had seen him from ambush wherein they were hiding, and, guided by a young man whose name was John Burk, early on the next morning they attacked the house in which he was sleeping, and, as John Matthews was in the act of raising his rifle in his defence, he was shot dead by John Burk and was buried not far from the spot where he fell. At his death he was fifty-two years old. After he had been killed, John Burk, with his party, went to John Matthews' house and, having taken from it, as well as from his store, whatever was worth anything, they set fire to the buildings and, in the conflagration that followed, Little White Hair's town was completely destroyed. This was the end of a man who for many years labored hard to provide for a large family of children, as well as to promote the welfare of the Osages. Had he kept himself from taking part in political strife, in which he was involved by the generosity and liberality of his heart, he might have enjoyed his old age with his children and grand children on the homestead his industry and energy had procured him. But, alas, his children were left orphans, his property was destroyed, the land to which he had a very good title was taken away by strangers, the Indian settlement, which was prospering under his guidance has disappeared, and nothing is left to mark the spot where it was but the humble and undisturbed grave of his youngest daughter, lovely little Annie. How bright and sweet that child was! Just eleven years, seven months and twenty-seven days was she when, playing with her companions not far from her father's house, the fire, which had been lurking through the grass, communicated itself to her dresses and at once she was enveloped by the flames. Her screams drew immediate assistance, but not quick enough to save her life; she had inhaled the flames; her doom was sealed. On the 19th of April, 1857, her soul, purified, indeed, by fire, took its flight to heaven.

As to John Burk I shall record to his everlasting shame that he was one of the worst characters that ever disgraced American soil, and his heart must have been that of a tiger, not of a man. Previous to this event he was, for a time, school teacher in one of the Cherokee Nation public schools, but, being bound to flee from that country so as not to fall into the hands of a mob of infuriated people who were going to hang him on account of some shameful crime he had committed, he ran to shelter himself under the hospitable roof of John Matthews, who, though being a stranger to him, however being much respected by all the Indians, might by his influence pacify the mob. Burk was not mistaken; John Matthews' words tranquillized the excited crowd; he gave guarantee for Burk's future behavior, and the man was left unmolested and free to go around the country. But, as it is most frequently the case with men of such character, instead of getting better he became worse. The presence of his benefactor being a con-

tinual rebuke to his infamy, he anxiously was looking for some opportunity to get rid of him. And, now meeting with the expedition under General Blunt, he joined it, nay, became its guide, and under its escort went to murder his benefactor. Blood always calls for more blood. Hardly one month had passed since this assassination had taken place, when, being pursued by John Matthews' avengers, he was overtaken far west and shot dead just at the moment he was trying to hide himself behind a bush. His body was left unburied to be the prey of vultures and his name shall be in execration forever.

The success that accompanied the Confederates in their raid on Humboldt encouraged them to attempt another one. This time they were determined to destroy the whole town. This expedition was conducted by Colonel Talbot, a Missourian, and his command amounted to some three hundred and fifty men. At noon of the 14th of October they dash into Humboldt. The troops that were stationed with General Blunt, apprehending no danger of any attack, had all left. A body of home guards, all together about one hundred men under command of Captain Miller and Lieutenant Charles Boland, is the only defence left to the town. The quickness with which Talbot's men rushed in raised such a panic that, in the midst of the great confusion at once prevailing, far from taking arms several of them made their escape. However, Captain Miller, as well as his Lieutenant, succeeded in rallying the few that were left of the Company and, taking a stand, they resist the invading party. But, outnumbered and encompassed by Talbot's Brigade, they are bound to capitulate; they were disarmed and taken prisoners. Now, Captain Miller, seeing that all was lost, calls on Col. Talbot; he acknowledges his superiority, and declares that he and his Company are willing to submit to their fate. But, at the same time, he entreats him to be merciful and spare the women and children for they had injured nobody. Colonel Talbot was by no means a cruel man. All he wanted was to avenge the death of his friend, John Matthews, and to retaliate for the burning of the town of Oseola in Missouri by General Lane. For this reason, replying to Captain Miller, he said he did not want to kill anybody only in case armed resistance would be made him. On that spot he orders his soldiers to take all the goods they could find in the stores. Next, he allows some of his men to help the women and children move their valuables and household goods from their dwellings to a large house at some distance, where they would have a shelter. This done, the whole town is set on fire, with the exception of the churches and also a Masonic Hall, besides some few residences scattered about, which could not easily be reached without disbanding his men on too large an extent of ground. Colonel Talbot, fearing lest in the night he might be surprised by Union Troops coming down from the north, would not allow his men to bivouac on the place but left that very evening with his Brigade, taking with him quite a number of prisoners. These, however, he did not intend to keep. In fact, after marching them for a few miles, he released them all. On the next morning, about 10 o'clock, Talbot was passing triumphantly on our premises on

his return to Missouri, and was followed by two hundred wagons carrying all the booty he had taken.

On the 7th of December my dear friend and companion, Father James C. Van Asshe, who at that time was visiting the Catholic families in the vicinity of Fort Scott, had an narrow escape from the hands of a Company of drunken Union men, who, about 3 o'clock P. M., attacked him on the highway, took his horse, and, having ordered him to kneel down, they would most certainly have shot him had it not been for the sagacity of their Captain, Mr. Bell, who was the only sober man of the party. He, seeing that his soldiers were determined on killing the Father, remonstrated that they were not allowed to do any such thing without first giving him a fair trial. "Let us," said he, "bring our prisoner to the camp; there we shall hold a Court Martial and condemn him to be shot. Doing so, we will be all right." This suggestion proved satisfactory to all. The Father was ordered to get again on his horse and, surrounded by those unruly fellows, who were sneering at him and cursing him at every step, at last all reached the camp. Here the Captain told the men to unsaddle their horses and bring them down in the next valley along the creek where there was yet some good grazing ground left. "This done," said he, "come up and we shall have a Court Martial on the Father." The men, yelling like a gang of wild Indians, now started down the hill to comply with the orders they have received. As soon as they got out of sight, the Captain, addressing the Father with great respect, told him not to fear, and asked him where he wanted to go. The Father replied that he was on his way to the residence of a Catholic family where he was expected to celebrate Mass on the next morning. Then the Captain answered: "Well, Father, let us go at once, we will soon be there." Both started in a gallop and in a short time reached the house where the Father was expected, and, apologizing for what his men had done, the Captain left him with his friends.

PAUL M. PONZIGLIONE, S. J.



# NOTES

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## BISHOP FRANCIS GILFILLAN.

The ST. LOUIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW offers the heartiest congratulations to The Right Reverend Francis Gilfillan, D.D., on his appointment as Coadjutor Bishop of Saint Joseph, and joins the chorus of his friends and fellow priests of the Archdiocese of St. Louis in wishing him *Ad Multos Annos*.

Bishop Gilfillan is one of the charter members of the Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis, and will, no doubt, inaugurate an historical revival in our Northern diocese.

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## IN MEMORIAM

Rt. Rev. Joseph Aloysius Connolly, V. G., one of the charter members, and for years the First Vice President of the Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis, died Thursday, September 28, at St. Mary's Infirmary, after 44 years in the service of the Church. He was Vicar-General of the Archdiocese of St. Louis, member of the School Board, and President of the Board of Clerical Examiners.

Monsignor Connolly was a native of Westport, County Mayo, Ireland, and came here with his parents as a boy of 5 years.

He was ordained in St. John's Church in 1878, and at once became assistant pastor at St. Columbkille's Church, in Carondelet. He became pastor in November, 1878, of the Catholic church at New Madrid, Mo., where he remained until 1882, returning to St. Louis at that time to become assistant pastor of the Church of the Immaculate Conception. In 1883 he served as assistant pastor at St. Bridget's Parish, remaining in that service until the fall of 1886. He then was transferred to De Soto, where he remained until Sept. 1, 1892. At that time he again returned to St. Louis to take charge of St. Teresa's Church, where he was pastor until his death.

He received his title of Monsignor from the Pope in 1911, for exceptional service.

The massive church of St. Teresa on Grand Avenue, which he built, is the most appropriate memorial to his name. His demise is mourned deeply, not only by his parishioners, but also by a host of friends and admirers within and without the Catholic Church. According to the expressed wish of Mgr. Connolly, no funeral sermon was preached at the burial service, but Archbishop Glennon spoke a



few touching words of love and praise for his departed friend: "He has served for many years in the diocese, as assistant priest, as pastor, and finally for these many late years as vicar general. Of him it will be said that he was always the servant faithful and good. He never failed; he never forgot; he never broke a promise; he never deceived. To his people, to the diocese and to Holy Church he was thoroughly devoted, and he leaves a place that it will be very difficult to fill."

Mgr. Connolly took a lively interest in the activities of the Historical Society and the progress of our REVIEW and, although far more a maker of history than a chronicler, he served the cause by suggestion, approval, and gentle criticism. We shall certainly miss his presence in our meetings, which he so regularly attended until sickness and pain claimed him for its own. May the soul of good, kindhearted though rugged, and always earnest and serious Father Connolly rest in peace.

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## TWO MAXWELL LETTERS.

Through the courtesy of the Rev. Edwin L. Leonard, Archdiocesan Director of Charities of Baltimore, we have received two letters of Father James Maxwell, pastor of Ste. Genevieve and dated Nov. 17, 1810, letters that have a bearing on an investigation conducted by Archbishop Carroll of Baltimore into the character of Father Maxwell, then in the 68th year of his age. From a passage of Father Stephen Theodore Badin's letter to Archbishop Carroll on the same matter, it appears that 43 persons under the leadership of one Joseph Fenwick had sent a remonstrance against the Pastor of Ste. Genevieve to Bishop Carroll in order to have him removed, or, as Father Maxwell openly charges, to have him replaced by Father Badin himself. It was six years after the withdrawal of the Spanish authorities from Upper Louisiana, and the entire country was now under Bishop Carroll as administrator. Hence his interference. Letters containing these charges were sent by both Carroll and Badin to Father Maxwell. The Trappist, Urban Guillet, was the bearer of both letters. What the charges were we cannot say at present, as the remonstrance of Joseph Fenwick and his co-signers is not at hand, nor the letter of Bishop Carroll, nor that of Father Badin. We hope to find these letters also, but in the meantime it is safe to say that the charges referred mainly, if not entirely, to breaches of ecclesiastical discipline. It may be surmised that his long terms of absence from home, whilst attending to the affairs of his proposed Irish colony, and a rather outspoken contempt for the American Catholic immigrants from Maryland and Kentucky, were the main grievances. But as Father Badin admits, 12 of the 43 remonstrants were unknown to him and 7 were not much entitled to his esteem, "whilst the remaining 24 were of his former Kentucky parishioners. To my certain knowledge," says Father Badin in his letter to the Bishop of Baltimore,

there were (besides the cause of Father Maxwell), many causes which demand the presence of authority of a Bishop to retrieve or improve the affairs of religion.." We will give Father Maxwell's answer to Bishop Carroll and Father Badin, without note or comment. Only this fact, as recorded by Dr. Guilday in his *Life and Times of John Carroll*, p. 520: "The two pioneer missionaries of Kentucky, Badin and Nerinckx, had been trained in a more rigid school of Theology, which seemed greatly of the Janenistic spirit then prevalent in French and Belgian ecclesiastical circles." It was exactly these two men who found fault with the priestly character of Father Maxwell. Father Maxwell felt aggrieved at what he considered unjust reproach, and declared he would cease his pastoral functions and confine himself to saying Mass. But he must have changed his mind or perhaps been exonerated, as he continued the pastoral care of St. Genevieve and its dependencies until his death in 1814. Here are Father Maxwell's letters: 1. to Bishop Carroll:

St. Genevieve, November 17, 1810.

My Lord:—I received your letter of the 30th of May which has been handed to me a few days ago by the Reverend Father Urbain. I am extremely sorry to learn that insinuations prejudicial to my character as pastor of St. Genevieve have been made to you, which put you under the necessity of making an inquiry concerning such remonstrances. I know well the sources from which they derive; a man by the name of Joseph Fenwick had emigrated to this country about fourteen or fifteen years ago. I had rendered him essential services, so as to procure him provisions and for other families who came with him, from the Spanish government. I discovered at length that he was a hypocrite, and a man of the greatest duplicity, under a cloak of religion. I therefore withdrew my friendship and intimacy from him, which he soon perceived. He about this time had concerted measures with the Reverend Mr. Badin to have me removed from the parish of St. Genevieve, in order that I might be replaced by the Rev. Mr. Badin; but all their schemes proved abortive as they would be of no weight with the Spanish government.

Your Lordship will call to mind that you received a visit from Mr. Badin some two or three years ago, you will probably recollect that he has had some conversation with you concerning my conduct, as this late business was put on foot prior to his departure from Kentucky from which conversation you may easily infer whether he has spoken in a fraternal or charitable manner of me. I fear that your Lordship is not sufficiently aware of the duplicity of some French Ecclesiastics; they are a jealous, meddling, troublesome set of men. I had the opportunity of being in a state of intimacy with them these five and thirty years that I am a missionary, and I have got understanding and discernment enough to know the human mind. Your Lordship observes to me that you received a petition having the signatures of forty-three persons, heads of families; my congregation consists altogether of French and I boldly assert that no

Frenchman has signed that petition and that not these persons, heads of families, have signed it, who are altogether unknown to me, except Mr. Fenwick who lived for many years past, fifty or sixty miles from this place, and who of course can be but very little acquainted with my personal conduct. I feel the greatest sorrow and regret to show the least opposition and disobedience to the orders of your Lordship; but from the causes alleged, I cannot cheerfully submit to the investigation of my conduct by the Reverend Mr. Badin; for I consider him judge and party; I should always object to him as a judge in either an ecclesiastical or civil tribunal in a case of mine.

I am under the necessity, therefore, of informing your Lordship that henceforward I will desist from exercising pastoral duties in Ste. Genevieve, St. Louis, St. Charles and St. Ferdinand, all of which churches I have attended to since the evacuation of this country by the Spanish government, and will content myself only with celebrating Mass. Your Lordship will be pleased to appoint my successor; old age and infirmities have compelled me to adopt this measure, added to the mortification of receiving reproaches, when I think I do my duty. My Lord, I recommend myself to your prayers and pray you to accept the assurances of my highest consideration and respect. I remain, your Lordship's

Most humble and obedient servant,

JAMES MAXWELL,  
Curate of Ste. Genevieve.

Our second document is a copy of a letter to Mr. Badin in answer to his letter.

Ste. Genevieve, Nov. the 17th, 1810

Reverend Sir:—I received your letter a few days ago of the 22nd of July written in Latin; it was handed to me by the Reverend Father Urbain. I have considered it advisable to answer you in English, as my Latin is grown rusty by time. I received at the same time and by the same opportunity a letter from his Lordship, the Bishop of Baltimore in which he states that a petition was sent to him signed by forty-three persons, he presumes the heads of families, containing remonstrances against my personal conduct and that he has appointed you to make a judicial inquiry concerning the charges within alleged. I made answer to the letter as I do to yours, that I cannot submit to an investigation of my conduct by you, as I consider you would be judge and party in this litigation, for I firmly believe that this petition was set on foot by your persuasion and counsels; your conduct heretofore and that of the hypocrite Fenwick give me strong reasons to form this belief, and if you had any delicacy in you, you would have refused this commission.

What in the name of God has the Charisien Fenwick and others whom you call your former parishioners, men unknown to me, I suppose vagabonds who strode up and down the Mississippi; what, I say, have they to do with my conduct? Do they form part of my congregation? No, if Fenwick was of my congregation I would

have expelled him long since for having raised his children in the manner he has done without the love or fear of God. I have nothing more to add, but remain, your humble servant,

JAMES MAXWELL,

NOTE: One of them has been lately arraigned in a court of justice for larceny; and those are mignons of Mr. Badin.

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### MEMORIAL

After storm and strife comes rest eternal. We would subjoin this inscription on Father Maxwell's tombstone, Ste. Genevieve Parish Church:

Ci git  
 Le Rev. Jacques Maxwell  
 décédé le 28 Mai, 1814  
 agé de 72 ans  
 Curé de Cette Paroisse  
 de 1797 a 1814

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Heureux ceux qui demeurent dans votre maison, Seigneur Ils vous loueront dans tous siècles.

Psaume 83—Vers 5.

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From Edwards "*Great West*" we transcribe the following interesting inscription, with the brief note by the author:

"1840.—In the spring of this year, the Catholic church, which is attached to the St. Louis University, and called the College, was commenced. The cornerstone was laid on a Sabbath afternoon, with all the ceremonial observances of the church, and in the presence of an interested multitude. There was a parchment deposited in the stone, on which was the following inscription:

Pridie Idus Aprilis,  
 Anno reparatae salutis MDCCCXL,  
 Americanae Independentiae assertae et vindicatae  
 LXIV,

Gregorio XVI Pontifice Maximo,  
 Martino Van Buren Foederatae Americae Praeside.  
 Admodum Rev. Patre Joanne Roothaan Proposito  
 Generali Societatis Jesu  
 Lilburn W. Boggs Missouri Gubernatore,  
 Gulielmo Carr Lane Urbis Sancti Ludovici Praefecto,  
 Rev. Patre P. J. Verhaegen Vice-Provinciae  
 Missourianae Societatis Jesu Vice-Provinciali.

Rev. Patre J. A. Elet Sancti Ludovici Universitatis  
 Rectore,  
 Reverendissimus D. Joseph Rosati Episcopus Sti.  
 Ludovici, Lapidem hunc angularem Ecclesiae,  
 Deo Opt. Max.  
 Sub invocatione  
 Sancti Francisci Xaverii,  
 Atque  
 Sancti Aloysii  
 Studiosae Iuventutis patroni.  
 In Urbe Sancti Ludovici aedificandae  
 Assistentibus Sancti Ludovici Universitatis Rectore,  
 Professoribus, Auditoribus ac Alumis,  
 Necnon D'no Georgio Barnett et D'no Stuart Matthews  
 Architectis,  
 Ac D'no Carolo Cutts muratorum Praefecto,  
 Solemni ritu benedixit et in fundamentis posuit,  
 Coram magna populi  
 Frequentia.

This church was situated on 9th and Green streets.

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Bishop Benedict Joseph Flaget, twice Bishop of Bardstown, Kentucky, and Patriarch of the West by force of age and merit, is most intimately connected with the See of St. Louis. It was Bishop Flaget that made a missionary journey to the various settlements of Missouri after the long night of neglect, and brought together the scattered fragments of parishes for the nucleus of the future diocese. It was Bishop Flaget, likewise, who attended to the spiritual wants of Ste. Genevieve, St. Louis, St. Charles and St. Ferdinand until the coming and installation in St. Louis Pro-Cathedral, of Bishop William Louis Du Bourg. Whatever concerns Bishop Flaget and his cathedral city, Bardstown, must be of interest to all western, and especially Missouri Catholics; nay, non-Catholics also. For was not Bishop Flaget one of our earliest promoters of Christian art. We cull a portion of the well written article from the columns of *The Dearborn Independent*, as written by R. Trent. It describes a visit to the Bardstown Cathedral precincts:

At the entrance of the grounds is a great iron gate with heavy knocker. On either side of the gate is a small brick lodge house, where the watchful porter waited to answer the calls of long ago. The porters are gone now and the lodge houses are empty, but the old St. Joseph's College still opens its doors to the youths who come to learn of its wisdom.

It was early in the heart of Bishop Flaget to build a house of worship, and on June 16, 1816, the cornerstone of St. Joseph's Cathedral was laid.

Amid the lofty trees of the forests, then practically untouched, there arose another temple in the wilderness, a temple which is today considered, by those capable of judging, one of the most beautiful examples of religious architecture in this part of the world.

Outside, the Greek style predominates. The walls which are three feet thick are made of brick manufactured in the inclosed yard. The building is 150 feet long, 74 feet wide and 60 feet high. Across the front is a portico with six great Ionic columns. Each of these columns is a monument to the patience and painstaking genius of the pioneer builders who hewed, sawed and shaped the massive supports without the aid of modern machinery. They are tributes also to the one-time grandeur of the Old West, for each pillar, "shining and tall and fair and straight," is the trunk of a great walnut tree from the wooded hills of Kentucky.

A most unusual feature of the exterior of the building is the row of 10 white tablets, one above each window. On each of the gleaming stones is inscribed one of the commandments from the tablets of Sinai.

The slender spire, crowned by a cross, rests upon a square tower in which there was for nearly a century a wooden clock brought from Ninove, Belgium. This clock was used until 1915, when the silver-toned bells ceased to ring and a new timepiece replaced the old one.

The old bell is one of the most prized possessions of the cathedral. Made at Alost, in Belgium, for the Monastery of Ninove, it for years called pious monks to prayers. From France it was sent by Louis Philippe as a gift to Bishop Flaget, and for almost a century now, it has been sounding forth to the little town the message of the Old Cathedral. The original bell was cracked some years ago, but it was recast and is still in use today.

The woodwork of the interior of the cathedral is of solid walnut. The arrangement and decorations are such as to give the impression of Roman architecture. Here again are great columns flanking the nave on either side; here is the deep-toned organ sent from France to add to the beauty and dignity of the church in a new land. Here is the bishop's throne and the plush throne chair presented to Bishop Flaget by King Louis. Here is the wondrous wrought red velvet chasuble made by the Queen of France and her courtiers. On the back of this vestment there is still traceable the outline of the French royal coat of arms, which were removed by Bishop Flaget because he felt that they savored too much of autocracy for use in the Land of Freedom.

And here, in the dim light of hallowed tapers, are the treasures of the East, treasures that art critics pronounce of priceless value. These are the nine paintings presented to the first Bishop of Bardstown by Louis Philippe, King of France, and his brother-in-law, Francis I, King of the two Sicilies. On each frame is the inscription, "Ex Dono. Franciscus I. utriusque, Sicilae Rex." The collection has been valued at more than a million dollars.

In the sanctuary over the high altar hangs "The Crucifixion" by Van Brée, the Flemish artist. The congregation has been offered \$100,000 for this painting alone, but has refused to sell at any price. In this picture the Virgin Mother and John, the beloved disciple, are standing gazing at the figure on the Cross, while the weeping Magdalene clasps the feet of the dying Christ.

On the wall of the right aisle nearest the altar is Rubens' "The Flaying of St. Bartholomew." This is considered the most valuable painting of the collection. The shadows on the picture are heavy, and only when the western sun lights up the rich colorings of the artist's brush can the vividness of the scene be to any degree comprehended. But it is worth waiting for the light to get a glimpse of the figures.

On the left is Murillo's "Crowning of the Blessed Virgin." This is a more pleasing picture, resembling to a marked degree the "Immaculate Conception." The cherub faces are very similar, and the soft clouds and subdued radiance are the same. The other paintings are: "The Winged St. Mark" by Van Dyck, "St. Peter in Chains" by Van Dyck, "St. John the Baptist" by Van Dyck; "The Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin" and "The Descent of the Holy Ghost at Pentecost," thought to have been painted by Van Dyck, and "St. Aloysius Teaching the Youths" by an unknown artist.

These are the treasures of the Old Cathedral, and it is a treasure house indeed. It is a wonderful thing to find a gem of such symmetry and beauty in the crude setting of a little town not far from the Kentucky mountain district."

We have given space to this description of Bishop Flagets treasures, partly on account of their inherent interest, but more so on account of an event in the Bishop's life, most intimately connected with them.

Under the caption "*Bishop Flaget and Congress*," George F. O'Dwyer published an interesting letter in the New York "*America*," which we will reprint here, on the principle: "*Colligite fragmenta ne pereant*."

Religious articles, such as paintings, church furniture, and objects to enhance the beauty of Catholic churches, colleges, and institutions have been imported, from time to time, into the United States by the Bishops of the Church. In the constructive period of the country, from 1800 to 1850, customs officials, authorized by Congress, exercised a proper courtesy, and levied only a nominal tax. In most cases the articles were admitted free. Occasionally, however, over-officious individuals at the ports, whether through scrupulous exactitude, or just plain bigotry, held up articles or levied a full tax.

While Louis Philippe of France was Duke of Orleans he gave to the saintly Bishop Benedict Flaget of Bardstown, Ky., valuable paintings and church furniture, with which to grace the sanctuary

of the Bishop's Cathedral in Bardstown. When the articles arrived here in the latter twenties of the nineteenth century, United States officials levied the full duty on them, although they were free gifts and not within the intent of the revenue laws of the time. But the customs officials of that period chose not to take this view of the matter.

Finally, interested individuals in the Bishop's diocese took the matter to Congress and a bill was drawn up in 1828 which "authorized the remission of the duties on certain paintings and church furniture presented by the King of the French to the Catholic Bishop of Bardstown, Kentucky."

The bill came up for a third reading on the floor of the House of Representatives on Monday, March 19, 1832, and, after it was read by Mr. Dougherty, the Catholic clerk of the assembly, Mr. Hogan of New York, (a Methodist) arose and "regretted that he felt it his duty to oppose the passage of the bill." Among other things he said that "The bill proposed to promote no national interest—it addressed itself to the mere liberality of the House. Did our Constitution recognize any connection between Church and State?" Then Representative Charles Wickliffe of Kentucky, a non-Catholic, was considerably stirred up by the apparent bigotry of his fellow-member, and he called him to task in the following language:

"The duty of defending the principle involved in this bill devolves upon me, and I will detain the House but a very short time in its discharge. About four years ago I presented the application of a worthy individual whom the bill proposed to relieve. The application had always met with the approval of the Committee on Ways and Means and the bill had passed the House twice without objection, but was never acted upon in the Senate for want of time.

Mr. Speaker, the House will pardon me while I trespass long enough to do justice to a worthy man, Bishop Flaget; he is my constituent and friend. He is a man who has devoted a life of near seventy years in dispensing acts of benevolence and the Christian charities. He was once a resident of this district, having under his charge the valuable College of Georgetown, where his labors in the cause of science, morality, and religion will long be remembered by all who knew him.

His destiny, or the orders of the Church to which he belongs, placed him at the head of the Catholic College in Bardstown. . . . Connected with this institution is the Cathedral or Church. The expenditures incident to these establishments have been more than equal to the private means and contributions devoted to the purposes of the institution, and its founder has felt, and still feels, the consequent embarrassments. These have been, in some measure, relieved by considerable donations of church furniture and college apparatus from persons in Italy and France.

The duties upon such articles have been remitted heretofore by the liberality of Congress. The articles upon which duties have been paid, and which the bill contemplates to refund, consist of paintings



and other valuable articles, presented some years since by the then Duke of Orleans, now King of the French, to the Bishop of Bardstown. He could not refuse to accept the offering; by accepting, however, he had to pay the duties. The articles were not brought into this country as merchandise, do not enter into the consumption of the country and therefore do not, I humbly conceive, fall within the principle of your revenue system. They are specimens of art and taste, as ornaments to a house of public worship.

I trust, Mr. Speaker, that the circumstances that this application is in behalf of a Catholic Bishop will not prejudice the mind of any member of this House. I would extend this relief to any church or public institution and to none sooner than the Catholic. I live among them. They are, like other denominations, honest in their religious opinions, content to worship in the mode their education and habits have taught them to believe was right, and which their judgments approve. They are honest, industrious, and patriotic citizens, devoted to the free institutions of the country. I mean not to say that they are more so than any other denominations; certainly they are not less patriotic and liberal in their opinions and practises than others of my constituents.

I hope the gentleman from New York will withdraw his opposition to this bill; the amount involved is small, but it is to the very worthy man, Bishop Flaget, at this time of much consequence. At least, I shall look with confidence for the judgment of this House in favor of the passage of the bill.

Gulian Verplank, Representative from New York, reiterated Mr. Wickliffe's sentiments. He said that "The principle adopted by the Government was that it should not tax the donations of learned or pious men from abroad to institutions of religion or literature in this country. That principle had first been settled in reference to books and apparatus presented to one of our colleges. . . . We ought not tax fruits of philanthropy or good-will. Enough and more than enough has been done to check this species of friendly intercourse, and all those acts of kindness between different nations which were calculated to cause men to remember that they all formed parts of one great family. . . . It was not gracious to tax the donations which our brethren abroad might be disposed to make to the institutions of the new world."

The protesting spirit of Mr. Hogan of New York was by this time sufficiently chastened and as "the explanation was so perfectly satisfactory he, with pleasure, withdrew his objections to the bill." It was passed, forthwith, without further opposition.

This interesting incident in the life of the saintly pioneer of Kentucky and the Middle West, Bishop Flaget, is not chronicled in the encyclopedias, including the "Catholic Encyclopedia"; neither does the incident occur in Clarke's "*Lives of the Deceased Bishops.*" So, for purposes of a complete record, the incident will no doubt interest Catholic historical students.

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Anent the revival of historical studies in the Benedictine Order, P. Edmund, O. S. B., writes in his circular letter of Sept. 22, 1922:

"We certainly have a right to expect our own members to take interest, seeing so much enthusiastic expression outside of our Order. The great American Catholic Historical Association is doing its full share in helping us. The members of that organization have shown in every way that they are profoundly interested in our "Historical Revival." They have given it a big lift by bringing it prominently before the public in our leading Catholic papers. They have promised us every possible assistance and have shown that they mean to keep their promise. The N. C. W. C. has also recorded our endeavor. For all this help we can pronounce a grateful "God reward you." There has been a deep personal interest taken by the Father of the Catholic Historical movement in America, Dr. Guilday, and to him we owe a special token of thankfulness.

Now, every honor begets its corresponding obligation. It is an honor for us to be the first religious order in America to take up this movement. It is an honor for us to be the first child of the American Catholic Historical Association, in the sense that we are a branch of the great Catholic Historical Movement in this country. It is an honor to have an opportunity to develop our own history. These privileges have their obligations. These obligations are expressed in the National Benedictine Report. It contains the resolution that we recommend to our General Chapters the formation of an American Benedictine Historical Association; that this Association hold its meetings at the same time and place as the National Catholic Association and co-operate with the same, and that every monastery be urged to have one or more representatives in the Benedictine Association to direct the work of research and the chronicling of events in their monasteries.

That is evidence that something has been done; now let us do something more. New Haven may be too remote for most of our monasteries to take an active part in the meeting to be held there. Yet some of us must attend. I undersand that three monasteries will have representatives there. But there should be more to make the things look right. If it is absolutely impossible for some of us to attend this meeting, then let us not fail to send in a report of some kind so that those in attendance will have our advice or opinion to act on. This report should concern archives, libraries, the writing of history, the general catalog and above all should set forth what is being done in our own institutions for the development of history, be that ever so little. This will give our representatives at New Haven a chance to act and plan according to our needs. It will prepare the way for our affiliation with the American Catholic Historical Association, as well as form a scheme or plan for our general chapter to act on next summer.

In conclusion I would suggest that we cultivate the habit of corresponding with one another more freely concerning this movement and thus help in every way to make our efforts a genuine success."

**REVEREND HENRI PRATTE, SEPTEMBER, 2, 1822**

Just one hundred years ago, last September second, there died in his native town of Ste. Genevieve, Missouri, one of our noblest pioneers in the American priesthood, Father Henri Pratte, Pastor of Ste. Genevieve.

A number of his letters are preserved in the archives of the Diocesan Chancery of St. Louis. Bishop Rosati wrote a brief memorial of Father Pratte, the pastor of Ste. Genevieve, which contains the main data of his short, yet most active and faithful life:

"On the 2nd day of September, 1822, the undersigned buried on the epistle side of the sanctuary of this church (Ste. Genevieve) the remains of Rev. Henry Pratte, pastor of this congregation, who died on the first day of September of this year, at 11 a. m. He was born January 19, 1788, in this same parish, went to Canada in 1803, and having completed his studies at the Seminary of Montreal was ordained priest. As he desired to devote himself to the spiritual care of his own people, he called upon Mgr. Flaget, Bishop of Bardstown in Kentucky, who was at that time administrator of this diocese, and who appointed him pastor of Ste. Genevieve. This parish had been without a resident priest since the death of Mr. Maxwell (May 28th, 1814), being only occasionally visited by Mr. Olivier, the pastor of Prairie du Rocher.

Mr. Pratte took possession of the parish in October, 1815. Since that time he has entirely given himself to the promotion of the welfare of his flock and the greater glory of God. He repaired the church by having it plastered, and furnished it with a new floor, finishing the ceiling, and covering the church with a new roof. And when the church could no longer contain the rapidly increasing population, he built a new sacristy, enclosing the old one in the body of the church.

Another church he built at Old Mines, Washington County, and still another at St. Michael's (Fredericktown), which he frequently visited to hold divine service. This place (i.e., Ste. Genevieve) owes to him the renewal of its piety and the blessing of Christian education of the children, in which he took the deepest interest, especially in regard to the First Holy Communion of the children, to which he would admit them only after a long preparation. Always full of love for his fellowman, he refused the request of no one who required his assistance. His house was always open to all priests traveling through the city on their way to their stations in the various parts of the diocese; also to the young students whom the Bishop sent to the seminary. For this institution he had a great affection, ever promoting its interests and frequently rendering it important services. Whilst all seemed auspicious that this worthy priest should finish the course of his good works in a long sequence of years, Divine Providence, whose dispensations are always adorable, took him away in the very bloom of youth.

A nervous fever snatched him away within three weeks. As soon as he saw that his disease was fatal, he called Mr. Olivier, who

heard his confession and gave him the Viaticum. We ourselves, on the very day of his death, administered Extreme Unction. His funeral was held amid a vast concourse, not only of his parishioners, but also of Protestants. The respect of all who knew him followed him to the grave. His memory will be in benediction, not only in this parish, but in the entire diocese, and especially in the seminary, that will always know him as one of the principal benefactors.

JOSEPH ROSATI,  
Rector of Seminary."

Father Pratte's remains lie buried near the High Altar of the church of Ste. Genevieve. The present pastor, Very Rev. Charles Van Tourenhout has placed a beautiful memorial stone above the tomb of the first native priest of Missouri, Henri Pratte.

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#### A MAP OF 1836.

A beautifully engraved and colored "Map of the State of Missouri and the Territory of Arkansas, published in Philadelphia by S. Augustine Mitchell, in the year 1836" was recently presented to the Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis by the Very Reverend Charles Van Tourenhout, P. R., of Ste. Genevieve, Missouri. Old maps are always interesting and important documents, and more especially if they give the ancient lineaments of one's own native state. Of course, a map of eighty-six years ago must show a much different Missouri from that we know today. There is no Platte purchase shown, within the Missouri line, but the western boundary is as straight as an arrow, south to north. There is no Kansas City shown, but there is the town of Westport about where you would expect Kansas City, and where Kansas City now spreads out its tentacles in all directions.

There is no Kansas State or Territory, and the Indian tribe that has given its name to that state and its eastbound river, is here designated as the *Konzas*. There is an Indian Territory which extends from the boundary of Arkansas on the South to Canada on the North, and from the western boundary of Missouri to the Rocky Mountains.

The Indians settled in Indian Territory along the western boundary of Missouri and Arkansas are, beginning in the North: the Kickapoos, Konzas, Delawares, Shawnees, Piankashaws, Weas and Peorias, Osages, and to the west of them the Pawnees; then northward of the Osages, the small tribe of the Senecas; then about the headwaters of the Arkansas River, the Cherokees, Creeks and Choctaws. The territory south of the Red River is marked Mexico.

Indian names deck the map, and civilization and towns hugged up close to the rivers in those days. The hunting grounds of the Osage Indians were equally divided between Missouri and the present state of Kansas. There is no St. Joseph on the map, very little

of St. Louis, no Maysville, no Dekalb County, not even a Hannibal & St. Joseph Railroad. There are just two counties shown from Westport to the north line. They are Clay County and Clinton County.

The map also shows that there was no Iowa line at that time. North of Missouri it was called Wisconsin territory. Clay County was a little longer than it is now, but the real long one of the two was Clinton County. It included at that time practically all of Clinton, Dekalb and Worth Counties. Chariton County extends from the Missouri River to the boundary line of Wisconsin Territory.

The steamboat routes to Pittsburgh, New Orleans, the Falls of the Illinois, Prairie du Chien, Fort Snelling, Fort Leavenworth and the Yellowstone River are given in a corner of the map. St. Louis is credited with a population of 14,125 souls, Howard County, 10,854; all Missouri with 140,454. That was the condition of Missouri and the West in 1836.

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ST. ANGE COMMANDANT OF ST. LOUIS. According to Scharff (History of St. Louis I p. 75) and Shepard (History of St. Louis, p. 14) the government of the new colony of St. Louis was self-constituted and Louis St. Ange de Bellerive ruled it by popular action or acclamation. But this statement is wrong. When the British Highlanders, under Captain Stirling, reached Fort Chartres, in October 1765, Captain St. Ange withdrew his force to St. Louis and there continued the command which was left to him when DeVillers departed from Fort Chartres to New Orleans. He was never elected commander of St. Louis by the settlers.

The "*Louisiana Historical Quarterly*", April 1921, published the following document:

Oath of allegiance to the King of Spain Taken by the Inhabitants of Illinois Before Louis St. Ange de Bellerive.

Translation:

In the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-nine, on this nineteenth of November, we, Louis St. Ange de Bellerive, Captain, commanding the Spanish colony of Illinois, ceded by His Most Christian Majesty to His Catholic Majesty, by virtue of the orders addressed to us by His Excellency, My Lord O'Reilly, Commander of Benfayan, of the Order of Alcantara, Lieutenant General and Governor of the Province of Louisiana, in consequence of the act of possession, which we have just taken, and Inspector General of His Catholic Majesty's armies, Captain General of said colony in the name of His said Catholic Majesty.

We ordered that all subjects of this colony who wish to remain here under the domination of His said Majesty, take the oath of allegiance which he demands, and on the moment, being assembled in the chamber of the said Government, we made them take the oath of fidelity, as follows, viz:

That they promise and swear to God to His Catholic Majesty to be faithful to Him and to sacrifice their lives for his service, to warn him or his commandants of anything coming to their knowledge prejudicial to his state or to the support of his crown and of his person, and to live under the laws it shall please His said Catholic Majesty to impose on them, to all of which submitted those hereafter named whose names are hereafter designated and marked.

Signed by about seventy citizens of St. Louis.  
Lefevre Debruisson etc., etc."

In this document St. Ange styles himself "Captain, commanding the Spanish colony of Illinois." Houck (*Hist. of Missouri* I p. 17 ss.) explains the position of St. Ange as follows: When St. Ange surrendered to Captain Stirling, Fort Chartres and the territory ceded to England, he retired with his troop of soldiers and officers and military stores to territory still under his jurisdiction, although ceded to Spain, and in which he was the only embodiment of legal authority until the arrival of the authorities of the new sovereign. His authority on the west side of the river remained in full force and did not require action on the part "of the people." It is to be presumed that St. Ange understood this. In all his official proceedings, after removing the seat of the government to the new town, he followed the procedure followed at Fort Chartres. Ulloa, in the instruction he gave Captain Ruiz, seemed primarily to contemplate the formation of a new settlement north of the Missouri, of which Ruiz was to be chief, not interfering with the existing settlement of "the Illinois" south of the Missouri. Again, in 1769, Ulloa ordered the Fort "El Principe de Asturias" to be evacuated and delivered to Captain St. Ange. From all this it is clearly manifest, that St. Ange was fully recognized as the supreme civil and military commandant west of the Mississippi for some time after the Treaty of Fontainebleau.

And for this reason the settlers of St. Louis "des Illinois" swore the oath of allegiance under the direction of St. Ange, "Captain, commanding the Spanish colony of Illinois", on Nov. 9, 1769.—On February 17, 1770, three months after the date of the above document, St. Ange resigned, and Don Pedro Piernas, a "captain of infantry" the first Spanish lieutenant-governor, assumed the government of the Illinois country (St. Louis and dependencies).

It is said that when Captain Stirling, the first English commander at Fort Chartres, died in January 1776, on the request of the inhabitants there, St. Ange came over from the Spanish possessions to take charge of the post of Fort Chartres until the arrival of Captain Stirling's successor, Captain Frazer, from Pittsburgh. This romantic incident is a fiction, because in January 1776 St. Ange was dead over a year; he died Dec. 27, 1774, at the house of Madame Chouteau. St. Ange was never married. In his will which was made Dec. 27, 1774, St. Ange bequeaths 25 livres for Masses and 500 livres for the construction of the church of St. Louis.

# DOCUMENTS FROM OUR ARCHIVES

DIARY OF BISHOP ROSATI

1826

APRIL

- 1 Saturday. Mass early in the morning in the chapel. Confessions of the Nuns. In the evening, Confessions of the Seminarians.
- 2 Low Sunday. Early in the morning, Confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel. Confessions of the parishioners. Assisted at High Mass, during which I preached on the Gospel of the day. The dogmas of faith are not separable from the precepts of morality: hence our Savior gives in this Gospel a number of instructions calculated to build up our faith and morals. With regard to faith: 1. he proves with still greater evidence the truth of his resurrection; 2. When, breathing upon the disciples, he says: "Receive ye the Holy Ghost," he shows that the latter proceeds from both the Father and the Son; 3. the divine mission of the Apostles; 4. the power to remit sins, etc. With regard to morals: "Peace be to you": this threefold announcing of peace signifies a threefold peace, namely, with God, with men and ourselves; it was fitting that Christ alone should announce that peace, because he alone by his passion and death gave us that peace which he announces. 1. By sin we had become the enemies of God, hence vessels of wrath, sons of vengeance; we all were under a curse: Christ reconciled the world with the Father. 2. Before the death of Christ charity was known to but a few men; Christ taught us the motives why we should cultivate this virtue: we all are the sons of the same Father, members of the same Church, heirs to the same kingdom, members of the same body, etc. 3. Peace with ourselves: there is no peace for the wicked; the wicked are like the tossing waves, which can never rest. This peace consists in order, whereby the

- body is subjected to the mind, the passions to reason, and reason to God. This order was unknown, etc. First Communion of the children in the church. Vespers in the same place.
- 3 Monday. Mass in the chapel. No Conference. Sent to New Madrid Frs. De Neckere and Odin, who will remain there until Pentacost. Arrival of Fr. Dahmen.
  - 4 Tuesday. Mass in the same place. No Conference.
  - 5 Wednesday. Mass in the same place.
  - 6 Thursday. Mass early in the morning. Conference to the Nuns, on the proper use of the Sacrament of Penance; dispositions, etc.
  - 7 Friday. Early in the morning, Chapter; went to confession. Mass in the chapel.
  - 8 Saturday. Mass early in the morning. Confessions of the Nuns. In the evening, Confessions of the Seminarians.
  - 9 IInd Sunday after Easter. Early in the morning, Confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel. Confessions of the parishioners. Assisted at High Mass, during which I preached on the Gospel of the day: "I am the good shepherd." 1. What Christ does for us as the shepherd of our souls; 2. what return we should make to him, as members of his flock. Vespers in the church.
  - 10 Monday. Early in the morning, Spiritual Conference to the Seminarians, on the Observance of Rule (Mr. Loisel). Mass in the chapel.
  - 11 Tuesday. Spiritual Conference of the Community, on the observance of Rule. Bro. Sargiano<sup>79</sup> and Mr. Permoli. Mass in the chapel.
  - 12 Wednesday. Mass in the chapel. Received letter from Fr. Saulnier.
  - 13 Thursday. Mass early in the morning. At 6 o'clock went to the church, where Matin and Lauds of the Dead were said for the soul of Mrs. Fournier, the sister of the Right Rev. Bp. of New Orleans, and most zealous benefactress of this Mission of Louisiana, and particularly of this Seminary. Assisted at High Mass in cope, and after it, gave the absolution. In the evening, received through the

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<sup>79</sup> Cf. *St. Louis Cath. Hist. Review*, Vol. III, p. 341, Note 107.



- mail letters 1. from Fr. Tichitoli; 2. from Fr. Rosti<sup>80</sup>; 3. from Mr. Hay.<sup>81</sup>
- 14 Friday. Early in the morning, Chapter; went to confession. Mass in the chapel.
- 15 Saturday. Mass in the chapel early in the morning. Confessions of the Nuns. In the evening, Confessions of the Seminarians.
- 16 IIIId Sunday after Easter. Early in the morning, Confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel. Confessions. Answered Mr. Hay;<sup>82</sup> wrote to Fr. Savine.<sup>83</sup> Assisted at High Mass, during which I preached on the Sunday's Gospel: "A little while, and you shall not see me," etc.; but the world shall rejoice: and you shall be made sorrowful," etc. Vespers in the church.
- 17 Monday. Early in the morning, Spiritual Conference to the Seminarians, on performing well our Exercises of piety: 1. motives; 2. means (Saucier). Mass in the chapel.
- 18 Tuesday. Mass in the chapel. Through Mr. McCoy<sup>84</sup> I received a letter from Fr. Odin whom I sent to New Madrid with Fr. De Neckere on the 3rd of April. On April 4, Fr. De Neckere preached in the town of Jackson; he was well received by the inhabitants of that place, among whom some catholic families were found.
- 19 Wednesday. Mass in the chapel.
- 20 Thursday. Mass early in the morning in the chapel. Conference to the Nuns, on the Sacrament of Penance. At about eight o'clock in the evening the Right Rev.

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<sup>80</sup> Grand Coteau, February 17, 1826. Had already found the money for the payment which you wished me to make, when the Superioress (Madame Aude) assured me it had been made long since, but unknown to the Sister (Mary Layton), whence the latter's letter to her uncle. Am well.

<sup>81</sup> Of Cahokia, Ill.; he was a convert.

<sup>82</sup> I authorize Fr. Savine to marry your daughter to Mr. Savage. I must say however, that, no matter what the circumstances, it is always a most grievous sin to marry outside the Church. Still, owing to your attachment to Religion since you have known the truth, I am willing to relax the strictness of Ecclesiastical law in this instance, in order to permit your daughter to fulfill her duty, hoping that by her good example she will contribute to the respect rendered to our Holy religion.

<sup>83</sup> Having heard from Mr. Hay what took place in connection with his daughter's marriage to Mr. Savage, I authorize you to validate this union. Impress upon Miss Hay the realization of her fault, the nullity of the marriage. Accept nothing, even if they insist.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. Rev. E. Prunte: *The Beginnings of Catholicity in Cape Girardeau*, in *St. Louis Cath. Hist. Review*, Vol. III, p. 56.

Du Bourg, Bishop of New Orl., arrived here; through him I received letters: 1. from Fr. Borgna; 2. from Fr. Tichitoli; 3. from Fr. Sibourd; 4. from Mrs. Lacleotte; 5. from Fr. Portier. The Bishop talked to me at great length about the journey which he thinks of making to Europe for the good of the Diocese.

- 21 Friday. Early in the morning, Chapter; went to confession. Mass in the chapel. Went to see the Nuns with the Bishop. Wrote: 1. to Fr. Borgna<sup>85</sup>; 2. to Fr. Tichitoli<sup>86</sup>; 3. to Fr. Saulnier<sup>87</sup>.
- 22 Saturday. Early in the morning, Mass in the chapel. Confessions of the Nuns. In the evening, Confessions of the Seminarians.
- 23 IVth Sunday after Easter. Early in the morning, Confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel. Confessions of the parishioners. The Right Rev. Bishop Du Bourg assisted at High Mass in cope, and preached; as to me, I stayed at home, writing letters: 1. to Fr. Boccardo<sup>88</sup>; Genoa; 2. to Fr. Baccari<sup>89</sup>, Vic. Gen. of the Congregation, Rome; 3. to my brother<sup>90</sup>, Sora; 4. to Fr. Colucci<sup>91</sup>, priest, of the Cong. of the Mission, Rome; 5. to Fr. Giriodi<sup>92</sup>, Superior of the College and house of St. Lazarus, Piacenza.

<sup>85</sup> Received the barrels of rice, sugar and molasses, the linen-cloth, the books, Fr. Boullier's trunk. You will receive a set of Calmet and Fénelon. Sell the clock: I must make money by all possible means to pay my debts.

<sup>86</sup> Fr. Rosti cannot leave Grand Coteau unless someone else is sent in his place. Before long you will get a companion whom you will like.

<sup>87</sup> If the children are ready, Bp. Du Bourg will give them Confirmation. Compare the *Ordo* and have it printed in St. Louis.

<sup>88</sup> Received your letters; am glad to hear you persevere: the fulfillment of your wishes is nearer than you think. Bp. Du Bourg is going to Rome: he will obtain what you and I so much desire.

<sup>89</sup> Bishop Du Bourg, the bearer, needs no introduction. His purpose in going to Rome, is to assure the continuation of the good already done; he is desirous to make another establishment in Louisiana, though I could not consent to it on account of our lack of subjects and means. You may remedy the first by sending us Frs. Tornatore and Boccardo; we trust in Providence to remedy the other.

<sup>90</sup> More than a year without news from you. Entrust this to Bp. Du Bourg. He had offered to me to go himself to see you; but I did not wish him to give himself that trouble. As soon as you get this, go to Rome to see him: he will give you details about me.

<sup>91</sup> Cannot believe you forgot me, and attribute your silence to absorbing work, and am sure you continue to do for us, etc.

<sup>92</sup> Although I had never the privilege of seeing you, yet I may say I know you well through Fr. De Andreis. Perhaps Bp. Du Bourg will go to Piacenza on his way to Rome. The purpose of his journey is to consolidate our establishment in his vast Diocese. We need subjects. If anyone among the pupils of the College should feel an inclination for this Mission and to join our Congregation, the Bp. will obtain for him from Rome the necessary dispensation.

- 24 Monday. Mass in the chapel, early in the morning. At about eight o'clock, started from the Seminary with the Bishop, and accompanied him as far as Ste. Genevieve, where we arrived around two o'clock.
- 25 Tuesday. Mass early in the morning in the church of Ste. Genevieve. Bidding goodbye to the Bishop I left him about 10 o'clock and returned to the Seminary, where I arrived about six.
- The Bishop of New Orleans, much concerned about the extreme necessity in which the Diocese is laboring, wishing to complete the works begun, and desiring to render stable in this country the foundation of our Congregation, has decided to go to Europe: 1st, in order that he may obtain from the Superior General at least two priests of the Congregation capable to be made Superiors; 2nd, in order to obtain from the friends of the propagation of Religion the means necessary for the foundation of a Seminary in Louisiana, etc., etc.
- 26 Wednesday. Mass in the chapel. Thomas Moore, whom I had sent to Louisiana on account of his health, feeling that the air of that country did not benefit him any, has returned to the Seminary, wishing to die here in the midst of his fellow-students and friends. Received a letter from Fr. Portier.
- 27 Thursday. Mass early in the morning. Conference to the Nuns, on Meditation. Received a letter from the Bishop of New Orleans<sup>93</sup>. Wrote to Fr. Odin<sup>94</sup>, at New Madrid.
- 28 Friday. Early in the morning, Chapter; went to confession. Mass in the chapel.
- 29 Saturday. Early in the morning, Mass in the chapel. Confessions of the Nuns. In the evening, Confessions of the Seminarians.
- 30 Vth Sunday after Easter. Early in the morning, Confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel. Confessions of the parishioners. Assisted at High Mass, during which I preached on the Gospel of the day, on the necessity, efficacy and qualities of prayer. Vespers in the church.

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<sup>93</sup> Original in the Archives of St. Louis Archd. Chancery A. short note. Have written to Frs. De Neckere and Odin to come back before Pentecost, so that you may be here (at Ste. Genevieve) on Monday May 15, in order that you may not miss the boat. Fr. Dahmen will announce Confirmation for the Tuesday (May 16).

<sup>94</sup> Received your letter. Bishop Du Bourg arrived here on the 20th and left on the 24th. Found at Ste. Genevieve Thomas Moore who came back here to die in the Seminary. Fr. Portier wrote to you, sending a beautiful alb and two amices. He will come here in October. Fr. Desmoulin is with him at the College, and Fr. Blanc, the elder, at Baton Rouge. Am expecting you for Pentecost.

## MAY

- 1 Monday. Rogations. Mass in the chapel. Communion. After Mass we began a Novena in union with the prayers of the saintly priest Prince of Hohenlohe, for the recovery of Thomas Moore. As rain prevented us from having the procession, we sang the Litany of the Saints, and, after that, solemn Mass, with deacon and sub-deacon. After dinner I held the examination of the College boys.
- 2 Tuesday. Rogations. Mass in the chapel. Spiritual Conference of the Community, on Prayer (Bro. Blanka<sup>95</sup> and Mr. Timon). At 9 o'clock, Litany of the Saints in the church and solemn Mass.
- 3 Wednesday. Rogations. Mass in the chapel. Procession. Solemn Mass in the church. In the evening, Confessions of the Seminarians.
- 4 Thursday. Ascension of our Lord. Early in the morning, Confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel. Confessions of some lay people. Assisted at solemn Mass in cope and mitre, and preached on the feast. Solemn Pontifical Vespers.
- 5 Friday. Early in the morning, Chapter; went to confession. Mass in the chapel.
- 6 Saturday. Early in the morning Mass in the chapel. Confessions of the Nuns. In the evening, Confessions of the Seminarians.
- 7 Sunday within the octave of the Ascension. Early in the morning, confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel. Confessions of some lay people. Assisted at High Mass, during which I preached on the Gospel of the day: Testimony rendered to Christ and Religion by the Holy Ghost; 2. Testimony rendered by the Apostles; 3. Testimony we should render to Christ and Religion. Vespers in the church.
- 8 Monday. Early in the morning, Spiritual Conference to the Seminarians (Mr. Thompson<sup>96</sup>), on the preparation to be made for the feast of Pentecost. 1. Motives: (a) obedience to the wishes of the church; (b) should we fail to make this preparation, we will lose the graces prepared for us, and even if we would receive them, they would remain fruitless. 2. Means: (a) solitude; (b) recollection; (c) meditation and consideration of our needs; (d) prayer. Mass in the chapel.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. *St. Louis Cath. Hist. Review*, Vol. III, p. 340, Note 104.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 344, Note 120.

- 9 Tuesday. Spiritual Conference of the Community (as yesterday): Bro. Vanucci. Mass in the chapel. In the evening Confessions.
- 10 Wednesday. At 2 o'clock in the morning, Fr. Permolli celebrated Holy Mass for Thomas Moore, and gave communion to him and to the others. Our prayers have not been heard. Mass in the chapel. At 8 o'clock p. m., return of Frs. De Neckere and Odin from New Madrid. The people there, amounting to eighty families, have been for many years destitute of all spiritual help. By having catechism twice a day, sermons twice every Sunday and feast day, our missionaries endeavored to instruct those people. On Ascension Thursday they gave the first communion to fifteen boys and girls. There would have been many more communions, had not persistent and heavy rains, inundations, and the urgent occupations of farming prevented the people of that neighborhood from attending the catechetical instructions. Our men baptized more than fifty children. The people of New Madrid, trusting that they will get a priest, have determined to build the church, and for this purpose have made a subscription, which, though not yet complete, has already reached a total of 1,500 dollars.
- 11 Thursday. Early in the morning. Mass in the chapel. Conference to the Nuns, on the Preparation for the feast of Pentacost. After supper administered the last sacraments to Thomas Moore, cleric of this Seminary. At half past ten, after an agony of a quarter of an hour he passed away quietly; Frs. Odin and De Neckere were with him. This young man had made himself most dear to me and to all by his meekness, his innocence, his obedience and his other clerical virtues.
- 12 Friday. Early in the morning, Chapter; went to confession. Mass.
- 13 Saturday. Early in the morning, Confessions of the Nuns. At 9 o'clock, after the chanting of None, Prophecies, blessing of the Baptism Fount, Pontifical solemn Mass. In the evening Confessions of the Seminarians.
- 14 Pentecost Sunday. Early in the morning, Confessions of the Brothers and of others. After chanting Tierce, I administered the *Sacrament of Confirmation* to 40 boys and girls, addressing to them before a short exhortation. Celebrated solemn Pontifical Mass, at which Mr. Timon preached. Pontifical Vespers in the church. After night prayers I notified the members of our Community of my journey to Louisiana. Appointed Fr. Odin Superior and

Fr. Permolli Assistant; begged all to be most careful in the observance of the rules, and recommended myself to their prayers.

- 15 Pentecost Monday. Early in the morning said Mass in the chapel. At 5 o'clock addressed a short exhortation to the Seminarians on the necessity of making good use of the graces which we have received at the occasion of this feast, proposing to them the example of the late Thomas Moore. Finally I announced to them my journey. At about 8 o'clock I left for Ste. Genevieve with Fr. De Neckere; from Ste. Genevieve we are to sail, I for New Orleans, and he for St. Louis. From the Seminary to Ste. Genevieve we had a most painful journey, on account of the high water of the Mississippi River which had overflowed and covered all the land along the river. We arrived at Ste. Genevieve in the evening, and were received most cordially by Fr. Dahmen.
- 16 Tuesday. Said Mass early in the morning in the church of Ste. Genevieve. After Mass, I heard the confessions of some of the candidates for confirmation. This finished, and having invoked the assistance of the Holy Ghost, after a short exhortation I administered the *Sacrament of Confirmation* to about *fifty* boys and girls. Wrote to Fr. Odin<sup>97</sup>.
- 17 Wednesday. Mass in the church of Ste. Genevieve. Around five o'clock p. m., the steamer *General Brown* arrived at Ste. Genevieve. Bidding goodbye to Frs. Dahmen and De Neckere, I went on board, and there found Fr. Savine, the former Rector of Cahokias. The rest of the day and part of the next night were employed in loading the boat. We left Ste. Genevieve about midnight.
- 18 Thursday. At 5 a. m., we stopped near Brazeau to take on wood. At half past ten we passed Cape Girardeau, and at 10 p.m., New Madrid.
- 19 Friday. At 6 a. m., we reached the place called "Second Bluffs." Wrote to Fr. Tichitoli<sup>98</sup>. At 10:45 we passed Memphis. Wrote to Fr. Bigeschi<sup>99</sup> and Mr. Bringier<sup>100</sup>.
- 20 Saturday. We spent more than half of this day in looking for an anchor lost in the preceding trip of the boat.

<sup>97</sup> If you receive money for Mr. Manning, keep \$16, which he owes us. If Fr. Le Saulnier of Montreal sends you any Intentions and tells you to draw on him, make three Drafts and sent them to Fr. De Neckere in St. Louis.

<sup>98</sup> Bishop Du Bourg is on his way to Europe. Am coming to see you.

<sup>99</sup> Enclose a letter of Bishop Du Bourg. Shall see you.

- 21 Sunday. At 8 a. m., we stopped at Natchez. At 9 p. m., we passed in front of the church of Pointe Coupee.
- 22 Monday. At 6 a. m., we reached the church of St. John the Baptist. There Fr. Savine landed, and after saluting Fr. Mina, Rector of this church, we continued our journey. At 9 o'clock we arrived in New Orleans. On leaving the boat, I went straightway to the Rectory, where I found Frs. Borgna, Michaud, Moni, Bigeschi, Portier, Jeanjean and Caretta; took dinner there, after which I went to the Bishop's residence, where I saw Fr. Sibourd. Paid a visit to Fr. Anthony.
- 23 Tuesday. Went to see the Consul of France. Wrote to Fr. Odin,<sup>101</sup> and to Fr. Dahmen,<sup>102</sup> at Ste. Genevieve.
- 24 Wednesday. Early in the morning, came to the Monastery. After saying Mass there, I visited the Community, and, after dinner, the Novices. Wrote to the Bishop of New Orleans,<sup>103</sup> and to Fr. Potini<sup>104</sup> and the Nuns of the Assumption<sup>105</sup>.
- 25 Thursday. Mass in the Bishop's church, and Benediction of the Bl. Sacrament. In the evening Benediction.
- 26 Friday. Mass in the same place. Benediction of the Bl. Sacrament. Wrote to Fr. De Neckere<sup>106</sup>. Received a visit from the French Consul: Paid \$36.50 to the steamboat *Gen. Brown* for my passage and freight.
- 27 Saturday. Mass in the same place. Benedict. of the Bl. Sacrament. Saw Fr. Ganihl, the Pastor of *Mobile*.
- 28 Sunday within the octave of *Corpus Christi*. Came to the Monastery, and there said Mass, and at 3 p. m., administered the *Sacrament of Confirmation* to 12 girls.

Confirm-  
ation 12.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. *St. Louis Cath. Hist. Review*, Vol, III, p. 319, Note 21. The letter herewith enclosed will inform you that your uncle etc. He was received in St. Louis amidst the roar of guns; all the population etc. I left him in good health. Beg you to mail the enclosed.

<sup>101</sup> A most happy journey. Everybody is well.

<sup>102</sup> Read the enclosed to learn the news. Send to the Seminary three pieces of gauze.

<sup>104</sup> Arrived here on the 22nd to everybody's astonishment. It is generally admitted that your trip will turn to the benefit of the Diocese. Fr. Portier has decided to keep the College until you come back. It seems that satisfactory arrangements may be made with Fr. Desmoulins. I think I prevailed on Fr. Bigeschi to remain in the Diocese.

<sup>104</sup> News of himself.

<sup>105</sup> Not recorded.

<sup>106</sup> Recorded only under date of June 5. Put in the List of the Deceased Fr. Gallagher and Thomas Moore.

- 29 Monday. Mass in the Bishop's church, and Benediction of the Bl. Sacrament. In the evening Benediction.
- 30 Tuesday. Mass in the same place. Benediction.
- 31 Wednesday. Mass in the same place. Benediction. Saw Mr. Du Bourg, the Bishop's brother <sup>107</sup>.

## JUNE

- 1 Thursday. Mass in the same place. Benediction.
- 2 Friday. Celebrated Mass in the Cathedral; after which and a short exhortation I confirmed some *thirty* boys and *girls*. Went to see Mr. Burthe, whom I did not find at home.
- 3 Saturday. Mass in the Bishop's church.
- 4 Sunday. Mass in the same place. Saw Fr. Mina.
- 5 Monday. Mass in the same place.
- 6 Tuesday. Mass in the same place. The thermometer goes up to 90°.
- 7 Wednesday. Mass in the same place.
- 8 Thursday. I celebrated Mass in the Bishop's church. At 7 a. m., I administered the *Sacrament fo Confirmation* to about *sixty* girls in the Cathedral. At 5 o'clock, I accompanied Fr. Sibourd to the boat. He, who for sixteen years exercised the functions of Vicar General of New Orleans, broken down by his age and labors, is returning to Europe, much regretted by all. Received a letter from Fr. Blanc.
- 9 Friday. Mass in the Bishop's church <sup>108</sup>.
- 10 Saturday. Mass in the same place.
- 11 IVth Sunday after Pentecost. Mass in the Bishop's church. At half past eight, assisted at High Mass in the chapel of the Monastery, where they celebrated the feast of St. Angela. I preached after the Gospel. After Mass I administered the *Sacrament of Confirmation* to *four girls*.
- 12 Monday. Mass in the Bishop's church. Received a letter from the Trustees of the Parish of St. Joseph <sup>109</sup>.

Confirm-  
ation 30.

Confirm-  
ation 60.

Confirm-  
ation 4.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. *St. Louis Cath. Hist. Review*, Vol. IV, p. 98, Note 67.

<sup>108</sup> Answer to Fr. Anthony Blanc's (Baton Rouge) letter: I consent that the church be built on the spot where three acres of land are offered you, and authorize you to accept this land in the name of Bp. Du Bourg, who is still Bishop of this Diocese.

<sup>109</sup> Letter to Fr. Potini. Am sending you the dispensation requested. Shall come to see you.



- 13 Tuesday. Mass in the same place. Answered the Trustees <sup>110</sup>.
- 14 Wednesday. Mass in the same place. Received a letter from Fr. Saulnier.
- 15 Thursday. Mass in the same place. Wrote a Pastoral to the people of the Diocese for the Jubilee.
16. Friday. Mass in the same place. In the evening, heard a confession. Received a visit from a barefooted Carmelite, whose name is Joseph of the Expectation; he was coming from Mexico and asking the faculty to celebrate Mass; but, as he brought with him no dimissorial letters from either the Superior of his Order or the Bishop of Los Angeles, whence I could be sure that he was not under any censure and had left his country with the permission of his Superiors, I did not think that I could in conscience grant him the permission which he was begging. Went to see the Bishop's brother.
- 17 Saturday. Mass in the same place.
- 18 Vth Sunday after Pentecost. Mass in the Bishop's church, after which I administered the *Sacrament of Confirmation* to three boys and as many girls.
- 19 Monday. Mass in the same place. Fr. Portier, hitherto President of the College, communicated to me letters which he had received from Propaganda. He is ordered in the name of holy obedience to accept the Episcopal office and the charge of Vicar Apostolic, which he had refused. He will resign in the hands of F. Desmoulins, already designated by the Bishop of New Orleans, the president of the College and will sell to the Bishop, at two-thirds of the purchase price, all the furniture of house and school. Wrote <sup>111</sup>: 1. to the Right Rev. Bp. of New Orleans <sup>112</sup>;

Publica-  
tion of the  
Jubilee  
See No. 9

Confirm-  
ation 6.

<sup>110</sup> I answer your letter of the 5th inst. in lieu of Bp. Du Bourg. Your request to have Fr. Rosti in place of Fr. Potini, who wishes to leave, is most reasonable; and in case your pastor actually leaves, I will do all in my power to satisfy your wishes, although I must add, that, owing to the paucity of priests it may be very difficult to do as we would like. As I purpose to come before long to your parish, we shall have an opportunity to treat this affair *viva voce*.

<sup>111</sup> Letter to Madame Audé, St. Michael's, La., not recorded in the *Diary*. Shall be at St. Michael's on the 26th. Have everything in readiness for Miss Levêgue receiving the habit on the next day.

<sup>112</sup> Fr. Portier has received a new Brief and is commanded in the name of obedience to submit. He is to leave the College at the end of the month. Fr. Desmoulins will take his place. Fr. Portier will do what he had agreed with you in regard to the furniture; I, as your attorney in fact will give him notes. During the summer Fr. Jeanjean will take charge of the city house, whilst Fr.

2. to Fr. Dahmen<sup>113</sup>; 3. to Fr. Odin<sup>114</sup>; 4. to Fr. De Neckere<sup>115</sup>. Saw Mr. Guillemain, who told me that the interloper who occupies the parish of St. Charles will probably never give way. There is, therefore, so far no hope of sending Fr. Savine there. Went to see Mr. Gordon.
- 20 Tuesday. Mass in the same place. Wrote to the Bishop of New Orleans<sup>116</sup>. Pastoral letter to the Pastors and priests of the Diocese on the Jubilee.
- 21 Wednesday. Mass in the same place. Wrote to Frs Dahmen<sup>117</sup>, Odin<sup>118</sup> and De Neckere<sup>119</sup>.
- 22 Thursday. Mass in the same place. I left New Orleans in company with Frs. Borgna and Caretta, and at 6 p. m., we reached St. John the Baptist's, where we were welcomed by Fr. Mina. Saw Fr. Savine.
- 23 Friday. Said mass in the church of St. John the Baptist. Saw Fr. De la Croix.
- 24 Saturday. Celebrated Pontifical solemn Mass in the church of St. John the Baptist, having for Assistant priest Fr. Savine, Deacons of honor Frs. De la Croix and Caretta, Deacon Fr. Borgna, who preached the sermon, and Sub-deacon Fr. Mina, pastor of that church. After dinner, crossed the river with Frs. De la Croix and Caretta and at 10 o'clock we arrived at St. Michael's.

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Desmoulins will stay in the country with the boarders. These gentlemen will do most readily everything for the common good. Father Portier also shows a great deal of generosity. I am pretty sure Fr. Desmoulins will direct things well. He has sane views, is firm and persevering. He begs me to remind you your promise of physical apparatus. There will be \$200 to pay in November for repairs; no hope of getting then anything from the College: we will have to borrow them, for we cannot expect to get a delay, as Messrs. Gurly and Guyot have failed. If you could send some money.... Am leaving N. O. next Thursday, and after visiting some parishes of the Coast and of La Fourche, will go back to the Seminary.

<sup>113</sup> When I come you will get a barrel of red wine, one of white wine, your bed, etc. For news read the enclosed (to Fr. Odin) before forwarding it.

<sup>114</sup> Will leave here Thursday. Bp. Portier will come up with me: he will stay with us three months and will be consecrated in St. Louis. He has received his Bulls with order to accept under obedience.

<sup>115</sup> Prepare an English sermon for the Consecration of Bp. Portier, which.... Tell Fr. Saulnier that I find the pretentious of the Irish in St. Louis unreasonable, and I shall not grant their petition, See F. G. Holweck: *The Language Question in the Old Cathedral of St. Louis*, in *St. Louis Cath. Hist. Review*, Vol. II, pp. 7-8.

<sup>116</sup> This is certainly the letter above in Note 112, which, begun on the 19th, was finished only the next day.

<sup>117</sup> This must be the date when letter above, in Note 113 was mailed.

<sup>118</sup> *It.* letter in Note 114.

<sup>119</sup> *It.* letter in Note 115.

- 25 Vth Sunday after Pentacost. Said Mass in the chapel S. Heart Convent. Saw the Convent, of which Madame Eugenia Audé is the Superior over eight Nuns and twenty-six girls. Assisted at High Mass, and after the Gospel preached.
- 26 Monday. Said Mass in the chapel.
- 27 Tuesday. Blessed the habit of the Society of the Sacred Heart and gave it to Justine Lévêque, who took the name of Louise. This ceremony was preceded by a short exhortation in which I commented upon this text: "Hearken O Daughter, and see: . . . forget thy people and thy father's house, and the king shall greatly desire thy beauty"<sup>120</sup>. The ceremony finished, I said Mass. I probed the vocation of the Sister to whom I had given the habit.
- 28 Wednesday. Did not say Mass, on account of the trip I was to undertake. I set out with Fr. Caretta at half past nine, and we reached the place of Mr. Casimir Poursine at two p. m. We took dinner there, then crossed the river, and landed at Donaldsonville, where we were received by Fr. De Angelis. In the evening I received a visit of Mr. Johnson, Governor of Louisiana.
- 29 Thursday. Did not say Mass. We left Donaldsonville at 3 a. m., and at 6 o'clock we reached Assumption, where we were welcomed by Fr. Tichitoli, the Rector of that Parish. I visited the Convent, of which Sister Johanna Miles is Superior of the infant Community there, which consists of three Nuns, eight postulants and a few school-girls. Wrote to Fr. Potini<sup>121</sup>.
- 30 Friday. Said Mass in the church of the Assumption. At 9 p. m., the Right Rev. Portier arrived, bringing me a letter from Fr. Niel, dated from Rome. Wrote to Fr. Audizio<sup>122</sup> and sent him his letter of appointment to the parish of St. Charles and Confessor of the Nuns; 2. to Fr. Rosti, wherein I advised him of the coming of Fr. Audizio, and asked him to turn over to him the administration of the parish and the care of the Convent, and to come to the Ascension, to discharge there the functions of Procurator of the house and Assistant of the parish under Fr. Tichitoli, who is to be Superior and Pastor; 3. to Fr.
- Gave the habit of the Soc. of the S. Heart to Justine Leveque in house of St. Michael
- Institution of Fr. Audizio as Pastor of St. Charles

<sup>120</sup> Ps. xlv, II.

<sup>121</sup> Cannot go to St. Joseph's on account of the bad roads and of the lack of time. Therefore I beg you to come here (Assumption, La.).

<sup>122</sup> Go to Grand Coteau to take Fr. Rosti's place. Enclosed is a letter for him. Am sending you faculties.

Jeanjean<sup>123</sup>. Received letters: 1. from Fr. Potini<sup>124</sup>; 2. from Fr. Bigeschi<sup>125</sup>; answered the latter.

## JULY

- 1 Saturday. Did not say Mass, because Fr. Portier had determined to leave for New Orleans, hence in the morning I wrote several letters which he was to take along: 1. to Fr. Niel<sup>126</sup>; 2. to Fr. Borgna.
- 2 Vith Sunday after Pentecost. Said Mass in the chapel of the Convent. Assisted at High Mass and preached after the Gospel. Vespers in the church. Received letters: 1. from Fr. Borgna; 2. from my brother, in Italy.
- 3 Monday. Did not say Mass, as I was unwell. Answered Fr. Borgna's letter.<sup>127</sup>
- 4 Tuesday. Did not say Mass, for the same reason as yesterday. Answered my brother<sup>128</sup>. Received a visit of

<sup>123</sup> You will receive the copies of the Pastoral printed by Mr. Bressa. Please get the bill and settle it.

<sup>124</sup> Original in Archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery. According to your promise I expected you here; Fr. Tichitoli was right, whether he intended to stop you, or knew your intentions, when he told me you would not come to St. Joseph's. There is something under all this. I had asked him to get you a boat at my expense; and you can still do it; as for me I cannot leave before Monday afternoon. At any rate you would not permit me to leave before I make arrangements for my successor, a thing which is necessary, as you will understand if we can have a talk.

<sup>125</sup> Shall be here Monday. Do me and Fr. Tichitoli the pleasure of coming. Grant you the faculty of blessing 3,000 rosaries. Beg you to visit the Convent from time to time and to hear the Confessions of such Sisters as will ask to go to you.

<sup>126</sup> Did not say anything about you in my letters to Rome, because I thought you would not go. Never ceased thinking God would make use of you to secure some recruits for this country. I do not believe that Bp. Du Bourg resigned, therefore nothing is to be done. My views agree with yours: so do come and we will work well together.

<sup>127</sup> If M. Michaud wants to go to the College, and Fr. Desmoulins agrees, I will send you Fr. Permolì, on the condition that Supper shall be taken at home and Community Exercises regularly performed. I consent to your having the first part of the Catechism printed by Mr. Bressa. Saw Fr. Bigeschi and asked him to give a mission at Iherville and to help you at Donaldsonville.

<sup>128</sup> Original of which in the archives of the Procurator Gen. C. M., Rome.—Received yours of March 20, a wonderfully speedy delivery owing to the distance. Have copied the greater part of it and sent it to Fr. Borgna; his silence, at any rate is not due to forgetfulness, but of neglect. You will have a good proof thereof in his next, namely, the picture which you were asking for. Indeed, I have yielded to his entreaties and posed for it; before I left New Orleans the face was finished and, so far as I could say, it is a good likeness. You will get it before winter, and will be indebted for it to Fr. Borgna. I am much pleased with your affection for our confreres and the hospitality you tendered to our Vic. Gen. and Fr. Ferrari. Perhaps you

Fr. Potini. He persists in his determination to leave his parish and return to Italy. I declared to him I could not in any way approve either.

- 5 Wednesday. Did not say Mass, for at half past four I left the Assumption with Fr. Tichitoli, and at half past seven we reached there. Received letters: 1. from Fr. De Neckere; 2. from Fr. Saulnier; 3. from Fr. Jeanjean.
- 6 Thursday. Did not celebrate Mass this and the following days; as I had been advised of the imminent coming of the boat, and did not know at what time it might pass along, I did not wish to miss the occasion. Wrote to the Trustees of the church of St. Joseph.<sup>129</sup>
- 7 Friday. Still in the same place, awaiting the boat.
- 8 Saturday. Received letters: 1. from Fr. Borgna; 2. from the Right Rev. Du Bourg, New York<sup>130</sup>; 3. from Madame Eugenia. This letter was brought by a girl who is going to St. Louis on the same boat as myself, and thence will go to St. Ferdinand. Wrote: 1. to Fr. Borgna<sup>131</sup>; 2. to Fr. Anthony de Sedella<sup>132</sup>. Waiting for the boat, the

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will see Bp. Du Bourg before receiving this; he wanted to go to see you, but I told him it would be too tiresome a journey for him, and that you would go to Rome to see him. During his absence I have to divide my time between Missouri and Louisiana. I came down here at the end of May but left the city at the beginning of the yellow fever season. Various occupations. Future consecration of Bp. Portier: it would be a sight in Italy to see a Bishop 35 years of age consecrate another 31 years old. The parish where I am now is one of the most edifying of the diocese; the new convent there—the fifth established in the diocese since our coming. It is harder to establish colleges for boys: the one in N. O. has over 150 pupils; that in St. Louis is dying; the Jesuits at Florissant have a school for Indian boys; our Seminary is getting along fairly; but priests are too few. Regards to Mother and to various persons.

<sup>129</sup> Fr. Potini wishes to leave the parish. I cannot give you at this time Fr. Rosti, or anyone else, as I have no priest; but promise to do everything in my power to send you one. An understanding, though is necessary: you shall give him \$400, payable quarterly in advance.

<sup>130</sup> Original in archives of St. Louis Archdiocesan Chancery.—New York May 31, 1826. Am sailing tomorrow for Havre, together with Frs. Martial and Abell. Lost track of Fr. Brassac at Louisville; trust he is not somewhere sick. Stood very well the seven hard days of wretched trip overland. Neglect nothing for the furtherance of my projects. Have an understanding with Fr. Bigeschi about buying the land; but let him do the purchasing, and keep your and my name out of the transaction. Will look eagerly for letters from you. Had no time in New York to look after the mill; anyway could have done nothing, for want of money: have not even enough with me to pay for my passage, which I shall pay when I am in France.

<sup>131</sup> News from Bishop Du Bourg; see his brother and communicate these news to him and to the priests.

<sup>132</sup> I requested Fr. Borgna to go to Donaldsonville to preach the Jubilee, reckoning on your consent to absent himself a few days from the parish.

coming of which had been announced to us by Fr. Borgna, I spent the whole night practically without sleep.

- 9 VIIth Sunday after Pentecost. Did not say Mass, on account of the trip. At half past seven went on board the *General Brown*. From the purser I received letters: 1. from Fr. Borgna; 2. from Fr. Cellini<sup>133</sup>; 3. from Fr. Saulnier; 4. from Fr. De Neckere.<sup>134</sup>
- 10 Monday. At half past one p. m., we were in sight of the town of *Fort Adams*. Wrote: 1. to Fr. De Neckere<sup>135</sup>; 2. to Fr. Saulnier<sup>136</sup>; 3. to Madame Duchesne<sup>137</sup>; 4. to Fr. Van Quickenborne<sup>138</sup>. Sent printed copies of the Pastoral and Regulations for the Jubilee to Frs. De Neckere and Saulnier for the city of St. Louis, to Fr. Van Quickenborne for the parish of St. Ferdinand, and finally, for the parish of St. Charles, to the Jesuit who has charge of it.
- 11 Most prosperous journey. As the water still filled the  
 12 bed of the river there were no obstacles to our traveling day  
 13 and night. All my traveling companions were very decent.  
 14 We suffered a little from the heat; but towards the end the  
 15 temperature began to be more tolerable. I talked quite a

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<sup>133</sup> Original in archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery.—Bardstown, Ky., June 14, 1826. Perfectly satisfied at Bardstown. Suffered much in Europe, particularly in Rome. Fr. Baccari must have advised you that he granted me dispensation of vows. But lost my papers. Would like you to write to Bp. Flaget about it; desires also the Pontifical permission to practice medicine. About 400 intentions received when at Grand Coteau and acquitted.

<sup>134</sup> Original *Ibid.*—St. Louis, June 17, 1826. Am sending this through Fr. Audizio. Have been in St. Louis for a month, and suffer so much that doubt that I may continue the course of sermons undertaken. From recent experience, affording people a better knowledge of religion would bring them to the Church. You should even make sacrifices to foster the interests of the Church. From Bp. Du Bourg letter I concluded arrangements were made for my support here; this is not the case. Please send me a little strong wine; suffer since provision is exhausted.

<sup>135</sup> Received your letter at Donaldsonville. Wrote to Fr. Jeanjean for the wine. News of Fr. Niel, Bishop Du Bourg, Frs. Tichitoli, Borgna, Potini, Bishop Portier; sermon for the latter's consecration. Pastoral to be read in English.

<sup>136</sup> Pastoral letter. If you come to the Seminary, you will be most welcome and your visit may be useful in view of the arrangements to be made for the consecration.

<sup>137</sup> Saw St. Michael's; am delighted with it. News of Bishop Du Bourg; consecration of Bp. Portier.

<sup>138</sup> Pastoral letter. Kindly send one of your priests to Vide Poche for the Jubilee. I reckon on all your priests and clerics for Bp. Portier's consecration.

- 16 great deal about the Catholic religion with Mr. Street, an  
 17 excellent young man, and well educated; I expounded to  
 18 him the truth, and, as a result, he abandoned the prejudices  
 which he nourished against the Catholic church.  
 Wrote to Fr. Saulnier about sending the girl to Florissant  
 by the first opportunity.
- 19 Wednesday. Feast of St. Vincent de Paul. At half past  
 six, we landed at Mr. Taylor's, in *Bois Brulé*, about ten  
 miles from the Seminary. As soon as my baggage was  
 unloaded on the bank, I got a horse, and at once started  
 for the Seminary, arriving at the church at half past ten.  
 The Mass was already begun. I learned that Albert  
 Thompson, a pupil of the Seminary, had died three weeks  
 before. I found everything else in good running order.  
 A number of letters had come for me during my absence:  
 1. one of Fr. Baccari, dated December 30; 2. one of Fr.  
 Niel, of December 27; 3. another of the same, January 6;  
 4. another of Fr. Baccari, January 6; 5. one of Fr. Cel-  
 lini <sup>139</sup>; 6. one of the Right Rev. Bishop David, May 5;  
 7. one of the Right Rev. Bishop Flaget, May 26 <sup>140</sup>; 8. one  
 of Sister Johanna, May 26; 9. one of Fr. Potini. I saluted  
 all after Mass, and was received with joy. Assisted at  
 Vespers in the church. Saw the Nuns, and heard their  
 Superior had gone to Kentucky.
- 20 Thursday. Said Mass in the Seminary Chapel.
- 21 Friday. Chapter; went to confession. Mass in the  
 chapel. Resumed my classes of theology and philosophy.  
 I announced to Messrs. Vergani, Paquin and Timon that  
 they would be ordained to the priesthood next September;  
 and to Messrs. Loisel and Chalon that they would receive  
 the Subdeaconate.

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<sup>139</sup> Original in archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery.—Bardstown, Ky.,  
 May 23, 1825. Practically the same as that which was analyzed above in  
 Note 133.

<sup>140</sup> Original *Ibid.*—Received last week letter of Bp. Du Bourg on his way  
 to New York and to Europe. Said he had undertaken this trip at the instance  
 of his clergy for the good of the diocese; but did not state the purpose of that  
 trip. We are afraid he may have once more obtained your consent for the  
 postponement of the division. If so, the letter I wrote to Father Baccari might  
 turn to your harm; do let me know. Fr. Cellini wrote me last year from Rome  
 that he would like to work in my diocese; signified my consent if his Superiors  
 agreed. He said they were willing on the condition he should continue to belong  
 to the Congregation. Was very much surprised when, in an interview, he told  
 me he had left your community; upon my asking him whether he had any  
 papers attesting his freedom, he declared he had lost them, but added you  
 had been advised by Rome and he would write you about it. Kindly give  
 me all the information capable of directing my course of action. Want peace  
 with everybody and, above all, within my diocese.

- 22 Saturday. Mass in the chapel. Wrote. 1 to the Right Rev. Bp. Flaget<sup>141</sup>; 2. to Fr. Cellini<sup>142</sup>; 3. to Fr. Niel<sup>143</sup>. In the evening, Confessions of the Seminarians.
- 23 Nth Sunday after Pentecost. Early in the morning, Confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel. Did not assist at High Mass. Wrote to the Right Rev. Bishop David<sup>144</sup>. Vespers in the church.

<sup>141</sup> Gave neither any promise or consent to the postponement of the division, nor any commissions to obtain that postponement, because I hold the dismemberment necessary for the good of Missouri. Even last year I did not write to stop the division, and told the Bishop I would abide by the Holy Sec's decision. Lately he did not ask me to take any steps in the matter. Himself is convinced that it will be made sooner or later: hence his desire to have a seminary in Louisiana. This is the main purpose of his journey: he hopes to get money and subjects for its realization, and I encouraged him in this. I am sure he has no other object in view, but as he made a mystery of it all, please do not say anything about it, except to Bp. David.—*Curriculum vitae* of Fr. Cellini. I am sure he comes with intentions most pure; but found him very self opinionated: hence his complaints. You heard, no doubt, of the affair at Grand Coteau. I am certain he is not guilty of what was then imputed to him. After this unfortunate occurrence he came here very much incensed, and left for Rome, determined to leave the Congregation. He did not live in our house there; he asked for the demission of his vows, and got it. Fr. Baccari wrote to me about it. He is, therefore, absolutely free. I hope he may find happiness in your diocese.

<sup>142</sup> From your two letters I learn of your resolution to work in Kentucky. Fr. Baccari wrote to me that on your repeated request he had given you the dispensation of your vows. Best wishes for your happiness in Diocese of Bardstown. Looked for your faculty to practice medicine, but did not find it. Remember that when you left here, I gave you all your papers.

<sup>143</sup> Your letters of December 27 and March 6 received only July 19. Bishop Du Bourg's journey to Europe obliged me to go to Louisiana. The defection of some priests caused the prelate to endeavor to get some new subjects and means to establish a seminary in Louisiana. Answered exactly your previous letters; my silence with our Vic. Gen. in your regard was due to my thinking you would not go to Rome, and when from Paris you wrote me you were going, it was too late. No change in our plans so long as I am Coadjutor. As to subjects for this Diocese, you know our situation and the requisite qualities; a condition indispensably to be stipulated is that they engage themselves to remain here forever: hence they must have not only an Exeat but a declaration of the Ordinary renouncing all jurisdiction over them. You know what good could be done in St. Louis through the College: hence suitable subjects from France and Ireland would be welcome. Do not forget either our Seminary at the Barrens: a few suitable recruits for the Congregation would enable us to do something for the Indian Missions as all here desire that kind of work. The Seminary has become the center of a number of missionaries around. If we had priests and means we would be able to work an untold amount of good. Coming ordinations: we do not lose entirely our time as you see. So do all you can—this in the supposition I am to be Bishop of St. Louis; but Bp. Du Bourg has the first choice.

<sup>144</sup> Have yours of May 5. Had already your answer with Bp. Flaget's. I have remained firm in my resolution, and Bp. Du Bourg's trip shall not alter it. Bp. Flaget will communicate to you my letter on this subject. In Louisiana the establishments are in good running order. The College of N. O. has over 200 pupils; Fr. Desmoulin is to be president, now that Fr. Portier is about to be consecrated. He is coming for that purpose to St. Louis in the



- 24 Monday. Mass in the chapel. Received letters from Fr. Saulnier and Mrs. (Widow) Brazeau, through her boy N. Brazeau, who was sent to the Seminary for his education.
- 25 Tuesday. A few Confessions. Mass in the chapel. Assisted at High Mass in the church. Wrote to Fr. Borgna.<sup>145</sup>
- 26 Wednesday. Mass in the chapel. Wrote to Fr. Tichitoli<sup>146</sup> and to Fr. Potini.<sup>147</sup>
- 27 Thursday. Mass in the same place. Received letters: 1. from Mr. Doyle; 2. from Fr. Dahmen.
- 28 Friday. Chapter; went to confession. Mass in the chapel. Wrote to Fr. Dahmen<sup>148</sup> and to Mr. Rozier.<sup>149</sup>

fall. He is very talented, zealous and most pious; Fr. Sibourd esteemed them very highly; as he has some means, he will not have to depend on the people for his support. Frs. Maenhaut at Pensacola, and Ganihl at Mobile are all his clergy. The Ursuline Convent could not go better. They have 12 novices and 90 boarders. The house of the Heart at St. Michael's counts already 12 Nuns and 30 boarders; their establishment at Grand Coteau is almost as large. Finally the Loretines have a house at Assumption in which there are already eight postulants. Fr. Tichitoli is their director: for the first time since I know him he told me he is in good health. In Missouri, the Jesuits (four priests, five scholastics and three Brothers) educate a dozen of Indian boys; the ladies of the S. Heart also at Florissant have some 30 boarders; our Convent at Bethlehem is going on slowly; finally in our Seminary we have 3 priests, a dozen of Seminarians and some ten boys, to whom must be added 10 Brothers and a few workmen. The soil is not as spiritually ungrateful as that of Louisiana. Missions around the Seminary; success of Fr. De Neckere in St. Louis. Heard from Fr. Niel that the Association of the Prop. of the Faith is going to put us on their list and the Pope is inclined to help this mission; he is going to give orders that 3 Missionaries and money be sent us. Providence seems to look down favorably upon us. No news as yet concerning the division. Bp. Du Bourg has the first choice; what will become of me, if he selects St. Louis? Had hoped to see you this year, but the consecration of Bp. Portier and the absence of Bp. Du Bourg forbid. Regards to Mrs. Smith.

<sup>145</sup> Reached here the 19th. During my absence one of our philosophers, Albert Thompson, was carried away by typhoid fever. All the others are well. Have found things in good shape; very nice crops. Fr. De Neckere is at St. Louis; the matter is no longer with his lungs, but with his liver. Fr. Permoli gave a mission in Frederickstown in my absence; broached to him the subject we spoke of: he is ready for anything; he begins to speak English. Vergani, Paquin and Timon will be ordained in September. A brace for Bro. Donati; not enough straw hats for all.

<sup>146</sup> Arrived all well; Thompson. The Superioress of the Nuns went to Ky. with Sister Lucretia for the Mother's election. Fr. De Neckere in St. Louis. 155 Masses said last year for your intentions; we have begun the 50 you gave me. The Superioress down there tells me she might have sent a barrel of sugar to the Sisters here; she will do well. Have a dozen large-brimmed straw hats made for us.

<sup>147</sup> Arrived; all well; Thompson; letters of Frs. Niel and Baccari. There was one for you; it was forwarded to N. Or.; Fr. Borgna opens Fr. Odin's letter to me, he will find it and send it to you.

<sup>148</sup> The red wine was sent you by Bp. Portier, as a compensation for what you gave to his cousin, and the white wine by Fr. Borgna. Paid \$8.50 for freight.

<sup>149</sup> Am sending you a letter of credit for \$307, which will be paid at once by Fr. Borgna. Put only \$200 to my credit and send me \$107 by the bearer.

- 29 Saturday. Mass early in the morning. Confessions of the Nuns. In the evening, Confessions of the Seminarians. q. f.<sup>150</sup>
- 30 XIth Sunday after Pentecost. Early in the morning, Confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel. Wrote to Fr. Portier, Bp.-Elect of Oleno<sup>151</sup>. Assisted at High Mass. I asked the parishioners to get busy about making lime. Preached on the Sunday Gospel. The miracles which Christ wrought for the cure of the body are a figure of those which he works in behalf of the souls. The deaf and dumb are those who grovel miserably in the state of mortal sin. They are deaf: 1. to the inspirations; 2. to the admonitions; 3. to the preaching of the word of God. They are dumb: 1. because they do not wish to converse with God in prayer; 2. they do not wish to confess their sins to the priest. In order, therefore, etc. Vespers in the church.
- 31 Monday. Early in the morning, Spiritual Conference to the Seminarians, on Humility (Walker<sup>152</sup>). Without this virtue, we can be neither Christians, nor truly members of the clergy. Mass in the chapel. Frs. Saulnier and Dahmen arrive at the Seminary. Received a letter from Fr. De Neckere<sup>153</sup> and one from Mr. Rozier.

## AUGUST

- 1 Tuesday. Early in the morning, Spiritual Conference of the Community, on Humility. Without this virtue we can be neither truly Christians, nor true Missionaries (Bro. Oliva and Mr. Paquin). Mass in the chapel.

<sup>150</sup> We miss the meaning of these letters.

<sup>151</sup> Found here two more letters of Fr. Niel. I think the resignation he had been speaking of is nothing else than the consent necessary for the division; two letters of our Vic. Gen. make no mention of it. No letters from Propaganda. Preparations for your consecration are being made: I promised all our priests and Seminarians they would go. Ordination in September: your cousin (Chalon) will be made subdeacon. If we could have your consecration on St. Andrew's day, which falls on Thursday, we could have all the priests of Missouri.

<sup>152</sup> "Edmund Isaac Ferdinand Walker, son of Abraham Walker and Anna Smith, born in Alexandria, D. C., the 17th of March, 1809, embraced the Catholic Religion, and was baptized in St. Louis by Fr. Saulnier the 1st of November, 1825; came to the Seminary ——— of ———; was permitted to wear the ecclesiastical dress the ———." Rosati Catalogus Alumnorum Seminarium S. Mariac, p. 71.

<sup>153</sup> Original in archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery.—St. Louis, July 26, 1826. Most pleased to hear of your return and of your coming here for Bp. Portier's consecration. Fr. Saulnier will give you all the news. Am still losing in health. Cannot prepare sermon; Fr. Verhaegen will do better than I.

- 2 Wednesday. Mass in the same place. Wrote to Fr. De Neckere<sup>154</sup>. Frs. Saulnier and Dahmen left.
- 3 Thursday. Mass in the same place. Wrote to the Archbishop of Dublin.<sup>155</sup>
- 4 Friday. Early in the morning, Chapter; went to confession. Mass in the chapel.
- 5 Saturday. Mass early in the morning. Confessions of the Nuns. Received a letter from Fr. De Neckere<sup>156</sup> and another from Fr. Dahmen. In the evening, Confessions of the Seminarians.

At 7 p. m., arrived Fr. Anselm Augero, a native of Menton, in the Diocese of Nice. He had obtained from the S. C. of Propaganda the permission, dependent on the consent of his Ordinary, to come to this Louisiana Mission, and to pass under the direction and *dependence* of the Bishop of New Orleans, whom he must obey in all things, and from whom he must receive approbation and faculties. This permission was first given him by Card. Litta on November 21, 1818; and again by Card. de Somalia on May 30, 1824. The consent of his Ordinary likewise was granted him on February 4, 1819. Nevertheless, after leaving his country he remained in France, first in the Diocese of Bordeaux, then for eighteen months in that of La Rochelle. Finally from the Bishop of La Rochelle he obtained leave to quit the Diocese, on April 25, 1826. As the authentic documents which he showed me manifest that he is not under any censure, and has come to this country with the permission of his Superiors, I gave him the faculty to say Mass. And in order to give him the opportunity to learn English, a language which is necessary to the Missionaries in this portion of the Diocese, I have kept him in the Seminary. Time will manifest whether he may be applied to the ministry. Through him I received letters: 1. from Fr. Borgna; 2. from Fr. Jean-jean; 3. from the Right Rev. Portier. Received also letters: 1. from Fr. De Neckere; 2. from Fr. Dahmen.

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<sup>154</sup> Am still reckoning on you for the consecration sermon.

<sup>155</sup> To the Most Rev. Daniel Murray. Thanks for the reception tendered to Fr. Niel on his first visit to Dublin. Beg the same favor for a second visit the same priest intends to make before coming back to America.

<sup>156</sup> Original in archives of St. Louis Archd. Chancery.—St. Louis, July 31, 1826. Am in very bad shape. Enclosed certificates of Dr. Brun; Dr. Lin. of Ste. Genevieve, could confirm the statement. It is all the worse, because, moreover, I am inclined to melancholy. Ask therefore to make use of the last means left me to recuperate, namely to go back to my native land. As to the expense, there are people here offering to help me.

- 6 XIIth Sunday after Pentecost. Early in the morning, Confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel. Wrote: 1. to Fr. De Neckere <sup>157</sup> at St. Louis; 2. to Fr. Dahmen <sup>158</sup>; 3. to the Right Rev. Portier <sup>159</sup>; 4 to Fr. Jeanjean <sup>160</sup>; 5 to Fr. Borgna <sup>161</sup>; on that account, did not assist at High Mass. Mr. Timon preached. Vespers in the church.
- 7 Monday. Early in the morning, Spiritual Conference to the Seminarists, on the Exercise of the Presence of God (Mr. Tucker, L.). 1. Motives: it is an excellent means, (a) to resist temptations, (b) to avoid sin; (c) to make progress in virtue; (d) to find comfort in all the difficulties of this life. 2. Means (a) from the sight and consideration of the creatures turn our thoughts to the Creator; (b) recite in God's presence the prayers which we so often recite before and after the principal actions of the day. Mass in the chapel. Wrote to Fr. Saulnier.<sup>162</sup>
- 8 Tuesday. Spiritual Conference of the Community, on the virtue of Obedience. 1. Motives: (a) it delivers us from the danger of falling into sin; (b) it adds merit to all

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<sup>157</sup> Your letter afflicted me most deeply. As I do not wish to have anything to reproach myself with, I grant you the permission. Go to Flanders; when you are better, go to Rome, and if the Doctors and Superiors decide you cannot come back, somebody else will be sent here and you will stay there as procurator of our missions. Want to see you before you go: will give you all your papers and letters. As to the means, I have nothing: all I can do is to give you 500 fr. sent by Fr. Niel and addressed to Fr. Saulnier. You may find somebody to advance you that sum.

<sup>158</sup> Received your and Fr. De Neckere's letter. Answered him by mail. You may write to him to let him know (as above).

<sup>159</sup> Behold crosses are coming to you before the one you will wear on your breast. The episcopal character should not be permitted to be made an object of obloquy; in reminding people of the respect due to it neither humility nor mortification are offended. Even if the writer of the letter in question wanted only to jest, he should have observed proprieties. Tell this to the man, and invite him to reflect on the license he gave himself to open your letters without your leave; if he confesses his fault, pardon him; but if he manifests that he wrote as he did in earnest, take him by his word and trust to Providence to find a pastor who speaks English. I at any rate, doubt his constancy. Am sorry you have still to teach; try to find a professor. You are not the only one to have troubles; mine never cease. We must turn them into store for the next life. Pray that I may more faithfully practice that.

<sup>160</sup> Thank you for the information sent. Fr. Angero's papers were all right. Permitted him to say Mass and invited him to stay in the Seminary to learn English; that will give us time to know him. Mr. Lawrencet may come, but before he starts, remind him that our food, though wholesome, is not that of N. Orl., and water is our only beverage; we have rooms only for the priests; hence he will have to sleep in the dormitory and work in the study hall. He may have some work for about an hour and a half every day, the rest of the time will be his own.

<sup>161</sup> Fr. Angero (as above). Fr. De Neckere's illness and permission to go to Europe. Two letters from Fr. Baccari.

<sup>162</sup> Death of Fr. Bernard (de Deva); put his name in the Necrological list. Fr. De Neckere; Fr. Angero (as above).

our actions; (c) it gives us security and comfort in this life. 2. Means: (a) Contemplation of the life of Christ; (b) consideration of the Rules concerning this virtue. Mass in the chapel. Wrote to Emmanuel West.<sup>163</sup>

- 9 Wednesday. Mass in the chapel. Wrote to Fr. Baccari.<sup>164</sup>
- 10 Thursday. Mass early in the morning. Conference with the Nuns, on the consideration of ourselves.
- 11 Friday. Chapter; went to confession. Mass in the chapel.
- 12 Saturday. Mass in the chapel. In the evening, heard the Confessions of the Seminarians. Received a letter from Fr. Dahmen. Testimonial letters to Fr. De Neckere who is going to Europe.

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<sup>163</sup> Emmanuel West, Edwardsville, Ill. Your step-daughter, Mary Canal, having tried her vocation for several months at Bethlehem, judges she is not called to a religious life. The Superiors agree. Therefore please send for her: to wish her to remain would be against her happiness and freedom.

<sup>164</sup> 1. Letters received; thanks for visiting my family. 2. Fr. Niel: did not think he was going to Rome; when I learned he was, too late to write. 3. Fr. Cellini is in Ky.; good intentions, but self-opinionated. 4. Bp. Du Bourg: also excellent intentions; greatly attached to the Congregation; he, too, has his own ideas. The ownership of the Seminary property has been made as secure as possible; moreover, the Bp. had me lately make a deed as his attorney. Anent the Smith donation: the Bishop wishes to see it go through when Cellini received it in his own name, he did not approve of it, owing to certain circumstances which stirred much gossip. I thought I ought in this affair follow St. Vincent's maxim and example, and hope that Providence will help us otherwise. Had Fr. Cellini been less precipitate, and followed my wishes, everything would have been done without noise, scandal and opposition. With regard to the Bp.'s disposing of the subjects of the Congr., I have had sometimes to complain that I had not been forewarned of the moves; but the case was urgent and I was far away; he never failed to notify me, and when I insisted he changed his policy. It is but just to add that our own men were the first to ask him for their change, some even without vouchsaying a word to me about it. 5. Fr. Potini has given me much trouble ever since he came to America; he is very self-opinionated. He wants now by all means to go back to Europe; he manifests an intolerable spirit of independence. I remonstrated with him, but in vain. He does not want to come to Seminary; and all that he condescended to tell me is that he will go to Europe when he finds a companion. 6. Fr. De Neckere sick; gave him leave to go; will first go home, then to Rome, and thence as the Superiors, etc. 7. Present condition of the Seminary. Three priests to be ordained: one Mr. Paquin is in poor health; Mr. Timon; Indian Missions. They will remain this year in the Seminary to exercise in controversy and write sermons. The brothers are well, although some of them think too much of Italy. 8. The foundation of a Seminary in Louisiana is necessary; our confreres there ought to be reunited under a Superior. Fr. Tornatore. By all means they ought not to be left separated as they are. New Orleans is no good for us. 9. I cannot send Fr. Aquaroni either to Portage des Sioux, or to the Mines or to New Madrid. 10. I do not know what will be done in regard to the division of the Diocese. Bp. Du Bourg has the first choice; should he select St. Louis I do not see how I could prevail upon myself to accept N. Orl. 11. The Church: Bro. Olivia works constantly at the stones; we continue to prepare the materials, and at present are making cement. Hope to begin the foundation this fall.

- 13 XIIIth Sunday after Pentecost. Early in the morning, Confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel. Assisted at High Mass, during which I preached on the Gospel of the day. 1. Leprosy of the body is a figure of sin. 2. The Lord sends to the priests and to the Sacrament of Penance. 3. Only one came back . . . Thanksgiving. After Mass I talked to the people on the necessity not to grow slack in regard to the building of the church. The parishioners were divided into 10 bands, each of whom has its own leader, and two bands ought to work every week for three days each. Vespers in the church.
- 14 Monday. Early in the morning, Mass in the chapel. Confessions of the Nuns. Wrote to the Rt. Rev. Bishop David<sup>165</sup> and to Fr. Derigaud.<sup>166</sup> In the evening, Confessions of the Seminarians and Eu.
- 15 Tuesday. Assumption of the Bl. V. Mary. Early in the morning, Confessions of the Brothers, and of others. Celebrated Pontifical solemn Mass in the church. Mr. Timon preached. After Mass, was read in the church the list of the parishioners, divided into bands. Pontifical Vespers in the church, after which veneration of the Relic of the Bl. V. Mary, and Litany.
- 16 Wednesday. Mass in the chapel. Wrote to Fr. Saulnier.<sup>167</sup>
- 17 Thursday. Mass in the same place. Received: 1: two letters from Fr. Tichitoli; 2. one from Madame Duchesne.
- 18 Friday. Chapter. Mass in the same place. Answered Fr. Tichitoli.<sup>168</sup>
- 19 Saturday. Mass in the same place. In the evening, Confessions of the Seminarians.
- 20 XIVth Sunday after Pentecost. Early in the morning, Confessions of the Brothers. Pontifical Mass in the chapel,

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<sup>165</sup> If Bp. Du Bourg selected St. Louis, do you think I could refuse New Or! The motive is the same which was accepted when I refused the Vicariate of Miss. and Ala.

<sup>166</sup> Since I left Ky. have often enquired about you, and have always received consoling news. Congratulations. Our brother gardener would like to have some seeds.

<sup>167</sup> Am sending a list of various objects which I need. Mr. Hayden will make the choice. If you cannot pay, do not worry about it.

<sup>168</sup> You may call any priest. The instruction of young ladies is a work of interest for the public good and religion. It can be applied to the Monastery according to the intention of the testator. As to what should be given for alms, as he left that to the discretion of . . . any amount will. In regard to the land of Mr. B., it would be necessary he should have enough to live with his family. Since the intention of Fr. B(ernard) seemed to give him the means to live.

in which I conferred the four Minor Orders upon Mr. Gabriel Chalon, being assisted by Frs. Permoli and Augero, and Mr. Vergani, deacon. Assisted at High Mass, during which I preached on the Gospel of the day. Vespers in the church.

- 21 Monday. Early in the morning Spiritual Conference to the Seminarians, on the Devotion to the Bl. Virgin (Mr. Mascaroni). Mass in the chapel.
- 22 Tuesday. Spiritual Conference of the Community (Fr. Odin), on the Devotion to the Bl. Virgin. After the Conference was read the Consecration of the Congregation to the Bl. Virgin. Fr. Dahmen came from Ste. Genevieve to the Seminary.
- 23 Wednesday. Mass in the same place. Wrote to the Bp. of New Orleans.<sup>169</sup>
- 24 Thursday. Early in the morning, Confessions. Mass in the Chapel. Assisted at High Mass. Fr. Dahmen left in the afternoon. At four o'clock Fr. De Neckere arrived. Received a letter from Madame Duchesne.

Fr. De Neckere, unable to regain here in America his health, which is failing, according to the advice of the physicians, is returning to Europe. I gave him the necessary permissions and faculties, on the condition that he should always consider himself as belonging to this Mission; therefore, after he recovers his health in Flanders, he should repair to Rome, whence, if his strength permits, he will come back to America; if his strength does not permit, according to the judgment of the Superiors and of the doctors, he shall remain in Rome, so that somebody

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<sup>169</sup> Came back July 10: Thompson dead; Fr. Bernard also died. His housekeeper is given her freedom, with all her children; he leaves her the furniture, except the chapel and mantel-clock, destined for the Nuns of the Assumption. All the rest is to be sold at auction, and after the debts are paid, and the stipends for 1000 Masses are sent to the Capuchins of Castille, the money will be divided into three parts: one to go to the Capuchins of Castille for the Missions; another to two of his sisters; and the third for some good work interesting the public weal and religion at the designation of the pastor of the Assumption, another priest selected by him and the parish judge. Finally the lands of the second concession are to be given to poor people who are not known as lazy and shiftless. Fr. Audizio went to Grand Coteau; Fr. Rosti is with Fr. Tichitoli; Fr. Potini has left his parish; he wants to leave America. Fr. De Neckere wrote repeatedly, had people write to me about his health. I gave him permission to go back to Europe. There came a priest from Nice, Angero by name: I will send him to St. Joseph if the Trustees agree to give him the same salary they gave to Fr. Potini. Fr. Tichitoli has not for some time gotten anything from the parish. The interloper is still at St. Charles; but Fr. Mina wrote to Borgna that before long Fr. Savine would be able to go there. Bp. Portier is still at the College; in the fall Fr. Desmoulin will return to the city with the boarders and will take his place. All the rest is as when you left.

else may be sent here from there, and he will act as the Procurator of our American Missions. As Bishop and Superior of the Congregation I gave him testimonial letters.

- 25 Friday. Chapter. Went to confession. Mass in the chapel. Wrote letters: 1. to the French Consul of New York<sup>170</sup>; 2. to the Superior of Amiens, a priest of our Congregation<sup>171</sup>; 3. to the Catholics of Belgium<sup>172</sup>; 4. to Fr. Niel<sup>173</sup>; 5. to Fr. Perreau, Vic. Gen. of the Great Almoner of France<sup>174</sup>. Received a letter from Fr. Dahmen.
- 26 Saturday. Mass early in the morning. Confessions of the Nuns. Wrote to Fr. Baccari<sup>175</sup>. Fr. De Neckere left;

<sup>170</sup> Request for passport in behalf of Fr. De Neckere.

<sup>171</sup> Father Peter de Wailly. On January 16, 1827, the *Brief Anteaetate temporum* of Pope Leo XII put an end to the division of supreme authority, existing since 1804, between the two Vicars General, and appointed Fr. De Wailly Superior General.—Bp. Rosati recommends Fr. De Neckere.

<sup>172</sup> *Capiac Litterarum et Documentorum Officialium Rmo Josepho Rosati, Epo. No. 12.*

"JOSEPH ROSATI, by the grace of God and of the Holy Apostolic See, Bishop of Tenagra and Coadjutor of New Orleans, to the Catholics of Belgium, health and benediction in our Lord Jesus Christ.

Being in the necessity to grant Leo de Neckere, priest of the Congregation of the Mission in the State of Missouri, America, permission to go to his native country, it being, according to the opinion of physicians, the only means whereby he may recuperate his health, I would regard myself unfaithful to divine Providence, did I not profit by this opportunity to interest your charity in behalf of the poor Mission of Missouri. True it is that you manifested more than once your zeal for the Propagation of Religion by the generous gifts which your piety bestowed on the Rt. Rev. Bp. Du Bourg and the late Fr. Nerinckx. Still will it be presuming too much of your charity, if I appeal to it at the time the most crucial, and for the most noble and most generous undertaking which ever presented itself since the establishment of this diocese, namely, the Missions to the poor Indians, which are to be inaugurated in the near future? You are too well aware of the numberless privations to which the Missionaries are daily subject in these wildernesses, the difficulties inseparable from that laborious ministry, for me to expatiate on these details; suffice it to say that the piety of the faithful of Europe is the only thing we can resort to in order to obtain the means to pursue this apostolic work. Your great examples in the past embolden me to address myself to you in the present occasion, and reckoning on your sentiments of faith and religion, I pray God to shower upon you all kinds of benedictions."

<sup>173</sup> Wrote to you on July 22. As Fr. De Necker is going to Europe, I repeat what I wrote at that date, lest my letter be lost (same as above Note 143).

<sup>174</sup> Gratitude for the interest taken in the Missions of Missouri, and for the welcome tendered to Fr. Niel. For whatever success he meets with, the Catholics of this district will be indebted to you, and they will not fail to offer their prayers and their good wishes for those to whom they owe the means to know and practise their religion.

<sup>175</sup> This will be mailed by Fr. De Neckere as soon as he lands in France. In case my other letter be lost, I say here I gave him permission to go to Europe, because the doctors et. If he recovers, he will come back; otherwise he will stay in Rome, and you will send someone in his place.



Fr. Odin accompanied him to Ste. Genevieve. Answered Fr. Dahmen<sup>176</sup>. In the evening, Confessions of the Seminary.

- 27 XVth Sunday after Pentecost. Early in the morning, Confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel. I did not assist at High Mass, but remained at home and wrote: 1. to Fr. Cessarii<sup>178</sup>, Superior of our house of Fermo. 3. to my brother<sup>179</sup>, Sora. Vespers in the church. Received a letter of Mr. Brazeau, and a petition of some Irish Catholics of St. Louis, who complain that no sermon is preached in English at Mass, but after Vespers; they ask, therefore, that the priests preach alternately in French and English.<sup>180</sup>
- 28 Monday. Early in the morning Spiritual Conference to the Seminary, on avoiding dissipation of mind. 1. Motives: (a) it is harmful to piety; (b) to studies; (c) it helps temptations and sins. Means: (a) silence; (b) study; during recreations, raise the mind to God (Mr. Jourdain). Mass in the chapel.
- 29 Tuesday. Spiritual Conference to the Community (Mr. Timon) on zeal for our perfection. *Motives*. Because without this zeal for perfection we cannot correspond to the end for which 1. we were created; 2. we were redeemed; 3. we were called to the Congregation. *Means*. 1. the spirit of our vocation; 2. observance of rule; 3. of our office. Mass in the chapel. Fr. Odin baptized Louis, the chief of the Nation *Shawnee*.
- 30 Wednesday. Mass in the chapel.
- 31 Thursday. Mass early in the morning in the chapel. Conference to the Nuns. Received a letter of Fr. Audizio.<sup>181</sup>

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<sup>176</sup> Grant dispensation, in case you have not the necessary faculties. The alms for the 3d degree is \$10., not included in the \$10. for the dispensation of bans. I will buy the tobacco you speak of: send it here by the first opportunity. The certificate you ask for will be sent you if Mr. P. comes.

<sup>177</sup> Will continue to write, in spite of your silence. Introducing Fr. De Neckere.

<sup>178</sup> Did not write since we parted, because etc., etc. News. Wish to hear from you.

<sup>179</sup> Original in Archives of the Proc. Gen. C. M., Rome.—News: good health; back in the Seminary; occupations, coming retreat and Ordination: laying of corner-stone of the church; consecration of Bp. Portier. Fr. Borgna wrote to you. Death of aunt Louise; greetings to all.

<sup>180</sup> Cf. F. G. Holweck: *The Language Question in the Old Cathedral of St. Louis*, in *St. Louis Cath. Hist. Review*, Vol. II, p. 9010, where that petition is reproduced in full.

<sup>181</sup> Original in Archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery.—The people of Grand Coteau think he will not do, because he cannot speak English.

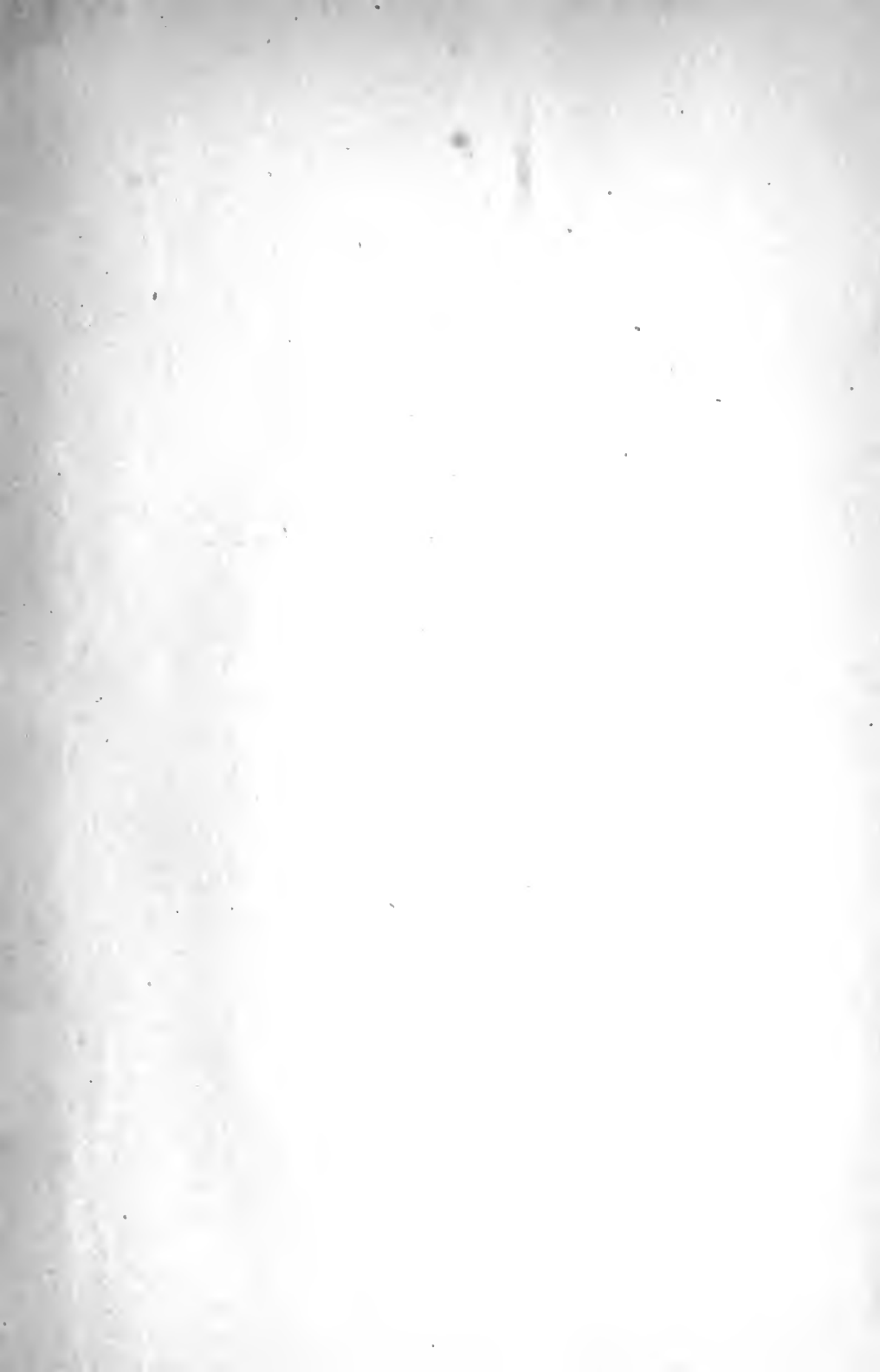
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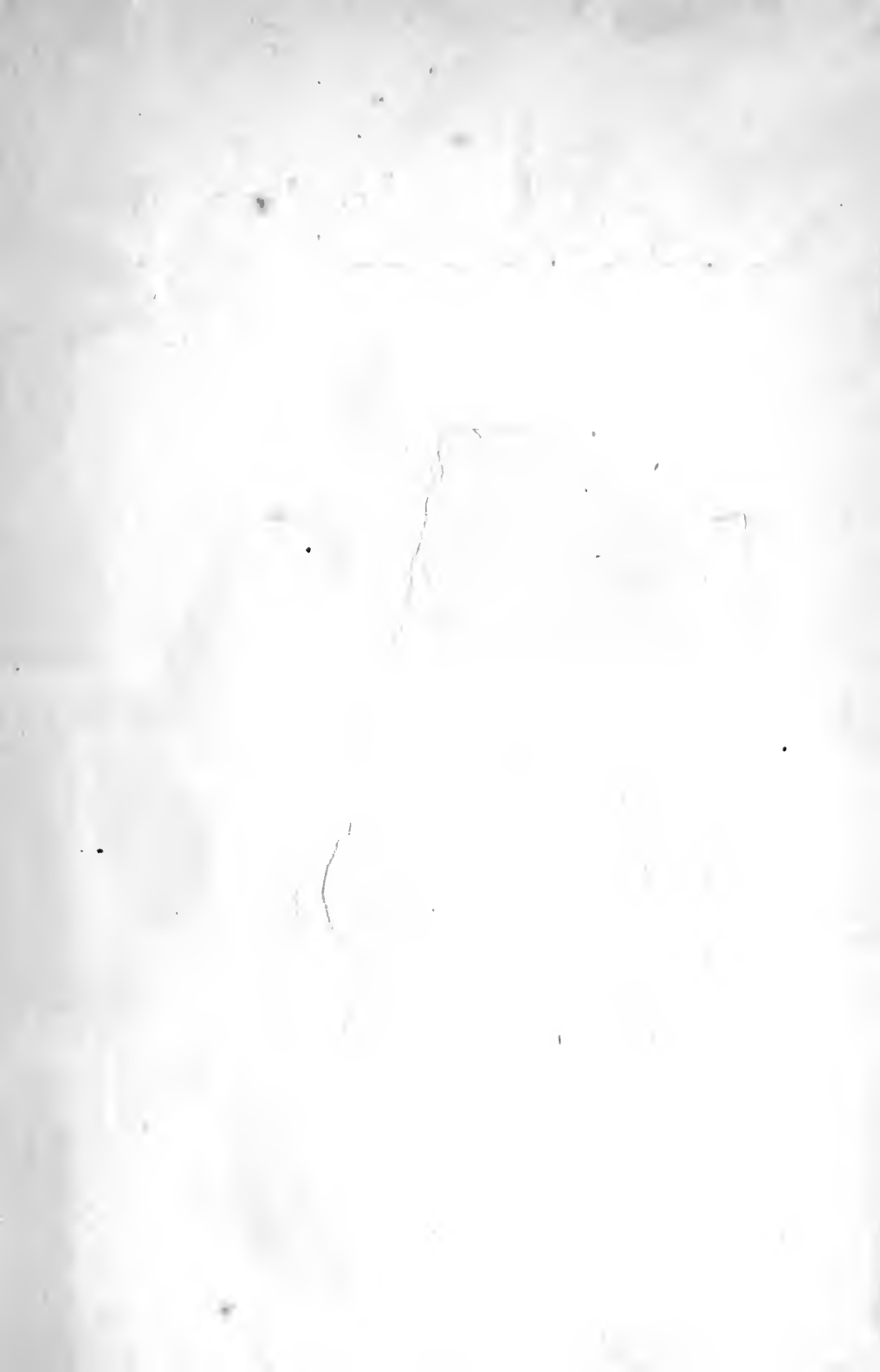
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