



1936

The Educational and Social Work of the Right Reverend Joseph Rosati, C.M.: First Bishop of St. Louis

Mary Carmelita Zieroff
Loyola University Chicago

Follow this and additional works at: https://ecommons.luc.edu/luc_theses



Part of the [Education Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Zieroff, Mary Carmelita, "The Educational and Social Work of the Right Reverend Joseph Rosati, C.M.: First Bishop of St. Louis" (1936). *Master's Theses*. 3449.

https://ecommons.luc.edu/luc_theses/3449

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses and Dissertations at Loyola eCommons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Master's Theses by an authorized administrator of Loyola eCommons. For more information, please contact ecommons@luc.edu.



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-No Derivative Works 3.0 License](#).
Copyright © 1936 Mary Carmelita Zieroff

**The Educational and Social Work
of the Right Reverend Joseph Rosati, C. M.,
First Bishop of St. Louis**

by

Sister Mary Carmelita Zieroff, O. P.

**A
thesis
submitted
in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of**

MASTER OF ARTS

in

Loyola University

1936

LOYOLA
UNIVERSITY

Vita

The writer was born at St. Louis and resided there before her entrance to the Sacred Heart Convent at Springfield, Illinois. She attended the St. Henry's Parochial School, the Rosati-Kain High School, and Harris Teachers College. In June, 1928, she received her degree of Bachelor of Philosophy at De Paul University, Chicago.

Preface

When His Excellency, the Most Reverend Archbishop John J. Glennon, and his former superintendent of schools, the Reverend A. V. Garthoeffner, completed their plans for organizing the diocesan Catholic High School for girls, the Rosati High School for residents of south St. Louis was begun in two classrooms of the St. Francis de Sales School. In September, 1911, I was among the happy group who were enrolled in the pioneer class under the direction of the School Sisters of Notre Dame. We were the only ones to have the distinction of attending this school, for the next fall the school was moved into the former quarters of the old St. Vincent's Seminary and became united with the Kain High School under the title, "The Rosati-Kain Catholic High School for Girls."

We were all rather familiar with the work of Archbishop Kain, for our parents could supply us with the details. However, the name of Bishop Rosati was not only frequently mispronounced, but numerous discussions and questions about him brought to light the fact that very little was known or written about him. My interest was further aroused by one of my mother's tales about my great-grandfather, one of the German immigrants of the early thirties. Often she would regale us with the story of how he had worked in the brickyard where the bricks were being made for the new cathedral for the "French

Bishop." Consequently, ever since my high school days, I have had a desire to make a further study of the life of this prelate.

In my preliminary research on the topic I discovered the fact that Bishop Rosati was a prolific writer who left to posterity sufficient records for several studies of his life and work. Since the value of his parochial achievements has been clearly told by Father Rothensteiner, I chose as the subject of my study the efforts of Bishop Rosati as a teacher and sociologist. In this paper I have attempted to show how he achieved success in these fields in spite of the many drawbacks presented by the pioneer conditions during this early period of the statehood of Missouri.

Foreword

The period of Bishop Rosati's efforts in behalf of the educational and social advancement of his diocese coincided with a most important historical period in Missouri and the neighboring states. It was a time when these states were emerging from pioneer conditions, and permanent civic arrangements were being completed.¹ St. Louis, the Bishop's See, was incorporated as a city in 1822.² Four years later, the state capitol was moved to its enduring home in Jefferson City, and the legislature met there for the first time on November 20 of that year.³ A state bank was organized in 1837, and a superintendent of public schools was appointed two years later.⁴

During the early part of the period, about 1820, the settled area was quite small. Much of the territory consisted of public land that was offered for sale at a dollar and a

¹Shoemaker, Floyd C., "Six Periods of Missouri History", Missouri Historical Review, IX, 211-240 (Jan., 1915) 230.

²Shepard, Elihu, History of St. Louis and Missouri, (St. Louis, 1870) 65.

³Ibid., 86.

⁴Shoemaker, "Six Periods", 235.

quarter an acre,⁵ but a considerable portion of the western and northwestern sections was still in the hands of the Indians. In Missouri the red men traded furs with the trappers on the Grand River until the treaty of 1833 induced them to move farther west.⁶ The boundaries of the state were completed by the Platte Purchase of 1836,⁷ but Indian troubles were not yet a thing of the past. In the fall of the following year, when the Osages made attacks along the western boundaries of the state, the Missouri militia had to capture them, explain to them the law against such depredation, and replace them west of the state line.⁸ Missouri was also the channel through which the Indians of Ohio were being moved westward.⁹ The northern portion of Illinois was unsafe for settlers until after the Black Hawk War of 1832. The old towns of Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Prairie du Rocher, together with a dozen families at Peoria, and a military post at Chicago, were the only settlements during the early twenties. Then the region north of the Sangamon River and Fulton county was an unbroken stretch of

⁵Bek, William G., "Duden's Report", Mo. Hist. Rev., XII, 163-179 (Jan., 1918) 175; 81-90 (Oct., 1917) 86.

⁶Collier, L. T., "Livingston County Pioneer Settlers and Subsequent Events", Mo. Hist. Rev., VII, 201-206 (Jan., 1913) 201.

⁷Shoemaker, "Six Periods", 235.

⁸Glenn, Robert A., "The Osage War", Mo. Hist. Rev., XIV, 201-210 (Jan., 1920) 201-206.

⁹Eaton, David W., "Echoes of Indian Emigration", Mo. Hist. Rev., VIII, 93-99 (Oct., 1913) 95; 142-153 (Jan., 1914) 150.

wilderness.¹⁰ There were a few Missouri towns within a radius of twenty-five miles from St. Louis, but because of the conditions of travel they, too, were practically isolated. Such was the state of the historic French settlements at St. Charles, St. Ferdinand, Portage des Sioux, and Carondelet.

The climate, too, was a very uncertain circumstance during certain seasons of the year. The Illinois bank of the Mississippi was subject to numerous floods in the spring, and Missouri suffered from such frequent changes in the temperature that epidemics were not uncommon. In the spring of 1826, influenza spread over the entire state.¹¹ Bilious fever and cholera appeared in 1832, and recurred for several summers. However, the fall weather was as delightful as the summer was trying, and the soil, of a splendid black variety, attracted thousands of newcomers.¹²

Missouri increased in population from eighty thousand¹³ in 1827 to two hundred fifty thousand¹⁴ in 1836. Both the language and the customs of the people were predominantly English as early as 1831. Duden's explanation of this fact is that

¹⁰Rothensteiner, Rev. John, History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis (St. Louis, 1920) 576.

¹¹Bek, "Duden's Report", 162.

¹²Zimmermann, Edward, "Travel into Missouri in October, 1833", Mo. Hist. Rev., IX, 33-43 (Oct., 1914) 34; Duden, Europa und Deutschland Von Nordamerika aus Betrachtet (Bonn, 1833) I, 143.

¹³Bek, "Duden's Report", XIII, 251-281 (Jan., 1919) 251.

¹⁴St. Louis Observer, Sept. 29, 1836.

the Germans who came here were usually so poor that their instruction was too meager to enable them to instruct their own children.¹⁵ Consequently, it was necessary to send the younger generation to English schools. The more cultured French people, on the other hand, kept themselves aloof from the English and thus failed to influence them. Since the latter comprised all classes, rich and poor, they gradually dominated the others.¹⁶ However, as the tide of German immigration increased, these settlers became more powerful and organized educational institutions of their own, and even their own press.

The newcomers found the life in the rural districts simple enough. Steines, who came here in 1834, pictured the American home and farming methods thus:

Instead of a house you must think of a hut, behind it a still smaller hut for a smokehouse. . . . All this is surrounded by a zigzag rail fence. Sometimes a spring flows right through the yard. The paths are unpaved. There is no trace of domesticated fruit trees, no garden, shrubs, grape vines, or tame flowers. Instead of a garden, such as you know, simply a plowed, fenced-in, little plot of ground, which in the early spring can scarcely be found on account of the weeds. There are no barns with threshing floors in them. Sometimes the grain stays out in the field all winter long in stacks. The grain is not beaten out but trampled out by animals. It is laid on the ground in the field, on a place cleared of stubble and weeds, and then horses or cattle are driven over it till the kernels are tramped out of the ears. By winnowing the grain is then cleaned. On account of the cold, threshing is rarely possible in the winter months. Can you imagine such laziness and indifference in a country where it would be such an easy matter to build log barns where such operations could

¹⁵Duden, Europa und Deutschland, 165.

¹⁶Bek, "Duden's Report", 45.

take place in any season?¹⁷

The time needed to prepare an abandoned farm for the support of a new settler and his family was generally eight days. A house and a spring were usually found on the place. After the newcomer repaired the fences, procured two horses and a few cows and pigs, he planted his corn. Later the children planted a garden between the rows. If salt was needed, a few days' work for the neighbor secured it. Flour was obtained by taking some corn to the horse mill, where a distillery was located. Thus, except for coffee and tea, the food supply was complete.¹⁸

Clothing, too, was manufactured on the farm. Cotton, flax, and hemp were grown, and if the home did not boast of a spinning wheel, the housewife visited a more fortunate neighbor. With the addition of the husband's knowledge of shoemaking, the clothing problem was solved.¹⁹

On the other hand, money was scarce on the farm after the first expenses were paid. Very little was realized from the products because these were either sold very cheaply to hucksters, or traded for wares at the nearest general store. Stock raising was more profitable, but even this netted little money because the farmer lived too far from the city.²⁰ Some rather

¹⁷Bek, "The Followers of Duden", Mo. Hist. Rev., XV, 660-669 (July, 1921) 663.

¹⁸Duden, Europa und Deutschland, 275-276.

¹⁹Bek, "Duden's Report", 175.

²⁰Bek, "The Followers of Duden", Mo. Hist. Rev., XIII, 29-75 (Oct., 1918); letter of Herman Steines, St. Louis, Nov. 8, 1833, 68.

industrious settlers secured additional funds by laboring in the lead mines after harvest time. If they came well supplied with farm provisions, a further profit was obtained by selling these in the mining districts.²¹

Some of the more prosperous farmers bought slaves to assist them. As early as 1824, the latter already comprised nearly one-sixth of the population of Missouri.²² In regard to the care they received and the amount of work which they were required to do, Duden held that their condition compared favorably with that of the day laborer and domestic servant in Germany. In this connection he related the following experience:

Yesterday one of my neighbor's slaves was working with me. It was a free day which the slaves use to earn play money. He said to me: "I have heard that you wanted to return to Europe. Why? This is such a beautiful land, such a fruitful land, a free land." I could scarcely believe my ears in hearing such praise from the mouth of a poor slave. . . . The negro here is not only counted by the master as one of his family, but he regards himself as one. He is inclined to the whites, and has some share in their interests, as trusted European servants sorrow or rejoice with their master.²³

Untrammelled freedom certainly abounded; but it was often fraught with danger for the isolated farmer. Rattle snakes were numerous, and the night was filled with the howling of wolves and owls.²⁴ Robber bands furnished additional reasons

²¹Bek, "Duden's Report", 264.

²²Trexler, Harrison A., "Slavery in Missouri Territory", Mo. Hist. Rev., III, 169-198 (April, 1909) 197.

²³Duden, Europa und Deutschland, 439.

²⁴Ibid., 320, 341, 368.

for caution. In 1832 they located near Ha Ha Tonka "an out-laws' paradise, surrounded by caves, canyons, and gorges, where robbers could and did conceal their booty, and spurious money was made and secreted with the greatest facility". Though discovered, these outlaws continued their illegal practices until the law abiding citizens organized to root them out in 1841.²⁵

Life in St. Louis was a great contrast to all this.

Zimmermann stated that in 1833 this city of 10,000 people surpassed all the cities of similar size in the world in its varied mixture of population, in its great number of strangers, and in its "geographical significance and interest". The following picturesque description of its people confirms his opinion of them:

Besides the many descendants of genuine Indian blood, a large part of the population consists of Frenchmen, Germans, and Spaniards. The descendants of Britons, of course, constitute the majority. Several thousand negro slaves and free colored people live here, and if on Sunday the devout are at their churches, and the care-free inhabitants have been lured to the country, then one might easily imagine himself to be walking on the streets of some city in San Domingo. Only black faces are then seen on the streets, only gaudily dressed groups of colored children play before the houses. In the larger hotels and the "entertainments" the haggard American gentlemen sit around the hearth in a semi-circle, showing an almost Indian-like apathy, their legs crossed, rocking themselves and chewing tobacco (a custom which in the interior of America is by no means regarded as improper). The Frenchman with lighted cigar hops around the billiard table in the coffee-house and wastes more breath in a minute than an American does in an entire day. The easy-going German, too, finds his place of entertainment

²⁵Vincent, Earl, "The Slicker War", Mo. Hist. Rev., VII, 138-145 (Jan., 1913) 139.

where the beverages are tolerable and the stay home-like and pleasant, and there amid the smoke of the pipes and the clinking of glasses a German song and the sound of musical instruments are heard.²⁶

Other amusements were not wanting. Balls and the theatre were popular during the cold weather,²⁷ and horse racing in the warmer seasons.²⁸ Cock-fighting and target practice also had their devotees. The former was made more interesting by removing the natural spurs of the birds and replacing them with sharp steel prongs.²⁹ An interesting variety of sporting articles which J. C. Dinnies sold to the pleasure seekers of 1836 included playing cards, spy-glasses, backgammon boards, chessmen, dominoes, swords, and walking canes.³⁰

Both men and women worshipped Dame Fashion. Lionberger says that the latter tried "to achieve the shape of an howgeas" by tight lacing, and that they drank vinegar to be thin. Their small waists were accentuated by the large bonnets and hoop skirts of the day. Nevertheless, the men treated them courteously. When escorting the ladies to festive occasions, these gallants affected high-heeled boots, and low cut vests which

²⁶Zimmermann, "Travel into Missouri", 34, 35.

²⁷Letter of Bishop Flaget to an Illinois missionary, printed in the American Catholic Historical Researches, XXI (Jan., 1904) 158-160.

²⁸Zimmermann, "Travel into Missouri", 37; Bek, "Duden's Report", 179.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Keemle, C., St. Louis Directory for 1838-1839 (St. Louis 1839) A.

displayed their tucked shirts and large cravats. A high collar, a frock coat, and a beaver skin stovepipe hat were also included in the stylish outfit for men.³¹

In spite of these extravagant fashions, home life was simple and wholesome. The people were sincerely religious and marriage was sacred. The mothers were usually busy with the needle because there were no ready made clothes or sewing machines for sale. Preserving fruit likewise consumed much of the housewife's time and energy, as all cooking was done over an open fire. Washing, too, was a difficult task as there was no running water in any St. Louis home until 1842. Even a tin bath tub was a luxury enjoyed only by the rich.³²

There was much opportunity for expansion and civic improvement in the city. Of the 651 homes in 1821, only one-third were brick or stone. The French residences were surrounded by spacious piazzas that afforded a pleasant refuge from the summer heat.³³ There were but eight streets parallel to the river, and these were intersected at right angles by twenty-three others. The lower end of Market Street alone was paved, and in 1821 Main

³¹Lionberger, J. H., Annals of St. Louis and a Brief Account of Its Foundation and Progress, 1764-1928 (St. Louis, 1929) 47.

³²Lionberger, A Brief History of St. Louis, 47, 48.

³³Paxton, John, St. Louis Directory and Register (St. Louis, 1821) 6.

Street was supplied with a sidewalk, the first in the city. The other streets were exceedingly muddy, and cattle and pigs ran at large.³⁴ A few oil lights on some of the streets, and two fire engines were also the boasts of the city authorities. Such was the metropolis of Missouri two years before Bishop Rosati began to exercise episcopal authority there.³⁵

Moreover, both in the city and the country restless movements of the population were common. Indian disturbances were then becoming a thing of the past, and Indians were seen only on direct routes to St. Louis or on the rivers. In 1826 there was still a Shawnee village fifteen miles west of the city, but during that year they moved a hundred miles farther west.³⁶ Trouble with the Mormons extended to a later date. Major General D. R. Atchison was summoned to settle some of these difficulties in Daviess County in 1833. When he arrived at the scene of conflict he found about 2,500 armed settlers assembled to defend the citizens from the Mormons. They were encamped on the west bank of the Grand River, while the Mormons held the opposite shore. The officer ordered them all home and kept two companies of fifty men on guard to preserve order.³⁷ The Mormons in the surrounding districts, about 1500 men, were,

³⁴Bek, "The Followers of Duden", Mo. Hist. Rev., XIV, 217-232 (Jan., 1920) 217, citing a letter of Adolf Greef, Dec., 1833.

³⁵Paxton, St. Louis Directory, 7-9.

³⁶Bek, "Duden's Report", 269.

³⁷Ibid.

nevertheless, acting on the defensive a few days later.³⁸ They had reason to do this, and to move onward, too, for the men of Daviess County had determined "to drive the Mormons with powder and lead" if they would not agree to depart.³⁹

There were various peaceful movements, too, especially in the fall. Long jaunts were then undertaken by large groups of settlers to go bee hunting. The Missouri Intelligencer for September 21 discourages them, but gives the following graphic description of one of these ventures en route through Franklin County, Missouri:

We had for several days observed a frequent passing of waggons through our town, accompanied with men armed with guns and dogs, all seemingly in high spirits, and prepared for a journey. Upon inquiring their destination, we found that they were generally bound for the head waters of Chariton, Grand, and some as far as the Des Moines Rivers, a "Bee Hunting". From four to five men usually accompany each waggon and team of four, five, and six horses, provided with provisions for an absence of three to five weeks.⁴⁰

In the spring the Santa Fe Trade furnished the motive for another type of journey. Wagons and vehicles of every description laden with merchandise, chiefly cotton goods, would start southward from Hamilton, Missouri and travel to New Mexico. After spending the summer here in selling the goods at a profit of from twenty-five to fifty per cent, the adventurers were

³⁸Britton, Rollin J., "Early Days on the Grand River and the Mormon War", Mo. Hist. Rev., XIII, 112-134 (Jan., 1919) 133.

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰Cited in "Old News--Bee Hunting", Mo. Hist. Rev., VII, (Jan., 1913) 157.

quite elated when they returned to their homes during the fall.⁴¹
In 1840 Captain Harris of the United States Army wrote of the trade in this fashion: "The State of Missouri is at this day the soundest in the Union in her monetary affairs. She is filled with specie, and the interior Mexican states have supplied it."⁴² It was the popularity of the same traffic, too, that brought about the extensive use of the Missouri mule.⁴³

Lead discovery caused much migration, too. Duden said that in the fall of 1826 the road through St. Charles never lacked its colonists' wagons. Those in Missouri moved to Boone County and Salt River, while Illinois residents migrated to the Sangamon River or northward to Galena.⁴⁴ According to the German paper, "Anzeiger Des Westens", every foot of ground four miles south and southwest of Galena was taken for lead mining by 1840.⁴⁵

Another type of movement that became very strong during the thirties was immigration. Steines wrote that when he came to St. Louis in 1834 only eighteen German families and a few unmarried Germans lived there. During that year, however, some

⁴¹Broadhead, G. D., "The Santa Fe Trail", Mo. Hist. Rev., IV (Apr., 1910) 309-310; reprint of an extract from "The Missouri Intelligencer and Boone's Lick Advertiser", June 2, 1826, in Mo. Hist. Rev., VII, 32-37 (Oct., 1812) 33.

⁴²Stephen, F. F., "Missouri and the Santa Fe Trade", Mo. Hist. Rev., XI, 289-312 (Apr., 1917) 312.

⁴³Ibid., 300.

⁴⁴Duden, Europa und Deutschland, 273.

⁴⁵(St. Louis) Jan. 4 1840.

came every day.⁴⁶ Inscriptions on the monuments of Missouri cemeteries show that England, Ireland, and Scotland, as well as Germany, assisted in swelling the number of newcomers into this region.⁴⁷

The state road from St. Louis to Jefferson City was not begun until 1834, but there was much travel before that time.⁴⁸ Occasional mishaps were to be expected along the roadside, for often wild pigs would rush out from the caves along the Missouri bluffs, and frighten the horses with their loud grunting; but the average American was not deterred by such fears. Duden describes the love of travel thus:

I must gainsay the erroneous statement that the lack of social intercourse constitutes the dark side of the much praised situation of the American settler. I wish such a conception that many advantages have to be paid for at the price of isolation, be dismissed from your mind, and that you consider instead that a distance of two or three English miles is regarded insignificant even by the feminine sex. No family is so poor, but what it owns at least two horses. The acquisition of these animals, which are kept at so small an expense, is the first endeavor of every settler, after which he considers getting good saddles, and it is nothing extraordinary to pay from twenty-four to thirty dollars for a lady's saddle, a price which on the Atlantic coast, for instance in Baltimore, would suffice for three saddles. Women and girls, old and young, ride horseback, sitting crosswise in the manner of the English. They ride well, fast or slow, and sometimes to great distances, just

⁴⁶Bek, "The Followers of Duden", XVI, 119.

⁴⁷"Monumental Inscriptions in Missouri Cemeteries", Mo. Hist. Rev., V, 113-118 (Jan., 1911) 113, 114, 117; VI (Jan., 1912) 35.

⁴⁸Bek, "The Followers of Duden", Mo. Hist. Rev., XV, 663-690 (July, 1921) 690.

like the men. Not a week passes in which the housewife does not take a ride to pay her neighbors a visit, going either alone or in company with other women. On Sundays only the inclemency of the weather can keep them at home.⁴⁹

On the rivers steamboats were gradually supplanting the slower and more expensive transportation by keelboats and barges. The latter were quite common, however, until 1836.⁵⁰ The Mississippi and the Ohio were the first rivers to be traversed by steamboats in Bishop Rosati's diocese. St. Louis had its first visit from one of the new boats in 1817.⁵¹ Ten years later, except during the extreme cold of January and early February, steamboats made daily arrivals there either from the Ohio or from New Orleans. The journey down stream to the latter could be made in five days, at a cost of twenty-four dollars, but the return journey consumed nearly twice as much time and was priced accordingly.⁵² Within the next decade the trip northward from St. Louis to Galena by steamboat was also inaugurated.⁵³ By 1836 steamboats had increased in such numbers that an average of thirty-six were usually anchored at the St. Louis wharf. Some of the other craft to be seen there housed shoe shops and many other varieties of floating stores.

⁴⁹Bek, "Duden's Report", 178-179.

⁵⁰Keemle, Chas., St. Louis Directory for 1836-1837 (St. Louis, 1836) I.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Bek, "Duden's Report", XIII, 252.

⁵³St. Louis Observer, Mar. 3, 1836.

Steamboat travel on the Missouri and Illinois did not begin until during the early thirties.⁵⁴ Even then snags, sandbars, and bursting boilers caused frequent accidents on both of these rivers as well as on the Mississippi.⁵⁵

One of the many services of the wider use of the steamboat was the gradual improvement of the mail. In Jefferson County, Missouri, just south of St. Louis County, mail was received only once in two weeks, and there were only two post offices until 1826. At that time another was opened, and a Mississippi River steamer brought the mail more frequently.⁵⁶ Postage for letters was decreased from six and one-fourth to six cents in 1838. For a distance of over thirty miles, however, the rate was still ten cents.⁵⁷ Newspapers to be sent a hundred miles or less were carried at a cent a sheet, but for a greater distance the charge was doubled. In 1838, however, papers were carried one hundred miles or to any place in the state for a cent.⁵⁸ However, the news was not very new when the papers arrived as even St. Louis and St. Charles papers did not reach districts fifty miles distant until two or three days after

⁵⁴Keemle, St. Louis Directory for 1836-1837.

⁵⁵The Sangamo Journal (Springfield, Ill.) June 14, 1836;
The St. Louis Observer, Nov. 3, 1836.

⁵⁶Thomas, John L., "Historic Landmarks of Jefferson County", Mo. Hist. Rev., III, 206-209 (April, 1909) 206.

⁵⁷Keemle, St. Louis Directory for 1836-1837, 38; for 1838-1839, 66.

⁵⁸Ibid., 65.

they were printed.⁵⁹ Besides, St. Louis itself often received news tardily especially during the winter. A March issue of the "Sangamo Journal" for 1836 stated that no paper mail had been received at St. Louis for nine days, while Springfield had been without a regular paper mail nearly all winter.⁶⁰

As these periodicals were well patronized their number gradually increased. St. Louis, which had only three weeklies in 1821, published two dailies and a weekly fifteen years later.⁶¹ The abolitionist editor, Elijah Lovejoy, had published his weekly "St. Louis Observer" there, too; but during the spring of 1838 his office was invaded and his type so battered that he moved his press to Alton.⁶² Within the next three years two more weeklies, the "Anzeiger des Westens" and the "Missouri Saturday News", had appeared, and St. Louis produced an evening paper, the "Daily Evening Gazette".⁶³ In St. Louis County, too, the press was actively supported. A daily and five weeklies were published in 1826, and about a dozen more of the latter appeared before 1840.⁶⁴ Besides these secular periodicals many religious newspapers were being circulated.

⁵⁹"Historical News and Comment", Mo. Hist. Rev., I (Jan., 1907) 267.

⁶⁰Mar. 3, 1836.

⁶¹Paxton, St. Louis Directory and Register, notes on St. Louis.

⁶²St. Louis Observer, June 9, 1846.

⁶³Keemle, St. Louis Directory, 1838-1839, 52.

⁶⁴Organ, Minnie, "History of the County Press of Missouri", Mo. Hist. Rev., IV, 111-133 (Jan., 1910) 113.

Even the atheists had their own publication.⁶⁵

Nevertheless, at a distance from the city people were often ignorant and superstitious. Witchcraft appeared in Jefferson County.⁶⁶ Besides, Frederick Steines was astonished at finding young people who had never heard of Pentecost, and were not sure of the day and month of Christmas. Many children from six to twelve years of age were not baptized, and marriages were contracted before the justice of the peace.⁶⁷ Much of this ignorance can be traced to the religious experiments carried on by the self-taught Protestant clergy of the day. The only ministers who had any training were those of the Unitarians, Presbyterians, and Episcopalians.⁶⁸ "The St. Louis Observer" stated that the Baptist ministers even expectorated all the time during which they were in the pulpit.⁶⁹ He compared them and the Methodist preachers as follows:

It is true that in this territory there are a number of Cumberland and Methodist brethren who are generally pious and devoted men, and are zealously engaged in doing good. But it is also true that with the best intentions, many of them are sadly deficient in those literary qualifications that are nearly if not quite indispensable to much permanent success in the ministry. There are also some Baptist preachers, some of whom are doing some good, while others have

⁶⁵Bek, "The Followers of Duden", XIV, 221.

⁶⁶Thomas, "Historic Landmarks of Jefferson County", II, 15-22 (Jan., 1908) 17.

⁶⁷Bek, "The Followers of Duden", XV, 667; Duden, Europa und Deutschland, 405.

⁶⁸Bek, "The Followers of Duden", Letter of Fred Steines, XIV, 221.

⁶⁹St. Louis Observer, Jan. 21, 1836.

all the deficiencies, and none of the redeeming qualities of the brethren just spoken of. They are antinomians in head and heart, "making void the law" and sinning "that grace may abound".⁷⁰

Nevertheless, the latter found many adherents. They denounced dancing as a major offense, and adopted submersion. Some of these people had started a log church as far west as Boone County as early as 1826. The Baptists of the state formed a general association in 1845, and two years later they had about 9,000 adherents scattered among about 150 parishes and attended by 126 ministers.⁷¹

The other sects were supported by smaller numbers of followers. The Methodists adopted prohibition and abolition of slavery among their tenets, and preached in homes, schoolrooms, or groves.⁷² The Presbyterians migrated into this district from the states to the southeast, and settled along the Missouri River. When the Missouri synod was erected on October 2, 1832, they numbered about one thousand members distributed among twenty-five congregations. Their cousins, the Congregationalists, had already erected a house of worship in Jacksonville, Illinois, in 1835.⁷³ Many other religious groups also found their way into this district. In addition to the denominations

⁷⁰St. Louis Observer, Oct. 1, 1835.

⁷¹Stephen, E. W., "The Missouri Baptist General Association", Mo. Hist. Rev., VII, 76-88 (Oct., 1912) 79.

⁷²Spencer, Joab, "Methodism in Saline County", Mo. Hist. Rev., VII, 14-33 (Oct., 1912) 19.

⁷³Shoemaker, "Six Periods of Missouri History", 236; St. Louis Observer, Sept. 8, 1835.

already mentioned, both St. Louis and Alton contained Methodist Episcopal, Episcopal, Unitarian, and African churches.⁷⁴ North-east of the latter city, in Carlinville, Peoria, and Ottawa, the Protestants were also making strides.⁷⁵ The Masons came in 1821, and the Odd Fellows in 1834. All these organizations strove to win the newcomers to their support.⁷⁶

Since there were no public schools except during a few years of Bishop Rosati's leadership, these religious groups also took charge of educational work. The only free public school in St. Louis was closed in 1825 because of insufficient funds. The school land was tied up in long leases at low rates. It was not until 1833 that another public school board was organized, and then the school was not opened until four years later.⁷⁷

Meanwhile private education was possible for a few. "The Directory for 1836-1837" stated that St. Louis contained "a number of primary schools, a Nunnery and an Academy for the education of females, and a University, conducted by the Order of the Jesuits".⁷⁸ By the primary schools the editor most likely meant those conducted by the Protestants. The Sisters of the Sacred Heart were in charge of the Nunnery and the Academy, while the

⁷⁴Keemle, Directory for 1838-1839, A.

⁷⁵Alton Observer, Oct. 13, 1836.

⁷⁶Shoemaker, "Six Periods", 236.

⁷⁷Keemle, St. Louis Directory for 1838-1839, VII; Shepherd of the Valley (St. Louis) April 27, 1833.

⁷⁸Keemle, Directory for 1836-1837.

University was to develop into the famous St. Louis University of our own times. The directory for the ensuing year also advertised a female academy conducted by Philip and the Misses Mauro on the southwest corner of Market and Fifth Streets.⁷⁹ In the same year the Germans formed a school corporation which had three officers, four directors, and two teachers.⁸⁰

Educational establishments of the Protestants were also found outside the city. The Baptists of Boone County opened a coeducational school, a two room brick building in which grammar, geography, higher mathematics and Latin were taught. They conducted two terms of five and one-half months each, and the board was only \$1.13 weekly.⁸¹ At St. Charles the Methodist Episcopal group owned a large brick edifice in which four professors conducted a college that had an enrollment of one hundred students.⁸² Illinois College for the boys and Lindenwood for the girls were sectarian institutions begun at Jacksonville, Illinois, in the thirties. Carlinville, too, boasted of a Protestant seminary, the basis upon which the present Blackburn College was formed.⁸³ The Baptists of Alton also erected

⁷⁹Keemle, St. Louis Directory for 1838-1839, 63.

⁸⁰Ibid.

⁸¹Stephen, E. W., "Little Bonne Femme Church", Mo. Hist. Rev., XIV, 193-200 (April, 1920) 198.

⁸²St. Louis Observer, Sept. 24, 1836; The Alton Observer, Nov. 3, 1836.

⁸³Flagg, Edwin, The Far West, in Thwaites' Early Western Travels, XXVI (Cleveland, 1906) 279.

a theological seminary and a literary institution chartered with college powers.⁸⁴ Farther to the northeast, in Putnam county, there was another coeducational academy of which the ministers of Ottawa and Peoria were trustees.

At St. Louis several other societies increased the opportunities for self-improvement. In 1833 there was founded a library association which permitted minors and apprentices to use a part of its resources in return for an annual fee of only twenty-five cents.⁸⁵ The St. Louis Museum and the Western Academy of Natural Sciences also attracted lovers of learning.⁸⁶

Still greater was the interest in music. In this field The Missouri Musical Fund, under the presidency of Rene Paul, was the pioneer society.⁸⁷ When referring to music in the city in 1821, the St. Louis Directory of that year states:

St. Louis has several professional Musicians who play at the Balls, which are very frequent and well attended by the inhabitants, more particularly the French, who, in general, are remarkably graceful performers, and much attached to so rational, healthy, and improving an amusement; . . .⁸⁸

When General Lafayette came to visit St. Louis in 1825, there were as yet only violins to furnish the music at the ball given in his honor. In fact, the first piano concerts of the city

⁸⁴Alton Observer, Oct. 13, 1836.

⁸⁵Shepherd of the Valley, May 11, 1833.

⁸⁶Keemle, St. Louis Directory, 1838-1839, 62.

⁸⁷Ibid.

⁸⁸Paxton, St. Louis Directory and Register, Notes, 5.

were played in 1834. The same year witnessed the coming of nine Prague musicians, who gave a wondrous "home-longing" concert.⁸⁹ By that time about a dozen kinds of orchestra instruments were obtainable at Dinnies' store on Main Street, but no pianos were advertised until 1838.⁹⁰ The singer from the Malibran Opera Company who gave a series of concerts during that year had some St. Louis violinists, a cellist, a guitarist, and a flutist as her accompanists. Music became so popular that the first St. Louis Orchestra was organized the following year.⁹¹ Moreover, the "Anzeiger des Westens" for January 4, 1840 advertised four musical events, one of which was a concert by a brass band of thirteen pieces under the direction of the St. Louis musician, M. Robyn.⁹²

Last, but not least of the St. Louis artists was a portrait painter "who would do credit to any country".⁹³ He had already taken up his abode there in 1821. There was another more prominent one who established his gallery in Columbia, Missouri, about 1840. This artist, named George C. Bingham, had studied in

⁸⁹Bek, "Followers of Duden", 689.

⁹⁰Keemle, Directory for 1836-1837, and for 1838-1839, A.

⁹¹Arnold, Susan A., "A Running Glance over the Field of Music in Missouri", Mo. Hist. Rev., VIII, 206-210 (April, 1914) 209.

⁹²p. 2.

⁹³Paxton, St. Louis Directory.

Philadelphia for three years previous to the opening of his studio in Missouri.⁹⁴

From these considerations we can see that learning and art were patronized and encouraged by the people of Bishop Rosati's diocese. However, the financial situation of the district must have retarded the rapid development of the finer things of life. Town dwellers found these times to be periods of uncertainty. Lionberger tells us that the over-speculation which had been inaugurated by the note issues of two local banks resulted in a collapse during the early twenties. The French, the most reckless investors, had become so poor that the names of these old inhabitants "but served to point a moral and adorn a tale".⁹⁵ After this collapse currency slowly regained its soundness and monetary affairs were definitely improved by the Santa Fe trade. Toward the close of Bishop Rosati's bishopric, however, currency depreciated once more. In fact, toward the close of 1840 there was another period of decline. There was hardly any good money in circulation, and many people suffered grave financial loss through the insolvency of the banks.⁹⁶

These fluctuating conditions also vitally affected the progress of erecting churches and other institutions of art and learning. They also explain in part why Bishop Rosati found the

⁹⁴Broadhead, Garland C., "A Few of the Leading People and Events of Early Missouri History", Mo. Hist. Rev., I, 284-292 (January, 1907) 287.

⁹⁵Lionberger, A Brief History of St. Louis, 42.

⁹⁶Bek, "The Followers of Duden", XV, 692.

cathedral of Bishop Dou Bourg in such a ruined condition, and why he found it necessary to undertake a journey to Europe in 1841. On the other hand, when we consider how little encouragement the city or the state was able to give to cultural efforts of any kind, the work of Bishop Rosati stands out in bold relief as that of a noteworthy educator and sociologist of Missouri and Illinois.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter I. A Sketch of the Life of the Right Reverend Joseph Rosati..... 1

His youth--Entrance into the Congregation of the Mission--The influence of a saintly teacher--The call to America--Teaching and studying en route to the new home--Greater responsibilities--Promotion to the coadjutorship--Administrator of two dioceses--The good shepherd of the St. Louis diocese--Immigration adds to the complexity of his problems--His journey to Europe--His death there.

Chapter II. Influence on the Educational Work of the Lazarists in America..... 32

Establishing the first educational center west of the Mississippi--Overcoming primitive conditions--The spiritual care of his pupils--His aptitude for teaching and administration--A bad year--Interest in securing pupils--The new college building--The need of another rector--His solicitude while residing at St. Louis--His plans for further development--The measure of his success.

Chapter III. Education for Girls..... 56

Care of the Lorette Sisters at the Barrens--Interest in the educational institutions of Louisiana--Bringing the Sisters of the Sacred Heart to St. Louis and St. Charles--The Missouri foundations of the Lorette Sisters--The first girls' school in Illinois--Securing the Sisters of St. Joseph--Their school at Cahokia and Carondelet--Progress--Attempts in Arkansas--Resume.

Chapter IV. The Care of the Sick..... 87

The bishop's interest in social work--The timely assistance of John Mullanphy--The successful request for the Sisters of Charity--Difficult beginnings in St. Louis--Brighter days--The new hospital--The cholera comes--Steamboat disasters--The spiritual support given by the bishop--His material assistance and protection.

Chapter V. The Care of the Orphans and of the Poor..... 104

The growing need of orphanages--Assistance for a Louisiana orphanage--Establishment of the St. Louis institute for boys--Means of support--Expansion--The training of the orphans by the sisters and the bishop--His interest in the children--How he began the deafmute asylum--State support--The status of child care at his death.

Chapter VI. Encouragement of Literature and Art..... 118

His writings--His love of history--"The Shepherd of the Valley"--"Catechisme de la louisiane"--His choir and organist--The beauty of the new cathedral--The motive of his labors.

Conclusion..... 135

Critical Essay on Authorities..... 137

CHAPTER I

A SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF THE RIGHT REVEREND JOSEPH ROSATI

One could perhaps object that the happy continuance of these institutions is not related to the progress of religion. However, when one considers that these institutes not only prevent and hinder noteworthy losses of faith, but that, on the contrary, they bring true and numerous advantages, then one will convince himself that he who calls such institutions into being really labors for the growth of the faith. It would be too extensive a task to enumerate all the occasions which present themselves to draw the children away from our faith rather than endear it to them, as their temporal and eternal welfare demands. Therefore, I confine myself to stating that our universities, colleges, convents, hospitals and orphan homes bring to the Protestants the most advantageous and exalted impressions of our faith; they expose the falsehood of all the detrimental statements they have hitherto heard about the Catholic Church, the ignorance of the priests, the rottenness of the religious orders. Therefore, we should neglect our present duty if we should overlook that of which experience proves the necessity.¹

This extract from a letter written by Bishop Rosati during the height of his career furnishes us the keynote of his life-- a burning zeal to promote any endeavor that would bring souls to God and help to man. Bishop Rosati was born on January 13, 1789. Sora, his native town, is a garden enclosed spot in the

¹Berichte der Leopoldinen Stiftung im Kaiserthum Oesterreich, VIII, 17-23 (Vienna, 1838) 21. Letter of Rosati to the Archbishop of Vienna, Aug. 14, 1833. This set of reports will hereafter be referred to as Berichte.

poetical atmosphere of ancient Latium.² Even into this sequestered nook, however, the anti-Catholic spirit of the French Revolution thrust its poison, leaving in its trail spiritual destruction and despair. Nevertheless, the soul of the youthful Joseph Rosati was immune to the baneful influence that enveloped him, and he persevered in his intention of becoming a religious priest. After a classical course he was admitted to the College of Propaganda in Rome, Monte Citorio, then directed by the Priests of the Congregation of the Missions. Here he met a theologian, Father Felix De Andreis, who was to influence him profoundly, not only during his student days, but also in his apostolic life in America. Bishop Kain writes thus of the relations between Father De Andreis and his pupil: "The former admitting the brilliance of intellect of his disciple, the latter carried away the learning, eloquence, and sanctity of his professor."³

On April 3, 1808, Rosati made his profession, and he was then appointed teacher of theology and prefect of the college. Again, however, before his studies for the holy priesthood were completed, the scourge of war disturbed the peace of his monastic life and Napoleon's troops drove the members of the

²Testimonial letter of Father Romoaldo Ansaloni, Rosati Papers 9, transcribed by Reverend Charles M. Souvay, C. M., and preserved at Kenrick Seminary. The original is in the Archives of the Procurator General of the Congregation of the Mission, Sant Appolinare, Rome.

³Rosati, Rev. Joseph, Life of the Very Rev. Felix De Andreis (St. Louis, 1890). Introduction by Archbishop Kain, 6.

Congregation from Monte Citorio. His Holiness, Pope Pius VII, granted a dispensation to the young levite for his ordination, even though he had not attained the canonical age.⁴ From that time Father Rosati assisted Father De Andreis in various missionary enterprises in Rome. Father De Andreis, on the other hand, supervised the younger priest's studies, and emphasized the necessity of learning English.⁵

One day while Father De Andreis was engaged in giving a retreat in Rome his audience included an unusually interested listener, the Very Reverend Louis Dou Bourg, who was touring Europe for the various needs of his vast diocese of Louisiana. The learning and sincere holiness of the retreat master so favorably impressed this American prelate that he petitioned the superior of the Vincentians to allow the young preacher and a few other Lazarists to begin a seminary at New Orleans in his diocese.⁶ The order was reluctant to grant the bishop's request, but through the intercession of the Holy Father the Lazarists finally consented and appointed Father De Andreis superior of the American foundation. He, in turn, requested Father Rosati to volunteer for the new missions as his associate. Much to his delight, not only Father Rosati, but three

⁴Testimonial letter of the ordination copied in Rome by Father Souvay. The date of the ceremony is uncertain, but the dispensation was given on June 1, 1812, at Monte Citorio.

⁵Rosati, Life of De Andreis, 52-56.

⁶Houck, Louis, History of Missouri (Chicago, 1908) 319.

other young Vincentians consented to join him.

On October 21, 1815, with the blessing of His Holiness, the brave little band started for the Atlantic under the leadership of Father Rosati, as Father De Andreis was temporarily detained in Rome.⁷ There were protracted delays at Marseilles and Bourdeaux. At the latter place they received word that Bishop Dou Bourg now intended to travel to St. Louis instead of to New Orleans, and that they must learn English as well as French. Then it was that Father Rosati realized the truth of his teacher's prophecy concerning the English language. Needless to say they all began mastering the arduous tongue without delay.⁸ Since the Bishop's European business was incomplete when the ship was ready to sail, he appointed Father De Andreis his vicar-general and ordered the little group to precede him to America. On July 26, the octave of St. Vincent de Paul, they reached Baltimore.⁹ The next stage of the journey, from this point to Louisville, consumed more time than the ocean voyage.

At Louisville Bishop Flaget of the nearby town of Bardstown extended them his hospitality, and warned them at the same time that it would be unwise to go to St. Louis to begin a

⁷Houck, History of Missouri, 320.

⁸Rosati, Life of De Andreis, 80.

⁹Ibid., 85.

seminary until the people were prepared for such a venture.¹⁰ He also emphasized the fact that they "needed to be well acquainted with French and English".¹¹ With this advice he extended a hearty invitation to remain at his seminary with him and his coadjutor until the arrival of their bishop. The two years that Father Rosati spent there were an excellent preparation for his work in Louisiana. To his surprise he grasped the English readily and began to use it in the sacred ministry during the following spring.¹² He learned many of the customs of the new country during his stay there, and became acquainted with the financial problems attending a seminary not endowed as those in Europe.¹³ He learned to his surprise and edification that total abstinence from intoxicants was demanded by Bishop Flaget from all the inmates of his institution.¹⁴

When Bishop Dou Bourg finally arrived in December, he was accompanied by thirteen other students.¹⁵ Knowing that there was no provision for them in Missouri, he gratefully accepted Bishop Flaget's magnanimous offer to keep his new as well as his old seminarians until the Missouri seminary was ready. He

¹⁰Letter of Rosati from Pittsburg, June 8, 1817, to his brother, Nicola Rosati at Sora, copied in Rome by Father Souvay.

¹¹Ibid., 135-136.

¹²Rosati, Life of De Andreis, 149.

¹³Malley, M. J., C. M., "Centenary of the Foundation of the Diocesan Seminary", St. Louis Cath. Hist. Rev. (Oct., 1918) 45.

¹⁴Rosati, Life of De Andreis, 140.

¹⁵Ibid., 173.

soon set out for St. Louis with Bishop Flaget and Father De Andreis, leaving Father Rosati in charge of the seminarians. From that time on it was the task of the young priest to conduct the classes in dogmatic and moral theology, to explain the ceremonies and plain chant, and to care for the spiritual direction of the students. As there were six nationalities represented among his pupils, his instructions were given in Latin; but difficulties were frequently stated and solved in Italian, French, or English.¹⁶

Meanwhile glowing reports of preparations for the new seminary were sent them by Bishop Dou Bourg. He had obtained 640 acres of fertile land in a good climate, near a settlement of honest, industrious people about eighty miles south of St. Louis. This place was called the Parrens. Plans for the house had been drawn and its construction begun. In the fall the prelate became so anxious for his students that he sent for them, though he knew that their home would be unfit for occupancy when they arrived.¹⁷ Father Rosati bade farewell to the two Kentucky bishops with the realization that they were friends on whose advice and help he could always rely. After a perilous journey in a leaky flatboat he and his companions disembarked in their own diocese, and with deep gratitude to God they erected a cross and sang the "Vexilla Regis". Another

¹⁶O'Malley, "Centenary of the Seminary", 46.

¹⁷Mss. Letter of Bishop Dou Bourg to Rosati, April 22, 1818. Archives of the Archdiocese of St. Louis, St. Louis Chancery Office.

brief delay, and they were finally safely ensconced at the Barrens in a house which a generous widow had placed at their disposal until the completion of the seminary.¹⁸

To Father Rosati, however, their arrival in Missouri meant not a cessation of labor, but only an earnest beginning. The novices of the Congregation were sent to Father De Andreis in St. Louis, but all else was in his care. In fact, so busy was he in the completion of the new home that he had no opportunity to visit his superior even during the fatal illness which soon attacked him. The constitution of Father De Andreis had never been very rugged, and the rigorous Missouri climate soon succeeded in sapping his health and life. On October 15, 1820, his body was brought to the Barrens for burial, and with a heavy heart Father Rosati celebrated the funeral Mass.¹⁹ "At the moment of his death Father De Andreis appointed Reverend Joseph Rosati as the superior of the Congregation of the Mission in America. . . ." wrote Bishop Dou Bourg to the Vincentian Vicar-General at Rome. In the same letter the bishop stated his choice of Father Rosati as Vicar-General of the diocese, adding, "If Father Rosati fail us, all will go to ruin."²⁰ Nor did he fail. His earnest and successful work at the Barrens as "pastor, Seminary head, builder and rector, Seminary and College

¹⁸O'Malley, "Centenary of the Seminary", citing Mss. Notice of Rev. Andrew Ferrari.

¹⁹Rosati, Life of De Andreis, 211.

²⁰Ibid., 233.

Professor . . . Superior of his community, and master of novices" allowed him to make only two or three hurried visits to St. Louis in four years.²¹

In a letter to Cardinal Litta, Bishop Dou Bourg applied for him as his coadjutor, and cited his qualifications thus:

. . . a most distinguished priest of the Congregation of the Mission about thirty years of age. He is wanting in nothing that would enable him to gain the reverence and the love of all: Virtue, especially prudence beyond his age, copious learning, a burning zeal for souls, resourceful eloquence, singular modesty, a venerable gravity of appearance, and an untiring strength of body.²²

In the meantime the Sacred Congregation decided to create the much lauded Father Rosati vicar apostolic of Alabama and Mississippi. The young Vincentian, now thoroughly alarmed, at once declined the honor both because of the inability of these districts to support a bishop, and because of his own modesty. He even returned the documents to the Holy See.²³ Fortunately, Bishop Dou Bourg saved him for the diocese by earnestly renewing his plea to have him as a coadjutor.²⁴ In this connection, Father Borgna, the Vincentian whom the bishop had directed to intercede with Propaganda, received definite instructions which

²¹Souvay, Rev. Charles L., "Lazarists in Illinois", Illinois Cath. Hist. Rev., I, 303-310 (Jan., 1919) 306.

²²Souvay, "Documents from Our Archives", St. Louis Cath. Hist. Rev., I, 184-196 (April, 1919) 196.

²³Souvay, "Documents", II (April, 1920). Note on p. 144.

²⁴Latin Mss. entitled Ephemerides Privatae Rmi. Josephi Rosati, Ephi. S. Lud., I, opening entry of 1823. This work will be hereafter referred to as Diary of Rosati.

read in part:

My second request was that Father Rosati be given to me as Coadjutor, and that at the same time he remain as the head of your company until a worthy substitute may replace him in this office. As the diocese cannot be divided for yet a long time you may realize from your own experience that I absolutely need a Coadjutor in the meantime; for the Bishop's absence is the worst evil for the one as well as for the other portion of the diocese, and he cannot be in both places at the same time. Thus, my Coadjutor would reside in the Seminary and from there should go from time to time to visit St. Louis and the other parishes. If, when everything is ready for the creation of the See of St. Louis, they wish to appoint there Father Rosati I shall certainly make no objections. After all, if they are afraid to give him the title of Coadjutor, let them make him Bishop in Partibus, and my Vicar General for the whole of Upper Louisiana as was done recently for the Bishop of Quebec. . . .²⁵

Finally the request was granted. By means of a brief dated July 14, 1823, Father Rosati found himself still charged with his work at the Barrens, but he was also to be the coadjutor of the Bishop of New Orleans for three years. When this time had elapsed the diocese was to be divided and Bishop Rosati was to have second choice of a part of it.²⁶ When Father Rosati received this document, he at once sent out a circular letter requesting the prayers of his people for the lately deceased Pope Pius VII, who had given him this duty, and for himself, "to obtain for me from on High the graces I need

²⁵Letter dated Feb. 27, 1823, to Father Borgna at New Orleans, from Washington, in Souvay, "Documents", St. Louis Hist. Rev., III, 113-123 (Jan.-Apr., 1921) 126.

²⁶Latin Brief, copied by Father Souvay; Testimonial Letter of the Proc. Gen., Sept. 11, 1825, also copied by Father Souvay.

to assist me to bear the burden which has just been imposed upon me, in order that it may not prove a cause of ruin to me and to others."²⁷ Bishop Dou Bourg consecrated him at Donaldsonville, Louisiana, on the feast of the Annunciation.²⁸

On his arrival in St. Louis, his first round of visits in the metropolis was indicative of his four chief interests and efforts. He first called on the two great pillars of education planted by Bishop Dou Bourg, the Jesuits and the Sacred Heart Sisters at Florissant. The morning of May 21 he breakfasted with Judge Mullanphy, the man who was to be the chief supporter of the charitable institutions which the young prelate hoped to establish. A visit with General Clarke on the same day pointed to the Bishop's fourth line of action--the Christianization of the Indians. This is clearly indicated in his diary in the following words:

There I saw General Clarke (Clarke), presented him Bishop Dou Bourg's letter, and we had a long conversation on the subject of the missions among the Indians. Our meeting was most cordial, and since General Clarke (Clarke) enjoys great authority among the Indians, I hope he will not fail to favor and help the Missionaries.²⁹

When the new prelate had returned to the Barrens, his zeal and energy found vent in his episcopal functions and in divers ecclesiastical activities performed with almost unvarying

²⁷Diary of Rosati, December 24, 1823.

²⁸Ibid., March 25, 1824.

²⁹This material and that of the next three pages are taken from Rosati's Diary on the dates mentioned.

regularity. On Saturday morning at six he heard the confessions of the sisters who had recently founded a girls' school near the Barrens. In the evening at five the seminarians were heard, and on Sunday, the brothers. On Mondays and Wednesdays he gave conferences to the seminarians, on Tuesdays, to the community. Other confessions were heard on Thursday and Friday.

As fall approached his work increased. Although his section of the diocese extended over a vast territory, there were only three parishes in Illinois, one in Arkansas, and eleven parishes and stations in Missouri. These scattered settlements were attended to by but ten priests. Besides, the clergymen in St. Louis also had to administer to the college which Bishop Dou Bourg had founded there.³⁰ In order to provide the scattered Catholics with greater opportunities to practice their religion, he instructed his confreres, Father Odin and the deacon, John Timon, to visit the southern missions. The testimonial with which he presented them reads as follows:

Joseph Rosati, by the grace of God and the authority of the Holy Apostolic See, Bishop of Tenegra, and Coadjutor of the Bishop of Louisiana.

To all the members of the Catholic Church who shall read these, greetings,

Knowing that a great many families dispersed throughout the vast and extensive portion of this Diocese especially committed to our care have been these many years destitute of every kind of spiritual assistance for want of clergymen, we have thought it our duty to afford them that spiritual comfort

³⁰Rothensteiner, Rev. John, History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis (St. Louis, 1928) 420, citing a letter of Father John Mary Odin from the Seminary to the Propagation of the Faith.

which is now in our power.³¹

In September he started on a Confirmation tour. At the cathedral he found a class of fifty-two boys and girls. The following day he was at Florissant, noting with interest that the superior there had six scholastics teaching six Indian boys to speak and write English. After his return to St. Louis he visited the ancient parish of Cahokia, Illinois, where he confirmed forty-seven. He then went southward and confirmed at St. Genevieve. He returned to the seminary on October 10, 1824.³²

During that year the number of seminarians had increased, but the income had decreased, and in spite of the Pope's gift of 621 scudi (about \$600.00)³³ the institution began to feel the effects of poverty. Bishop Rosati, realizing that the Americans could afford no relief, decided to send the president of the St. Louis College, Father Neil, to secure help in Europe for both institutions.³⁴ His choice seemed to be a wise one, for Father Neil was highly respected even by the Protestants of

³¹Mss. Volume entitled Copiae (I) Litterarum et Documentorum Officialium, A. D. J. Rosati, #3, Sept. 8, 1824. This volume is in the St. Louis Chancery Office. The title is not in Bishop Rosati's handwriting, and Father Rothensteiner says that it was written by Father Lutz, the bishop's secretary.

³²Diary of Rosati, Sept. 22 - Oct. 10, 1824.

³³Ibid., Sept. 16, 1824.

³⁴Littera D. Neil in Europam proficiscendum data. Rough draft in Copiae Litterarum et Documentorum.

St. Louis.³⁵ Unfortunately, however, he sent few funds or subjects to his bishop.³⁶

It was poverty, too, that almost brought a greater evil to the seminary, for Bishop Dou Bourg felt that the institution would fare better if it were moved to Louisiana. He even called his Coadjutor southward for a conference on the matter. The Lazarists, however, agreed that it was impossible to undertake a Seminary in the South at that time.³⁷ After he had sent this decision to the Superior, Father Baccari, Bishop Rosati obtained the counsel of his friends at Bardstown, Bishop Flaget and Bishop David. These two prelates not only denounced the removal of the seminary, but also advised Sacred Propaganda that the Diocese should be divided soon, so that Bishop Rosati could recall some of his clergy whom Bishop Dou Bourg had removed to Lower Louisiana.³⁸ Disheartened by all this opposition and worn out by his many years of missionary work Bishop Dou Bourg planned to return to Europe. Before leaving America he went to the Barrens to inform his Coadjutor of his departure, and to request him to visit Lower Louisiana during his absence. Bishop Rosati unsuspectingly complied with this petition and after returning to the Barrens he ordained three members of his

³⁵Truth Teller (New York) July 9, 1825, cited in American Cath. Hist. Researches, XXIII, "Rev. Francis Neil of St. Louis, Mo. Address of Protestants", 156.

³⁶Rothensteiner, History of the Archdiocese, 440-441.

³⁷Diary of Rosati, Aug. 16 - Nov. 25, 1825.

³⁸Rothensteiner, History of the Archdiocese, 425.

Congregation.³⁹ The previous March, too, the ranks of the clergy had been increased by the ordination of a Jesuit, Father Verhaegen, and two Vincentians, Fathers Boullier and Timon.⁴⁰ It was well for Bishop Rosati that he had these young helpers, for when Bishop Dou Bourg reached Europe he resigned his see. On November 4, 1826, Bishop Rosati received the official report of this in a pontifical brief stating that the diocese had been divided and that he was temporarily to administer both sections.⁴¹

This surprise was outweighed by the fear that the Holy See might transfer him to New Orleans. He had pleaded with Propaganda to permit him to remain in Missouri because the seminary needed an experienced head.⁴² Besides, the climate of New Orleans made him ill. Then, too, he feared that he did not speak French eloquently enough for a district in which some people went to church to catch the speaker in his sermons. At his request Bishop Dou Bourg also interceded for him, though he discredited the younger bishop's plea concerning the French. "It is not so much eloquence," he wrote to Propaganda, "as

³⁹Diary of Rosati, Sept., 1826.

⁴⁰Correspondence of 1826, January 17, #2. Letters of Rosati that are copied and arranged by Father Souvay.

⁴¹Mss. Bull of the Division, and the Erection of the St. Louis Diocese, in St. Louis Chancery Office; Mss. Letter of Father Borgna at New Orleans to Bishop Fenwick at Cincinnati, Oct. 20, 1826.

⁴²Mss. volume entitled Epistolae ad Enos. Cardinales S. C. de Propaganda fido ab Epo. S. Ludovici Scripta ab Anno. D. 1822. Letter to Cardinal Somalia, Nov. 9, 1825.

solid knowledge, profound wisdom and a virtue above every suspicion which are demanded in that important office."⁴³ Bishop Rosati's apprehension was finally allayed when he received word that he was to have St. Louis as his diocese, and that the Holy Father was to send a gift of \$500.00 for its support.⁴⁴

Having accepted the additional temporary burden of administering the Diocese of New Orleans, Bishop Rosati requested that a superior be sent for the seminary, so that he might be free for his great task.⁴⁵ The northern part of his own diocese needed his attention first. Just at this time the discovery of lead drew to the town of Galena many Irish immigrants and thousands of settlers from Missouri and Illinois. Although they asked for a resident priest, the bishop could give them only the services of the itinerant Michigan missionary, Father Francis V. Badin, because he had no one to send.⁴⁶ He tried earnestly to obtain some English speaking priests but was unsuccessful.⁴⁷ The following year he received petitions from the people of Edwardsville and Sangamon City (Springfield).

⁴³Rothensteiner, History of the Archdiocese, 429, citing the letter of Dou Bourg to Propaganda, May 1, 1827, from Propaganda Archives.

⁴⁴Epistolae ad Cardinales. Letter of July 14, 1827. To Cardinal Cappellari.

⁴⁵Epistolae ad Cardinales. Letter of July 19, 1827. To Cardinal Cappellari.

⁴⁶Rothensteiner, Rev. John, "The Northeastern Part of the Diocese of St. Louis under Bishop Rosati", Ill. Cath. Hist. Rev., I, 175-195 (Oct., 1919) 187-188.

⁴⁷Souvay, "Lazarists in Illinois", 316.

Since the bishop then had an English speaking priest, the Reverend Anthony Lutz, he commissioned him to visit the Indians and others at Prairie Du Chien and Galena.⁴⁸ During his travels to these places the missionary also ministered at Peoria and Sangamon City.⁴⁹ The Bishop visited the southern Illinois towns on Confirmation trips, if not every year, at least every second year from 1824 to 1839.⁵⁰

Neither did he neglect his responsibilities in the southern diocese. Although a visit in the fall of 1826 had provided him with the opportunity of forming an episcopal council for this shepherdless district, he realized that the good of religion required a thorough visitation. Therefore, on November 12, after making arrangements for a long absence from the seminary and his flock, he boarded a south bound boat at St. Genevieve, and reached New Orleans on the sixteenth day, November 28.⁵¹ Upon his arrival his consultors readily agreed to the visitation. He began by administering confirmation and first Holy Communion at Donaldsonville. Then he proceeded with his task of examining in detail the church, the sacristy, the sacred vestments and linen, and the records of almost every parish. At the conclusion of his examination he usually recorded his

⁴⁸Souvay, "Lazarists in Illinois", 319.

⁴⁹Rothensteiner, History of the Archdiocese, 467.

⁵⁰Diary of Rosati; Mss. Letter of Bishop Rosati to Propaganda, Mar. 21, 1828. Rough draft in the St. Louis Chancery Office.

⁵¹Diary of Rosati, Nov. 12 to 28, 1827.

recommendation in the baptismal register.⁵² For two months he traveled up and down the state. During January he completed the survey of the Loretto Convent and all the churches of the eastern part of the state except the one in New Orleans.

The following month a more difficult undertaking confronted him, for the Church trustees of the metropolis had attempted to secure from the state legislature a law permitting them to refuse to accept any pastor to whose appointment they did not agree. In order to prevent the success of this iniquitous proposal Bishop Rosati called a conference of his clergy. All agreed that the law in question was in opposition to the Church, and that they would not recognize any priest appointed by the trustees. As an added precaution the prelate interviewed some of the state senators and explained to them that, since this petition was contrary to the law of the Catholic Church, it violated religious freedom of worship and was also in conflict with the Constitutions of the State of Louisiana and of the United States.⁵³ Having restored a temporary calm in the city, the prelate spent the remainder of February in visiting the parishes of western Louisiana and the Sacred Heart Convent at Grand Coteau. He also found time and energy to make a fourteen mile journey in order to console one of his priests who had already spent three months in bed because of a broken thigh.⁵⁴

⁵²Diary of Rosati, Dec. to May, 1828.

⁵³Ibid., Feb. 1 to 14.

⁵⁴Ibid., Feb. 18.

The examination of the Cathedral Church and the Ursuline Convent of New Orleans concluded the bishop's task there.

Although the visitation had disclosed some very edifying conditions,⁵⁵ the responsibility of the seminary and of two extensive and widely separated districts weighed heavily on Bishop Rosati's shoulders. The burden was not lifted even after his confrere, Father Leo de Neckere, received the brief of appointment to the See of New Orleans; for it was June 24 of the next year before this reluctant and delicate bishop-elect was able to be consecrated.⁵⁶ Not only was Bishop Rosati then freed from the Diocese of New Orleans, but, after frequent petitions to his superior general, Father John Tornatore had arrived at the Barrens on May 26 to assume the responsibility of superior and rector. Bishop Rosati would have preferred to live at the Barrens and thence govern his diocese; yet, for its greater good, he left the shelter of his monastery and established his residence at St. Louis.⁵⁷

From this episcopal see he had an immense territory to govern. Thirty-four entire dioceses of the present day, and parts of the present dioceses of Marquette, Green Bay, Milwaukee, Peoria, Springfield, and Belleville have been formed

⁵⁵Epistolae ad Cardinales. Letter of April 1, 1828 to Cardinal Cappellari.

⁵⁶Brief in the Archives of the Procurator General, Rome, America, II, Appendice, 18.

⁵⁷Clarke, Lives of the Deceased Bishops of the Catholic Church in America (N. Y., 1872) 354.

from the original diocese of St. Louis. Moreover, the outlying district to the north and east was being administered de facto by him at the entreaty of neighboring bishops whose sees were far away.⁵⁸ In 1834, however, at the second Council of Baltimore, this territory as well as the vicinity of Chicago was committed to him de jure also. Hundreds of miles of trackless forest separated these regions from the districts adjoining St. Louis. Still, the zealous priests under Bishop Rosati's guidance performed the difficult task of establishing parishes there and visiting the scattered settlements of pioneer Catholics.⁵⁹

In addition to the distances, the climate created problems for his helpers, though the bishop himself remained quite strong until he was nearly fifty years of age. We learn from Father Holweck's article, "Rev. John Francis Regis Loisel", that the very year after this priest's ordination, the bishop gave him permission to return to his Canadian home to recover his health.⁶⁰ The cholera robbed him of two priests at Galena a few years later.⁶¹ In fact, the city of St. Louis itself was

⁵⁸Rothensteiner, History of the Archdiocese, map of pp. 416-417.

⁵⁹Mss. Letter of Bishop Flaget, bishop of Bardstown, to Bishop Fenwick at Cincinnati, June 17, 1832. Notre Dame Archives #6388; Father Souvay's copy of Faculties given by Bishop of Quebec. Nov. 25, 1829. Original in St. Louis Chancery Office.

⁶⁰St. Louis Cath. Hist. Rev., I, 103-115 (July, 1918) 105.

⁶¹Rothensteiner, History of the Archdiocese, 551.

so filled with cholera and bilious fever, and had so many variations in its summer temperature, that the farmers did not dare to go there during July and August.⁶²

The last trial, but by no means the least, was the dearth of priests and money. In a report to the Leopoldine Association on March 10, 1830, the bishop expressed this need and deplored the fact that he could not send resident priests to the Catholics who were clamoring for them, because he had but few priests and no means to support them.⁶³ In the same volume of the Berichte, under date of October 1, is a record of a gift of 10,000 florins (about \$5,000.00) for St. Louis "as one of the four poorest dioceses".

Nowhere was its poverty more plainly shown than in the dilapidated condition of the Cathedral church. For this reason one of his greatest problems was the timely erection of an edifice more worthy of the service of God. The Bishop called a meeting of his parishioners in the spring. Plans were completed and contracts placed by December 20, 1830.⁶⁴ Fortunately, the prelate did not realize that this undertaking would cause a burden of debt so heavy that its weight would undermine his robust constitution. He did not know that just at that

⁶²Zimmermann, Ed., "Travel into Missouri in October, '33", Missouri Hist. Rev., IX, 33-43 (1915) 34; Bek, Wm. G., "The Followers of Duden", Ibid., XV, 519-544 (1921) 542.

⁶³Berichte, I, 28-35 (1831) 32.

⁶⁴Rothensteiner, History of the Archdiocese, 505.

time the European Catholics were suffering so terribly from continual revolutionary movements and the evils of the factory system that they would be unable to present their customary alms for the American missions. The construction of the cathedral progressed, but the prelate had little with which to discharge the expenses incurred, nor was he able to finance any new institutions for several years.⁶⁵

Moreover, the European disturbances and the reports of the success of the earlier immigrants to America inaugurated an exodus of Germans in such numbers that about 152,000 came to the United States during the 30's.⁶⁶ Many of these settled in St. Louis and its vicinity. The Bishop showed his interest in them by commissioning Father Lutz to say Mass for them in Mary's Chapel, and by trying to procure priests of their own tongue; yet, he was apprehensive about their coming. He feared that in their demand for prayer and services in their own language they and their priests might cause disorders similar to the occurrences in Baltimore and Philadelphia.⁶⁷ As no tumult occurred, his uneasiness was soon dispelled, for on March 14,

⁶⁵Ludisay, Abbe L., "Some Correspondence Relating to the Dioceses of New Orleans and St. Louis", Letter of Rosati to Bishop Panet from the Quebec Archbishopal Archives--printed in Records of The American Catholic Historical Society, of Philadelphia, XIX, 305-325 (1908) 309-310.

⁶⁶Rekal, Rev. Andrew Anthony, O. M., "German Catholics in the United States", Records of the American Cath. Hist. Soc., XXXV, 305-358 (1925) 340.

⁶⁷Rothensteiner, History of the Archdiocese, 833-834.

1832, he wrote as follows of the Apple Creek Colony:

I am glad to hear of a new increase of the Snowbush (Schnorbus) settlement. It is a good acquisition for the community at large and for religion in particular. These good Germans are very industrious and useful citizens and excellent Catholics. Many compliments from me to Mr. Snowbush (Schnorbus) and to all the newcomers. A good number of them are come to St. Louis.⁶⁸

Meanwhile the missionaries in the wild woods were sending Bishop Rosati word that their difficulties were increasing in proportion to the number of immigrants. From New Madrid, in the extreme southern part of Missouri, Father Peter Lefevere informed him that the people, indeed, assembled at the courthouse for religious services, but that their chief purpose in coming was to visit and be entertained.⁶⁹ Hundreds of miles northward his efforts to effect the proper attitude toward religion were being echoed by a unique missionary, the Reverend Samuel Mazzuchelli, O. P. His journeys throughout southern Wisconsin and northern Iowa and Illinois, together with his suggestions to Bishop Rosati, lent an added weight to the petitions which the latter received from the Catholics there. A few years later when he had priests, the bishop sent them northward, and soon both Galena, Illinois, and Davenport, Iowa, erected churches.⁷⁰

⁶⁸Letter of Rosati to Rev. John Timon, Mar. 14, 1832. St. Louis Cath. Hist. Rev., I (Oct., 1918) 179.

⁶⁹Griffith, Charles F., "Catholic Beginnings in Southeastern Iowa", Mid-America, XII, New Series I, 311-333 (October, 1929) 318.

⁷⁰Ibid.

For Bishop Rosati the year 1833 was filled to the brim with endeavors of all kinds. It was then that he sent the first resident priest to the people of Chicago. Their petition had been sent to Bishop Flaget, but as he could not comply with it, he forwarded it to Bishop Rosati. On April 16, the latter read the following request:

We, the Catholics of Chicago, Cook County, Illinois, lay before you the necessity there is to have a Pastor in this new and flourishing city. There are here several families of French descent, born and brought up in the Roman Catholic Faith, and others quite willing to aid us in supporting a Pastor, who ought to be sent here before other sects obtain the upper hand, which very likely they will proceed to do. We have heard several persons say that were there a Pastor here they would join our religion in preference to any other. We count about one hundred Catholics in this town. We will not cease to pray until you have taken our important request into consideration.⁷¹

The bishop of St. Louis saw that here was a wonderful opportunity for spiritual uplift and he sent Father St. Cyr at once. On May 3, 1833, after a journey of three hundred miles, this zealous priest reached the new city. Besides establishing schools in the outlying districts, and calling a synod of the clergy, an event of great importance for the bishop was the Second Provincial Council at Baltimore.⁷² Here he met Father Peter Richard Kenrick, the priest whose qualities impressed him so greatly that he requested him as his coadjutor nine years

⁷¹Onahan, Wm. J., "Petition of the Catholics of Chicago for a Priest", American Catholic Historical Researches, XV, 125-126 (July, 1898).

⁷²Letter of Rosati to the Association for the Propagation of the Faith, May 13, 1833, Annales, VII (1834) 124.

later.⁷³

Several of the bishops at this assembly were in St. Louis the following October 26, in order to share Bishop Rosati's joy at the completion of his new cathedral.⁷⁴ He had reason to be proud of it for even now, two years after the celebration of its centennial, its imposing structure gives the beholder an impression of the orderliness and sturdiness of its builder. Though the large limestone blocks, the Doric pillars, and the central tower are quite weather-beaten, they give promise of performing their task for numerous decades to come. The interior, now newly decorated in cream, blue and gold, is airy and spacious, and the unusually highly elevated sanctuary brings into prominence the beautiful altars.

Near this central church of the diocese the bishop and his secular city clergy lived a life similar to that of a religious community. They never accepted invitations to dine in secular homes. All had to be in readiness for calls, for no one knew whether the next person to request their services would speak English, German, or French.⁷⁵ Bishop Rosati kept in touch with all the work, and performed a large share of the parish duties. His convert classes became so popular that, in the year 1839

⁷³Rothensteiner, History of the Archdiocese, 532.

⁷⁴Mss. Letter of Bishop Rese from Detroit to Bishop Purcell at Cincinnati, Sept. 5, 1834, Notre Dame Archives, #5760.

⁷⁵Rothensteiner, History of the Archdiocese, citing Rosati's letter to Cardinal Pedicini, 508.

alone, 299 persons whom he had instructed embraced the Catholic faith.⁷⁶

One would suppose that with so many converts and immigrants the bishop's resources would have mounted; but such was not the case. The new settlers, especially the Germans, were too poor to help,⁷⁷ and it was not long before the bishop began to feel the effects of the struggle against the tide of financial difficulties in which he found himself engulfed. In this strain he wrote thus to the Archbishop of Cincinnati the following spring:

The circumstances in which I am placed at present are very embarrassing. It was a common opinion amongst our friends here that by the sale of the pictures I might expect to realize (realize) between \$10,000 and \$12,000. I relied on this calculation to have the means of paying if not entirely, at least nearly so the expenses of the building. I was highly disappointed. We hardly have \$2,000 from the sale of the pictures. We had also, on account of the fright conceived at the noise made during the ceremony much less than what was expected from the collection. Several other resources have failed, some extra work bills have been swollen beyond our expectation. So that I am presently obliged to borrow money at interest in order to meet my payments; and it will be very difficult with me in these times of distress to find money enough to complete them all. . . . Since I had the pleasure of enjoying your company I have been three times interrupted from my usual course of occupation by those bad colds so common and in several cases so fatal in this country. I am yet confined to my room. . . .⁷⁸

⁷⁶Curtis, Georgina Bell, "Early Conversions to the Church in America", Catholic Historical Review, I, 271-281 (1876) 278.

⁷⁷Duden, Gottfried, Europa und Deutschland, Von Nordamerika aus Betrachtet, I, (Bonn, 1833) 165.

⁷⁸Mss. Letter to Bishop Purcell, Mar. 20, 1835. Archives of Notre Dame University, #6272.

Difficulties together with successes were likewise the lot of the priests who depended on him for support. By this time nearly all of the Indians had been moved west of Missouri, and fervent Jesuit missionaries were extending their ministry to the thousands of red men and the few white men whom they could serve from such points as the Kickapoo and Potawattomi Missions, at Council Bluffs and Sugar Creek. Father Lefevere, a secular missionary, reported to the synod of 1837 that his scattered flock extended throughout seven Missouri and six Illinois counties.⁷⁹ Another priest informed the bishop that it took three months for a circuit of his Illinois and Iowa missions, and then he was never in the same place more than three nights, nor near a fellow priest. He longed to be stationed in closer proximity to other missionaries. "Then", he wrote, "we could see one another sometimes. We could ask for consolation in affliction, counsel in doubts, without being exposed so much to die without the consolation of receiving the last Sacraments. . . ."⁸⁰ In Arkansas, too, the work was very difficult because the Catholics were so scattered. However, success accompanied the labor here as elsewhere, especially after two great leaders of the infidels became Catholics.⁸¹

⁷⁹Report of Father Lefevere to the Synod of 1837. St. Louis Archives.

⁸⁰Kempker, Rev. John F., "Catholicity in Southeastern Iowa", Records of the Am. Cath. Hist. Soc. of Philadelphia, II, 128-142 (1886-1888) 161-162.

⁸¹Rothensteiner, History of the Archdiocese, 487.

Fortunately, the Holy See was forming other dioceses in Bishop Rosati's northern and eastern territory. When the latter had consecrated Father Brute the Bishop of Vincennes, he expected to be relieved of the care of Chicago, and to have Father St. Cyr released for his own flock. Yet, when the new bishop pleaded that he had only two other priests, the Italian prelate allowed the missionary to remain in Chicago until April 17, 1837.⁸²

During that very year the need for priests in his own diocese reached unprecedented heights because of additional thousands of immigrants from Great Britain, Germany, and France. In 1838, according to Buckingham, there were in Missouri twelve thousand Catholics, more than half of the churchgoers, and this number was continually increasing. He saw no less than 340 Germans in one boat bound for New Orleans.⁸³ Since at that time there were millions of square miles of cheap public land for sale in Bishop Rosati's diocese, many newcomers came up the Mississippi to this region.⁸⁴ A few German priests came with occasional groups of immigrants, but their number was wholly inadequate.

⁸²Garraghan, Gilbert J., S. J., "Bishop Brute and the Mission of Chicago", St. Louis Cath. Hist. Rev., I, 201-214 (1919) 204.

⁸³Buckingham, J. S., Eastern and Western States of America, III (London, 1842) 90.

⁸⁴Letter of Bishop Rosati to the Leopoldine Association, of 27, 1838, Berichte, XII (1839) 46.

Thinking that perhaps a personal plea for priests and funds would bring a more generous response from the Europeans, the bishop planned a trip to Rome.⁸⁵ His preparations began by sending all the religious communities of women a request for prayers for the success of a diocesan synod. Then followed a systematic visitation of all his establishments, beginning with those east of the Mississippi.⁸⁶ This task must have served to prove to the bishop that he needed another type of assistance. Although Bishop Loras, the recently appointed bishop of Dubuque, had taken charge of Galena for him, the work was becoming too great for his strength, and he yearned for a young helper to share his burden and to keep pace with the new opportunities. He expressed his plight to Bishop Blanc at New Orleans in the following terms:

For as regards my situation, Mgr. and very dear Father, I know very well that without a coadjutor one will not do half as well what one ought to do in a place where the immigration is all of Catholics and is greater than in all the other places, where if one cannot do immediately what needs to be done one cannot do it (at all). One in which the parishes already established are at a distance of 1400 miles, where one must journey on land, through places where there are not regular roads for traveling, it is impossible to traverse these distances, and it must be done, and I cannot do it alone. My task surpasses my strength. I have not time to finish one thing when it is necessary to begin another. It is necessary that I be my secretary, my Vicar General, my council, for those who were named for these duties are placed in circumstances which make the exercising of these functions an impossibility. . . . For some months I

⁸⁵Diary of Rosati, Jan., 1839. The original of the third part of the diary from 1836 to 1841 is in Rome and was copied by Father Souvay.

⁸⁶Ibid., Apr., 1839.

have not had an instant of rest. I rise every day before four o'clock, and at the end of the day I am still obliged to put away things for tomorrow. I will continue as long as I can but such conditions will never endure for a long time.⁸⁷

Both joys and disappointments were mingled in his European tour for help. Having left his diocese on April 27, 1840, he reached Paris in July.⁸⁸ During his stay at the Vincentian house there, he described with childlike happiness the privilege of being a simple Lazarist:

You can imagine our mutual joy. They have given me the best rooms in the house where in the midst of our affectionate confreres I enjoy a tranquillity such as I have not known for many, many years. It seems to me a real Paradise. I have had a black cassock made, have put on the little white collar and the knee breeches and am a Lazarist just like the others.⁸⁹

It was by means of letters from Paris, too, that he induced six members of his congregation and a brother to leave Italy and prepare to start for America in September.⁹⁰ Resuming his journey, he reached Rome, the scene of his novitiate and elevation to the priesthood. Even there, in the midst of his joy, his solicitude for his co-workers never ceased. On February 9, 1841, he wrote to one of his brethren at La Salle:

⁸⁷French letter copied by Father Souvay and bound in his collection "Correspondence of 1839". Original at New Orleans.

⁸⁸Diary of Rosati.

⁸⁹Letter of Rosati at Paris to Father Raho at La Salle. July 12, 1840. Mss. translation made by Father Anthony Lutz about 1876. Library of the Mo. Hist. Society, Jefferson Memorial, St. Louis.

⁹⁰Ibid.

I'm sorry that you remained with so little assistance, but I hope that it will soon come, for our brethren who went from Turin ought to have already arrived. . . . It is necessary also to pray Providence to send us the necessary means to meet expenses. So far, except from the Association in France, I have not received anything; many honors and nothing else. . . . My spirit has acquired new strength and my affection for my dear Diocese (also). . . . It is always present to me, especially at the memento which is larger than in America--the savages, heretics, catholics, clergy, religious, the youth, temporal needs. . . .⁹¹

About the time when Bishop Rosati was planning his return, the Holy Father requested him to visit Haiti as his delegate, in order to obtain a concordat with the rulers of that distracted island. The bishop understood negroes--he himself had been a slave owner--and the Pope knew his prudence. Nevertheless, it was only after the Holy Father had appointed Father Peter Richard Kenrick of Philadelphia as his coadjutor that Bishop Rosati consented to undertake the task in Haiti.⁹² First he returned to Philadelphia to consecrate his coadjutor and send him to St. Louis. Then he sailed to the negro island and successfully arranged the agreement with the Holy See. Again he set out for the Eternal City to present his report. While en route he communicated to the Propagation of the Faith his joy that the arrival of the eight Lazarists, four Jesuits, and seven clerics of St. Viateur whom he had sent from Europe had

⁹¹Letter to Father Raho at La Salle, from Monte Citorio, Feb. 9, 1841. Mss. Translation made by Father Lutz, Library of the Mo. Hist. Society.

⁹²Brief of Appointment, Apr. 30, 1841, copied by Father Souvay. Original in the Archives of the Proc. Gen. Rome, America, Pt. II, Appendice, p. 14.

preceded that of his coadjutor.⁹³ No one understood more clearly than Bishop Rosati what a consolation this addition to his clergy would give the new western prelate.

During that winter in Rome he became seriously ill, but recovered, and continued to interest others in the work of his diocese. Spring found him all eagerness to return to it, and he had traveled as far as Paris before another attack of illness seized him. As the doctors in that city advised him not to take passage, he returned to end his days in his novitiate home.⁹⁴ In the Diocesan Chancery there is an old book containing the following notice of his passing: "September 25, 1843, at Rome died the Illustrious Bishop Rosatti (Rosati), first Bishop of St. Louis, Mo. May he rest in peace."⁹⁵

⁹³Letter to the Messieurs du Conseil Central de Paris de L'Oeuvre de la Propagation de la Foi, Rough Draft in the Archives of the Proc. Gen. Rome. Dated April 14, 1842. Copied by Father Souvay.

⁹⁴Shea, John G., Hierarchy of the Catholic Church in the United States, II (New York, 1886) 163.

⁹⁵Memoranda Missionum, 189. St. Louis Archdiocesan Archives.

CHAPTER II

INFLUENCE ON THE EDUCATIONAL WORK OF THE LAZARISTS IN AMERICA

Do not imagine when I tell you about our monastery, a house such as those of Europe destined for the home of a community! Our monastery consists now of five twenty foot houses . . . in a woods where one finds the trees placed one upon another. . . .¹

On October 1, 1818, a little cavalcade of six wagons accompanied by a few pedestrians slowly wended its way southward through those Missouri woods mentioned in the quotation taken from one of Father Rosati's letters to his brother. The young men on foot and in the wagons were the students and the teacher of Bishop Dou Bourg's seminary who were on their way to a spot called the Barrens about eighty miles from St. Louis and ten miles from the Mississippi River.

We may suppose that Father Rosati, the leader of the group, was picturing their new home as the bishop had described it to him that spring: "A vast undertaking--a house of 60 x 36, of 2½ stories with such a cellar under the whole as there is under the Brick house at St. Thomas in which we may have two halls of 25 x 17 and 2 cellars of the same size."²

Truly, Bishop Dou Bourg had begun a great project; but both the

¹Letter to Nicola Rosati, Jan. 19, 1826, in French, transcribed by Father Souvay and bound in his Correspondence of 1826.

²Mss. Letter of Bishop Dou Bourg to Rosati, April 22, 1818, St. Louis Chancery Office.

completion of the material building and the achievement of intellectual results were to be performed under the leadership of another.

A clearing in the forest brought into view the real seminary--a small church, and an unfinished one story log cabin about twenty-five by eighteen feet. Of course, their prelate had found temporary quarters for the institution about two miles from the church where there was a house to be used by the newcomers until the completion of the new building. The joy of being in their own diocese seemed to lighten the burdens of their primitive surroundings. Their classes were resumed, and their recreation periods were spent in assisting the parishioners at the seminary building, or in working in their 640 acre field with the brothers.

After a winter spent thus, they finally moved into their own structure--a simple log house of four rooms; or rather, four slightly partitioned corners. While Father Rosati was teaching theology in one of these nooks, various occupations, such as cooking, experimenting with the manufacture of macaroni, tailoring, or shoemaking were being carried on in the others. Occasionally, too, a noisy cow would thrust her head into the cabin. At night the whole place was transformed into a dormitory by spreading mattresses on the floor. The sleepers rested well, even though at times they were covered with blankets of snow. The refectory was in another log house a short distance away. During wet weather, however, the students often preferred

to go to bed supperless rather than venture across to this building.³

Sound judgment and a healthy constitution were required to lead the institution to success under such conditions. That Father Rosati possessed these requisites is shown by the fact that under his guidance there was "such piety and resignation that all seemed to feel happy and advance in the way of salvation".⁴ It was only a few years, therefore, before he had transformed this woodland spot into a veritable beehive of learning.

The first step in bringing the school of the Barrens out of its obscurity was to have it incorporated by the legislature of Missouri. By the Act of Incorporation Father Rosati was named one of the five trustees. A majority of these was empowered to constitute a quorum to transact business, such as deciding the rates of tuition, etc.⁵ Bishop Dou Bourg wrote to congratulate Father Rosati, and stated that this recognition by the legislature prepared the way for many things.⁶

The zealous director was not long in beginning the new projects. Additional log cabin space was secured, and, the

³Ryan, Rt. Rev. Stephen Vincent, "Early Lazarist Missions and Missionaries", United States Catholic Historical Magazine, I, 233-257 (July, 1887) 253.

⁴Clarke, Lives of Deceased Bishops, 358, 359.

⁵Copy of the act made by candle light on Nov. 28, 1822, before it was signed by the governor. Recopied by Father Souvay.

⁶Mss. Letter of Dou Bourg to Rosati, Feb. 6, 1823. St. Louis Chancery Office.

very next year, he began to admit boys as collegians in order to support a greater number of seminarians. During all this time, of course, Father Rosati was the pastor of the parish at the Barrens and the chief teacher of the seminary, as well as superior of the Congregation and supervisor of the building process. Moreover, in July, 1823, after he was appointed Bishop Dou Bourg's coadjutor for Upper Louisiana, he planned to have some of his priests educate the Indians at Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin. The older prelate, however, rendered this hope impossible by removing nearly all of the Vincentians to his section of the diocese.⁷ Thus, Bishop Rosati's greatest effort and attention were still centered on the Barrens.

The spiritual growth of the seminarians was the first concern of the rector. For this purpose he usually assembled them early every Monday morning, and, after having appointed one of their number to give a spiritual address, he himself proposed a subject for reflection. The diary which he began in 1823 gives us examples of these conferences. On August 23, Bishop Rosati wrote: "I spoke on the exercise of the presence of God. I tried to show how efficacious it was for refraining from sin, 2, resisting temptations, 3, advancing in virtue, 4, affording consolation in affliction." Then he recorded the means by which he had suggested the attainment of this exercise.⁸ The practice of noting these subjects of instruction in his diary must have

⁷Souvay, "Lazarists in Illinois", 306-307.

⁸Entry of August 23, 1824; Feb. 1, 1826.

been a preventative against tiresome repetition.

Bishop Rosati also realized how much the proper community spirit among his Vincentians would affect the quality of their educational work. Therefore, he gave them a weekly conference, usually on Tuesday, and recorded the subjects in his diary.⁹ The community retreat, too, was preached with his usual eloquence each October when he could arrange to be there.¹⁰ As his little band of Vincentians was thousands of miles from the Mother House in Paris, the community bulletins did not always reach them. However, Bishop Rosati tried to keep firm the tie which bound them to the Congregation. On January 17, 1826, he asked Father Baccari, their Superior General, for the circular letters of several previous years, and for a list of all the dead of the Congregation. His letter says in part:

We have been faithful to perform the suffrages which you have recommended, one mass each month; but it is a satisfaction for us to see the catalogue and to know which of our brothers have passed to the other life. We have not likewise the conferences of St. Vincent.¹¹

How closely united the Vincentians were can be gleaned from the attitude of one of their own seminarians, Thomas Moore, whom Bishop Rosati had sent to New Orleans to recover his health. This fine young man "returned from New Orleans, feeling no benefit of the air, wishing to die among his brethren and friends."

⁹Diary of Rosati, Feb. 1 and Sept. 24, 1826.

¹⁰Ibid., Oct., 1824 and 1827.

¹¹Correspondence of January, 1826, #2, in French. Transcribed by Father Souvay.

He died on the evening of May 11, the day on which the bishop had given him the last sacraments.¹²

As the young prelate left nothing undone to promote the spiritual welfare of his inferiors, similarly, in arranging for their intellectual progress nothing was left to chance. On Friday, November 5, 1823, of the year in which he was elevated to the episcopate, school work was begun for his fourteen seminarians and his handful of collegians as usual; the program had been mapped out by him two days previously. He planned his own classes first: "I reserved for myself the classes of Theology, Rhetoric, and Greek language, controversy, and Sacred Scripture." The first two Latin classes were placed in charge of Loisel, the third was given to Soicier. Odin and Paquin received the French classes, while Timon and Moore were assigned to those in English. Then there was arithmetic by Timon and Thompson, penmanship by Labadie, and geography by Odin. Vergani, the prefect, was to teach Gregorian chant, and Timon, the vice-prefect, had charge of the choir. Soicier was also the bell ringer, while Tucker and Moore were the infirmarians. Besides, the church and the community sacristies each had their caretakers named. The list of duties was completed with the names of the two clerics in charge of the fire, and Hamilton to care for the candles they needed for lights.¹³

The principal set the other professors an example of

¹²Diary of Rosati, April 26, 1825; Nov. 27, 1825.

¹³Ibid., Nov. 3 and 5, 1824.

regularity. At 5:30 in the afternoon of the following Friday he began his class in controversy, and on Sunday, at the same hour, he organized the class in Sacred Scriptures.¹⁴ Moreover, he procured books from the director of the seminary at Lyons.¹⁵ During the succeeding school year he had only four assistant professors, as Odin and Timon were travelling missionaries.¹⁶ Besides, Father Saulnier, the president of the St. Louis College, desired a seminarian for that institution, but Bishop Rosati deemed it best to refuse.¹⁷ His own schedule that year included theology at 8:30, philosophy at 10:00, and Greek at 4:00. Controversy and Sacred Scripture were taught at the same hours as in the previous year.¹⁸

The summer and winter of the year 1825 were unforgettable in the history of the institution. During August the senior bishop had called Bishop Rosati to New Orleans for a conference and had disclosed to him a most disquieting scheme. Rosati recorded the interview thus:

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

¹⁴Diary of Rosati, Nov. 7, 1824.

¹⁵Ibid., Nov. 26.

¹⁶Rothensteiner, History of the Archdiocese, 411.

¹⁷Diary of Rosati, Nov. 26, 1825.

¹⁸Ibid., Nov. 28, 1825.

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 Barrrens one, or maybe, two priests, with the boys of the lower classes, and to 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 equivalent 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. . . .¹⁹

However, at a second conference Bishop Dou Bourg agreed to let the other Vincentians express their opinion on the matter. When Bishop Rosati returned to them and related the sad news, they, too, disapproved of the Louisiana seminary project.²⁰ On the other hand, the conditions at the institution seemed to prove the correctness of Bishop Dou Bourg's views; for the intense heat and long draught had been aided in their crop destruction by a small insect. The young prelate was compelled to buy corn and wheat, but had no money to meet expenses. They ate bread as black as the earth.²¹ Providence was their only hope.²²

In this extremity he turned for help to one of his confreres stationed at New Orleans, Father Borgna. From him he

¹⁹Diary of Rosati, Aug. 16, 1825.

²⁰Ibid., Nov. 25, 1825.

²¹French Letter of Rosati to Father Borgna at New Orleans, Nov. 27, 1825, copied by Father Souvay.

²²Diary of Rosati, Nov. 22, 1825.

besought a few plates and saucers, a barrel of molasses, and a little rice, for the seminary had nothing but beans. Later on in the winter they had to eat corn bread, and try to find a little wheat for the sick.²³ Fortunately, Rosati secured a doctor for the latter by making a written contract with a physician who was in debt. The latter, Richard Dorsey by name, promised his services to the seminary for five years, in consideration of Bishop Rosati's assumption of a one hundred dollar debt, and the gift of a horse.²⁴

Finally the hard times began to improve, and the danger of dissolution was averted by Bishop Dou Bourg's resignation. Bishop Rosati could truthfully relate: "Our seminary daily acquires new strength".²⁵ When the school term, '26-'27, began, he was administrator of both Upper and Lower Louisiana. In spite of this grave responsibility, however, he planned to teach Sacred Scripture, collation of cases of conscience, and controversy--classes which met only once or twice a week.²⁶ During his many enforced absences he often placed the institution in charge of Father Odin, one of his disciples. In the following excerpt from one of his letters this young Vincentian

²³ French Letter to Father Borgna, Dec. 23, 1825, copied by Father Souvay.

²⁴ Diary of Rosati, Jan. 18, 1826.

²⁵ Rothensteiner, Rev. John, "Bishop England's Correspondence with Bishop Rosati", Letter of Dec., 1826, Ill. Cath. Hist. Rev., X, 58-61 (July, 1927) 60.

²⁶ Diary of Rosati, Nov. 12, 1826.

pictured to his parents what a responsibility in itself the management of the seminary was:

I find myself now entirely charged with the conduct of this house; Mgr. Rosati is almost always on the journey in order to visit the immense diocese confided to his care. The burden which his absence imposes on me is quite heavy for my feeble shoulders. Our house is composed of three young priests newly ordained who assist me in the teaching and in the exercise of the ministry; of 20 seminarians, of 27 pupils, of eight lay brothers, and 18 persons of color. We are forced to furnish the food, the clothing, etc. for this numerous family, and we have not hardly any other source than that of Providence. Sometimes discouragement almost overcomes me, I do not know what means to take to procure the most necessary provisions; but God is such a good father, who always comes to our assistance. The seminary is His work and He protects it in quite a special manner, I can say even in quite a miraculous way.²⁷

Indeed, when Bishop Rosati returned from the South in May, 1828, he found them all well, notwithstanding their poverty.²⁸

Quite frequently the bishop's homecoming meant an increase in the enrollment of the institution. In June, 1827, he escorted there seven boys from Louisiana, and after an ordination at St. Louis he returned with two new collegians whose family names were prominent in the history of that city, Edward Chouteau and Benjamin Soulard.²⁹ He would sometimes notify the parents of a prospective student that his departure for the seminary was imminent. Mr. Amphaux of Thibodeauxville, Louisiana, received one of these brief messages from him on June 4,

²⁷Letter of Jan. 14, 1828, Annales, III (1828) 533.

²⁸Diary of Rosati, May 22.

²⁹Ibid., June 16, 1827; July 2, 1828.

1829. It read thus: "If you are now of the intention to send your son to the college I warn you that I shall depart on the North America."³⁰ Two days later he informed the Vincentian priest who was stationed in that neighborhood that the boat had arrived and asked him to have the parents prepare any new students or letters for the seminary boys. Often, too, when leaving the seminary, he would convey the students' letters to their parents.³¹

When the summer of 1828 arrived, the school had become so crowded that Bishop Rosati felt constrained to build a brick college, even though this would augment the debts. Besides, since the seminarians were received gratis, he needed a greater income to support their ever increasing number. He hoped to obtain this by enlarging the college in order to accommodate one hundred pupils.³² Another reason which made it imperative to build was, as Father Odin stated, "that our house has become a confused medley of ecclesiastics and seculars", and the separation of the college boys from the seminarians was essential to the well-being of the establishment.³³

³⁰Letter from New Orleans, VI, #132 of Rosati's Letter Book, copied by Father Souvay. The original is in the St. Louis Chancery Office.

³¹Letter to Father Tichitoli, June 6, 1829, Letter Book, VI, #159.

³²Letter of Rosati to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith at Lyons, Annales, III (1825) 554.

³³Letter of Odin, Ibid., Nov. 1, 1829, 539.

Bishop Rosati completed the carpenter's contract on June 18, 1828, and the building contract on July 9. The latter shows how undertakings of that kind were arranged at that time. It reads in part:

We furnish him four hands, and four boys, he will furnish another moulder, will make, burn and lay the bricks, for three dollars a thousand, counting 18 bricks to a cubic foot, and measuring all the openings. I have made a contract with Barret Johnson, a stone mason, to make the foundations of the college. . . . Also I have contracted with James Michael for the stones necessary for the foundations, he will quarry, and bring them to the Seminary. . . . Lastly the same James Michael has undertaken to cut, split, and pile the wood for burning the brick at 50 cents a cord.³⁴

On July 14, after Bishop Rosati had indicated the place for the foundations, the excavations began.³⁵ On the ninth day after this he laid the first stone, and Father Odin, the second. The work went on steadily, thus completing the masonry foundation in less than a month.³⁶

In those days the school session extended from October until the end of September. We may imagine with what interest, and, perhaps, with what distraction the students watched the building process. Nevertheless, examination days presented themselves as usual. Bishop Rosati examined the classes of theology and first Latin on September 5, and the second and third Latin classes the next day. The collegians went through the same ordeal at his hands about two weeks later. The end of

³⁴Diary of Rosati, July 9, 1828.

³⁵Ibid., on dates mentioned.

³⁶Ibid., Aug. 12, 1828.

the term and the closing exercises came on September 25. That afternoon all assembled in the hall where the spectators were gathered. After the program of songs, dialogues, addresses, and speeches, Bishop Rosati distributed to the best students the rewards for the various subjects and addressed them briefly. Then, while singing, all crossed the hall into the chapel to watch the honor students place their wreaths upon the altar.³⁷

As the new building was not ready for occupancy that fall, classes were resumed under the old conditions on October 4, 1828. The bishop taught only theology that month, but added the class of Sacred Scripture twice a week during November.³⁸ For his work he was delighted to receive a collection of Greek wall inscriptions which were made and sent to him by a friend who had journeyed to Turkey.³⁹ In January, the principal prepared for the transfer of the college to the new structure by drawing up a set of regulations for the teachers and pupils. After dinner on February 11, the fifty students crossed over to the new building, and the bishop explained carefully the rules he had formulated.⁴⁰

Securing the extra pupils was one thing, but providing for them was another, especially during the days when communication

³⁷Diary of Rosati.

³⁸Ibid., Oct. 4 and Nov. 9, 1828.

³⁹Ibid., Oct. 6.

⁴⁰Ibid., Jan. 6, 1829.

was indirect and transportation was uncertain. Once during that school year when the bishop was in New Orleans and wished to pay a debt to a creditor at St. Genevieve, he had to entrust the money to Captain Scott, of the steamboat, "North America". The following month, having secured some funds, he desired to send them to Father Odin for his pressing debts at the seminary. Again Captain Scott was employed to present the money to Mr. Petit at St. Genevieve and to request the latter to transmit it to Father Odin.⁴¹ During the same sojourn in the South the bishop secured material for habits and cassocks by having it charged to the account of a parent who owed board for his son at the college.⁴² As he recorded all these transactions either in his letter book or in his account book, these two writings contain a truly interesting variety of articles that he procured for the establishment at the Barrens. An entry for July 13, 1829, shows that he bought a pair of mules for the wheat mill, while one for August 17 states that he paid nine dollars for a subscription to the North American Quarterly.⁴³

There was now quite a household to be maintained at the Barrens, according to Bishop Rosati's report to his superior, Father Salhorgne. The personnel of 130 comprised sixty college students, twenty-five seminarians, five young ecclesiastics for

⁴¹Letter of Mar. 30, Letter Book, V, #60; Ibid., #69.

⁴²Ibid., #69, to Father Odin, Apr. 18, 1829.

⁴³Ibid., #159, to Mr. Felix Valle of St. Genevieve, from the Barrens.

the Congregation of the Mission, five priests and Father De Neckere who was to be consecrated Bishop of New Orleans as soon as he regained his strength, seven brothers, three postulants for the brotherhood, twenty-one negro workers, and two old secular priests.⁴⁴

It was in March, when a dozen more collegians had been enrolled, that Bishop Rosati pleaded most ardently for some one to relieve him of the responsibility of the seminary.⁴⁵ "I pray you, for the love of God," he wrote to Father Salhorgne, "send Mr. Tornatore, or some other of you to teach theology, the ceremonies, the chant, and to form the novices. . . . The need is urgent."⁴⁶

Six weeks later he emphasized what was happening during his enforced absences from the Barrens. Disagreement was rife because some members of the community objected to the college, others to the presence of the negroes. "I have much to suffer," he continued, "and if my attachment to the congregation were feeble, I would leave to rest at St. Louis, and occupy myself with my diocese. But I do not do it and will not do it." He explained clearly the necessity of retaining the college, not only because it supported the seminary, but also because it encouraged vocations and prepared the young men for priestly

⁴⁴Letter of Jan. 6, 1830. Photostat made by Father Souvay. Original in the Archives of the Mother House in Paris.

⁴⁵Letter to Father Salhorgne, Mar. 9, 1830, copied by Father Souvay.

⁴⁶Ibid.

training. He simply pleaded to keep the college.⁴⁷

Finally, on May 26, 1830, Father Tornatore arrived to assume the management of the institutions.⁴⁸ It was high time, for that summer the college enrollment reached its capacity, and Rosati, now relieved of the administration of the Diocese of Louisiana, was required to devote his time to the development of the Diocese of St. Louis.⁴⁹ However, since he loved the Congregation of the Mission as a child loves its mother, he spent a month with his brethren at St. Mary's Seminary before he took up his abode at the episcopal see.

Eighty miles of wearisome horseback riding or dangerous steamboat travel now separated Bishop Rosati's new home from the old one; yet we may believe the latter was never far from his thoughts. Nor did he fail to assist it in divers ways. The first October of his absence he obtained from the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith the privilege of sending two of the seminarians to study at the Urban College at Rome. The Holy Father even agreed to pay their traveling expenses as well as the three hundred dollars for their education and support, although this was not the custom of the Holy See.⁵⁰

⁴⁷Letter to Father Salhorgne, Apr. 23, 1830, copied by Father Souvay.

⁴⁸Letter to Father Salhorgne, May 26, 1830, Rosati's Letter Book, VI, #111, May 26.

⁴⁹Letter to Father Salhorgne, June 27, 1830, copied by Father Souvay.

⁵⁰Letter of Propaganda to Rosati, Oct. 29, 1830, St. Louis Chancery Office.

Hilary Tucker and George Hamilton were the fortunate students whom the prelate sent when the winter had passed. After these two youths had satisfactorily completed their studies and returned to him,⁵¹ the importunate Bishop of St. Louis requested the Sacred Congregation to receive two more students from his seminary.⁵²

If the bishop would have been required to pay their expenses, they would never have received a European education, for the financing of the seminary was a problem in itself. The bishop made occasional contributions to pay for the college building, and sent the superior forty dollars for the purchase of land containing a marble quarry.⁵³ He also acted as financial agent in receiving the board money from the parents of the students, and transmitting it to the Barrens.⁵⁴ Supplies of all kinds, from tin gutters to beans, were secured for the material welfare of his proteges.⁵⁵ The largest payments in his account book were for the seminary books.⁵⁶ Four English copies of Rodriguez which he donated to the seminary in May, 1832, cost five dollars a piece. The printers came in for their demands on his resources by presenting bills for furnishing

⁵¹Letter of Propaganda to Rosati, Apr. 28, 1838, St. Louis Chancery Office.

⁵²Diary of Rosati, Jan. 3, 1839.

⁵³Rosati's Accounts of Monthly Payments, Mar. 16, 1833.

⁵⁴Ibid., July 5, 1831; Oct. 13, 1832; Jan. 8, 1834.

⁵⁵Ibid., July 3, 1831; June 25, 1832; Feb. 15, 1834.

⁵⁶Ibid., May 1 and 7, 1832.

bulletins and a prospectus for the seminary.⁵⁷ The bishop even had to pay about eight dollars for traveling expenses for each of the seminarians when it was necessary for them to go to and from St. Louis to the Barrens.⁵⁸

He himself visited there at least once a year, usually at the close of the school, and sometimes presided over the examinations and distribution of rewards.⁵⁹ During one trip in the winter of 1834 the bishop's horse gave out, and he had to spend sixty dollars for another to complete the journey to St. Louis. At another time in December, 1832, he was accompanied by Bishop Flaget, and how his heart must have filled with pride as he listened to the addresses so appropriately given in English, French, Latin, and Spanish.⁶⁰

His joy in the institution is well expressed in this part of his 1833 report to the Archbishop of Vienna:

At our arrival in this land, the lack of purposeful schools for the furthering and spread of our holy religion was noticeably felt. Now there is a college in connection with the Seminary of St. Mary of the Barrens which is going well and has 120 pay students. They are there instructed in languages, fine arts, and sciences, and, with the legal permission, the college enjoys the privilege and rights of a University.⁶¹

⁵⁷Rosati's Accounts of Monthly Payments, Jan. 18, 1834; Mar. 17, 1835.

⁵⁸Ibid., Oct. 20, 1834; Apr. 20, 1835.

⁵⁹Diary of Rosati, week of Sept. 23, 1831; Sept. 25, 1834; Nov. 10, 1834; Jan. 19, 1835.

⁶⁰Diary of Rosati, Dec. 8, 1834.

⁶¹Ibid., Dec. 11, 1832; letter from the Seminary printed in Shepherd of the Valley, St. Louis, I, #25, Dec. 29, 1832.

If all the pay students would have been prompt in discharging their obligations to the college, perhaps all would have been well. The number that were in arrears, however, and the poor financial administration of Father Tornatore, plus the expense of another addition to the seminary in 1835, swelled the debt of the Vincentians to sixty thousand francs. Besides, the complaints made to the superior general about the presence of seculars became more frequent. For these reasons the Superior General issued orders for the suppression of the college at the Barrens, and required the bishop to pay six hundred francs for the education of every seminarian. Bishop Rosati could not agree to this, and those in charge of the seminary knew that they could not support themselves at all without the college. The anxious prelate wrote to the Pope and to Propaganda, and requested that the college be left in its present status, and that another seminary be established in St. Louis.

Most of the credit for saving the college, however, must go to Rosati's pupil, Father Timon, who was appointed Visitor for the Vincentians. He called a meeting of the community, informed the Superior General that it was impossible to close the college, and restored order in the community by banishing the discontented and bringing back the members of the congregation who had been called to the vicinity of New Orleans. By wise measures of economy he also reduced the indebtedness, and established a house of the congregation in Cape Girardeau, Missouri, in 1836. The superior later rescinded the order to

close the college, and even gave the Visitor ten thousand francs for the American establishment. The latter's wisdom in investment is clearly shown by the fact that none of the money was lost in the financial crisis of 1840. The college prospered once more.⁶² The bishop, greatly relieved, made the trip for the closing exercises of September, 1837, but was unable to say Mass or to distribute the awards. The next year the commencement was at the end of August, and the bishop was there and presented the honors.⁶³

Meanwhile other disciples of Bishop Rosati were establishing Catholic schools far away. The prelate had asked Father Timon to send two Lazarists to minister to the hundreds of Catholic families near the canal that was being constructed from La Salle to Chicago. After the pair of zealous young missionaries had established themselves well at the former place, they opened the first Catholic school there on July 1, 1838. Both boys and girls were taught in it by a good Irishman called Scully.⁶⁴ We might say that the humble abode of the two Vincenzians became a school for the adults, for the example of total abstinence and the preaching of the missionaries won the victory over the great amount of drunkenness which was rampant at their

⁶²The above account of the crisis at the seminary is taken from Rothensteiner, History of the Archdiocese, 383, 701-704.

⁶³Diary of Rosati, Sept. 26, 1837 and Aug. 30, 1838.

⁶⁴Savage, "Statistical Survey of the Church in the United States", Records of the Am. Cath. Hist. Soc., XXXVIII, 193-206 (1927) 200.

arrival. The bishop was much pleased with the work done at La Salle, and when he visited there on October 13, 1839, he noted in his diary that the school was poor but neat and in good order.⁶⁵ Two years later forty pupils were enrolled.⁶⁶ Schools for boys only were established by Father Dahmen, C. M., at St. Genevieve, and by the Vincentians at Cape Girardeau.⁶⁷ The latter was taught so well by a postulant, Mr. Mooney, that a rival Methodist school had to close its doors. In 1841 the number of professors had increased to four.⁶⁸

Bishop Rosati was then planning how to establish the senior seminary at St. Louis. At the diocesan synod of 1839, he strongly urged his clergy to plead with their people for a generous collection for this purpose.⁶⁹ He had already received a lot in St. Louis, and bought an adjoining one. He even began the construction of the seminary, but the project was discontinued because of the ensuing financial crisis. To make matters worse, a fire destroyed some of the small houses which he had erected for the support of the venture. Moreover, he had to borrow funds at from six to ten per cent interest in

⁶⁵Diary of Rosati; Shaw, Rev. Thos. A., C. M., "The Story of the La Salle Mission (Chicago (1908)) 71, 91.

⁶⁶Memoranda Missionum ante fundationem urbis S. Ludovici, p. 170. In St. Louis Archives.

⁶⁷Ibid., 370.

⁶⁸Diary of Rosati, July 23, 1839; Rothensteiner's History, 498; and Memoranda, p. 170.

⁶⁹Shea, History of the Catholic Church in the United States, 693.

order to finance the existing institutions.⁷⁰ The generous Europeans were the hope of the worried bishop then, and he meant to represent the needs of his diocese by a personal appeal.

During one of his last trips to the seminary on March 23, 1840, he had so great difficulty in reaching it that he recorded the adventure in his diary thus:

After giving the habit at the Visitation the previous day we started for the seminary. When we had arrived at the river the first sailor refused to transport us to the other bank; but we came to another who agreeing, we placed the cart in the skiff, but the horse escaped from us. Only after three hours did the servant return with him, and then we had to wait until evening until the sailor who was in the woods to get the horse should return. We finally crossed the river and came to the seminary at 4 p. m. (P. M.)

The "Metropolitan Almanac and Laity Directory" for 1842-1843 has a description of this educational center as it was managed a year or two later by Father Paquin, one of the bishop's own pupils. The prospectus says:

The System of Education includes:

Reading, Writing, Grammar, History, Poetry, Mythology, Geography, the use of Globes, Book-keeping, Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Plane and Spherical Trigonometry, Mensuration, Surveying, Theoretical and Practical Astronomy; the Latin, Greek, French, Spanish, German, and Italian languages; Moral and Natural Philosophy, and Chemistry, Music and Drawing.

The college is supplied with a chemical laboratory, and a complete philosophical apparatus.

The professors of the modern languages are gentlemen, for whom the languages which each one teaches is his mother tongue. The scholastic year commences on the first Monday in October, and ends on the last

⁷⁰Letter of Rosati at Paris to the Propagation of the Faith at Lyons, Rough Draft in the Archives of the Proc. Gen. at Rome, April 14, 1842. Copied by Father Souvay.

Thursday in August, on which latter day the annual commencement is held, premiums are distributed to the meritorious and degrees are conferred.

The terms for boarding, lodging, and tuition, washing and mending and doctor's fees, are \$150 per annum, payable half-yearly in advance. An extra charge of \$10 will be made for those who study Spanish, German and Italian, also for Natural Philosophy and Chemistry, to pay for breakage of apparatus, and bed and bedding will be charged \$5 per annum, if furnished by the college. Music and Drawing are also extra charges.⁷¹

The faculty included eight professors besides the president.

At this time Rosati was abroad and had secured priests and supplies for the institution. His plans for moving the senior seminary, however, were carried out by his coadjutor and the Lazarist visitor. The six theologians and their three professors temporarily took up their abode in a house on the bishop's lot, but later they were more conveniently situated in the Soulard Mansion. Bishop Rosati's other project, the transfer of the preparatory seminary into the hands of three Viatorians whom he sent from Europe, was also accomplished by his assistant, but ended in failure. Bishop Kenrick transported the "Little Seminary" back to the Barrens and the college to Cape Girardeau.⁷²

Thus at the time of Bishop Rosati's death in Rome, the preparatory seminary and novitiate of his congregation were all that remained of his establishments there. The college was still a flourishing institution, but it really had a better opportunity for success at Cape Girardeau, for most of the St.

⁷¹(Baltimore, 1843) 116.

⁷²Rothensteiner, History of the Archdiocese, 836, 837.

Louis youths who were desirous of higher education were then attending the already flourishing St. Louis University.

The measure of the beneficial results of Bishop Rosati's work at the Barrens can perhaps be summarized in the best way by stating that on April 20, 1840, he performed his one hundred twenty-second ordination, that of Father Nicholas Stehle, C. M.⁷³ All of these young priests with the exception of a score or so of Jesuits had received their training, either partly or entirely, in the institution begun by him and carefully guarded since the year 1818. In addition to this, about six hundred boys and young men were receiving a Catholic education. Nearly one-half of these were attending institutions conducted by the Vincentians, while the rest were being instructed by the Jesuit priests whose learning and zeal had earned from Bishop Rosati the sincerest appreciation and cooperation.⁷⁴

⁷³Diary of Rosati.

⁷⁴Report to Propaganda, 1840. Original in the Archives of the Proc. Gen., C. M., Rome. Copied by Father Souvay.

CHAPTER III
EDUCATION FOR GIRLS

It is much easier to begin and multiply institutions for girls.¹

While Bishop Rosati was intent on fostering institutions for the education of boys, he did not neglect to provide similar opportunities for the cultural advancement of the young women of his diocese. His work in this field was of two types, the introduction of new religious orders of women, and the care and multiplication of the foundations belonging to the communities secured by Bishop Dou Bourg.

The latter form of activity was begun even before his elevation to the episcopate. In 1832, when his bishop obtained the consent of Father Nerinckx and Mother Juliana to establish a colony of their Lorette Sisters at the Barrens, Father Rosati volunteered to take charge of the spiritual interests of these sisters.² On May 7 when the twelve sisters arrived from Kentucky, Bishop Dou Bourg was in New Orleans; but Father Rosati had a log house prepared for them. The sisters named the new home "Bethlehem", for poverty was its outstanding

¹Letter of Rosati to the Leopoldine Association, Aug. 14, 1833, from St. Louis, Berichte, VIII (1835) 20.

²Rothensteiner, John, "Father Charles Nerinckx and His Relation to the Diocese of St. Louis", St. Louis Cath. Hist. Rev., 157-175, I (Jan., 1919) 160.

characteristic.³ However, this very condition exhibited the patience of the sisters and incited in their director the greatest respect and esteem. In one of his letters of 1825, he gave us this picture of their austere lives:

You would be greatly edified at the sight of these holy women, but what am I saying? One sees only their clothes, for their faces are covered by a very coarse cotton veil. Their clothing, their furniture and all that pertains to them, breathes poverty and humility. They work all day long, not only at their sewing, spinning, weaving, but also in the field. Along with frequent prayer, a perpetual silence, except during one hour of recreation after dinner, sanctifies their very long day. They rise at four in the morning. . . . They go barefoot, wear only clothes which they make themselves, of cotton dyed black, in summer, and of woolen, in winter. They do not undress at night. Their bed consists of a simple straw mattress stretched on the floor. Their bill of fare is not more dainty, no coffee, tea, or sugar. . . . Their principal object is the Education of orphan girls.⁴

The sight of the very hard life of these sisters must have reminded him forcibly of his own arrival at the Barrens five years before, and many were the acts of kindness and assistance which he and his seminarians performed to ease the hardships of the sisters' pioneer days. At least, the following letter from Father Nerinckx gives us basis for this supposition:

I was prevented for some time from paying the debt of gratitude I owe you on account of your paternal care and the holy offices and many and great attentions, of pious solicitude, which you were pleased to render so zealously to our one-time Loretines, now your Bethlehemites. May the

³Shea, History of the Catholic Church in the United States (New York, 1890) 382.

⁴Letter of Rosati to the brother of Bishop Dou Bourg at Bordeaux, May 23, 1825, Annales, I, 1825, 51.

Almighty God give you a hundred fold return and may He give them what I understand is the wish of every one of them, to live and then to die under your paternal care and direction. I cannot but approve most heartily of the form and site of the little monastery which you procured for them.⁵

Moreover, when Bishop Rosati accepted the coadjutorship, he requested the Sacred Congregation to allow him to reside at the Barrens, so that, among his other duties, he might watch over the "monastery of the Holy Sisters of Loretto founded with the greatest utility not far from the seminary a few months ago." In order to retain this privilege, he enlisted the prayers of the only other community of women who were working in Missouri at that time, the Sisters of the Sacred Heart.⁶ These religious who were then conducting a school in Florissant were first seen by Rosati after his consecration in 1824. Of course, while the bishop resided at the Barrens, the Loretto sisters received the larger share of his help. He said Holy Mass frequently for them, and gave them a place in his program of weekly confessions and conferences.⁷ On the other hand, though the Sisters of the Sacred Heart were nearly one hundred miles away, he undertook this journey to be their extraordinary confessor.⁸

⁵Letter of Rosati from Loretto, Kentucky, Sept. 24, 1823, cited in Rothensteiner, "Father Charles Nerinckx and His Relations to the St. Louis Diocese", 165.

⁶Epistolae ad Cardinales, Letter of Dec. 5, 1832, 5.

⁷Diary of Rosati, Aug. 5, 1824; Mar. 26 and Aug. 7, 1825.

⁸Ibid., Sept. 30, 1824.

Bishop Rosati placed the Loretto sisters under a still greater debt of gratitude by his kindness to Father Nerinckx, their founder. When this elderly priest was almost overcome by the trials and misunderstanding which burst upon him in the diocese where he had labored so long, Bishop Rosati received him and gave him a home with the Vincentians at St. Genevieve. However, he did not long survive his exile, for after a brief illness he died there on August 12. The prelate had his body brought to the Barrens, and after the solemn High Mass he gave the absolution, preached the sermon and accompanied the body to the Sisters' cemetery. Two days after its interment he had it exhumed and placed in a tomb built by a Jesuit brother.⁹

Although the life of the community founded by Father Nerinckx was so rigorous, several young women of Missouri were soon attracted to it. Between the bishop's many duties at the seminary, he found time to attend personally to the examination of postulants and novices, and to the reception and profession of the sisters.¹⁰ This was true not only when he lived a short distance away, but also when it was necessary to make the eighty mile trip from St. Louis to perform these ceremonies.¹¹

As there were four new sisters professed on March 21, 1825, Bishop Rosati was ready to surrender some of them to begin a

⁹Code, Rev. Joseph B., Great American Foundresses (N.Y., 1929) 147; Diary of Rosati, Aug. 13, 1824.

¹⁰Diary of Rosati, Feb. 2, 3, and 24, Mar. 25, Dec. 26, 1825.

¹¹Ibid., Oct. 30, 1826; July 18, 1828; Dec. 26, 1828; Dec. 17 and 19, 1832.

foundation in Louisiana. On November 21 he brought to the monastery the announcement that he wished to send some sisters to the parish at Donaldsonville the next Sunday.¹² He selected the three sisters who were to found the new convent, appointed their superior, and sent them southward under the guidance of a Vincentian seminarian whom he was dispatching to a warmer climate for the benefit of his health. His characterization of the three sisters whom he thought capable of beginning a new educational institution is given in the diary as follows:

Mother Johanna was Cecily Miles. Was also the Mother of Loretto. She is a sister, I believe, of good will and some knowledge of administration, not strong in health, somewhat low-spirited and somewhat unfriendly to her subjects. She was very well liked by several, by some not. She writes not very well; knows how to bleed. I believe she is pious and a good religious, loving her vocation.

Sister Rose is another, discreet, her family is Elder, of the County of Nelson. She is very useful; bleeder, shoemaker, fit for any work but rather less exact, still of no great vices.

Sister Regina Cloney, from Baltimore, 2nd teacher, is a good scholar, but somewhat hasty. . . . She will do well.¹³

In spite of having given up three of their number the home community progressed under Bishop Rosati's watchful care. When their kitchen was destroyed by fire during the succeeding winter, he had Father Timon recommend the sisters to the charity

¹²Diary of Rosati, Mar. 21 and Nov. 21, 1825.

¹³Ibid., Dec. 18, 1825.

of the people of the Barrens who attended the Mass the following Sunday. He wrote a letter to the superior of the flourishing Ursuline Convent at New Orleans beseeching her aid for the afflicted sisters.¹⁴ A year after this accident the number of sisters had mounted to seventeen and they had thirty-six girls in their charge. Some were orphans, while others were boarders or day scholars who paid a very moderate fee.¹⁵ Bishop Rosati was frequently far away from the Barrens, but during such times their spiritual welfare was safely intrusted to the other Vincentian Fathers in charge of the near-by seminary.

The Sisters of the Sacred Heart at Florissant likewise received some orphans and day pupils, but in addition to this work they were training some Indian girls and twenty-four young ladies of the best families of the state.¹⁶ They, too, had already sent out a colony of sisters and established a convent school at Grand Couteau, in Opelousas, Louisiana, about a night's boat ride out from Donaldsonville. Madame Aude, the superior there, had since founded another establishment at St. Michael's, about sixty miles from New Orleans. Bishop Rosati had shown a fatherly interest in the Grand Couteau Convent by visiting it a few weeks after his consecration.¹⁷ While complying with Dou Bourg's request for a visit to Lower Louisiana, he

¹⁴Rothensteiner, John, "Bishop England's Correspondence with Bishop Rosati", 60.

¹⁵Diary of Rosati, Jan. 1, 1827.

¹⁶Code, Great American Foundresses, 219.

¹⁷Diary of Rosati, Apr. 24, 1824.

also came to the newer convent and gave the habit to a sister.¹⁸ The superior knew his interest in guiding the young, and when she learned of his approaching departure for the seminary, she sent him the following note by one of her proteges:

The child who will have the honor of giving you this letter is the one of which I have told you, praying you to have the kindness to take her under your protection until St. Genevieve, and of recommending her to the captain until St. Louis. He will lead her to the house where our man of affairs passes every week.¹⁹

There was no girls' school in St. Louis at that time though Bishop Rosati knew that one was badly needed. For this reason he urged the mother general of the Sisters of the Sacred Heart to advise the Florissant superior to secure property in the city. Having no means to procure any, the latter had recourse to the well known dispenser of charity, Bryan Mullanphy. This gentleman answered her appeal by offering the sisters a house on a twenty-four acre tract of land, and \$1,000.00, on condition that they would care for twenty orphan girls as long as the foundation lasted.²⁰ These children were to be received at ages ranging from four to eight years. Upon the entrance of each child, he or his eldest daughter would give a small sum, and half that amount for its yearly support. The orphans were

¹⁸Diary of Rosati, Apr. 24, 1824.

¹⁹Mss. French letter of July 8, 1826, from St. Michael's, St. Louis Chancery Office.

²⁰Code, Great American Foundresses, 221.

not to be reared luxuriously, but were to have simple food, no tea or coffee. The smaller ones were not to have shoes in summer.²¹ The sisters might keep them until they were eighteen years of age, and at their departure each would receive a small amount from the Mullanphys.²² When Rosati learned of this offer, he heartily approved of the undertaking and sent the sisters his permission to accept the gift and begin their school.²³ It was fortunate that the sisters did so, for that property is still their best source of revenue; it has mainly supplied the means with which they erected the two superb present day establishments, the Maryville Convent, and the Sacred Heart Academy and Mullanphy Asylum near the New Cathedral.²⁴

What a change was wrought in Mullanphy's gift by the sisters' coming! The house was almost new, but had been abandoned because it was reputed to be haunted. It stood on the west side of Fifth Street, between Labadie and Hickory Streets, in the district known as French Town. On May 3, 1827, Madame Duchesne, the superior, accompanied by Sister O'Connor and one

²¹Baunard, M. L'Abbe, Histoire de Mme. Duchesne, Religieuse de la Societe Du Sacre Cour de Jesus (Paris, 1878) 374.

²²Kenney, Rev. Lawrence, S. J., "The Mullanphys of St. Louis", Historical Records and Studies, XIV, 70-111 (May, 1920) 96, 97.

²³Diary of Rosati, Mar. 23, 1827.

²⁴Kenney, "The Mullanphys", 97.

orphan, took up their abode in this structure, and found that the supposed ghosts were nothing more than spiders and wild cats. Bishop Rosati was still in the South when they moved in, so he knew little of the hardships of the sisters in the new home--their fear of tramps in the unfrequented neighborhood, their chapel in a damp cellar, their lack of beds and chairs. But Father Saulnier, the rector of the cathedral, sent them a cow, some fruit and vegetables from his garden, and some school and home furniture.²⁵ The sisters obtained help from France, the happy faces of sixty children dispelled the gloom, and the place was kept bright for the next forty years.²⁶

Meanwhile Bishop Rosati was traveling through the South for the good of religion. He brought to the Sacred Heart Convent at St. Michael's a little girl whom her mother entrusted to him when the ship stopped en route.²⁷ That month he also received the vows of one of the sisters at that convent. The following February he came to the Convent at Grand Couteau, baptized three student converts, and said Mass in their chapel every morning during the visitation of that parish. Rosati records that they had thirty-three pupils at that time.²⁸

²⁵Baunard, Histoire de Madame Duchesne, 377.

²⁶Kargau, E. D., St. Louis in Fruheren Jahren (St. Louis, 1893) 172.

²⁷Diary of Rosati, March 3, 1827.

²⁸Ibid., Feb. 23-30, 1828.

In the leaderless South, there was one more community of sisters to be cared for, the Ursulines of New Orleans. Bishop Rosati had made their acquaintance when he had attended their commencement exercises shortly after his elevation to the episcopacy.²⁹ Now, during April, 1827, he conducted a four days visitation of their convent. The next month he came again, began their spiritual exercises, and confirmed fourteen of their students.³⁰ Having traveled southward once more in the fall of that year, he visited the Ursulines and their one hundred charges on December 9, February 7, and April 17.³¹ This was the last time Rosati made official visitations of these convents, for his authority over them was soon to be handed over to the new bishop of New Orleans.

After his return to the Barrens, and a brief visit to the Sisters of Loretto, he set out to expand the educational work in St. Louis and its vicinity.³² The convent of the Sacred Heart Sisters at St. Louis was first visited. How pleased Bishop Rosati must have been with the good work done! One hundred girls were already profiting by this institution. However, the real object of his coming to St. Louis at that time was the renewal of an establishment which these sisters had

²⁹Diary of Rosati, Apr. 21, 1824.

³⁰Ibid., Apr. 4, May 25 and 27, 1827.

³¹Letter of Oct. 21, 1828, from Madame Duchesne to Bishop Dou Bourg at Montauban, Annales, III (1828) 593.

³²Diary of Rosati, May 22, 1828.

made during Bishop Dou Bourg's time, and had abandoned because of its poverty. This was at St. Charles, on the Missouri River. The Jesuit Fathers now had an establishment there, but they needed a school for girls. Hence they offered the sisters their farm house for a temporary convent and school, and promised to build them a substantial structure if they would return to their former mission.³³ As the arrangements were to be determined on June 28, Bishop Rosati and the Jesuit superior, Father Van Quickenborne, set out from Florissant and crossed the Missouri River that morning. "I visited the church, the building of which is almost completed and the near-by home which is destined for the Religious of the Sacred Heart, and which Mmes. Duchesne and Lucilla had come to visit,"³⁴ wrote the bishop in his diary.

Although the establishment at St. Charles was organized then, it did not become an actuality until October.10. On that day the Bishop was again at Florissant awaiting the arrival of the two sisters who were to come from St. Louis. Finally, Madame Lucille Mathevon, the superior, and Madame Berthold arrived. Then the bishop and half a dozen priests escorted the sisters to St. Charles³⁵ and officially opened the foundation. As the old building had lost most of its window panes, the

³³Baunard, Histoire de Mme. Duchesne, 390.

³⁴Diary of Rosati, June 28, 1828.

³⁵Baunard, Histoire de Mme. Duchesne, 391.

sisters had to keep the outside shutters closed against the cold while they served lunch to the bishop.³⁶ Moreover, their daily fare was very poor because they had brought only meager supplies. But the children's parents remembered the good work done by the sisters during their previous stay at St. Charles, and soon they had friends and pupils. When the bishop visited them the next month, they already had eighteen boarders. According to his report to the Leopoldine Association the sisters conducted "a very large" public school here two years later.

Upon the bishop's return to St. Louis he found that the sisters of the Sacred Heart had the new chapel ready to bless, but the number of pupils who boarded at the institution was only eight.³⁷ This number was so small in comparison to that in the other Sacred Heart Convents in Louisiana that Mother Duchesne believed her inaccurate English and her hesitant attitude toward new methods to be the stumbling blocks in the way of progress. She therefore applied to her superior general, Mother Barat, for release from her superiorship. Mother Barat, too, thought Mother Philippine was perhaps amiss in her "lack of concessions to gain the confidence of the children's families". Bishop Rosati, however, would hear of no such

³⁶Letter of Madame Philippine Duchesne to Bishop Dou Bourg at Montauban, Oct. 21, 1828, Annales, III (1828) 572.

³⁷Ibid., 573; Diary of Rosati.

change. In fact, in a letter to Mother Duchesne he informed her that she was not only quite satisfactory, but also that she was the one whom he desired as the superior of the St. Louis institution.³⁸ That his judgment was correct is proved by the fact that on March 10 he could give the following report to the Leopoldine Association:

We have in St. Louis a convent of Nuns of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. They rear a certain number of orphan girls, conduct a boarding school for daughters of well-to-do parents, and a public free school. About 100 young people of the female sex enjoy the benefits which this institution offers.³⁹

After Bishop Rosati established his home in St. Louis, the Sisters of the Sacred Heart were more frequently encouraged by his visits. The spring was nearly always the time for his administering First Holy Communion and Confirmation in their chapel, and attending the mid-year exercises of the school.⁴⁰ The outstanding functions, however, were in the fall. An eye-witness sent the following description of the event on September 18, 1832 to the "Shepherd of the Valley":

The Parents and several other persons, who had been invited on the occasion were very much pleased with the progress of the pupils in the various branches taught in this valuable institution. The ornamental productions consisting of embroideries, different kinds of needle work, artificial flowers, drawing, geographical maps, etc., were not less

³⁸Code, Great American Foundresses, 222; Baurard, Histoire de Mme. Duchesne, 424.

³⁹Letter of Bishop Rosati to Bishop Rese, Mar. 10, 1830, Berichte, I, 28-35.

⁴⁰Diary of Rosati, Feb. 25, Apr. 25, Mar. 31, 1832; July 23, 1836.

interesting than the judiciously selected and the original pieces recited by the young ladies. They both unequivocally evinced the highly cultivated talents of the Mistresses to whom their education is entrusted. It was truly a day of festivity for all who assisted at the scholastic ceremony. Amid the sound of the piano, the premiums were distributed by the Rev. Bp. Rosati to the 1st. and 2nd. of every class and their brows were encircled with flowers.--

The Exercises closed with an original hymn, which was sung by two of the young ladies accompanied by the piano, and reflected much credit on their musical acquirements. . . .⁴¹

Ample provision now being made for educating the girls of St. Louis, the bishop tried to found schools in the smaller and newer towns. The Sisters of Loretto were chosen for this work, for they were established to educate the poorer class. On May 26, 1832, Father Cellini obtained the bishop's consent and one hundred dollars to found a promising school at Fredericktown, in Madison County. School opened on October 13, 1832, with forty students.⁴² The "Shepherd of the Valley" published this peculiar advertisement in order to increase the enrollment:

It has been remarked by eminent men that though the scholar be formed in school the man is formed at the Mother's knee in the first years of life. "As the twig is bent the tree's inclined." Hence, much good must accrue to society from institutions which will better fit the mother for discharging her important duties of moulding the heart of her docile boy, so that he may become a good husband, father and citizen. The other important duties of a mother toward her young daughters, duties which none can so

⁴¹"The Shepherd of the Valley" was a Catholic weekly, published in St. Louis beginning July, 1832. There is an incomplete file at the St. Louis University.

⁴²Diary of Rosati.

well discharge as a mother, render the too much neglected education of young women an object of peculiar interest to the Philanthropist.

With a view of becoming useful in this important work, certain religious ladies have formed themselves into a community called the Sisters of Loretto. They have established a house of education at Fredericktown, Madison County, Mo., under the patronage of the Right Rev. Bishop Rosati, and the immediate direction of the Rev. F. Cellini. They will teach Reading, Writing, Grammar, Arithmetic, Geography, History, Painting, French, Needle Work, Embroidery, Music, etc. A great and maternal care will be taken of the health and morals of the pupils. Young ladies of any religious profession will be received without the least preference. Tho' the Teachers profess the R. Catholic Religion, yet no one shall be, in the least, troubled with regard to their peculiar religious opinions nor will any undue influence be used over their belief."⁴³

The bishop also gave the Loretto sisters permission to open two other schools during the same fall, one at New Madrid and the other among the German immigrants of Apple Creek.⁴⁴ The following spring, Father Timon received the Bishop's consent for a colony of the same sisters at Old Mines.⁴⁵ Unfortunately, there was either a lack of patronage and encouragement, or an insufficient number of young girls in the vicinity. At any rate, the school of Apple Creek was closed within a month after its foundation,⁴⁶ while the Fredericktown convent ceased to operate in April, 1836.

While eastern Missouri was thus supplied with several

⁴³Shepherd of the Valley, and Diary of Rosati, Oct., 1832.

⁴⁴Diary of Rosati, Sept. 27, 1832; Oct. 13, 1832.

⁴⁵Diary of Rosati.

⁴⁶Ibid., Nov. 15, 1832.

schools for girls, the Catholics in the old French towns of Illinois had no such advantages. Therefore, in the fall of 1832, Bishop Rosati petitioned Archbishop Whitfield of Georgetown to send a colony of Visitation Sisters to the town of Kaskaskia, about seventy miles south of St. Louis. Death called this Maryland bishop, but the request was granted by his successor, Archbishop Eccleston. He had the bishop of St. Louis informed that six sisters, a postulant, and a lay sister had volunteered for the Illinois mission. The sisters wanted to begin their journey between the tenth and fifteenth of April, and they expected Bishop Rosati to get in touch with them and send them a guide and funds for traveling before that time.⁴⁷ During that year, however, the St. Louis bishop was so deeply engrossed in his cathedral and other projects that Archbishop Eccleston had graciously secured a guide and had already sent the sisters toward St. Louis before any further communication from Bishop Rosati reached Baltimore.⁴⁸

When the sisters arrived it would be hard to tell whether they or the people of Kaskaskia were more surprised. At all events, after the sisters were put out of the boat on the Missouri side of the river, and sent their guide to announce their arrival, they learned that no preparations had been made

⁴⁷Diary of Rosati, Oct. 13, 1832.

⁴⁸Rothensteiner, John, "Archbishop Eccleston and the Visitandines of Kaskaskia", Ill. Cath. Hist. Rev., I, 500-509 (April, 1919) 508.

for their reception. Whether the bishop had had no money to make preparations or whether he relied on the generosity of the fine French Catholics of Kaskaskia we do not know. True, he had stationed Father Condamine there as a resident priest, and had mentioned at Kaskaskia that he intended to establish a convent and boarding school there, but nothing more was said or done. When their guide returned with this news, the sisters would have returned to Baltimore if it had not been for the encouragement of Mother Agnes and Sister Gonsaga.⁴⁹ In the afternoon they crossed the river and found Father Condamine awaiting them on horseback, with three stage coaches for them and their luggage. As they rode through the town they could barely see the low houses hidden by the trees, and they thought the log church was a barn.⁵⁰ Pioneer days were to be difficult indeed for people who had come from the cultured eastern states.

For the first year they had various convents. Upon their arrival they were assigned the upper story of the home of one of their greatest benefactors, Mr. Morrison. Here they were visited the following day by the village inspector of schools, and their fitness as teachers was acknowledged. On Sunday Father Condamine explained their presence, and the next day they began to prepare their school in an abandoned store belonging to their other faithful supporter, Colonel Pierre Menard.

⁴⁹Troesch, Helen, "First Convent in Illinois, Reminiscences of Sister Mary Josephine Barber", Ill. Cath. Hist. Rev., I, 352-371 (Mar., 1918) 353, 355.

⁵⁰Ibid.

Bishop Rosati sent them fifty dollars for their needs two days later. With the aid of a carpenter they prepared an altar for the chapel, and at the end of the week all was prepared for the home and school.⁵¹ The undertaking was a success from the first, and the people of Kaskaskia were proud of it.⁵² An editorial in the "Shepherd of the Valley" commended the institution in the following manner:

We are happy to inform the public that nine ladies of the order of the Visitation, invited and authorized by the Right Rev. Bishop of St. Louis, lately arrived at Kaskaskia (Ill.). They are a branch of the celebrated Academy of Georgetown, D. C. An institution for the instruction of young ladies is already begun by them in that place, of which we publish the Prospectus. This is the first establishment of this nature in the State of Illinois. We entertain no doubt about its success, and we hope that it will not be the last.⁵³

The school attracted many more pupils during the next few weeks because Mr. Menard and Mr. Morrison sent them their daughters or other relatives and secured several young ladies from St. Louis and the neighboring towns. In fact, the friends of the sisters realized that a larger convent would have to be supplied before the month was over. Fortunately there was an old unused hotel building in the town, and this was procured and prepared for their use. When all was in readiness, the bishop formally escorted them into it. On the following day he blessed

⁵¹Diary of Rosati, and Accounts of Monthly Payments, May 8, 1833.

⁵²Notice from the "Kaskaskia Free Press", copied in "The Shepherd" for May 25, 1833.

⁵³Same issue of "The Shepherd".

the home and the chapel. "After having given a brief exhortation," he wrote in his diary, "I appointed the enclosure for them in which they will remain until a monastery may be built. I was a guest at the home of Peter Menard."⁵⁴ The prelate himself received the office of superior and spiritual director of the monastery, and the sisters began their regular exercises.⁵⁵

In a letter to her sister Josephine Barber, the postulant, described this second home in the following cheerful manner of youth:

Our house is large and convenient, formerly a hotel, and is really built after the manner of a Monastery. In the lower story are two large rooms, one is a choir and the other a school room, a refectory, two suitable classrooms and above stairs five cells and two dormitories with passages running through the middle of the house; the kitchen is united to the house by a shed; and we have a large stable, the upper story of which is used as a carpenter's shop, and the lower part is the mansion for our cow, calf and pigeons and in the fall, for our horse, sheep and pigs.⁵⁶

Bishop Rosati had evidently known the value of such friends as the Menards and the Morrisons.⁵⁷ The spacious home had been procured within a month's time, while the bishop had made an outlay of only fifty dollars. Moreover, Father Timon had given Mr. Louis Menard a note of \$175.00 in order to pay for a piano for the nuns, and on August 17 of that year the sisters had

⁵⁴Diary of Rosati, May 25, 1833.

⁵⁵Ibid.

⁵⁶Letter to the Ursuline Convent, Three Rivers, July 26, 1833, printed in the American Catholic Historical Researches, VII (1890) 33.

⁵⁷Accounts of Monthly Payments, Aug. 17, 1832.

already deposited with the bishop the money to meet this obligation.

Although all was going well when Bishop Rosati visited them in September, winter brought great difficulties along with greater encouragement for the Visitandines.⁵⁸ Their lights were lard lamps which ceased to burn whenever the lard congealed. This happened quite often in the old house in spite of the fact that the Morrisons and their servants provided plenty of wood for their fires.⁵⁹ But there was joy in the midst of the cold on December 22, for on that day a new postulant entered the community and Josephine Barber received the habit. Besides, three of their pupils were baptized by the bishop on that day.⁶⁰ Such a winter visit was a real danger to Bishop Rosati, but his own account of it shows how he regarded it:

On account of the new sister and the baptisms I did not regret the voyage of more than 70 leagues which I made on horseback on that little journey during which the cold has been even to 32 degrees below zero. It was necessary to cross more than one river on the ice, but God helped us.⁶¹

As even at that time the sisters had twenty-six boarders and a good number of day pupils, it was necessary to take steps to provide for a larger building in the spring. Accordingly, in May, when the bishop was visiting the convent, the superior

⁵⁸Diary of Rosati, Sept. 6 and 7, 1832.

⁵⁹Troesch, "First Convent in Illinois", 366.

⁶⁰Diary of Rosati, Dec. 22, 1834; May 8, 1834.

⁶¹Letter to the Treasurer of the Propagation of the Faith, Aug. 1, 1835, Annales, VIII (1835) 274.

asked him to select the site for it. Colonel Menard accompanied them⁶² and offered to pay for all the expenses of the lot and a new brick structure.⁶³ Unfortunately, because of the small demand for brick kilns, the building made so little progress that nothing but the foundation was completed when winter came. In fact, construction went no farther for two years.⁶⁴

The trouble caused by this misfortune was serious, indeed. Several sisters, dissatisfied by the crowded conditions in the convent and the insufficient number of teachers, wished to return to Baltimore. Bishop Rosati was unable to speed the completion of the building, but he did try to secure additional sisters. After sending several petitions to Archbishop Eccleston, he finally sent Father Philip Borgna to plead for some at the convent itself. So persistent a beggar was he that he obtained one of the best members of the Georgetown community for the Kaskaskia mission.⁶⁵ Bishop Rosati was also willing to help matters by allowing the discontented sisters to leave for the motherhouse, but Archbishop Eccleston would not permit this as he believed that such a practice would sound the death knell of the community.⁶⁶

⁶²Troesch, "First Convent in Illinois", 364.

⁶³Diary of Rosati, May 7, 1834.

⁶⁴Troesch, "First Convent in Illinois", 364.

⁶⁵Rothensteiner, "Archbishop Eccleston and the Visitandines", quoting letter of Aug. 9, 1826, 504.

⁶⁶Ibid., 503.

While these difficulties in the Kaskaskia convent were adding to Bishop Rosati's anxiety over his debts and the paucity of his priests, a happier event occurred--the opportunity to secure a colony of French Sisters of St. Joseph from Lyons without any expense on his part. Some time previously their spiritual director had been asked by Bishop Rosati to secure funds and laborers for the diocese of St. Louis.⁶⁷ In response to this appeal he had mentioned to Mother St. John Fontbonne, of the Sisters of St. Joseph, the needs of Bishop Rosati's district. Father Odin, who was also in Europe at that time, added his plea to that of Father Challeton, and both priests informed Rosati of the benefit of obtaining a colony of these sisters.⁶⁸ The most attractive feature of the project was presented by a wealthy French woman who was interested in the missions and the Indians. She offered to defray all expenses if Bishop Rosati would permit the Sisters of St. Joseph to open an establishment in his diocese.⁶⁹ To their surprise the bishop accepted them only under the condition that they would send some sisters who were equipped to instruct deafmutes. As the Sisters of St. Joseph had discontinued this work since the Revolution, it was necessary to send two of the many volunteers to the town of St. Etienne in order to learn the sign language. Six others were

⁶⁷Savage, Sister M. Lucida, The Congregation of St. Joseph of Carondelet (St. Louis, 1923) 29.

⁶⁸Ibid., 30.

⁶⁹Ibid., 31, 32.

chosen to proceed to America immediately.⁷⁰ Among these fortunate volunteers were the two nieces of the mother general, Sisters Febronie and Delphine Fontbonne. As Father James Fontbonne, their brother, had also decided to join Bishop Rosati's diocese, the little group was placed under his protection, and they sailed from Havre on June 17, 1836.⁷¹

In the meantime, Bishop Rosati had offered to assign some of these sisters to Kansas City, where Father Roux was stationed; but this priest refused to accept them because they spoke only French.⁷² Then the Bishop bade the Vincentian who was stationed at Cahokia, Illinois, to prepare a convent for the sisters at this old French town near St. Louis. The bishop was in New Orleans when the sisters arrived.⁷³ When he visited them at their temporary home in the Ursuline Convent, he described to them their new homes in the towns of Cahokia and Carondelet. In helping them prepare for their journey thither the Ursuline nuns advised them to disguise themselves as widows, as a preventative against being insulted or considered escaped nuns.⁷⁴ Upon their arrival the bishop escorted them to the Sisters of Charity. Then he deposited their fund of twelve

⁷⁰Savage, The Congregation of St. Joseph, 32.

⁷¹Ibid., 34.

⁷²Garraghan, Gilbert J., S. J., "Selected Letters from the Roux Correspondence, 1830-1834", Cath. Hist. Rev., IV (1918-1919). Note on p. 98.

⁷³Diary of Rosati, Mar. 10, 1836.

⁷⁴Savage, Congregation of St. Joseph, 35.

thousand dollars, and made the following notation in his account book: "N.B. This money belongs to the Sisters of St. Joseph, and must be paid to them when they shall desire it."⁷⁵

Two weeks later he separated the sisters into two groups. Three were assigned to stay in a little cottage on the hospital grounds for a six months course in English, while the others were to begin the school at Cahokia.⁷⁶ On April 7, Bishop Rosati and Father Pontbonne accompanied them across the river to the Illinois shore. There they found the pastor and a numerous assembly awaiting them. Some on foot, others on horseback or in various kinds of conveyances, these welcomers formed the sisters' escort through woods and lowlands to the church. After a frugal dinner in the neighboring rectory, Bishop Rosati led them to the four acre tract of land which surrounded their log cabin home. It contained two class rooms on the first floor and the sisters' apartments above. There was also a smaller cabin containing the kitchen and dining room. On the first day of school they had thirty day pupils, and soon five boarders were added to the number. The sisters were well supported, too, in spite of the fact that at first they had great difficulty in understanding the Canadian patois of the villagers and their children.⁷⁷

⁷⁵Rosati, Accounts of Monthly Payments, Mar. 23, 1836.

⁷⁶Savage, Congregation of St. Joseph, 39.

⁷⁷Ibid., 41.

The only circumstance that militated against them was the unhealthful condition occasioned by the overflow of the Mississippi during the spring. At that time all three sisters succumbed to a fever, and it was necessary to secure one of their sisters from St. Louis to take care of them. In fact, the youngest sister was so slow in recovering her health that Bishop Rosati had to order her to the hospital at St. Louis.⁷⁸ After a brief stay there she joined the other two St. Joseph sisters who had by this time begun a second foundation at Carondelet, six miles south of St. Louis.

They, too, were beginning their work under difficult conditions. The convent here consisted of two sheds and a two room log cabin with a loft which could be reached only from the outside. Besides, their supply of furniture was so scanty that on the first day of school they had to send the children home to get a box or stool to serve as a seat.⁷⁹ Their pupils promised to bring provisions for the sisters, as the majority of them were too poor to pay tuition. Soon they received their first boarders, four orphan girls.⁸⁰ Father Fontbonne, the brother of the superior, visited them oftener than did Bishop Rosati, as the latter had to walk the six miles from St. Louis.⁸¹ Yet, poor though he was, he was not unmindful of

⁷⁸Savage, Congregation of St. Joseph, 42.

⁷⁹Ibid., 45.

⁸⁰Ibid., 47.

⁸¹Ibid.

their needs. Knowing that the sisters had to spend a great deal of time in the cold church, he brought them warm broad-cloth mantles to wear when in the choir or working in the sacristy.⁸² On January 31, he made Father Fontbonne the superior of both convents of St. Joseph sisters.⁸³

Constant progress in usefulness was being made by the two older communities as well. Bishop Rosati blessed the first stone of a new convent for the Sisters of the Sacred Heart on November 24, 1837.⁸⁴ The Sisters of Loretto had opened a school for girls in an old mansion at St. Genevieve on June 24 of the same year. Twelve boarders and forty-five day pupils were enrolled in it during the following term. In time it became a flourishing institution, but was later given over to the St. Joseph sisters.⁸⁵

The Sisters of the Visitation, too, had more pupils than they could teach, but in some respects they did not fare so well as the other communities. Even the completion of a frame house did not alleviate their crowded conditions sufficiently. Besides, since sickness and death had robbed the bishop of some of his priests he could no longer have a regular pastor stationed at the small town of Kaskaskia. Of course, the sisters

⁸²Savage, Congregation of St. Joseph, 47.

⁸³Diary of Rosati.

⁸⁴Ibid.

⁸⁵Rothensteiner, History, 370.

had Mass and confession once a week, as some priest came every Sunday. The Visitandines also felt that their financial danger was very great because all their property was in Colonel Menard's name. Bishop Rosati, however, had no such fear, and informed Archbishop Eccleston that he knew all was safe in the hands of this fine Catholic gentleman.⁸⁶ If the sisters could only have obtained more nuns from Baltimore, their plight would have been alleviated. Again and again Bishop Rosati wrote to Maryland for help, "asking vehemently". Finally, in 1839, Archbishop Eccleston notified him that he would send some sisters, but only on condition that none would be allowed to return to Baltimore unless she was recalled by the superior of the motherhouse. These recruits and a new mother at Kaskaskia, Sister Seraphine Wickham, infused life and vigor into the community, and it progressed greatly until the great flood of 1844 caused the sisters to be removed to St. Louis.⁸⁷

Bishop Rosati's winter visits to this far away convent were sometimes prolonged by the impossibility of crossing the Mississippi in order to reach the seminary. The river was filled with ice when he reached their convent on December 6, 1838, but he made an unsuccessful attempt to cross it the following morning. His failure was a cause of great joy to the sisters, for their confessor had gone to attend a sick priest,

⁸⁶Rothensteiner, "Archbishop Eccleston", quoting one of his letters dated Feb. 2, 1838, 505-506.

⁸⁷Letter of Jan. 11, 1840, quoted in Rothensteiner, "Archbishop Eccleston", 507-508.

and, had it not been for the bishop's enforced stay, they would have been deprived of Mass and Holy Communion on the feast of the Immaculate Conception. During his stay the bishop occupied his time advantageously by instructing some girls who were to be baptized the next day and establishing the society of the Children of Mary. Not until the seventh day after his arrival could the river be crossed.⁸⁸

The sisters of the second Illinois convent, that of Cahokia, had fewer difficulties than the Visitandines. They were not far from St. Louis and the priests there; besides, a portion of the financial support which they needed was obtained by writing to Bishop Rosati for some of their money. This convent requested more than the one at Carondelet, for the sisters here in Illinois built a chapel as well as an addition to their home.⁸⁹ The bishop blessed the chapel and received the vows of a sister on August 18, 1838.⁹⁰ Even though the bad air of Cahokia gave the sisters the fever, and caused them to desire a better location,⁹¹ they remained at their post until the flood forced them to seek refuge with their sisters in Carondelet.⁹²

⁸⁸Diary of Rosati.

⁸⁹Rosati, Accounts of Monthly Payments, June 17, 20, Aug. 22, 30, 1838.

⁹⁰Diary of Rosati.

⁹¹Mss. Letter of Sept. 1, 1839 from Sister Febronie. St. Louis Archives.

⁹²Savage, Congregation of St. Joseph, 42.

Since the Missouri bank of the Mississippi is higher and more healthful than the Illinois side, this circumstance aided the St. Joseph sisters here to make more rapid progress. Access to the bishop was easier, and he was ever their steadfast protector. On one occasion he even reprimanded their pastor for interfering in the affairs of the sisters.⁹³ Gradually their income increased; they enlarged their house on the river side, and soon had seventy-five children in attendance at the school.⁹⁴ Until 1839 they taught almost all of them gratis, but in that year the corporation of Carondelet agreed to pay them \$375.00 a year to educate the girls from six to eighteen years of age in the ordinary branches of English and French.⁹⁵ With the revenue from this source and the donations of Mrs. Mullanphy they were enabled to erect the first of the group of well-built brick buildings which still crown the eminence above Broadway at 6400 Minnesota Avenue.⁹⁶

A few years previously the bishop had the happiness of fostering education in a very backward part of his diocese, the state of Arkansas. He had long desired to erect a school here, but the opportunity did not present itself until the autumn of 1838. Then Father Peter Donnelly built a school near Pine Bluff at the Post of Arkansas, and Bishop Rosati permitted the

⁹³Rothensteiner, History of the Archdiocese, 639.

⁹⁴Diary of Rosati, Aug. 8, 1839.

⁹⁵Rothensteiner, History, 638; Savage, Congregation, 53.

⁹⁶Savage, Congregation, 56, 57.

sisters from St. Genevieve to take charge of it.⁹⁷ Father Donnelly said it was so superior to the rival Methodist school that the latter had to close its doors.⁹⁸ The sisters' school did good work in this locality until 1842, and then it was moved to the Post of Arkansas. The Loretto Sisters also came to Little Rock in 1841, but poverty closed their school in 1845.⁹⁹

There was at least one mission of the Loretto Sisters in the southern part of the diocese that became very much worth while, and that was the school which they opened at Cape Girardeau in the fall of 1838. It proved to be their best school and was the only one they kept in this vicinity after 1879.¹⁰⁰ In fact, so many of the girls who had formerly attended their academy at the Barrrens entered the new school that only fourteen boarders were left at the old one. For this reason Bishop Rosati conferred with the sisters and Father Odin on the subject of opening a preparatory school at Bethlehem and allowing all the girls of the parish to be instructed there. The project was to be financed by asking the parents to pay a very moderate price and to bring in provisions for the support of the sisters. He evidently wished them to convert the academy into a parochial

⁹⁷Holweck, "The Arkansas Mission under Bishop Rosati", St. Louis Cath. Hist. Rev., I, 243-267 (Jan., 1919) 265.

⁹⁸Rothensteiner, History, 487.

⁹⁹Holweck, "Beginning of the Church in Little Rock", Cath. Hist. Rev., VI, 156-171 (1920) 165.

¹⁰⁰Diary of Rosati, Oct. 23, 1828; Hill, Walter H., S. J., Historical Sketch of the St. Louis University (St. Louis)

school.¹⁰¹ However, before the arrangements were completed, he had set out for Rome.

Before Bishop Rosati began this long journey, he gathered statistics for a Report to Propaganda. It is from this we can obtain an estimate of the advancements made in the twenty years during which he worked for the education of young women. The number of sisters in the teaching communities had grown from less than twenty to one hundred twelve, and from two academies the number had increased to ten.¹⁰² That does not seem many to us now, but when we reflect that many of our institutions for education throughout the United States today are merely the product of expansion and multiplication of the institutions and religious orders introduced or encouraged by Bishop Rosati, we must admit that his pioneer work was deep-rooted and lasting.

¹⁰¹Diary of Rosati, Dec. 15, 1838.

¹⁰²Original in the Archives of the Proc. Gen. C. M., Rome Rosati Documents, 1840, copied by Father Souvay.

CHAPTER IV
THE CARE OF THE SICK

The Sisters of Charity came and took charge of an extensive Hospital and an Asylum for Orphan Boys; -- their eulogy is stamped upon the hearts of the suffering and distressed, whom they have relieved and befriended.¹

Since Bishop Rosati was a Vincentian, it was but natural that he should be greatly interested in the four fields of social work; viz., family welfare, child care, character development, and health. For this reason he ardently desired and laboriously established institutions to shelter the sick, and the orphan and deafmute children. Family welfare, too, was promoted by an association which he founded, and character development was indirectly furthered through these institutions.

His efforts in this direction began shortly after he was appointed Bishop of St. Louis, while he was still administrator of Louisiana. At that time the various convents sheltered some of the orphans, and the poor were assisted by charitable people of the city.² On the other hand, there was no provision for the many sailors, laborers, and emigrants who became ill there, especially during the summer season. The state was unwilling

¹Report of Bishop Rosati to the Synod of 1837. Original in the St. Louis Chancery Office.

²Shepard, Early History of St. Louis and Missouri (St. Louis, 1870) 79.

to support a hospital, and the local authorities were unable to do so.³ Therefore, having been promised the financial aid of the famous philanthropist, John Mullanphy, Bishop Rosati planned to secure a community of zealous sisters to begin the care of the sick.

In France he had seen some of the good work done by the community of sisters established by the founder of his own congregation, St. Vincent de Paul. However, Bishop Carroll had previously been unable to obtain any of these sisters for his diocese on account of the disturbed political condition of France. Fortunately he had procured a copy of their "rules and constitutions and all necessary advices to form a similar society". These regulations had then been adapted to American surroundings, and, with the assistance of Elizabeth Seton, Bishop Carroll had formed a very fine community of women who seemed to be imbued with the true spirit of the Daughters of St. Vincent de Paul.⁴ From their first home at St. Joseph's Valley near Emmitsburg, Maryland, their fame had spread throughout the settled parts of the country. Bishop Rosati felt that if he could secure some of these sisters to take charge of a hospital in St. Louis, the city would be blessed. As Mr. Mullanphy echoed his sentiment, the project was launched. It was on

³Shepherd of the Valley, Jan. 21, 1833, Correspondence from Jefferson City, quoting the speech of the Hon. Wilson Frixm in the Missouri legislature.

⁴Berichte, VIII, 1835. Letter of Rosati to the Association, Aug. 14, 1833, 20.

June 23, 1828, that Father Bruté at Emmitsburg received Bishop Rosati's request for some sisters to found a hospital in St. Louis under very favorable circumstances. Mr. Mullanphy had donated two houses, the lot, and three hundred fifty dollars for the traveling expenses of the sisters. Moreover, if the sisters came, he would give another lot with houses that would bring an income of six hundred dollars a year. Besides, he would pay three hundred fifty dollars to furnish the home for the sisters.⁵

During that period of steamboat explosions and terrible roads, the prospect of going to live fifteen hundred miles away must have seemed as final a separation as crossing the ocean. Nevertheless, there were found volunteers who rallied to the opportunity of spreading the knowledge and love of Christ through Christian charity to the sick. Because of the slowness of the mail service of these days, it was October before the necessary exchange of directions and conditions had been completed, and the bishop was informed of the fact that four sisters had begun the westward journey. Their Emmitsburg superior, Sister Mary Augustine, also notified him that these St. Louis sisters were to remain subject to their Maryland superiors, and to have freedom to perform their religious duties and to regulate their lives according to their rules. Her letter continued thus:

You may suppose that such a separation costs much to poor human nature, yet our Sisters who are

⁵Diary of Rosati, June 23, 1828.

destined to be your children appear full of courage and ready to surmount every difficulty. I trust they will ever prove themselves true daughters of St. Vincent, whose amiable spirit you cannot fail to emulate.⁶

After a journey of almost six weeks the sisters finally arrived in St. Louis. Bishop Rosati had come from the Barrens to receive them and see that they were safely established in one of the houses which Mr. Mullanphy had provided.⁷ Here, on the south side of Spruce Street, between Third and Fourth Streets, the first sisters' hospital in the United States was begun. Bishop Rosati and John Mullanphy signed the "instrument of the founding of the hospital" on November 25, 1823, and the sisters received possession of it the next day.⁸

The first year of any charitable undertaking is always difficult, and the sisters' hospital was no exception. We can glean from the letters which Bishop Rosati received from them that they felt keenly the separation from those to whom they had previously turned for guidance. On January 23, Sister Xavier wrote to him at the Barrens:

Rt. Rev'd. Sir,

The common enemy of souls and all good is at this time very busy in St. Louis. Our Hospital is very weak and requires your supporting arm. Good Mr. Saulnier does all he can, yet things do not go well. . . . We have had five sick since we had the pleasure of seeing you. Two have recovered, one died, and the other two are still with us. . . . We recommend

⁶Mss. letter of Oct. 14, 1823. St. Louis Chancery Office.

⁷Zenney, Rev. Lawrence, S. J., "The Mullanphys of St. Louis", *Historical Records and Studies*, XIX, 70-111 (May, 1920) 95; Shepard, Early History of St. Louis, 113.

⁸Diary, Nov. 24-26, 1823.

ourselves to your prayers and beg your blessing, and I in the names of my dear Sisters promise to give you all the comfort in our power while in this country. You desire us not to lose courage, and we assure you that while your protecting arm is extended over our heads we feel no fear of any thing. We feel that we have in you a Father, friend and Superior. If we had a regret it would be that we cannot see and consult you more frequently under these circumstances.⁹

Nevertheless, as time passed, progress came gradually, but surely. The bishop was able to give them some of the funds which he received from the Society of the Propagation of the Faith. Then, too, before their institution had been in operation six months, they were caring for as many as thirteen patients at a time. A letter which Sister Xavier wrote to the bishop, who was then in New Orleans, has a much more joyous note:

My dear Father in J. C.,

I was truly pleased to receive a letter from you last week, on the same day we received one from our dear Sisters in New Orleans. Already our harvest has commenced. We have thirteen sick, and three among the number blind. . . . Their similar affliction so attaches them to each other that as soon as one attempts to move the other two rise and with outstretched arms endeavor to lay hold of their neighbour. When we perceive this we send some person to conduct them, but they fancy, sometimes, that they can lead each other but they always lose themselves in some corner of the yard or garden, where they remain groping about till we find them. . . . Sister Rebecca requests me to tell you from her "I beg God to bless my Bishop and fetch him home soon."¹⁰

⁹Ms. letter of Sister Xavier Love of St. Louis to Bishop Rosati at the Barrens, Jan. 28, 1829.

¹⁰Ms. letter of Sister Xavier Love of St. Louis to Bishop Rosati at New Orleans, May 5, 1829.

But two years were required to change this feeble beginning into a crowded institution which was not only self-supporting, but profitable. The dated entries in the bishop's account book show that by December 11, 1830, the sisters had entrusted to him seven hundred dollars for the erection of a larger building. The fact that the income gained by charging patients who were able to pay was to be used only to increase the opportunities to serve the poor and needy was a proof that the hospital was truly a charitable institution.¹¹ The fund for the new structure increased so regularly that on January 13, 1831, Bishop Rosati contracted with Hugh O'Neill for a new hospital to cost \$3,950.00. It was to be a three story brick edifice, fifty feet long and forty feet wide.¹²

The erection of this more substantial building was most opportune, for the prestige of the establishment was growing apace. As the bishop reported to the Leopoldine Association, the hospital was

the means which Providence uses to lighten the lives of a noteworthy number of working people, sailors, negroes, and others, who are taken there free and served with a mildness and devotion which arouses the wonder of the Protestants as well as of the Catholics who entertain a holy reverence for these holy nuns who devote themselves to the care of the suffering.¹³

¹¹Le Blond, C. Hubert, "The Hospital and Its Place in Catholic Charities", Catholic Charities Review, XIII (Jan., 1929) 3.

¹²Rosati, Accounts of Monthly Payments.

¹³Letter to Bishop Rese, Mar. 10, 1830, Berichte, I, 1831, 30.

In anticipation of the larger amount of labor to be performed when the new hospital was ready, the staff of sisters had to be increased, too. Bishop Rosati secured a promise of four new nuns, and sent a check for fifty dollars to defray their traveling expenses as far as Pittsburgh. He directed them to wait at the convent there until the steamer, Enterprise, was ready to sail. "The Captain and owner, M. May, a great friend of mine, and a very good practical Catholic has promised me to give them passage without any expense, and take great care of them," explained the bishop in his letter to the Mother at Emmitsburg.¹⁴

Great was the joy of the eight sisters at the blessing of the new building and the chapel on December 6, 1831.¹⁵ They now had beds for eighty patients, and a substantial brick building instead of the wooden structure in which they had labored for the past three years. Besides, Mr. Mullanphy bestowed on them another lot and two houses, one of which was intended for an orphan boys' home.¹⁶

The heroism of the sisters during the cholera epidemic of the next two years caused the whole city to be favorably inclined toward them. In 1832, when the cholera began, the city officials provided a hospital for such patients, but they could find no one to care for those afflicted.¹⁷ Then the sisters

¹⁴Letter of May 26, 1831. Photostat of Father Souvay.

¹⁵Diary of Rosati.

¹⁶Rothensteiner, History of the Archdiocese, 448.

¹⁷Shepherd of the Valley, Dec. 8, 1832, I, #22, 86.

came to the rescue by removing the printing press that had been placed in their old hospital, and announcing that they would receive all the cholera victims there. So heroically did they care for these sufferers that after the decline of the scourge "The Missouri Republican" published the following tribute to the sisters and priests:

The clergy have been active and zealous in relieving the sufferers and especially the Catholic priests have been untiring in the work of kindness: day and night they followed the track of the destroyer, ready to administer to the sufferers the comforts of both worlds. But above all, that pious and self-devoted band, the Sisters of Charity, deserves and will receive the thanks of a grateful community. In addition to the regular hospital in their care, they volunteered to take charge of the cholera patients; and while many others much more responsible to society, tho't only of their own safety, these excellent persons courted danger, and labor and privation and all for the 'luxury' of doing good! Truly, their reward is not here.¹⁸

The last statement is especially true when we consider that about forty persons were reconciled with the Church during this epidemic partly, at least, through the good work of the sisters. Of course the priests, with the bishop among the most active of them, certainly cooperated in every possible way.¹⁹ Providentially, not a sister or priest contracted the disease that year. However, two Sisters of the Sacred Heart died from the more serious form of it that appeared during 1833. Again, all the

¹⁸Copied by the Shepherd of the Valley, Nov. 10, 1832.

¹⁹Letter of Bishop Rosati to the Leopoldine Association, VIII, 1833, Berichte, 22.

nursing sisters and the priests were spared.²⁰

There was another unusual circumstance of that year which brought the hospital into prominence, and hastened the erection of an addition to it. Some friends of the good work had petitioned the Missouri legislature to authorize a lottery for the purpose of raising funds for the sisters. A great deal of interest had been aroused by the large First Class Capital Prize of three thousand dollars, but interest was changed into great curiosity when a rival lottery dealer began a newspaper controversy on the subject. In his articles he alleged that a marvelous profit would be made by the dealer to whom the hospital lottery had been assigned. As a result, so much suspicion was aroused that it was determined to have a committee examine the plans for the drawing. Fortunately, the report of the investigators was a favorable one, as they found the scheme quite honest. In consequence of all this publicity the popularity of the lottery grew, and so many tickets were sold that the hospital addition soon became a reality.²¹ Another one was constructed in February, 1840.

Now the institution cared for as many as five or six hundred patients annually. In the light of this fact, it is easy to understand Shepard's statement that the people of St. Louis would no more think of doing without the hospital than

²⁰Shea, History of the Catholic Church, III, 685.

²¹Edwards and Hopewell, The Great West (St. Louis, 1860) 348; Shepard, Early History of Missouri, 113.

they would consider doing without the sun. The same author also expressed great admiration of the work performed there both because so much of it was done for strangers, and because no one recorded the names of the workers or expected a reward.²²

There was one, however, who realized very keenly that the number of workers was entirely inadequate, and that was Bishop Rosati. In May of 1838 he called for ten more sisters from the motherhouse, and said he would take no excuses for their failure to appear in St. Louis that winter. Then, when the snow had disappeared, and no assistance had as yet arrived, he threatened to make a personal visit at the motherhouse in the spring. However, he had to wait until November 29, 1839, and then only three sisters came.²³ It was a blessing they had at least some additional nurses, for during the next three years the number of patients was more than twice as large as it had been in 1838.²⁴

On two occasions the sisters ministered to a great many German immigrants who were victims of steamboat explosions. In 1839, after the first accident, forty sufferers were brought to them.²⁵ The second mishap occurred in 1842, when Bishop Rosati was in Rome. The steamer, crowded with passengers, had left

²²Shepard, Early History of Missouri, 113.

²³McCann, History of Mother Seton's Daughters, 317.

²⁴Diary of Rosati, Feb. 25, 1840.

²⁵Memoranda Missionum, 174; Clarke, Lives of the Deceased Bishops, 365.

St. Louis the previous evening, and was bound for the Missouri River towns. Shepard described the incident thus:

The boat had landed in the night near the mouth of the Missouri to wait for daylight to enter the river. The deck passengers, as usual on a crowded boat, had disposed of themselves as best they could in the rear of the boiler and engines for sleep, and spent the night quietly.

At dawn of day the assistant engineer made preparations to start, and did start the engine; but before the wheel had made a revolution the two flues of the larboard boiler collapsed, throwing the whole contents of the boiler on the unfortunate sleeping deck passengers, killing the engineer, and producing a scene of horror and distress that is more easily imagined than described.

The steamers Iatan and Annawan were under way in sight, and their officers came immediately to the assistance of the sufferers, and taking the boat in tow landed it at the St. Louis wharf, when the dead, the dying and the wounded were immediately transferred to the Sisters' Hospital, where they received all the attention that humanity could afford and all the consolation that piety can contribute in such indescribable sufferings.²⁶

The benefits of the hospital were sometimes dispensed in the outlying districts, too. In a letter of February 19, 1840, the priest at Libory Settlement requested Bishop Rosati to have the mother of the hospital send him something to strengthen his stomach.²⁷ In fact, the hospital was so successful that the United States authorities sent its boatmen there, and the city government confided to it all its patients. Moreover, when the city opened its own hospital in 1842, the sisters were given

²⁶Shepard, Early History of St. Louis, 164, 165.

²⁷Holweck, Rev. F. G., "Reverend Gaspar Henry Ostlangenberg", Ill. Cath. Hist. Rev., II, 43-60 (July, 1920) 51.

charge of it.²⁸

In all their good work the sisters were greatly aided by the spiritual help and fatherly interest of the bishop. It is true that until he was relieved of the Louisiana diocese in 1830 he could do little more for the hospital than appoint a priest from the cathedral to administer the sacraments to the sisters and the sick. But when he was finally established at St. Louis, he arranged matters so that the sisters and their charges lost no opportunity of increasing the grace of God in their hearts. Nor did he shrink from going among the sick to dispense to them the comforts of the Church.²⁹ From his diary we learn that, in spite of his many travels, he usually offered the Holy Sacrifice in the Sisters' Chapel three times a week; sometimes he managed to do so every day, even on Sunday. During the cold January weather of that region there was no exception. In addition to the regular weekly confessions, he generally gave the sisters a conference every Tuesday or Thursday.³⁰ At the beginning of 1839, however, he assigned all these charges to Father Hilary Tucker.³¹ The annual retreat, too, was preached for the sisters by the bishop, and on March 25, he presided at their yearly vows. This ceremony sometimes

²⁸Kennedy, "The Mullanphys of St. Louis", 96; Hogan, John, Thoughts about the City of St. Louis (St. Louis, 1854) 23.

²⁹Diary of Rosati, Dec. 19, 1831.

³⁰Ibid., Feb. 21, 1837; Mar. 14, 1838.

³¹Ibid., Jan. 2, 1839.

took place in the chapel which Bishop Rosati had planned for the sisters at the left of the sanctuary in one of the arches of the new cathedral.³² His spiritual care came to them even when he was at Rome. "I have obtained," he wrote to their mother, "from the Holy Father for your motherhouse and for all your establishments, such a number of privileges, indulgences and favours (favors) that you will have a treasure to enjoy. . . ."³³

In temporal, as well as in spiritual matters the bishop showed himself a true father to the sisters. For several years they had no other record of time than the bishop's gift, his own watch.³⁴ Another useful present which he sent during the first January after their arrival consisted of a letter book and an umbrella. In expressing their gratitude for the latter article Sister Xavier stated that they feared lest Bishop Rosati had deprived himself of it in their behalf, and that the hoods of their cloaks would have been enough protection for them.³⁵ An opportune gift for the June of that year was "a piece of linnen (linen) for muskitto-bar (mosquito)", a barrel of sugar and a bag of coffee.³⁶

³²Diary of Rosati, Mar. 25, 1837.

³³Letter to the Mother of the Charities at Emmitsburg from Rome, Dec. 18, 1840. Photostat made by Father Souvay.

³⁴Clarke, Lives of the Deceased Bishops.

³⁵Mss. letter to Rosati at the Barrens, June 25, 1829. St. Louis Chancery Office.

³⁶Mss. letter of Rosati to Sister Xavier, June 25, 1829. St. Louis Chancery Office.

At other times he assisted them in their relations with seculars. Thus, Sister Xavier informed the pastor of the cathedral that the bishop had advised them not to hire a certain man as helper because he was a drunkard and gave liquor to the patients.³⁷ Then, too, as the Holy See did not forbid slavery until 1839, Bishop Rosati was able to assist the sisters by allowing them to hire his negro girl, "Jane", for several years.³⁸ Once the bishop was called upon to extricate Sister Xavier from a very unusual situation in regard to an Indian chief. Not knowing that the offering of a rose was the Indian manner of proposing a marriage, the sister had accepted the flower from him as a mark of courtesy. Later, when he returned with many of his kin to claim his bride, Bishop Rosati had to explain to him that the sister belonged to the Great Spirit and did not understand the meaning of his floral offering.³⁹

The financial aid rendered by the bishop was likewise considerable. As his account book shows, he lent the sisters money whenever they needed it. In 1832, for instance, there is no record of any funds saved by the hospital for two months. During the third month an entry for May 19 reads: "Lent to the Sisters of the Hospital \$50.00." Five days later comes the following: "Paid the Sisters of Charity for bed quilts and

³⁷ Mss. letter of Sister Xavier to Father Saulnier, Dec. 12, 1829. St. Louis Chancery Office.

³⁸ Bull concerning the Indians and Negroes, Dec. 3, 1829, copied by Father Souvay. Original in the Archives of Pro. Gen. C. M., Rome, America, Pt. II, Appendice, 15-16; Accounts, Oct. 18, 1831; Jan. 16, 1832.

³⁹ McCann, History of Mother Seton's Daughters, 141, 142.

other bedding bought for the use of the house \$15.00." Most likely the bishop surmised that they needed a little money, and that is why he bought these articles from them.⁴⁰ Other items in the account book show that the prelate handled various business transactions for the hospital, such as jobbing, banking, and ordering commodities.⁴¹

That the bishop was a very human sort of person is evident from his many acts of kindness. In the summer of 1832, he sent four Sisters of Charity to take a little recreation with the Sisters of the Sacred Heart at Florissant. That same fall he rode to Carondelet to inspect a site where he might build a home for the sisters of the hospital in order that "those that have become infirm because of age should be able to rest in the purer air". As there was then no school in that town, the bishop hoped that this contemplated convent home would also give the citizens there an opportunity of educating their girls.⁴² In answer to his application for three sisters to take charge of a school of French girls, Sister Mary Augustine expressed her delight at the foundation, and promised to send the desired teachers. When the house was completed on December 31, some of the sisters went there with a few orphans. Ten days later the bishop escorted there two teachers, and the day

⁴⁰Accounts, May 24, 1832.

⁴¹Ibid., Aug. 28, 1833; Oct. 24, 1832.

⁴²Diary of Rosati, Oct. 10, 1832.

school began. In the spring of 1834, they had twenty-five scholars.⁴³

The kindness of Bishop Rosati was also shown when he allowed Sister Xavier, the superior of the hospital, and another sister to journey to New Orleans at the doctor's suggestion. His interest in their recovery is shown by the fact that he noted in his diary the name of the steamship on which the superior and her ailing companion sailed, the dates on which he received and answered their letters, and the day on which they returned, fully recovered.⁴⁴

The fact that prudence tempered his kindness is shown by another incident. When he was planning to journey to the Third Provincial Council of Baltimore, Mother Rose suggested that he let Sister Xavier accompany him as far as Emmitsburg in order to have the benefit of a change. This plan was not to his liking, and he replied that she had better travel with a friend of her own sex. "I will tell you plainly," he continued, "I do not like much to travel with women, even when they are Sisters, and very good Sisters. . . ."⁴⁵

Sincere appreciation of all this benevolence is expressed in the following poem which the sisters sent to the bishop on his feast day, March 19, 1835:

⁴³Shepherd of the Valley, Feb. 7, 1834.

⁴⁴Diary of Rosati, Jan. 11, Feb. 12 and 19, 1838.

⁴⁵McCann, History of Mother Seton's Daughters, 246.

Hail! happy day, hail! glorious morn
 Which gave the Rose without the thorn.
 Yes, Honour'd Prelate, Father Dear,
 Thou hast a name we all revere,
 The one selected as you know
 For our home and valley low.
 Permit us on thy festive day,
 Our tribute of respect to pay,
 Not in strains of flowing art,
 But simple accents of the heart;
 Nor thy noble zeal to tell-
 Deeds suffice to prove it well,
 But speak our fervent wish and say:
 Dear Father, happy, happy day!!!
 And with the voice of all proclaim
 Immortal be our Bishop's name.
 Hail! Holy Joseph now in Heaven,
 What thou demandest will be given,
 Great thy power, great thy merit,
 Solicit for our much loved Prelate
 All that Heaven can bestow;
 May his days flow on in peace,
 May his Immortal deeds increase,
 Long favour'd may we be to share
 A portion of his zealous care;
 Then in his last decisive hour
 May he feel thy special power;
 And when his final sigh is given
 May Angels waft his soul to Heaven.⁴⁶

⁴⁶Ms. enclosed with a letter from Sister Xavier, Mar. 18,
 1835. St. Louis Chancery Office.

CHAPTER V

THE CARE OF THE ORPHANS AND OF THE POOR

In the orphanage interesting children are rescued from vice and misery, and prepared to enter the world as intelligent and useful members of society.¹

The poverty of many of the immigrants who poured into Bishop Rosati's diocese during the thirties was so great that they were unable to procure any of the conveniences and comforts of life. As a consequence, it often happened that they fell seriously ill and their children were left orphans. Bishop Rosati was frequently touched by the plight of such little children whose parents died at the hospital. If they were girls who had no relatives or friends he took them to one of the convents; but the poor boys were often thrown upon their own resources. Until 1838 there was not even a public school where someone might have taken an interest in them.² These conditions were aggravated by the cholera epidemic of 1832 and 1833 in St. Louis, and several years later in La Salle and Galena.

Unfortunately, before the year 1832 the bishop had no means with which to care for these neglected boys in St. Louis,

¹Buckingham, Eastern and Western States, III (London, 1842) 125.

²Shepard, Early History of St. Louis and Missouri (St. Louis, 1907) 112.

but he did secure some Sisters of Charity for the management of an orphanage in New Orleans. Early in 1829 when duty called him to visit that city he learned that the directresses of its orphanage wished to transfer the institution to a good superior and teachers. Two-thirds of the children in the hospice were Catholic, but some of the directresses were Protestants.³

Bishop Rosati immediately informed the superior of the Emmitsburg Sisters of this opportunity, and secured from her two subjects for this work. Moreover, he arranged their voyage from Baltimore and advanced the money which the authorities of the orphanage had promised for this purpose.⁴ When the two sisters had completed their long journey and arrived in New Orleans, they were greatly relieved to find that the bishop had secured them hospitality at the Ursuline Convent of the city. Here they spent several months while attempting to smooth out the difficulties which some of the Protestant ladies insisted on placing in their way.⁵ Finally the sisters decided not to assume charge of the institution until Bishop Rosati paid another visit to the South, so that he might regulate the conditions of their control over the establishment. The bishop came in May, and in June the sisters received the government of

³Letter of Bishop Rosati at New Orleans to Sister Xavier at St. Louis, Apr. 19, 1829. Copied by Father Souvay in his Correspondence of 1829.

⁴Rosati's Letter Book, VI, #211, to Father Borgna at New Orleans, Nov. 4, 1829.

⁵Ibid., #90, to Sister Xavier at St. Louis, Apr. 27, 1830.

the institution without further annoyance from the directresses.⁶

Two years afterwards the bishop's hopes for a boys' orphanage in St. Louis were fulfilled. In 1831, John Mullanphy donated a house on the lot contiguous to the hospital, and during the following spring the bishop requested the Sisters of Charity to begin there an orphanage and a day school to help support it.⁷ It was a most opportune time for the beginning of such an establishment, for during that year the cholera visited the city and augmented the number of orphans. Moreover, this unwelcome visitor pointed out the danger of maintaining an orphanage in such close proximity to the hospital, and caused the bishop to make arrangements for its removal to a safer site. Finally he decided to devote to this purpose a small house on the lot just west of the cathedral. In this way, after the cholera had abated, the sisters and their beloved charges became neighbors of the bishop.⁸

Even the Protestants admired the lavish care with which the sisters attended these children. Wetmore's Gazetteer expressed this feeling in the following manner:

It is impossible to observe without emotion the gentle diligence of these Sisters of Charity, while patiently imparting useful lessons to the once

⁶Ms. letter of Sister Regina to Rosati, May 29, 1830, St. Louis Chancery Office.

⁷Diary of Rosati, Dec. 21, 1831.

⁸Rothensteiner, History of the Archdiocese, citing Rosati's letter to the Pope, Oct. 26, 1834, 802.

destitute objects of their care. These juvenile orphans, who had been thrown upon the world with every tie severed, are thus snatched from the pathway of ruin, in which, barefooted, they had begun to tread, by these sisters, and trained for usefulness and intellectual enjoyment.

While the sisters thus lovingly guarded these homeless boys, the bishop tried to secure funds with which to furnish their food and clothing. Because of the great number of Irish in the city during the early thirties he chose St. Patrick's Day as an opportune occasion for a special orphan collection at the cathedral. This offering was preceded by a sermon on generosity toward these unfortunate children. Although the first appeal resulted in the receipt of only thirty-five dollars, during the succeeding years it furnished the orphanage with one or two hundred dollars annually.⁹ A new society, called the Ladies Association for Charitable Purposes, offered to sing during the High Mass at the cathedral on St. Patrick's day in 1834.¹⁰ Moreover, by giving a fair at the National Hotel these ladies found a means of securing the substantial sum of \$1,168.72½ for orphan support. When the bishop recorded this amount in his account book, he added: "I shall give 6 percent interest until paid for a building"¹¹ for a new orphanage. Amid other minor contributions throughout the succeeding years,

⁹Diary of Rosati, Mar. 18, 1833, 1839, 1840; Shepherd of the Valley, Mar. 20, 1836.

¹⁰Shepherd of the Valley, Mar. 21, 1834.

¹¹Ibid., June 6, 1834; Accounts, June 16, 1834.

the ladies inaugurated the practice of sponsoring an unusually profitable October diversion for the public, and the bishop appointed another orphan day in November. He was usually present at the Solemn High Mass on this occasion as well as on St. Patrick's Day, and the fall orphan collection amounted to at least four hundred dollars.¹²

In the spring of 1835, a new building for the home had become both a necessity and a possibility. The little house was so crowded that the sisters had to turn away the needy children who made daily application for admission. Besides, the bishop had five hundred dollars to donate toward a new building, and the sisters in the day school were accumulating a building fund, too.¹³ Thus the bishop was enabled to let the contract for a four story structure sixty by eighty-five feet, planned to accommodate one hundred boys.¹⁴ On May 11, 1835, he laid the cornerstone. The work progressed steadily, and on December 10 all was prepared for removing the sisters and their thirty charges to the new building.¹⁵

The orphanage was both home and school for these boys, for they received excellent training in this institution. According to Senator Wilson Primm, the method of the Sisters consisted

¹²Accounts, Oct. 27, 1834; Diary of Rosati, Nov. 7, 1837.

¹³Accounts, Apr. 18, 1834.

¹⁴Shepherd of the Valley, May 16, 1835, citing Wilson Primm's address at the cornerstone laying.

¹⁵Letter of Rosati to the Propagation of the Faith, Aug. 1, 1835, Annales, VIII, 1835, 277; Shepherd of the Valley, Dec. 12, 1835.

in feeding and clothing them in a good and substantial manner, in the strictest attention to their cleanliness, in teaching them the general truths of religion and morality, in giving them the ground-works of a good ordinary English education, and when they have attained an age and size that will warrant it, in placing them out as apprentices, with a good master, to learn some profitable and honorable calling. It is a system calculated to render each of the proteges in after life a useful, if not an ornamental member of society.¹⁶

As these orphans were sheltered so near the cathedral, they naturally became the bishop's favorite children. Not only did he encourage them in their studies by visiting their class rooms and distributing the rewards for scholarship, but he also took an active interest in their spiritual welfare. We see little glimpses of this in such phases of his diary as, "Heard confession of a boy seriously ill in the orphanage", and, "Gave confirmation to a boy in the chapel of the orphanage".¹⁷

Saturday was his appointed day for going over to the orphanage to hear the confessions of the sisters and the boys.¹⁸

Besides, he trained the older youths to participate in the services of the Church. In December, 1837, he began to teach eight of them to sing the Gregorian Chant, and he continued this instruction throughout several winters.¹⁹ The bishop and his boys sang the High Mass for the first time on New Year's

¹⁶Speech at the cornerstone laying, in the "Shepherd of the Valley", May 16, 1835.

¹⁷Diary of Rosati, Feb. 24, 1838; June 13, 1834.

¹⁸Ibid., Feb. 4, and other Saturdays of 1837.

¹⁹Ibid., Dec. 26, 1837; Jan. 31, 1839.

Eve, 1837. During the ensuing winter and spring they often constituted the Sunday and feast day choir.²⁰ Sometimes the prelate would take several of these choir boys on his confirmation trips.²¹ After he taught them Vespers, they sang these psalms with the bishop on many Sunday afternoons.²² Holy Week found them trained to sing the lamentations of Good Friday, and to assist the clergy in the choral rendition of the prophecies of Holy Saturday.²³ One of the most interesting functions at which they were permitted to sing was the St. Patrick's Day celebration which the bishop described as follows in his diary of 1838:

We sang a Solemn High Mass in the church in honor of St. Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland, with the assistance of the Deacon and subdeacon. The Members of the Society of the Hibernians marched solemnly to the church two by two, decorated with green badges, preceded by the flag and a chorus of musical instruments, and were present at the Mass which was sung by the boys of the orphanage. Rev. George Carrell gave a panegyric address before whose beginning the boys of the orphanage sang a hymn in praise of the saint. A collection of \$71.00 was made in the church for the orphans. The Hibernian society had decided that the Feast Day of the patron saint should be celebrated in the church. They abstained from the public dinner as had been the custom in other previous years, and decided that the money which had been necessary to pay the expenses of this should be given to the orphans.²⁴

²⁰Diary of Rosati, Jan. and Feb., 1838; Jan. 20, 1839.

²¹Ibid., Apr. 22, 1838; Aug. 18, 1839.

²²Ibid., Mar. 11 and 25, Apr. 1, and Dec. 2, 1838.

²³Ibid., Mar. 23, 1839.

²⁴Ibid., Mar. 17, 1838.

In other ways, too, the bishop showed his interest in these unfortunate children. On Holy Innocents Day, 1838, he gave a supper for twenty-four of the older orphan boys, and on Easter Monday of the following year he entertained eighteen of them in the same way.²⁵ His feast day celebration usually included a dinner with some priests and the orphan boys.²⁶ His interest in the orphans is well summarized in the following extract from a letter to the Leopoldine Association:

There are also 50 orphan boys in the hospice at the cathedral, and 40 girls brought up in the different women's convents. The larger of these orphan children attend to the Cathedral services in the capacity of mass servers and choir boys, where the services are held with reverence, dignity and exactitude. These educational institutions further the best interests of our Holy Faith in that they make themselves worthy of honor and give us children at a time when they would otherwise have to seek and take support or instruction from Protestants, and we thus snatch them from the danger of losing their Faith.²⁷

Although the orphan girls whom the bishop mentioned were not so near to the bishop's home as the boys, he did not neglect them. Whenever he journeyed to the seminary he visited those at Kaskaskia with the Visitandines and those at the Barrens with the Loretines.²⁸ Then, upon his return from such a journey, he usually managed to pay a visit to the nearer convents that sheltered other orphan girls, viz., the Sacred Heart

²⁵Diary of Rosati, Dec. 28, 1837; Mar. 30, 1838.

²⁶Ibid., Mar. 19, 1839; Mar. 19, 1840.

²⁷Feb. 27, 1839, Berichte, XII, 1839, 48.

²⁸Diary of Rosati.

Convent, and the newly established school of the Sisters of St. Joseph at Carondelet.²⁹ Moreover, in the spring of 1839, he took steps to begin an institution exclusively for the orphan girls. In this connection he records in the March 12 entry of his diary that he visited Anna Biddle, the woman who had decided to found an orphanage for girls in the city. She informed the bishop of her intention to build a home three hundred by two hundred feet, and donate both the furniture and the supplies for the year. The only condition of her gift was that the orphanage should be directed by the Sisters of Charity.³⁰ The bishop readily agreed to this, for he realized that even with the help of the people of St. Louis, he could never continue the orphanages without the aid of these sisters.

It was with the help of the St. Joseph sisters that Bishop Rosati established another type of social institute, the first Catholic school for deafmute children in the United States. On September 10, 1837, the two sisters who had been studying the sign language in France arrived at St. Louis. The bishop sent one to the Sacred Heart Convent to study English, while the other went to Carondelet.³¹ Later he arranged for the printing of a prospectus for the new institute, and sent it to the sisters.³²

²⁹Diary of Rosati.

³⁰Ibid., Mar. 12, 1839.

³¹Rothensteiner, History of the Archdiocese, 637.

³²Ms. letter of Sister Delphine to Bishop Rosati, Dec. 19, 1837. St. Louis Chancery Office.

In the spring, when the sisters enlarged their home they set aside accommodations for four deafmute girls, and on March 31 the bishop took to them the first afflicted pupil, a nine year old orphan.³³ The sisters instructed her so well that when she was examined with the others at the close of the term the bishop and all who were present wondered at the knowledge which she displayed and the fluency with which she wrote.³⁴

At the close of 1839 there were only four pupils, all taught for charity, yet the bishop showed such great solicitude for them that he tried to obtain federal and state aid for the institution. First he requested Senator F. L. Linn, of Missouri, to petition Congress for the confirmation of a grant of one hundred thousand acres of land which the Spanish government had designated for the church. Although this concession had been repudiated after the passing of the Spanish regime, Bishop Rosati hoped that he might obtain it for the benefit of such a charitable work as a deaf and dumb asylum.³⁵ His request was refused, but, fortunately, his application for state aid was more successful. It was Christmas Eve, 1838, that he communicated to Senator Primm what had been accomplished at the deaf and dumb asylum, and asked him to petition the Missouri assembly to assist the good work. The senator responded nobly,

³³Diary of Rosati, Mar. 31, 1838.

³⁴Ibid., Aug. 19, 1838; Letter of Rosati to the Propagation of the Faith, Aug. 10, 1838, Annales, XI, 1838, 274.

³⁵Diary of Rosati, Dec. 6, 1838.

and his efforts moved the legislature to appropriate two thousand dollars for the annual tuition of residents of Missouri who had been in the Carondelet asylum for six months. Since only three of the pupils there were residents of Missouri, the sisters could not apply it to the support of the other child.³⁶ Nevertheless, it was a great boon to them.³⁷ In his pastoral letter of April, 1840, the bishop mentioned the following facts concerning this institution:

For two years there is a deafmute Institute here, which has only four pupils at present. But it is so well conducted by the Sisters of St. Joseph, that the students have been well instructed both in religion and the secular studies. These children would have been forever lost if their parents had been forced to place them in Protestant Institutions.

The care of the poor children of the diocese had been well organized when the time of Bishop Rosati's departure arrived. Most of the orphans were from St. Louis and its vicinity, but some had come from La Salle. The new orphanage for girls was not as yet an accomplished fact, but the funds for the building were there, and the superior of the establishment had been selected.³⁸ The boys' orphanage was providing a home for sixty-two inmates, and educating forty day pupils besides, all free of charge.³⁹ Moreover, the deaf and dumb asylum was being

³⁶Rothensteiner, History of the Archdiocese, 638; Savage, Congregation of St. Joseph, 51.

³⁷Berichte, XIV, 1841. 132.

³⁸Shaw, Rev. Thomas A., C. M., Story of the La Salle Missions (Chicago, 1908) 77.

³⁹Memoranda Missionum, 174.

supported by state aid, and was later to become a large institution.⁴⁰ Further developments of these establishments came even before the death of the bishop. On May 4, 1843, the Jesuit parish of St. Francis Xavier opened a free girls' school which was taught by the same sisters who had charge of the orphanage. This institution, called St. Vincent's Free School, had 130 pupils on the first day,⁴¹ and many other poor girls were afterwards educated within its walls.⁴²

After provisions were made for the orphans, the bishop turned his attention toward the relief of poor families. According to Shepard, there was no charitable society of any nationality in St. Louis in 1827, yet the people of the city were very charitable.⁴³ This was true of the bishop himself. One of the first recorded instances of his compassionate endeavors relates to a poor Irishman who had left his family in Ireland and come to America to establish a home for them. His labors in the new country resulted in some funds, to be sure; but they were pitifully small in comparison with the sum necessary to pay the passage for his dear ones. Meanwhile his loneliness for his wife and children grew apace, and he appealed to the bishop for aid. The latter was touched by the request, and, since he had no funds of his own, he besought his confrere at

⁴⁰Memoranda Missionum, 174.

⁴¹Rothensteiner, History of the Archdiocese, 628.

⁴²Ibid., 829.

⁴³Shepard, Early History of St. Louis and Missouri, 89.

New Orleans, Father Borgna, to come to the relief of the poor exile.⁴⁴

In 1839, however, he planned to arrange a permanent relief fund for the many poor families in suffering and distress. With this purpose in mind he named December 5, 1839 as the date for an episcopal council consisting of himself, Father Verhaegan and Father Elet, both of the Society of Jesus, and his two assistants, Father Lutz and Father Fontbonne. At the meeting all agreed to the bishop's proposal to establish a society to help the needy. In the bishop's diary we find the following record of how he launched the project:

After the Sunday sermon in English and French about supporting the poor, I encouraged my hearers to form a society which might permanently support the poor, and I asked them that they would assemble today in the school of the orphan asylum after vespers for this purpose. Many of our Catholics assembled.⁴⁵

The society was formed, and it was decided that each member would give a regular contribution. The bishop was not content with merely beginning this society, but he also manifested his interest by attending its meetings.⁴⁶

During the Christmas season of that year the association and its founder had a splendid opportunity to display their charity. Many German immigrants were on board the Missouri

⁴⁴Letter from Bishop Rosati from St. Louis, Dec. 23, 1825. Letter Book, II.

⁴⁵Diary of Rosati, Dec. 9, 1839.

⁴⁶Ibid., Feb. 9, 1840.

Belle, a steamer bound for the Missouri River, when an explosion wrecked the vessel. Forty of those rescued were taken in by the Sisters of Charity, and Bishop Rosati offered the other victims the nine homes which he had built near the Church of the Holy Trinity.⁴⁷ Moreover, as these poor newcomers had been rendered absolutely destitute by the calamity, he recommended them to the charity of his people during his sermon on the next Sunday.⁴⁸

In these various ways Bishop Rosati had succeeded in awakening in the people of his diocese, and especially at St. Louis, an interest in the social welfare of their less fortunate neighbors, and a truly charitable spirit. Moreover, it is my contention that his work constituted the sowing of the seed which blossomed into the first American Conference of the St. Vincent de Paul Society at St. Louis in 1845, just two years after Bishop Rosati's death.

⁴⁷Diary of Rosati, Dec. 27, 1839.

⁴⁸Ibid., Dec. 29, 1839.

CHAPTER VI

ENCOURAGEMENT OF LITERATURE AND ART

Woven in and out among the manifold activities which comprised the bishop's work in the social and educational field there was entwined his love of the beautiful. It showed itself in his abiding interest in literature, and the pleasure that he received from the artistic, whether it was in picture, architecture, or music. In all of these things, painting excepted, he himself attained some proficiency.

When one considers how many things the bishop wrote, one wonders that he had time for anything else. It is to his habit of expressing things in written form that we owe the most valuable document concerning his episcopal life, the Latin Diary which begins in 1827 and continues almost uninterruptedly until 1841. Until the last few years of his life, this, together with his voluminous correspondence, precluded nearly all protracted literary attempts. As his labor's end was approaching he found time to compose a "History of the Foundations of the Congregation of the Mission in America". He began this on the tenth of July, 1839, and completed it the following January.¹ This Italian work has not been translated or published, but there is a copy of it in the archives of the St. Louis Kenrick Seminary.

¹Diary of Rosati, Jan. 18, 1840.

Six months after completing this book, he wrote another, "The Virtues and Deeds of Father De Andreis". This manuscript was translated by Father Burlando, C. M., and published in Baltimore in 1861. Archbishop Kain revised it and it was republished by Herder in 1900.²

Besides occupying himself with his own writings, Bishop Rosati also assisted others. Thus, for instance, when Bishop Kenrick of Philadelphia composed a new theology, he had it sent to Bishop Rosati, as the latter had promised to "peruse and correct it".³ Again, when the bishops of the Council of Baltimore of 1829 adopted the advice of Pope Leo XII and formed a society to promote Catholic education by publishing books free from false and misleading statements about religion, Bishop Rosati was an active member. This was quite an expense to him, as the following entry in his account book shows: "Paid to the Archbishop of Baltimore my subscription for the press which will belong to the Bishop of the Province and will be employed to print good books for school, \$200.00."⁴ Good work was accomplished by this press for several years, as it functioned until the Catholic presses published inexpensive books of this

²Rosati, Life of the Very Reverend Felix De Andreis, C. M.

³Letter of Bishop Kenrick to Rev. John Purcell on His Appointment as Coadjutor of Philadelphia, May 7, 1830. Printed in American Catholic Historical Researches, XII (Jan., 1895) 59.

⁴Accounts of Monthly Payments, Mar. 22, 1837.

kind.⁵

Moreover, in acknowledgment of his talents, the First Provincial Council had requested him to draw up a Book of Ceremonies. In response to this request he translated the ceremonial of Baldeschi from the Italian into English.⁶ After its completion, he arranged to have a thousand copies of the complete manual printed to sell at a dollar each. Additional copies of the first part could be secured for the altar servers at eighteen and three-fourths cents each.⁷ Bishop Rosati also composed the pastoral letters for the provincial councils. Especially "warm, generous, and classic" is the letter which he sent in behalf of the Fathers of the Fourth Provincial Council to the persecuted Bishops of Cologne, the Right Reverend Claude Augustus de Droste de Vischering, and the Most Reverend Martin de Dumin, Archbishop of Posen. His own pastoral letters, too, are of the finest, and his addresses and sermons to his people were so eloquent that they affected all his hearers, both Catholic and Protestant.⁸

The Bishop of St. Louis also paved the way for several future books by his love of history. He kept a volume, entitled

⁵Mahon, P. J., and Hayes, J. M., Trials and Triumphs of the Catholic Church in America, II (Chicago, 1890) 622, 623.

⁶Rothensteiner, Rev. John, "Letters of Bishop Fenwick to Bishop Rosati", Ill. Cath. Hist. Rev., 145-166, X (Oct., 1927) 150; Shaw, The Story of the La Salle Mission, 72.

⁷Rothensteiner, "Letters of Bishop Fenwick to Bishop Rosati", 153.

⁸Clarke, Lives of the Deceased Bishops, 367.

"Abstract of Correspondence", in which he summarized nearly every letter that he penned. He also gave minute directions for keeping the records in all the parishes of his diocese. In a circular letter of September 6, 1837, he asked his priests to enclose with their annual report a record of the time of the founding or erection of the parish or mission, the time of the consecration or the blessing of the church, the list of pastors or priests and the dates of their service. He also requested them to bring to the synod the documents relating to the church property of their districts.⁹

Great was the joy of the bishop when he was enabled to put into execution another one of the decrees of the First Provincial Council, that referring to the establishment of Catholic journals.¹⁰ In the spring of 1832, a Catholic editor, a Mr. Francis Taylor, emigrated with his family from Hartford to St. Louis. As he had published a periodical called "The Catholic Press" in the East, he wished to transfer the printing office to St. Louis and continue his work there. "I will try to help him with all my strength", was the bishop's comment in his diary.¹¹ Having consulted the bishop of Boston to obtain his opinion on the undertaking, he received the following statement:

⁹"Notes" in the St. Louis Catholic Historical Review, III, 80.

¹⁰Mahon and Hayes, Triumphs and Trials of the Catholic Church, 623.

¹¹Diary of Rosati, Mar. 17, 1832.

I have no objection whatever to the removal of the Catholic Press to St. Louis; on the contrary I shall rejoice to see it made the instrument of propagating our holy faith in the Valley of the Mississippi. I have no doubt also but that it will do a great deal more good at St. Louis than at Hartford.¹²

If the success of a project is influenced by the necessity of the undertaking, the paper should have been a most fortunate venture. St. Louis, then the chief center of Catholic population in the valley of the Mississippi, was at that time the object of many attacks on the part of the sectarian journals. These added to their own excoriations of Catholicity the most vicious extracts culled from eastern papers of a similar type. Aroused by the large Catholic immigration into the Middle West, both the preachers and the journalists were trying to create the impression that the presence of so many Catholics was a real menace to the freedom of America.¹³ Clearly, therefore, there was here a splendid field of action for a Catholic paper in which the refutation of the falsehoods could be published, and the non-Catholics informed of the true state of affairs.

The editor was prepared to do this, and more. In his editorial for the French section of the first number he states his aims as follows:

¹²Letter of Bishop Fenwick, Boston, Apr. 24, 1832, cited in Rothensteiner, "Letters of Bishop Fenwick to Bishop Rosati", 149.

¹³Foik, Paul, "Pioneer Catholic Journalism", in Historical Records and Studies, XI, U. S. Catholic Historical Society, XI (N. Y., 1830) 128-129.

The principal purpose of this Journal is to explain in the daylight of truth, the dogmas, discipline and the practices of the Catholic Church, to develop the evidence, to defend them against the attacks which are aimed at them by the prejudice, the ignorance, the bad faith of a hostile press. Whilst in the United States many Catholic Journals now labor with success for such a good cause which is that of truth and of God himself, a considerable portion of the Catholics of the Valley of the Mississippi, strangers to the English language, are living deprived of the advantage of those public journals published up to the present only in English. Convinced of the utility, not to say of the necessity, of providing a French periodical devoted to the cause of religion in a place where that is the language of the greater number of the children of the church, we undertake that task with the hope of being seconded in our efforts by all the persons who are interested in the progress of the true faith. . . . We do not aspire to the merit of originality, as all the points of our religious doctrine have been treated a thousand times by scholars and expert writers. We will not attempt their type of work, but will offer our readers some extracts of their best writings, and as we know that in order to be of value to a great number of readers a journal should not select from a book of discussion dry and always serious thoughts about theology, we shall try to avoid being tiresome and monotonous by giving a place to such subjects of history and literature, which will not remove too far our principal object which is religion, and which we think will assist character formation in the heart of our readers.

The English editorial cited the additional promise of furnishing the most interesting religious and political information that could be obtained from several foreign journals.¹⁴

To finance such an undertaking was a most difficult task. Bishop Rosati helped "with all his strength" by lending Mr. Taylor four hundred fifty dollars about ten days before the

¹⁴Shepherd of the Valley, July 7, 1832, 4.

first issue of the paper appeared.¹⁵ The subscribers paid three dollars a year in advance for this French and English weekly.¹⁶

The first issue fulfilled all the editor's promises. Of the four small pages, fourteen by twenty inches, the fourth was printed in French. Almost a column of Catholic news and an equal amount of political information was included. The remaining space was devoted to the explanation of Catholic doctrine and the refutation of attacks on the Church.

The changes in subsequent issues show how efforts were being made to increase the circulation and support of the paper. The second issue showed a gain of a half page for the French section,¹⁷ while the issue for October 20 advertised a still greater appeal to the French Catholics. It stated that the succeeding numbers would be published on an extra Imperial sheet, and would be so arranged that they could be cut into two complete journals, the one in English and the other in French. Subscribers who did not wish to pay three dollars a year for the whole sheet could secure either the French or the English section for two dollars.¹⁸

Bishop Rosati was delighted. On September 11, 1832, he wrote to Bishop Dou Bourg at Montauban, "We have at St. Louis a

¹⁵Accounts of Monthly Payments, June 29, 1832.

¹⁶Shepherd of the Valley, July 7, 1832.

¹⁷Ibid., July 14, 1832.

¹⁸Ibid., July 14, 1832.

Catholic journal entitled 'The Shepherd of the Valley', half French and half English. It is published every Saturday at two dollars a year. It is very good."¹⁹ All Catholic priests throughout the United States and Canada were authorized to receive subscriptions for it.²⁰

Nevertheless, the financial situation of the paper remained grave. The original arrangement had to be resumed on November 17, and the amount of French material shrank to such a degree that by December 7 it occupied only a column and a half. According to a statement in that issue, the subsequent numbers were to be almost always entirely English, because of the difficulty of obtaining an absolutely reliable person for the French department. However, the bishop disclosed to the Treasurer of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith the real reason for the discontinuance of the French section of the paper, namely, that the lack of funds prevented the hiring of several pressmen. Still confident, the bishop continued, "we hope to succeed in our efforts to publish a monthly French and English religious journal".²¹

Steadily the paper struggled onward, retaining its high ideals and, until September, 1833, the same form. The issue of January 26, for instance, devoted about one-fourth of the space

¹⁹Annales, VII, 1834, 111.

²⁰Shepherd of the Valley, Oct. 20, 1832.

²¹Letter to the Redacteur, May 13, 1833, Annales, VII, 1834, 133.

to answering the attacks made by the "Baptist Pioneer" and other sectarian papers, and explaining the position of the Church on the points of attack. An interesting news item in the foreign column of the issue of February 9 of the same year reads as follows:

Ibrahim Pasha, who has made himself master of all Syria, is marching towards Nalotia. The Turkish army is retreating. Mahomet Ali, who had offered the Porte to put an end to hostilities on condition that Syria shall be ceded to him, now prescribed more severe conditions. The Sultan has determined to solicit foreign intervention and has ordered his Charge d'Affaires at Vienna, M. Mourojeni, to repair to London for that purpose.

In an attempt to keep abreast of the tide of financial difficulties, the office was moved to Church Street, and contracts for job printing were undertaken. That the bishop patronized this type of work, too, is shown by his account book entry for January 8: "Paid the office of the "Shepherd" for printing bulletins for the seminary, \$12.50".²² However, the real credit for prolonging the life of the "Shepherd" beyond the first year belongs to the Western Catholic Association. This was a group of Catholics who realized both the benefits of the publication and the difficulties which were sapping its life stream. A constitution was adopted, and the well-known Catholic layman, Mary P. Leduc, was chosen president. Each member agreed to pay twenty-five cents a month for the propagation, defence, and support of the Catholic Church in the Western

²²Accounts of Monthly Payments, Jan. 8, 1833.

country by all honorable and lawful means.²³

As a result of the efforts and the interest of the Western Catholic Association, several improvements were made with a view to introduce the periodical into every Catholic home in the Middle West. Plans had been made to begin the new revised volume during the first week in August, but it did not appear until September because the boat bringing the new material was delayed by the low water in the Ohio River.²⁴ The second volume contained thermometrical observations, a calendar of every month, and even an occasional cake recipe. There was also more foreign and domestic news. Both the paper and its price had been changed from the original; the latter was increased to three dollars per year and the former enlarged to sheets eighteen by twenty-four inches. The advertisements, too, became more numerous.²⁵ Thus fortified, the "Shepherd" continued its good work for several years more.

Meanwhile the opposition to the Catholics grew stronger. The following year Bishop Rosati wrote thus of it to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith:

The Protestants are doing much to undermine and tell lies against the Catholics in their press. Our Catholic journals answer them, but the obstinate Protestants do not turn their eyes to these replies.²⁶

²³Shepherd of the Valley, Sept. 20, 1833.

²⁴Ibid., June 7, 1834.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Letter to the Redacteur, Feb. 22, 1835, Annales, VIII, 275

The "St. Louis Observer" of September 10 even stated that Catholics were "dangerous people" and "morally disqualified for official stations", because they were under the thumb of the priests. The editor advocated that they should attend public schools and read the Bible.²⁷ The "Shepherd" did not appear on November 14 of that year because it had been noised around that "all religious papers must be crushed".²⁸ Although it was afterwards learned that there was nothing to fear on that score, the lack of patronage extended to the paper proved a real barrier to its continuance. The last number of the paper under this editor appeared on July 2, 1836. Probably the most complete file of this interesting publication is at the St. Louis University Library. However, it lacks many of the numbers.

There is on display in that library another publication which relates to Bishop Rosati--an old French Catechism. It is entitled "A Catechism published by the order of Mgr. Joseph Rosati, Bishop of St. Louis, state of Missouri, in order to be exclusively taught in his diocese".²⁹ The bishop himself usually referred to it as the "Catechisme de la Louisiane". The work is divided into five parts. The first of these, the complete explanation of the chief truths of religion, begins its first lesson thus:

²⁷St. Louis Observer, Sept. 10, 1835.

²⁸Shepherd of the Valley, Nov. 21, 1835.

²⁹(Lyons, 1833).

Who has created you and preserved you until the present moment?

It is God who has created me and preserves me.

Why has God created you, and why does He preserve you?

God has created and preserves me to know Him, love Him and serve Him, and in this way to obtain eternal life.³⁰

The second section explains the Apostles' Creed, while the third contains an exposition of the Commandments of God and the Church, and the virtues and vices. In the fourth section we find an explanation of grace, the sacraments, and prayer. The fifth part is a study of the principal feasts and solemnities of the year. To this are appended rules for serving Mass, prayers to be used at the reception of the sacraments, Vespers for Sunday, and the Litany of the Saints in Latin and French.

The twelfth and thirteenth lessons in part four are thus annotated:

This lesson (12) and the following are of invaluable importance. Parents, School teachers, Catechists, Confessors of children and young persons ought to exercise particular care to explain them, to have the pupils memorize them and put them into practice.³¹

The lengthy formula for confession given here is the one in use before the days of frequent Holy Communion, when confessors had comparatively few confessions to hear. The penitent is told to kneel, assume the attitude of a suppliant, bless himself, say "Bless me", and then the Confiteor to "my fault". At this

³⁰Rosati, Catechisme, 1.

³¹Ibid., 43, 44.

point he is instructed to reveal his sins. After this, he is to strike his breast three times, and say "through my fault, etc.", and then complete the Confiteor.³²

Besides arranging to have this catechism printed for the French Catholics, the bishop tried to secure uniformity in the use of the catechisms for his German and English parishioners. He accomplished this by enacting the following regulation at the Synod of April, 1839:

Since many inconveniences, sometimes of great moment, arise from a variety of catechisms, we prescribe that one and the same catechism should be adhered to for each language which the faithful of our diocese use; namely for the French that which was published by our own order by the press of Rusan of Lyons in the year 1833 with this title: A Catechism published by the order of the Mgr. Joseph Rosati, Bishop of St. Louis state of Missouri, in order to be exclusively taught in his diocese; for the English language until another catechism may be produced according to the Council of Baltimore for the use of the whole province, a little catechism, by the Most Illustrious and Most Reverend John Carroll, Archbishop of Baltimore, edited by this first title: A Short Catechism for the use of the Catholic Church in the U. S. of America; finally for the German language, a second Catechism edited with the approbation of the Most Illustrious and Most Reverend J. B. Purcell of Cincinnati, and of the Most Illustrious and Most Reverend Francis Patrick Kenrick, Bishop of Azaterry entitled: Catechism, or shorter Explanation of Catholic Teaching for the use of the Catholic Church in the United States of America.³³

In order to make his Catechism available to his people, he left some at Rodier's book store, with instructions that the proceeds

³²Rosati, Catechisme, 41.

³³Synodus Ludovici, 1839, 14. St. Louis Chancery Office.

were to be returned to him.³⁴

These provisions for correctness of doctrine were seconded by his efforts to secure appropriate Church music. There had been a number of good singers and musicians in the choir during the time of Bishop Dou Bourg. These still served for Bishop Rosati, but sometimes the ladies of the parish sang the Mass. For Easter of 1833, the ladies learned a new Mass. After the event, the "Shepherd" noted that it "was a long time since the citizens of St. Louis had been entertained with any concert to equal it".³⁵

Most likely the new organist, Mr. F. J. Marallano, deserved some of the credit for this and the ensuing musical successes. Bishop Rosati had secured his services that February for a hundred dollars a year.³⁶ Wilson Primm said of him later:

He was a Genoese by birth, a Cuban coffee culturer who came to St. Louis after many reverses there. He was not a skillful performer on the piano or organ, but he had taste, and was master of counterpoint. He composed some short pieces for special occasions, and parts of a Mass.³⁷

One of his compositions, "The Constitution of the United States", was written in gratitude for the appreciation shown

³⁴Accounts of Monthly Payments, Jan. 9, 1835; Aug. 25, 1836.

³⁵Shepherd of the Valley, Mar. 23, 1833.

³⁶Accounts of Monthly Payments, Feb. 11, 1833.

³⁷Speech of Wilson Primm before the Missouri Historical Society, Sept. 16, 1875. A reprint of it is pasted in the inside of the back of Bishop Rosati's diary.

his work, and was part of the Cathedral Fourth of July program of 1833.³⁸

In addition to the usual choir, Mr. Marallano had some well trained voices, those of Miss Hay, Mesdames Duhring and Menkins, and Mr. Britton A. Hill.³⁹ For the ceremony of the consecration of the new cathedral they sang a Mass by De Monti. The bishop liked music, if we can judge by his reaction to the Christmas program of 1837. Of this pontifical High Mass he wrote: "The music corresponded excellently to the solemnity of the occasion; for not only were our singers present, but also a chorus of nine Bohemians interspersed the singing with symphonies produced with various instruments."⁴⁰ It is significant, however, that the very next day he began to teach the orphan boys the Gregorian Chant.⁴¹

Neither was he penurious in providing supplies for the choir. On May 24, 1833, he paid thirty-seven dollars and thirty-one cents for music, and in 1837 he made another outlay of thirty-eight dollars for the same purpose. His plans to provide for a new organ were completed in June, 1837, when he contracted for a four thousand dollar instrument with Matthias Schwab of Cincinnati. It was to be completed and set up within

³⁸Shepherd of the Valley, June 22, 1833.

³⁹Speech of Wilson Primm.

⁴⁰Diary of Rosati, Dec. 25, 1837.

⁴¹Ibid., Dec. 26, 1837.

a year, and the bishop promised to board Mr. Schwab during the period while he was engaged in assembling the organ in the cathedral.⁴² True to the bargain the new organ was being installed on May 13. The bishop and the boys had to sing the Mass "a capella", as the old organ could not be played because of the preparations which were being made for the new one.⁴³

The bishop's delight at a beautifully rendered ceremony is thus described by Mr. Primm:

After the termination of a festival Mass, he would meet the members of the choir, rubbing his hands together saying, "My children you must dine with me." No excuse would be received. In the dining room of the old "Presbytere" we sat down to a dish of ravioli, made of parmesan cheese and one knows not how many other ingredients; to fish and flesh, all washed down with a generous glass of Bordeaux, the full dinner enlivened by the conversation of men versed in sacred, profane and social knowledge; and with the solemn "Benedicite" which dissolved our pleasant reunion was stamped upon our hearts, respect, and love for our Pastors, and a resolve to merit approbation.⁴⁴

The new Cathedral was a fit setting for these inspiring choral renditions. Six bells, three of which were cast in Normandy, summoned the people to worship.⁴⁵ Its sturdy exterior, with its Greek portico and four Doric columns, and its towering steeple, has already been described. The magnificence of its interior moved Edwin Flagg to write of it as follows:

⁴²Diary of Rosati, June 5, 1837.

⁴³Ibid., May 13, 1838.

⁴⁴Speech of Wilson Primm.

⁴⁵Flagg, Edwin, The Far West (Cleveland, 1906) 166.

Between the columns are suspended eight splendid chandeliers which, when lighted at night produce a magnificent effect. The walls are enriched by frescoes and arabesques, presenting the principal transactions of the Saviour's mission. This is said to be one of the first attempts at a substitute for the painted glass of the Middle Ages, and was executed, together with the other pictorial decoration of the edifice, by an artist named Leon sent over for the purpose from France. The effect is grand. Even the garish sunbeams subside into rainbow hues.⁴⁶

The pillars which Flagg mentions were Doric like those on the portico, and were arranged in two rows in order to support the elliptically shaped ceiling. The latter was decorated with a picture of St. Louis in prayer, a gift of Louis XVIII of France. The altar, made of Italian marble, was flanked by two Corinthian marble columns.

The cathedral with its services was the finest expression of the bishop's artistic nature, and it was likewise the accomplishment which best showed the aim toward which all his efforts tended. As Wilson Primm so well expressed it:

His love of music, of painting, of sculpture, of architecture, of everything calculated to embellish human life, was always auxiliary to the grand idea of the greater glory of God, an idea which on the entablature of the Cathedral erected under his auspices, was carved in letters of stone and will not disappear until the structure crumbles away, "Deo Uno et Trino".⁴⁷

⁴⁶Flagg, Early Western Travels, 167.

⁴⁷Speech of Wilson Primm, published in the St. Louis Times, Sept. 26, 1876.

CONCLUSION

Although Bishop Rosati worked only for the honor and glory of God, his zeal did not fail to win for him the respect of men, both Catholic and Protestant. The sons and daughters of those outside the fold of the Church were gladly sent to the Catholic schools. In the hands of efficient teachers who were splendidly prepared to train the characters of their young charges, and under the direction of an intelligent, upright, and progressive bishop, these people felt that their children were in good hands. They also entrusted their sick to the Sisters in the hospital, knowing full well that skillful and attentive care would be given them.¹

Indeed, the intensive labor of the bishop caused his diocese, although the ninth in age, to outstrip all but the diocese of Baltimore in literary institutions. This comparatively new district had 320 boys enrolled in three such establishments.² Besides, there were 300 other youths in primary schools, 690 girls in academies, and 139 orphans receiving a

¹Ryan, Rev. Joseph Paul, "Travel Literature as Source Material for American Catholic History", Historical Records and Studies, X, 301-363 (Apr., 1928) 337, citing A. P. de Baxcourt, Souvenirs D'un Diplomate. Lettres Intimes sur L'Amerique, 1837-1842 (Paris, 1882) 73.

²Savage, "Statistical Survey", 198.

good training. In certain kinds of social institutions, too, Bishop Rosati led the way, for he was the first to establish a deafmute school west of the Alleghenies, and the first in the United States to have a sisters' hospital. The only other Catholic hospital then in existence was the one established at New Orleans under the old Spanish regime. Between 150 and 200 patients were daily relieved by the Sisters of Charity. Notwithstanding the extent of the good work thus accomplished, when we consider that his diocese contained a Catholic population of 70,000 scattered over 160,200 square miles of territory,⁴ it can be readily seen that Bishop Rosati merely set the stage and trained the characters in the great drama of Catholic life in the Diocese of St. Louis.

³ Foote, John A., "Progress and Development of Catholic Hospitals", Catholic Builders of the Nation, IV, 98-102 (Boston, 1923) 89.

⁴ Statement of the Diocese of St. Louis, 1840. Original printed for Propaganda, and found in the Archives of the Proc. Gen. C. M., Rome. Copied by Father Souvay.

CRITICAL ESSAY ON AUTHORITIES

Unpublished Sources

The most valuable source for the study of any phase of Bishop Rosati's manifold activities is the Latin diary of three volumes which he entitled Ephemerides Privatae Rmi. Joseph Rosati, Ephi. S. Lud. The first two volumes, those from 1822 to 1829 and from 1831 to 1836, are in manuscript form in the original leather bound book in the Archdiocesan Archives at the St. Louis Chancery Office. The manuscript of the last volume, from 1836 to 1840, is in the Vincentian house in Rome. However, the Reverend Dr. Charles L. Souvay, C. M., formerly rector of the Kenrick Seminary, has made it available to Americans by transcribing it and filing his copy in the archives of the seminary at Webster Groves, Missouri. The diary contains careful notes of the author's various occupations, and often names the persons with whom he conferred or corresponded. Another important source in the St. Louis Chancery Office is the volume entitled Accounts of the Monthly Payments Made by Rt. Rev. Joseph Rosati, from March 1, 1830 to May 1, 1839. In diary form it gives first hand information of his financial experiences while engaged in building his educational and social institutions.

The bishop likewise retained either a copy or a digest of

many letters or documents which he wrote. Those which were addressed to Propaganda he placed in a volume which he named Epistolae ad Enos. Cardinales S. C. de Propaganda Fide ab Epo. S. Ludovici Scripta ab Anno D. 1822. Another collection is his Abstract of Correspondence or Letter Book, which contains a synopsis of many letters that were helpful in the study of his relations and negotiations with parents and business men. Copies of the letters and documents by which the bishop directed his priests in their work are found in another book which the bishop's secretary later entitled Copiae (!) Litterarum et Documentorum Officialium. In it was found the commission of Father Neil to secure funds in Europe.

Many of the bishop's letters to other bishops have found their way into the Archives of Notre Dame University. From one of the more important ones, dated March 20, 1835 and addressed to Bishop Purcell, we learn that Bishop Rosati's daily program of activities became more and more crowded as the number of immigrants into his diocese increased. The portion of his correspondence which reached the Procurator General of the Vincentians in Rome or the mother house in Paris, has been copied or photographed by Father Souvay, and forms another storehouse of Rosati material at the Kenrick Seminary. It is in one of these communications to Father Salhorgne that the bishop pleads so earnestly for a superior for the seminary after he received the burden of two dioceses.

The facts which he stated in these letters are

substantiated by the great number of letters which he received from others. The St. Louis Chancery Office contains those from Propaganda, Bishop Dou Bourg, the five sisterhoods of his diocese, and from many other individuals and groups. The collection from the Sisters of Charity was most useful in the chapters on the sick and the orphans.

Numerous references to the bishop's activities are likewise given in the correspondence of other bishops of the United States. Among these is a letter of Bishop Flaget to Bishop Fenwick, dated June 18, 1832, which relates the great progress in missionary work in the St. Louis Diocese. It is filed in the Archives of Notre Dame University.

Printed Sources

During Bishop Rosati's days two European societies were devoted to the support of the missions in the United States, viz., the Leopoldine Institute of Vienna and the Association of the Propagation of the Faith in Lyons. Both organizations issued yearly publications containing reports of the aid sent to America, and reprints of letters which had been received from American bishops. The Berichte der Leopoldinen Stiftung im Kaiserthum Oesterreich (Anton V. Haykul, Vienna), issued by the German society, are very rare, but the Central Verein of St. Louis has obtained a complete set. The volumes from 1 (1831) to 16 (1843) contained material about Bishop Rosati. The St. Louis University has a complete set of the Annales de la Propagation de la Foi (Rusand, Lyons). In these there was

information in volumes I to VII (1825 to 1843) and in volume XII (1840). Since the amount of money which these societies sent to a diocese was often determined by the reported need, it was possible that some of the bishops might have been tempted to state conditions in the worst possible light. However, the statements of Bishop Rosati coincide with the reports of travelers and writers of the period.

Source material for the years 1832 to 1836 was found in abundance in the "Shepherd of the Valley" (St. Louis), a French and English newspaper sponsored by the bishop. During the few years of its losing struggle for existence it gave its subscribers all the local Catholic news, and some political news. Naturally it was a great admirer of Bishop Rosati, and referred to him in terms of admiration. Its advertisements of the various schools and academies are interesting, to say the least, and anything unusual in the story of these institutions was faithfully portrayed there. There is a file of the publication at the St. Louis University, but it is incomplete.

The youth and training of the bishop, as well as his first years in America are described in the Life of the Very Rev. Felix De Andreis, taken mostly from the writings of Bishop Rosati. It was first published in 1861 at Baltimore by Father Burlando, one of the young Vincentians who arrived in America shortly before his confrere's bishopric came to a close. However, the edition which I used was that revised and corrected by Archbishop Kain (Herder, St. Louis, 1890). Two statistical

volumes written by Catholics are the Memoranda Missionum ante Fundationem urbis S. Ludovici and the Metropolitan Almanac and Laity Directory (Fielding Lucas, Baltimore, 1842). The first one has no publisher's name or date, but both give accurate statistics of the diocese.

Reprints of some letters of the bishop were found in various Catholic Historical Magazines. Thus, Abbe L. Ludisay, in his "Some Correspondence Relating to the Dioceses of New Orleans and St. Louis", Records of the American Catholic Historical Society, Philadelphia, XIX, 305-325 (July, 1908) published some letters of Bishop Rosati to Bishop Panet which are in the Quebec Archives. They relate the financial worries of the St. Louis prelate.

The Missouri Historical Society Library at the Jefferson Memorial in St. Louis possesses some splendid source material in a folder entitled "Wilson Primm's Scrap Book". Primm was an eminent jurist, a judge of the criminal court, and a member of the Missouri Assembly. He was also a singer in the cathedral choir, and gave several addresses for or about Bishop Rosati. Among other things, the folder contains the Missouri Historical Society reprint of his address, "The Early Church", given before the society on September 16, 1875. He was then an old man, and his memory failed to recall at least one point correctly. This was the year of M. Marallano's becoming organist at the cathedral. Primm said it was in 1834, while the Accounts of Monthly Payments for February of 1833 shows that he

was then being paid by the bishop, and the "Shepherd of the Valley" describes one of his concerts there on June 12, 1833. However, the speech at the cornerstone ceremony for the orphanage, published in the "Shepherd" of May 16, 1835, is the splendid record of an eye-witness, and the facts are corroborated by the reports of orphan care found in the accounts of travelers. One of these is J. S. Buckingham's Eastern and Western Travels, III (Fisher and Company, London, 1842). Buckingham was one of a group of parliament members who toured our country in 1838 and afterwards lectured here on temperance and other topics. He gave unstinted praise to the educational and charitable institutions of Bishop Rosati. Elihu H. Shepard, who had been a professor of languages in the Old St. Louis College, in The Early History of St. Louis and Missouri (Southwestern Book and Publishing Co., St. Louis, 1870), described events many years after they happened. For this reason some of his statements are inaccurate. His date of the opening of the Sisters' Hospital is four years too late. The same criticism holds true of E. D. Kargau, and his St. Louis in Frueheren Jahren (Wiebusch, St. Louis, 1893). This author describes each of the old buildings of the city and relates how it was later replaced.

Quite different is Edwin Flagg's, The Far West, XXVI, of Thwaites' Early Western Travels. This is a graphic, forceful record of a young man who visited the Middle West in 1836, and published his book two years later. It surpassed all records previously written in English. His impression of the cathedral

and other Catholic institutions is also complimentary. A detailed description of Missouri in particular is given by Gottfried Duden in his Europa und Deutschland, Von Nordamerika aus Betrachtet (Bonn, 1833). He made a prolonged visit to this country for the purpose of reporting to the Germans the advisability of settling here. His account of the climate, soil, and living conditions induced many of his countrymen to emigrate in the second half of the thirties.

"Duden's Report" and those of the "Followers of Duden" have been translated by Wm. G. Bek, and published in the Missouri Historical Review, Columbia, Missouri. The first paper in this series appears in volume XII (1918) and the last in volume XVI (1922). Many of the followers of Duden were disappointed in America, some because they lost many members of their family and friendship circle during the cholera, but I think that they must have failed to read Duden's account carefully. He did not fail to mention both the hardships and the difficulties of this region. Neither did Edward Zimmermann, whose "Travel into Missouri in October, '33" appears in the same periodical, IX (Oct., 1915) 33-43.

Contemporary newspapers also described events and conditions. One of these, the "St. Louis Observer", which became the "Alton Observer" in 1836, was edited by the abolitionist, Elijah Lovejoy. However, many of its articles are permeated with prejudice against Catholicity. The issues for 1835 and 1836, found in the Illinois State Historical Library at Spring-

field, were helpful for the general background of the period. A slighter degree of prejudice is found in the weekly begun in 1833 by the German democrat, Wilhelm Weber; he named it "Anzeiger des Westens" (St. Louis). The third useful newspaper in this library was entitled "The Sangamo Journal" (Springfield, Ill.). The issues of 1835 yielded some articles describing the means of communication.

Finally, there are still extant a few of the directories that gave impartial information about existing institutions and advertised the things in vogue during that period. The oldest one used was published and edited by the same man who issued the Philadelphia Directory, John A. Paxton. The progress made in St. Louis from 1821 to 1836 can be gauged by comparing his St. Louis Directory and Register (St. Louis, 1821) with the St. Louis Directory for 1836-1837 and for 1838-1839. The latter were published and edited by C. Keemle.

Secondary Sources

The most authentic secondary account is undoubtedly the first volume of the History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis, written by the archivist of the district, the Rev. John Rothensteiner (Blackwell-Wielandy Co., St. Louis, 1928). This scholarly priest traveled to many archives to secure the material for this work. Richard H. Clarke's Lives of the Deceased Bishops of the Catholic Church in the United States, I, (P. O'Shea, New York, 1872) has a sketch of Bishop Rosati, but the author speaks of the scanty materials available at that

time. The two works of Rev. John Gilmary Shea, The Hierarchy of the Catholic Church in the United States (Catholic Publication Office, New York, 1886) and the History of the Catholic Church in the United States from 1808 to 1843 (Shea, New York, 1890) treat of Bishop Rosati in a general way, but also lack source material. This gave rise to inaccuracies such as stating that Bishop Rosati laid the cornerstone of the orphanage on May 18, while "The Shepherd of the Valley" in the two issues of May 9 and 16 describe the ceremony as having taken place on the eleventh of the month. The Trials and Triumphs of the Catholic Church in America (J. S. Hyland and Co., Chicago, 1907) by P. J. Mahon and J. M. Hayes, S. J., gives only a brief mention of Bishop Rosati. It fails to mention that it was he who sent Father St. Cyr to Chicago, and rather slights his diocese and the South in general.

Several works refer to certain phases of Bishop Rosati's achievements. Reverend Joseph B. Code's Great American Foundresses (Macmillan, New York, 1829) has an authentic description of Madame Phillipine Duchesne, the first superior of the Sisters of the Sacred Heart in America. Another book concerning her is Abbe L. Baunard's Histoire de Mme. Duchesne, Religieuse de la Societe Du Sacre Cour de Jesus (Poussielgue, Paris, 1878). The author used many letters available only to Europeans. Bishop Rosati's helpful attitude toward the Sisters of St. Joseph is clearly portrayed in the Congregation of St. Joseph of Carondelet (Herder, St. Louis, 1823), by Sister M. Lucida

Savage, C. S. J. Her work is based partly on the archives of the community. In the History of Mother Seton's Daughters (Longmans, Green and Co., New York, 1917), Sister Mary Agnes McCann parallels the previously named author's work by a volume about the Sisters of Charity.

Louis Houck's History of Missouri, I (Donnelly, Chicago, 1908) relates the life and work of the bishop in a general manner. Specific information about his institutions is given in The Great West and History of St. Louis (Edwards' Monthly Office, St. Louis (cop. 1869)). The authors interviewed important citizens who had lived during the earlier nineteenth century. The first portion of the work contains biographies of prominent persons of St. Louis, and the second gives the history of the institutions. A comparatively recent, but especially accurate monograph about the city is J. H. Lionberger's Annals of St. Louis and a Brief Account of Its Foundation and Progress, 1764-1927 (Mo. Hist. Soc., St. Louis, 1929). Finally, John A. Foote's paper, "Progress and Development of Catholic Hospitals", Catholic Builders of the Nation, IV, 85-102 (Boston, 1923) furnished important information about early hospitals.

Periodicals

So many helpful articles have been found on the subject that it will be possible to name only the more important ones. The United States Catholic Historical Society's Magazine, New York, I, 233-257 (July, 1887) contains "Early Lazarist Missions

and Missionaries". It is written by the Rt. Rev. Stephen V. Ryan, and based on community traditions. Two more recent papers written by Vincentians on the same subject are the "Lazarists in Illinois", by Dr. Charles L. Souvay, C. M., Illinois Catholic Historical Review, I (Jan., 1919) 303-319, and Rev. Martin O'Malley's "Centenary of the Foundation of the Diocesan Seminary", St. Louis Catholic Historical Review, I, 40-49 (Oct., 1918). These are based on actual sources.

The series, Historical Records and Studies, New York, furnished a valuable paper entitled "Travel Literature as Source Material for American Catholic History", X, 301-363 (Apr., 1923). It contained extracts from the records of various travelers that had noted Catholic events and efforts.

The Visitation Sisters and their struggles are the theme of two more studies in the Illinois Catholic Historical Review, viz., "Archbishop Eccleston and the Visitandines at Kaskaskia", I, 500-509 (Apr., 1919), by Rev. John Rothensteiner, and "The Reminiscences of Sister Mary Josephine Barber", I, 352-371 (Jan., 1919), by Helen Troesch. The first of these articles is based on the correspondence of Archbishop Eccleston with Bishop Rosati, while the last is the interesting chronicle of events kept by the postulant who came with the first Visitandines. "The Mullanphys of St. Louis", by Rev. Lawrence Kenney, S. J., Historical Records and Studies, XIX, 70-111 (May, 1920), shows how these philanthropists assisted their bishop. The same periodical, XI, 128-129 (May, 1930), contains a scholarly study

of the "Shepherd of the Valley" in "Pioneer Catholic Journalism", by Paul Folk.

Another contribution by Father Rothensteiner to the Illinois Catholic Historical Review, "The Northeastern Part of the Diocese under Bishop Rosati", records his attempts to get English priests, II (Oct., 1919) 175-195. The Catholic Historical Review, Washington, D. C., I, 271-281 (Apr., 1916) yielded "Early Conversions to the Church in America", by Georgina Bell Curtis, the author of the American Catholic Who's Who. This treated in part of Bishop Rosati's convert instruction. Sister M. Lucida Savage's study, "Statistical Survey of the Church in the United States", Records of the American Catholic Historical Society, Philadelphia, XXXVIII (1927), 193-206, gave facts and figures of the Catholic institutions. Finally, the Missouri Historical Review furnished several articles on the general conditions of the period. The most valuable of these was Floyd Shoemaker's contribution, "Six Periods of Missouri History", IX, 211-240 (Jan., 1915). This writer has been the editor of the review since 1915, and had numerous records at his command.

LOYOLA
UNIVERSITY